

Diogo Bernardes and *O Lima* (1596)
Poetry, Patronage, and Print in Early Modern Portugal

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Diogo Bernardes and *O Lima* (1596): Poetry, Patronage, and Print in Early Modern Portugal

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D.Phil. Thesis – Short Abstract

This thesis examines how the fortunes of poets and the status of poetry were changing at the end of the sixteenth century in Portugal. Centring on the long-neglected verse epistles in Diogo Bernardes's *O Lima* (1596), I re-evaluate our sense of what it meant to be a poet when writing verse was not a sure-fire way to earn a living and when lyric poetry was regularly lampooned as trifling and immoral. Bernardes's surprisingly forthright *cartas*, I argue, offer new insights into the protagonists and procedures of literary patronage in Portugal. I use a combination of close readings and sociological methods to illuminate the practical strategies and rhetorical brinkmanship that Bernardes deployed in his quest for favour and highlight the frustrations and moral dilemmas of seeking the support of powerful, but fickle, patrons. Bernardes was a particularly remarkable writer for having printed his verse during his lifetime, and so I also trace how lyric verse was slowly legitimated as a cultural product during the sixteenth century and offer a case study of how an author's reputation was forged in the collaborative enterprise of print, then re-formed by the work of readers, thereby shedding light on the complex mechanisms of early modern canon formation. Paradoxically, I demonstrate that unequivocal praise of a writer's work can harm, rather than help, their chances of remaining in the canon. Although Bernardes's work is an echo chamber for these deep reverberations from the broader history of literature, this thesis also listens closely to Bernardes's distinctive poetic voice and allows it to speak out. Playful, candid, mercurial, it is a poetic voice that here seeks a wider audience.

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In 1594, Diogo Bernardes became the first vernacular lyric poet in Portugal to print his works in a single-authored collection during his lifetime. Going decidedly against the grain, he then went on to prepare another two volumes of poetry for print, which were published in 1596 and 1597. This was remarkable because, for most of the sixteenth century, the work of major writers in Portugal and Spain remained in manuscript until after their author's death, owing to the vulgar associations of print distribution and the Inquisition's suspicions about lyric poetry. Bernardes's work thus raises important questions about the changing status of lyric poetry and the evolution of the concept of authorship in Portugal. Contrary to existing studies of his poetry, which tend to analyse it in solely literary terms, this thesis explores what Bernardes's work can tell us about the collision of manuscript and print modalities and investigates the social context in which Bernardes's verse was written and read, bringing to the fore the worries, ambitions, and practical problems that attended a poet's career in the sixteenth century. Centring on the long-neglected verse epistles in *O Lima* (1596), I place special emphasis on the self-reflexivity of Bernardes's letters, teasing out both the subtle rhetorical strategies he uses to win over his patrons and the playful ways in which he expresses his desires and disillusionment to his friends.

This thesis is purposefully diverse in its methods of studying Bernardes's *O Lima*. It draws variously on the sociological approaches of Pierre Bourdieu, Bernard Lahire, Bruno Latour, and Alain Viala to examine how Bernardes built and mobilised a network of contacts within the court, how he conceived of his place in society, and how he understood the role of poets more generally. I follow the recent turn towards the material in early modern studies, analysing printed books and manuscript miscellanies for what their composition as objects can tell us about what was at stake in printing lyric poetry in the sixteenth century as well as what they can relate about the early reception of Bernardes's poetry. The

more philological procedures of the recent volume, *Renaissance Keywords*, and Neil Kenny's work on word histories guide my attempts to tease out the values invested in important words, such as *poeta*, which prove to be multifaceted lexical nodes around which writers gathered in order to make sense of and dispute what poetry is or should be. Tackling some of the central questions posed by Bernardes's work necessitates such a diversity of methods. Why did Bernardes print his poems? Why is he so obsessed with patronage in his poetry? Are his complaints about patrons justified? How did he see himself as a poet? How did his readers respond to his very frank poems? — answering each of these questions requires different methodological tactics. To understand what Bernardes says about patronage requires a sense of whom writers were connected to and of the profile of these individuals. To approach the question of why Bernardes printed his works calls for an investigation of the practical issues involved in printing and the values that were invested in print as a particular medium. Attending to texts as actors and linkages within a social network, as objects responded to and read, was necessary to understand how Bernardes's poetry functioned within the world of the court. The resulting thesis offers a case study for how a pragmatics of poetry in the early modern period might develop: it suggests how we might better register the 'many-sided play of passions and purposes' in which poetry comes to life.

In Chapter 1, Bernardes's biography provides the starting point for an investigation of what it meant to be a poet in sixteenth-century Portugal. As a kind of 'métier sans profession', I explore the unusual social status of *poetas* and reveal the competing definitions of what poets were supposed to do and say that jostled against each other in the sixteenth century. I demonstrate that *poetas* need to be considered as engaging in a variety of writing practices in the court, not just the penning of their own poems, if we are to appreciate in a more holistic way what being a *poeta* entailed. The second half of this chapter considers Bernardes's statements of his own ambition within his poetry. There, I combine the close reading of poems that articulate his ambitions with biographical information in order to trace Bernardes's success in winning favour and climbing the social hierarchy.

Chapter 2 homes in on the protagonists and procedures of patronage. In particular, I bring to light the material paradoxes of the gift of fame and how, in response to the risk involved in patronage relations,

Bernardes lifts poetry from its position as the prize of virtue to peddle it as a consumer product. His poetry makes legible early modern struggles to establish poetry as a service worthy of reward, to persuade patrons to fulfil their promises, and to perform their moral duties as wealthy and powerful members of society. A central aspect of this chapter is registering to whom Bernardes wrote and what significance this has for understanding his poetry and his career. Understanding the connections between patrons and friends reveals how networking was as important in the sixteenth century court as it is in today's cultural economy. Knowledge of the biographies of the recipients of Bernardes's *cartas* also brings to the fore one of the most interesting qualities of Bernardes as a poet: his skilful ability to adopt different voices, attitudes, and strategies in order to please his addressees.

Chapter 3 moves to consider the history of print and the values that were invested in different media for the dissemination of texts, tracing the material means by which the printers and editors sought to valorise the printed lyric anthology in the closing decade of the sixteenth century. I argue that the social networks of the court need to be placed at the centre of our understanding of how the Inquisition functioned, especially as the printing industry began to take off in Iberia in the final years of the sixteenth century. Indeed, combining these practical matters with a survey of attitudes towards printing expressed in the paratexts of sixteenth-century printed books, I show just how remarkable Bernardes was for printing his lyric poetry during his lifetime and for using the printed page to create a name for himself in posterity.

Two preoccupations that run through this thesis are how poems are used and how Bernardes presents himself as a poet. Given these concerns, it is important to consider what readers did with his work and how they also constructed his image as a poet, even if these readers did rather different things with his poems than seemed to be their use when originally written. Early modern readers give us a different perspective on what poetry was thought to be for by identifying what it was in Bernardes's work that chimed with their preoccupations. A turn towards readers shows how multifaceted Bernardes's poems are, but also gives some evidence as to why Bernardes's *cartas*, in particular, have been so neglected. By looking at Bernardes's poetry's fortunes in posterity in more detail, then, Chapter 4 charts Bernardes's fate in the hands of readers, studying what they liked and singled out about his work. This chapter tells

a story of initial enthusiasm followed by rapidly waning interest in Bernardes's work, and seeks to understand why this was. I show that looking at the reception of a (now) non-canonical poet provides a model for re-thinking critical approaches to literary reception.

Overall, this thesis re-evaluates the kinds of life stories we can tell about poets at a time when writing verse was not a sure-fire way to earn a living and when lyric poetry was regularly lampooned as trifling and immoral. It traces how lyric verse was slowly legitimated as a cultural product and offers a case study of how an author's reputation was forged in the collaborative enterprise of print, then re-formed by the work of readers, thereby shedding light on the complex mechanisms of early modern canon formation. Although Bernardes's work is an echo chamber for these deep reverberations from the broader history of literature, this thesis also listens closely to Bernardes's distinctive poetic voice and allows it to speak out. Playful, candid, mercurial, it is a poetic voice that here seeks a wider audience.

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List of Abbreviations

ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
BGUC	Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
BPE	Biblioteca Pública de Évora
INCM	Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda
RVFL	Diogo Bernardes, <i>Rimas Várias Flores do Lima</i> , ed. by Luís da Silva Pereira (Braga: Caixotim, 2009)
VRBJ	Diogo Bernardes, <i>Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus</i> , ed. by João Amadeu Oliveira Carvalho da Silva (Braga: Caixotim, 2009)

INTRODUCTION

Que farei com este livro?

It's Lisbon, around 1570, and Luís de Camões, one day to be venerated as Portugal's Prince of Poets, is skulking around the capital, penniless and hard-pressed to find anyone willing to support the printing of his epic poem, *Os Lusíadas*. After being pinballed between patrons and printers, the king and the Inquisition, Camões sits down in resignation, pages of poetry in his hands, and cries out in despair: 'Que farei com este livro?'.¹ This, at least, is how José Saramago imagines Camões's life in his 1980 play, *Que farei com este livro?*, that takes its title from the question listlessly asked by the poet in its final scene. Saramago was making a political statement when he wrote this play for the 400th anniversary of Camões's death, colouring the romanticised and triumphalist portraits of Camões that were disseminated in Portugal's then recent history with the greyer hues of Camões's quotidian struggles to make a living and the dark political clouds looming ever more threateningly over D. Sebastião's court, but his willingness to imagine the social life of a poet — as loosely based on historical evidence as the play is — also challenged the marked tendency in criticism on Camões's work to think of his writing in literary and intellectual terms only. Although different in genre and method, this thesis engages in a project not all that dissimilar to Saramago's: it imagines a writer ensnarled in the intrigues of the

¹ José Saramago, *Que farei com este livro?*, 4th edn (Lisbon: Caminho, 1999), p. 174.

sixteenth-century court, entangled in its social networks, and out seeking financial support for his life as a writer. The writer in question, Diogo Bernardes, was a contemporary of Camões, but a rather different writer with a rather different critical fortune. Bernardes's poetry resists those universalising interpretations usually made of Camões's most famous poems: much of his work is occasional, it embroils the reader in the squabbles and struggles of life at court. To borrow a phrase from Rita Felski, Bernardes's poetry, and especially his verse epistles, are documents of everyday contingencies: his poems enrich and expand our knowledge of the sixteenth-century court, by deepening our sense of the everyday priorities and passions, frustrations and failings of a poet caught in its orbit.² We become attuned to the questions poets were asking themselves about their place in society by reading the account(s) Bernardes gave of himself to others in his poetry and by scrutinising the concerns that inflected these moments of textual self-fashioning.

The critic embarking on a new study of Camões has several centuries of criticism to work their way through. Bernardes's name glints fleetingly (but frequently) in this rich critical fortune, for, as I will demonstrate throughout this thesis, Bernardes's and Camões's fates have always been linked in important ways, particularly because of confusion around the attribution of their poems.³ As Arthur Askins noted back in 1978, however, 'despite the generally acknowledged importance of Diogo Bernardes' place in Portuguese poetry of the second half of the sixteenth century, critical attention to him as a poet and to the textual tradition of his works is at best in its formative stages'.⁴ A recent surge of interest in Bernardes's work suggests that this situation may be changing. Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires's 2008 edition of Bernardes's 1594 book of devotional verse, *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, contains a useful introduction to his religious poems and her article about his 'poemas de cativo' has shown how captivating these poems are.⁵ The editions of Bernardes's three volumes of poetry by Caixotim in

² Rita Felski, *Uses of Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), p. 79.

³ See Gordon Kay Jensen, 'The Camões-Bernardes Authorship Question: The Role of the Índice do Cancioneiro do Padre Pedro Ribeiro', in *Camonianiana Californiana: Commemorating the Quadricentennial of the Death of Luís Vaz de Camões: proceedings of the colloquium held at the University of California, Santa Barbara, April 25 and 26, 1980*, ed. by Maria de Lourdes Belchior Pontes and Enrique Martínez-López (Santa Barbara: Jorge de Sena Center for Portuguese Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1985), pp. 107-17.

⁴ Arthur Lee-Francis Askins, 'Diogo Bernardes and Ms. 2209 of the Torre do Tombo', *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 13 (1978), 127-165 (p. 127).

⁵ Diogo Bernardes, *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, ed. by Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires (Porto: Centro Inter-Universitário de História da Espiritualidade, Universidade do Porto, 2008); Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires, 'Os poemas de cativo de Diogo Bernardes', *Península*, 1 (2004), 123-9.

2009 marked a significant step forward, but, unfortunately, these editions are no longer widely available and their notes, though helpful in several regards, leave some of the more difficult passages and more obscure contemporary allusions in his poems without comment.⁶ Whilst new editions of Bernardes's work with full critical apparatus and a commentary on the texts would be a valuable addition to scholarship, this remains a project for the future. Nevertheless, in recent years, Bernardes has been the subject of an increasing number of critical studies that indicate how important and interesting he is as a writer. José Miguel Martínez Torrejón, for example, has recently produced a series of studies that have investigated the manuscript circulation of Bernardes's poetry in the 1570s and 80s and the political context of their dissemination.⁷ Hélio Alves has also set out a strong case for Bernardes to be better acknowledged within the cultural world of sixteenth-century Iberia as a whole and has tackled the difficult (and perennial) problem of the attribution of certain poems by Bernardes.⁸ Most significantly, Ana Filipa Gomes Ferreira, in her master's and doctoral theses, has significantly advanced the state of knowledge on Bernardes, especially in terms of the eclogues. She has also usefully collated and transcribed a series of archival documents about Bernardes's life, which are crucial for our understanding of his life and work.⁹ This thesis joins these important studies in claiming the interest of Bernardes's poetry for our understanding of the cultural landscape of early modern Portugal. I am not going to speculate extensively why Bernardes has been neglected for so long, but one reason that strikes me as important to mention is the relatively scant interest in the question of patronage in studies of literature from *quincentos* Portugal; a concern that is found everywhere in Bernardes's

⁶ As the Caixotim editions are the most up-to-date, they are the ones to which I refer throughout this thesis, unless specified otherwise. Diogo Bernardes, *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, ed. by João Amadeu Oliveira Carvalho da Silva (Braga: Caixotim, 2009); *O Lima*, ed. by J. Cândido Martins (Braga: Caixotim, 2009); *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, ed. by Luís da Silva Pereira (Braga: Caixotim, 2009). References to these works follow in the body of this thesis and take the form of poem number followed by a line number, which I have supplied myself. When referring to poems without titles or to prefatory material included in these editions, I also provide a page number for the reader's convenience.

⁷ José Miguel Martínez Torrejón, 'Vispera de la batalla: El hervidero manuscrito portugués ante la invasión de Marruecos', *Románica*, 18 (2009), 195-216; and 'Uma refeita, duas emendadas, três proscritas: Seis elegias de Diogo Bernardes', *Colóquio/Letras*, 187 (2014), [Offprint].

⁸ Hélio J. S. Alves, 'Sem exclusões: Leituras de poetas portugueses no *Siglo de Oro*', *Limite*, 3 (2009), 93-111; and 'Waves, Winds, Words as "micro-signifiers" of the Non-Canonical: Diogo Bernardes', in *Por s'entender bem a letra: Homenagem a Stephen Reckert*, ed. by Manuel Calderón, José Camões, and José Pedro Sousa (Lisbon: INCM, 2011), pp. 237-49.

⁹ Ana Filipa Teixeira Leite Gomes, 'Diversas formas de Proteu: A mitologia n'O Lima de Diogo Bernardes' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Lisbon, 2009); and Ana Filipa Teixeira Leite Gomes Ferreira, 'Cantava Alcido um dia ao som das águas: Diogo Bernardes e a écloga quincentista' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Lisbon, 2014).

poetry.¹⁰ Save the compelling, but sometimes flawed, analyses of Vasco Graça Moura, Jorge de Sena, and, more recently, Luís de Sá Fardilha, patronage remains understudied in a Portuguese context — and quite surprisingly so because of the vast literature the topic has spawned for other early modern European contexts.¹¹

In response to the sheer amount of work that needs to be done on Bernardes's *oeuvre*, then, the focus in this study falls on his second book, *O Lima*, first printed in 1596 and, in particular, homes in on his verse *cartas*. Nevertheless, this thesis aims to be more than just a study of a neglected writer. My contention is that incorporating Bernardes into our frame of reference reorders our sense of what it meant to write poetry in sixteenth-century Portugal. Examining Bernardes's biography and his poetry enables us to tell new stories about the social life of poets and poetry, that is, why poets wrote, what they thought of themselves, what their desires and disappointments were. I take the eponymous question of Saramago's play, 'que farei com este livro?', in quite literal terms: what does a writer *do* with a book? What specifically did Bernardes — and his readers — *do* with his poems and, later in his life, his books? The answers I offer to these questions reconstruct important dimensions of the sociability of poetry in early modern Portugal. As Bernardes's *cartas*, eclogues, and sonnets were written, replied to, swapped, sold, printed, and transcribed I show that they did things in the social world: they forged and strengthened bonds of friendship, negotiated patronage, provided a livelihood, fashioned selves, built reputations, formed and reformed opinions about people and behaviour, delighted and entertained, informed and advised.¹² Bernardes's *cartas* represent a special case for the study of these 'uses' of poetry in the sixteenth century because of the self-consciousness with which he talks about himself as a poet and as a seeker of favour in them. When we couple this with the fact that Bernardes

¹⁰ Interestingly, art patronage has garnered some more extensive studies than literary patronage, see: Carla Alferes Pinto, *A infanta Dona Maria de Portugal (1521-1577): O mecenato de uma princesa renascentista* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1998); and Annemarie Jordan, *A rainha colecionadora: Catarina de Áustria* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012).

¹¹ See Jorge de Sena, *A Estrutura de "Os Lusíadas" e outros estudos camonianos e de poesia peninsular do século XVI* (Lisbon: Portugália, 1970), especially pp. 37-8; Vasco Graça Moura, 'Camões e o Mecenato', in *Os penhascos e a serpente* (Lisbon: Quetzal, 1987), pp. 43-67; Luís de Sá Fardilha, *A nobreza das letras: Os Sás de Meneses e o Renascimento português* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2008). I will deal with the flaws of these studies in Chapter 1.

¹² In this way, I follow Jane P. Tompkins who points out that in the Renaissance the poem was the 'instrument of a social transaction'. Jane P. Tompkins, 'The Reader in History: The Changing Shape of Literary Response', in *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, ed. by Jane P. Tompkins (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 201-32 (p. 211).

was the first Portuguese lyric poet to print their works in a single-authored collection during their lifetime in Portugal, he becomes an important writer to consider in terms of the changing status of lyric poetry in Portugal and the evolution of the concept of authorship. Bernardes is a transitional figure, a poet whose biography and work tell us about the collision of manuscript and print modalities. He occupies an ambiguous social space between aristocratic amateurs and professional hacks; his work is shot through with the tension between aesthetic ambition and everyday practicalities.

The ‘Taboada’ in the first edition of *O Lima* affords a first glimpse of the social world in which Bernardes’s poems were immersed. To the reader familiar with the history and literature of sixteenth-century Portugal, the contents page reads like a roll-call of important political and cultural figures of that period. Even the nymphs and shepherds that give their names to the titles of the eclogues are, more often than not, the pseudonymic ciphers of historical figures.¹³ These lists of names suggest that the pages of *O Lima* are not simply a repository of poems, but an archive of social ties: the book records and preserves vestiges of social connections that Bernardes established or maintained through his poetry. In some senses, though, I do not just mean to call *O Lima* an archive in metaphorical terms, because its materials and operations overlap with archives more conventionally designated as such. *O Lima* codifies and memorialises particular visions of the recipients in the book and of Bernardes himself, collecting together information about his relationships and their rewards. Those questions of power and identity now integral to the investigation of the curation of archives also reverberate through Bernardes’s work: it is a selective and organised collection, curated to present himself and those to whom he writes in particular ways.¹⁴ Noble families in Portugal created archives that collated and reproduced documents pertaining to the titles and *mercês* awarded to their ancestors and would present these papers time and again in the process of requesting new honours, privileges, and awards, despite the fact that these documents often did not directly pertain to the qualities of or services enacted by the petitioner themselves.¹⁵ As a record of social connections, of favours requested and

¹³ ‘Adónis’, the title of the first eclogue, refers to Príncipe D. João whose death was mourned by many writers of Bernardes’s age; ‘Nise’, Écloga VII, refers to D. Inês de Lima (see *O Lima*, p. 94 n. 1); ‘Joana’, Écloga VIII, alludes to D. Joana de Vasconcelos the wife of D. Luís de Alcáçova Carneiro (see *O Lima*, p. 103, n. 2).

¹⁴ Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, ‘Archives, Record, Power: The Making of Modern Memory’, *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), 1-19 (p. 2).

¹⁵ For an example of the strategic use of such documents by a family, see Andreia Martins de Carvalho and Pedro Pinto, ‘Da caça de Mondragón à guarda do Estreito de Gibraltar (1508-1513): Os guardiões da memória de

received, then, *O Lima* resembles those family archives and acts like a repository of social capital. By creating an index of a social network, *O Lima* inscribes the evanescent bonds of friendship, kinship, and clientage onto a material surface, storing those resources in a book. A suggestive comparator for Bernardes's book would be António Álvares Soares's *Rimas Várias* (1628), which included in its front matter a series of *certidões* that testified to his services to the king and which he suggests should be proof enough that his book deserved the 'patrocínio' of the king.¹⁶ These curious documents and their inclusion in a collection of lyric verse suggests that books of poetry could be used to store and disseminate those documents usually kept in archives. Soares's and Bernardes's books make us think about the broader place of poetry in social life of early modern Portugal and especially about the use of printed books to influence and improve the social status of poets, responding to work in other early modern contexts that has considered the use of print in order to win patronage and seek financial independence.¹⁷

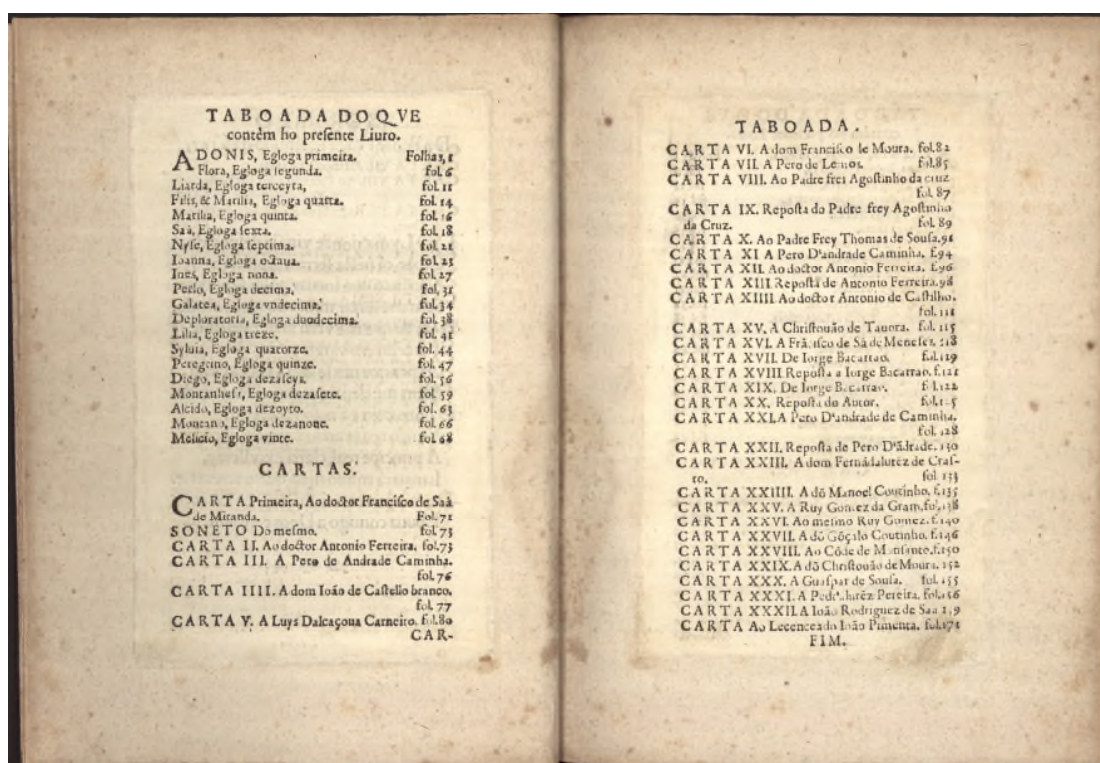


Fig. 1. 'Taboada', in Diogo Bernardes, *O Lima* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1596). Biblioteca Nacional Digital <<http://purl.pt/14667>> [Accessed 25 January 2016]

Duarte Pacheco Pereira e a economia da mercê nos séculos XVI-XVII', *Anais da história de além-mar*, 13 (2012), 221-332 (p. 279).

¹⁶ António Álvares Soares, *Rimas Várias [...] primeira parte* (Lisbon: Mateus Pinheiro, 1628), n. fol.

¹⁷ See Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 101-2.

In studying Bernardes's *O Lima*, this thesis is purposefully diverse in its methods. It draws variously on the sociological approaches of Pierre Bourdieu, Bernard Lahire, Bruno Latour, and Alain Viala to examine how Bernardes built and mobilised a network of contacts within the court and how he conceived of his place in society and what he saw as the role of poets more generally.¹⁸ I follow the recent turn towards the material in early modern studies, analysing printed books and manuscript miscellanies for what their composition as objects can tell us about what was at stake in printing lyric poetry in the sixteenth century as well as what they can relate about the early reception of Bernardes's poetry.¹⁹ The more philological procedures of the recent volume, *Renaissance Keywords*, and Neil Kenny's work on word histories guide my attempts to tease out the values invested in important words, such as *poeta*, which prove to be multifaceted lexical nodes around which writers gathered in order to make sense of and dispute what poetry is or should be.²⁰ Tackling some of the central questions posed by Bernardes's work necessitated such a diversity of methods. Why did Bernardes print his poems? Why is he so obsessed with patronage in his poetry? Are his complaints about patrons justified? How did he see himself as a poet? How did his readers respond to his very frank poems? — answering each of these questions required different methodologic tactics. To understand what Bernardes says about patronage required a sense of whom writers were connected to and of the profile of these individuals. To get to grips with why Bernardes's printed his works calls for the investigation of the practical issues involved in printing and the values that were invested in print as a particular medium for texts. Attending to texts as actors and linkages within a social network, as objects responded to and read was necessary to understand how Bernardes's poetry functioned within the world of the court. The resulting thesis offers a case study for how a pragmatics of poetry in the early modern period might develop, that is to say, it suggests how we might better register the 'many-sided play of passions and purposes' in which poetry comes to life.²¹

¹⁸ The key works by these thinkers that have influenced my thinking about Bernardes are: Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. and intro. by Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Bernard Lahire, 'The Double Life of Writers', trad. by Gwendolyn Wells, *New Literary History*, 41.2 (2010), 443-65; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Alain Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1985).

¹⁹ Examples of this material turn that have influenced my thinking are: Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Ignacio García Aguilar, *Poesía y edición en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Calambur, 2009); Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith, eds, *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

²⁰ See Neil Kenny, *Curiosity in Early Modern Europe: Word Histories* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998); and Ita Mac Carthy, ed., *Renaissance Keywords* (Leeds: Legend, 2013).

²¹ Felski, p. 8.

Bernardes's obsession with patronage makes him a particularly illuminating case study for the analysis of the social conditions in which poetry was written and read in sixteenth-century Portugal. To investigate Bernardes's work is to confront the skills, attitudes, and strategies of one particular (and particularly resourceful) seeker of patronage. Through the examination of his poetry we learn about what other writers and potential patrons might look for in poetry (and from poets), and the various ways in which Bernardes aligned himself with their attitudes or, indeed, tried to change their minds. The nexus of interactions between patrons, intermediaries, and clients was a crucial dimension of a writer's life. The shifting configuration of these relationships was also a key factor in changing conceptions of authorship and in the establishment of an autonomous literary field.²² As patrons increasingly supported writers without asking for specific returns, as writers started to make decent money from the sale of their printed books, as institutions (such as academies) grew in their presence and influence, the modern idea of an author, centred on intellectual property and creative freedom, began to take shape.²³ Patrons, clients, intermediaries, printers, Inquisitors, court officials, poetic rivals, and mentors all bustle in the poems and paratexts of the first printed edition of *O Lima*. As a poet who writes about the criss-crossing attitudes and aspirations of these various figures, Bernardes merits a more prominent place in Portuguese literary history than he currently occupies because his work sheds light on the relationships that were fundamental to the changing status of lyric poetry in Portugal. In particular, the extent of Bernardes's discussions about patronage in *O Lima* is quite extraordinary for a collection of lyric poems in sixteenth-century Iberia. His *cartas*, especially, head into generic territory well beyond the taxonomical maps set out by Andrea Lower, Bartolomé Pozuelo Calero, or Maria do Céu Fraga in their surveys of the verse epistle.²⁴ Certainly, the sort of request poems made by

²² 'The emergence of a more autonomous identity for the artist may [...] be traced to an incipient shift in the artist's support from personal patronage to the more anonymous market, as well to a developing separation of art from the church and the sacred.' Robert Matz, *Defending Literature in Early Modern England: Renaissance Literary Theory in Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 6. See also Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, trans. by Stanley Godman, 4 vols (New York: Vintage, 1957) II, 66-74.

²³ For a more detailed study of the emergence of the modern literary field, see Alain Viala, 'The Theory of the Literary Field and the Situation of the First Modernity', *Paragraph*, 29.1 (2006), 80-93.

²⁴ Andrea Jean Lower, 'The Generic Repertoire of the Horatian Epistle and the Spanish Renaissance Verse Epistle' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1990); Bartolomé Pozuelo Calero, 'De La sátira epistolar y la carta en verso latinas a la epístola moral vernácula', in *La epístola*, ed. by Begoña López Bueno and Trevor Dadson (Seville: University of Seville, 2000), pp. 61-99; Maria do Céu Fraga, *Gêneros maiores na poesia lírica de Camões* (Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Camonianos, 2003).

Bernardes do not figure in the ‘repertoire’ of verse epistles in the Iberian peninsula.²⁵ Saulo Neiva has proposed that the principal model for Bernardes’s ‘lettres au mécène’ is Horace.²⁶ But, unlike Bernardes, Horace avoids talking specifics about his relationship with his patron, Maecenas, in his verse epistles. He does speak more frankly when talking about other people’s quests for favour, though. For instance, he urges his friend Saeva to seek out a rich table if he wants to be able to get rich.²⁷ Indeed, in the same letter Horace spells out some of the strategies to be deployed in the seeking of favour.²⁸ Horace’s influence can certainly be felt in the citations from the *Ars poetica* that pepper his letters to fellow poets and in the playful stories and fables he tells to his readers, but Martial or Juvenal would be more fitting Classical forebears for Bernardes, as they both speak frankly about matters of patronage. Unfortunately, I have not uncovered any clear intertextuality with these writers in Bernardes’s work.²⁹ This is again a reason why Bernardes’s letters come across as so surprising.

One of the bestselling works of the sixteenth century was Erasmus’s *De conscribendis epistolis* (1534), a manual for the composition of all kinds of letters which draws on an encyclopaedic range of letters to illustrate its various categories of epistle, including a number of verse letters. It provides a further measure of just how forthright some of Bernardes’s poems are. When we look closely at the examples cited in Erasmus’s section on writing letters of request we find no examples of direct requests for financial aid, rather these request poems, mainly taken from Petrarch and Cicero, ask for advice, assistance in maintaining political positions, or recommend others for posts.³⁰ Erasmus suggests that asking for a loan or ‘something indecorous’ should be dealt with obliquely for they are things that make the writer ‘blush with shame’.³¹ Other manuals of the age display a similar level of coyness. For

²⁵ I take the word ‘repertoire’ from the title of Lower, ‘Generic Repertoire’.

²⁶ Saulo Neiva, *Au nom du loisir et de l’amitié: rhétorique et morale dans l’épître en vers en langue portugaise au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 1999), p. 121.

²⁷ Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, ed. and trans. by H. Ruston Fairclough, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929; repr. 1947), Epistles I. 17. 11-12.

²⁸ Horace, Epistles I. 17. 43-5.

²⁹ For an example of Martial’s direct approach to discussing patronage, see Martial, *Epigrams*, trans. and ed. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), II, XI. 3. Further research into Bernardes’s Classical and Renaissance intertexts would be a fruitful line of future research.

³⁰ Desiderius Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings*, ed. by Craig R. Thompson and J. Kelley Sowards, 7 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978-1989), III (1985), ed. J. Kelley Sowards, 172-3. For a study of Petrarch’s letters of recommendation see Kenneth Austin, ‘Petrarch’s Letters of Recommendation’, *Renaissance Studies*, 27.1 (2013), 371-88.

³¹ Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings*, III, 172.

instance, in Castiglione's influential *Il cortigiano* (1528), which was dedicated to the Portuguese D. Miguel da Silva and was widely disseminated on the Iberian Peninsula throughout the sixteenth century in both in Italian and in Spanish translation, Federico, recommends that 'rarissime volte o quasi mai non domanderà al signore cosa alcuna per se stesso'.³² That Bernardes asks more or less directly for financial support from his patrons is somewhat striking, then.

Within the world of Portuguese poetry, poems that openly discuss the negotiations involved in patronage relationships are few and far between. André Falcão de Resende, a contemporary of Bernardes, comes closest to Bernardes in the number of poems he dedicates to asking for patronage or thanking his patrons. He thanks D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses for *mercês* he has received (I, 423) and complains openly to D. Manuel de Castelo Branco about having wasted a trip to Madrid if he did not manage to secure patronage as a result (I, 342).³³ Pêro de Andrade Caminha, in a memorable phrase, complains about the 'dessossegada dança' of the court (II, 913), but does not write as forthrightly as Bernardes or Falcão de Resende about his dealings with patrons.³⁴ Jerónimo Cardoso in a Latin elegy, which I will discuss further in Chapter 2, discusses the relationship between client and patron in illuminating terms, but no examples remain of any poems directly requesting support.³⁵ Looking further back in time, Bernardes's work bears certain affinities with the courtly poetry of the *Cancioneiro geral* (1516), which does contain several poems that could be classified as poems about patronage.³⁶ Perhaps, though, Bernardes received his inspiration — and took courage — from his Italian counterparts who frequently wrote and had printed large numbers of poems that praised, thanked, and requested support from patrons. As Lauro Martines says verse letters in Italy 'broached just about any

³² Baldessarre Castiglione, *Il Cortigiano*, ed. by Amedeo Quondam, 2 vols (Milan: Mondadori, 2002), I, 126. For the presence of Castiglione's text in Iberia in the period, see Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), pp. 58, 94-5.

³³ References to André Falcão de Resende's work are to the following edition: André Falcão de Resende, *Obras de André Falcão de Resende*, ed. by Barbara Spaggiari, 2 vols (Lisbon: Colibri, 2009). All references to his poetry appear in the main text of this thesis, giving the volume number and page number for the relevant poems.

³⁴ References to Pêro de Andrade Caminha's poems are taken from: Vanda Anastácio, *Visões da glória: uma introdução à poesia de Pêro de Andrade Caminha*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian; Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1998). All references appear in the main text of this thesis, giving the volume number and page number.

³⁵ Jerónimo Cardoso, *Obra Literaria*, trans. and ed. by Telmo Corujo dos Reis, 2 vols (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2009), II, Elegias II. 17.

³⁶ See, for instance, the poems in Álvaro de Brito, *Obras de Álvaro de Brito*, ed. by Isabel Almeida (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998), pp. 77-80.

ordinary topic, such as love, taxes, office-holding, marketing, scraps of gossip, domestic matters, travel, moral advice, and outright nonsense'.³⁷ Bernardes alludes to a variety of Italian authors in his verse letters and does, on occasion, write in Italian.³⁸ For instance, Torquato Tasso, one of the poets to whom Bernardes alludes, included within his printed complete works an astonishing number of poems involved in praising patrons.³⁹ Ariosto, too, is well known for studding his works with references to patrons and complains about the difficulties of winning favour at court in his satires. We might also draw a parallel between Bernardes's verse *cartas* and Aretino's prose letters, because, like Aretino, Bernardes brought some of the negotiations that usually took place behind closed doors into the public spotlight as a way of praising those who supported him and shaming those who did not.⁴⁰

Such an interest in seeking patronage seems, in part, to be a product of Bernardes's (mis)fortunes in life.⁴¹ He spent his life back and forth between Northern Portugal and Lisbon, advancing to the city in search of favour then retreating to the Lima when things did not work out like he hoped. Born around 1530 in Ponte da Barca, little is known about his early life. He entered the *ordens menores* in Braga in 1544 and appears to have begun writing in the 1550s as a number of poems can be dated to this period. In 1558 he renounced the position of *escrivão dos órfãos* for the region of Nóbrega, which he had inherited from his father, we presume in order to try his luck in the court because the next document we have about his life places him in Lisbon as *moço da câmara* for D. Sebastião, where he is rewarded with the position of *tabelião do público e judicial do concelho da Nóbrega* in 1566, a post that took him back north. The following year, however, Bernardes forsook this position (passing it to his cousin), perhaps deciding to return to Lisbon. In any case, we know that he was in the capital in 1576 because he joined Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro on a special embassy to Madrid in that year. Then, in 1577, Bernardes was named *servidor de toalha* to D. Sebastião. He accompanied the young king to Morocco during the

³⁷ Lauro Martines, *Strong Words: Writing and Social Strain in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 11-12.

³⁸ See, for instance, the catalogue of Italian authors cited at the end of Carta XXVIII, ll. 88-99 and the various lines of Italian grafted into Carta XXIII, ll. 12, 24, 42. Bernardes also ends Cartas XXIV and XXVII with Italian valedictions.

³⁹ C. P. Brand, *Torquato Tasso: A Study of the Poet and of his Contribution to English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 155.

⁴⁰ See Richardson, *Printing*, p. 93.

⁴¹ The following biographical account draws on the documents gathered by Ana Filipa Gomes Ferreira, in her dictionary entry 'BERNARDES, Diogo', in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, org. by Vítor Aguiar e Silva (Lisbon: Caminho, 2011), pp. 67-71.

disastrous expedition to Alcácer-Quibir in 1578 and was held as a hostage of war. The exact date of his return to Portugal remains unknown, but Ana Filipa Gomes Ferreira suggests that it was likely he was back on home turf in late 1580 or early 1581. His *cartas* suggest that he returned to Ponte da Barca upon his repatriation, but soon went back to Lisbon to seek favour from Portugal's new monarch, Filipe I of Portugal (and II of Spain).⁴² He received a gift of 500 *cruzados* in properties in 1582, although only 73,000 *réis* were paid and only in 1588. 1582 was a good year for Bernardes, then, as he was also knighted in the *Ordem de Cristo* and gained a *tença* of 20,000 *réis*. Starting in January of 1583 this would be paid in Ponte de Lima, pointing to yet another move away from the capital. Three years later in 1585 Bernardes was professed in the *Ordem de Cristo*. In 1588 he was in Lisbon for the arrival of the reliquaries of St Roch, as he wrote a poem for the celebrations which was awarded a prize and printed. Bernardes continued his quest for favour in the last years of his life, receiving another *tença* for 40,000 *réis* in 1593 and a guarantee of 20,000 *réis* per annum for his wife and children upon his death. We know that Bernardes had died by the time that *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* appeared in print in 1597, because the book included an elegy by his brother, Frei Agostinho da Cruz, that says as much. The licence for this book was issued in January 1597, which narrows the range of dates further still. At what point between 1593 and 1597 he died is rather difficult to determine. Bernardes was probably still alive to see *O Lima* go to the Inquisition for approval in December 1594, for, as I discuss in Chapter 4, the book has a coherent structure, contains a dedicatory letter by Bernardes to D. Álvaro de Lencastre, and was approved very soon after *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*. It is thus likely that Bernardes passed in 1595 or 1596, but we cannot be more precise at present.

In Chapter 1, Bernardes's biography provides the starting point for an investigation of what it meant to be a poet in sixteenth-century Portugal. As a kind of 'métier sans profession', I explore the unusual social status of *poetas* and reveal the competing definitions of what poets were supposed to do and say that jostled against each other in the sixteenth century.⁴³ I demonstrate that *poetas* need to be considered as engaging in a variety of writing practices in the court, not just the penning of their own

⁴² For consistency, throughout this thesis I refer to Portuguese monarchs by their Portuguese names, though D. Filipe I might be better known to English-speaking readers as Phillip II. In this matter I follow the conventions set out in Anthony Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), I, xxi.

⁴³ Viala, *Naissance*, p. 7.

poems, if we are to appreciate in a more holistic way what being a *poeta* entailed. The second half of this chapter considers Bernardes's statements of ambition within his poetry. There, I combine the close reading of poems that articulate his ambitions with biographical information in order to trace Bernardes's success in winning favour and climbing the social hierarchy.

Chapter 2 homes in on the protagonists and procedures of patronage. In particular, I bring to light the material paradoxes of the gift of fame and how, because of the risk involved in patronage relations, Bernardes lifts poetry from its position as the prize of virtue to peddle it as a consumer product. His poetry makes legible early modern struggles to establish poetry as a service worthy of reward, to persuade patrons to fulfil their promises, and to perform their moral duties as wealthy and powerful members of society. A central aspect of this chapter is registering to whom Bernardes wrote and what significance this has for understanding his poetry and his career. Understanding the connections between patrons and friends reveals how networking was as important in the sixteenth century court as it is in today's cultural economy. Knowledge of the biographies of the recipients of Bernardes's *cartas* also brings to the fore one of the most interesting qualities of Bernardes as a poet: his skilful ability to adopt different voices, attitudes, and strategies in order to please his addressees.

Chapter 3 moves to consider the history of print and the values that were invested in different media for the dissemination of texts, tracing the material means by which the printers and editors sought to valorise the printed lyric anthology in the closing decade of the sixteenth century. I argue that the social networks of the court need to be placed at the centre of our understanding of how the Inquisition functioned, especially as the printing industry began to take off in Iberia in the final years of the sixteenth century. Placing *O Lima* within these contexts, I show how Bernardes's printed books were involved in a process of creating a name for him in posterity.

Two preoccupations that run through this thesis are how poems are used and how Bernardes's presents himself as a poet. Given these concerns, we cannot ignore what it is that readers did with his work and how they also constructed his image as a poet, even if these readers did rather different things with his work than seemed to be their use when originally written. Early modern readers give us

a different perspective on what poetry was thought to be for by identifying what it was in Bernardes's work that chimed with their preoccupations. A turn towards readers shows how multifaceted Bernardes's poems are but also gives some evidence as to why Bernardes's *cartas*, in particular, have been so neglected. By looking at Bernardes's poetry's fortunes in posterity in more detail, then, Chapter 4 charts Bernardes's fate in the hands of readers, studying what they liked and singled out about his work. This chapter tells a story of initial enthusiasm then rapidly waning interest in Bernardes's work and seeks to understand why this was. I show that looking at the reception of a (now) non-canonical poet provides a model for re-thinking critical approaches to literary reception.

Overall, this thesis re-evaluates the kinds of life stories we can tell about poets at a time when writing verse was not a sure-fire way to earn a living and when lyric poetry was regularly lampooned as trifling and immoral. It traces how lyric verse was slowly legitimated as a cultural product and offers a case study of how an author's reputation was forged in the collaborative enterprise of print, then re-formed by the work of readers, thereby shedding light on the complex mechanisms of early modern canon formation. Although Bernardes's work is an echo chamber for these deep reverberations from the broader history of literature, this thesis also listens closely to Bernardes's distinctive poetic voice and allows it to speak out. Playful, candid, mercurial, it is a poetic voice that here seeks a wider audience.

CHAPTER 1

Of Ants and Grasshoppers, or, What is a Poet?

Look at the chancery documents pertaining to Diogo Bernardes in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT) and you will find no mention poets or poetry. Given that Bernardes dedicated himself enthusiastically to writing verse from the early 1550s until his death circa 1595 and was the first poet in Portugal to publish his own vernacular lyric poetry during his lifetime in a single-authored collection, this fact may, at first, come as a surprise. And even more so in light of the fact that important members of the successive courts of D. João III, D. Sebastião, D. Henrique, and D. Filipe I certainly knew Bernardes as a writer of verse, considering the large number of poems in his printed oeuvre that have named dedicatees. Read a few more pages of these hefty, bureaucratic tomes and your surprise will only grow: poetry is scarcely mentioned in any documents that pertain to figures whom today we might call ‘poets’. Writing verse did not usually qualify as a royal ‘service’ and so poetry and its related terminology remained alien to the official, bureaucratic discourse of the *livros da chancelaria* throughout the sixteenth century.

An awareness of the conventions of the chancery documents supplies us with one possible explanation as to why the *tença* (stipend) earned by Camões for *Os Lusíadas* was so famously paltry: poetry simply was not usually considered important enough to be well remunerated. Indeed, in the document conferring said *tença* to Camões, the language strains to make what Camões achieved fit the usual language of service to king and country. D. Sebastião grants the stipend in ‘respeito ao serviço que Luis de Camões [...] me tem feyto nas partes da Índia por muitos annos e as que espero que ao diante me fará’ and because of the information he has been given about ‘seu engenho e habilidade’, only finally mentioning the epic poem rather elliptically as the ‘livro que fez sobre as cousas da Índia’. Camões’s career in the East receives the most attention (and the *periphrasis* that refers to the book emphasises this too).¹ Because subjects are usually rewarded for serving their country in administrative or military positions and for their loyalty and good character, Camões’s ‘services’ are couched in the same terms that make up the customary vocabulary of service in the *livros da chancelaria*. If this re-description were not possible, Camões might not have secured any reward at all because poetry in itself was not ordinarily worthy of ‘official’ sanction and remuneration. Remember that vernacular lyric was — with one or two notable exceptions — kept out of Portuguese printing houses until the closing years of the sixteenth century.² Poets complained frequently of a lack of patrons and how few nobles would pay out on their promises of rewards for poems. These complaints might have been exaggerated for rhetorical effect in poems that sought to flatter those who *did* support poets, however the fact remains that poets were unlikely to be able to earn a living by their pens alone; they relied on other forms of employment in which poetry was not a constituent part of the job. This fact is why many of the studies of how miserly Camões’s rewards were need re-evaluating. Vasco Graça Moura and Armando Castro go some way to contextualising how small a *tença* of 15,000 réis was at the time, but the comparisons they make are not all that productive because Camões’s *tença* is something of a case apart.³ There is little sense in comparing João de Barros and his 150,000 réis *tença* with Camões, as Jorge de Sena does, for example, since Barros had served for a long time in an important administrative post in Lisbon and

¹ Cited in Moura, pp. 61-2.

² For more on the reception of lyric poetry and the limits of what was ‘digna de impressam’, see Chapter 3. For the purposes of my present discussion, the reader only needs to know that the church and state, in general, did not look favourably on lyric poetry from the second half of D. João III’s reign until the arrival of D. Filipe I in 1580.

³ See Armando Castro, *Camões e a sociedade do seu tempo* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1980), pp. 112-3, 232-3; and Moura, pp. 56-7.

was not being rewarded directly for his writing.⁴ It is not true that no writing was rewarded in Portugal, as Rui de Pina, for instance, did receive a *tença* from D. João II in 1490 to ‘escrever e assentar os feitos famosos assi nossos como dos nossos reinos’.⁵ Rui de Pina was *guarda-mor* of the Torre do Tombo and thus belonged to a structure that gave him a regular income and a certain degree of prestige. Pina was also *cronista-mor*, a post originally created by D. Duarte in 1434, which made it his job to chronicle the history of Portugal.⁶ Pina’s situation, then, was rather different from that of Camões or of Bernardes, who did not write with the mandate of such a post. In Bernardes’s case, all the documents that grant him royal favours under the reign of D. Filipe I reference the ‘serviço’ that Bernardes performed to D. Sebastião as his *moço de toalha* and the fact that Bernardes went with D. Sebastião to Morocco in the fateful year of 1578 and was held captive there. The reasons why Bernardes manages to ‘get on’ in the court, as was also true of Camões, always *officially* have to do with service in the royal household and fighting for one’s country, not poetry. Of course, there is a time lapse and two changes of monarch that lie between Camões’s *tença* and those *tenças* awarded to Bernardes, and certainly D. Filipe I was a friendlier figure to poets than was D. Sebastião, but the continuation of the *chancelaria* conventions up to the end of the sixteenth century is unquestionable.⁷

I begin this chapter with the surprise of the ANTT documents, because these papers forced me to ponder the kind of life story one can write about a poet when poetry is not mentioned explicitly in documentary evidence we have about their life. What role *did* poetry play in Bernardes’s life, then? Was it just a means to a worldly end? Poetry was indirectly involved in getting Bernardes those *tenças* with which he was rewarded, because his poetry — and especially his *cartas em verso* — represented one of the means by which Bernardes put himself in a position to get royal favour and put pressure on important figures of the Portuguese court in order that he be recompensed for his poetic labours. Poetry could have been an everyday part of Bernardes’s role as D. Sebastião’s *moço de toalha*: one imagines that, in serving the young king his meals, an ability to improvise a witty or beautiful poem

⁴ Sena, p. 38.

⁵ Cited in Rui de Pina, *Crônicas de Rui de Pina*, ed. by Manuel Lopes de Almeida (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1977), p. xvi.

⁶ José Corrêa da Serra, *Collecção de livros ineditos da História Portuguesa*, 5 vols (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências, 1790), I, 64.

⁷ For D. Filipe I as a patron to Portuguese poets, see Eugenio Asensio, ‘Los “Lusiadas” y las “Rimas” de Camões en la poesía española (1580-1640)’, in *Luís de Camões*, ed. by Eugenio Asensio and José V. de Pina Martins (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982), pp. 39-94 (pp. 45-50).

could have been advantageous. And yet, Bernardes was *moço de toalha* for less than two years, and for much of his life he had no fixed employment. Indeed, we have relatively little information about how Bernardes spent most of his life: all we have to go on are his poems, which leads the critic rapidly into problematic waters. Nevertheless, Bernardes invites the reader to make inferences about his life in his poetry. His verse *cartas*, in particular, frequently allude to identifiable historical moments and, though no autographs have come to light, they probably existed as real letters that were exchanged and used to manage Bernardes's relationships with his friends, court allies, and patrons. The detailed *sobrecritos* to his letters, which give variously information about the name, status, and location of the addressee as well as a sense of when the poem was written, in particular, suggest that these poems were sent as missives before being printed. To give one example, the title of Carta XVII gives a range of information about the context of its composition: 'De Jorge Bacarrao Aragonês, estando por Alferes, em Ponte de Lima, de ãa companhia de soldados, donde me escreveu, estando eu na Ponte da Barca'. Indeed, the interest of the *cartas* is largely the way that they relate to Bernardes's biography and how many of them present his anxieties and aspirations. Although these might not allow us to know everything about his motivations and ambitions, the self-presentation they enact, once brought into comparison with biographical information about Bernardes and about other poets, can reveal a sense of what it meant to be a poet in the sixteenth century. Readings of Bernardes's poetry alongside the prosopography of poets of the period serve to collapse romantic notions of what the sixteenth-century poet's life might have been like and clarify the social, economic, and political situation in which poetry was written and read.

This chapter, then, historicises what we mean when we talk about Bernardes as a poet. It looks at poetic texts and theoretical comments about the word *poeta* by writers contemporary with Bernardes in order to trace what they thought the duties of poets were in the abstract. It then turns to examine evidence from Bernardes's poetic works that put such ideal notions under pressure, suggesting that writers were not only concerned with fashioning themselves as great writers and moulding their image in the shape of illustrious Classical or Renaissance forebears. The questions this chapter seeks to answer, then, are: what did writers mean when they called someone a *poeta*? What were the duties and responsibilities expected of poets, beyond writing their own verse? What constituted success for

Bernardes? Did Bernardes have a poetic career? Each of the sections of this chapter explores one of these questions, demonstrating how the analysis of Bernardes's work can change our conceptions of what sixteenth-century poets did and how they thought of themselves. The questions I pose are especially important because Bernardes wrote in a moment before the constitution of an autonomous 'literary field' wherein literary rules and codes predominate and where symbolic value competes with and challenges the importance of commercial value. Poetry in Bernardes's age was often tied to clientelistic structures and was controlled by ecclesiastical and state forces, all of which determined the kind of literature that was produced, as well as where, when, and by whom.⁸ Poetry did important *work* by forging, tempering, and sometimes shattering social bonds. Some poets (like António Ferreira or Francisco de Sá de Miranda) present themselves as Humanist poets who boldly speak truth to power, unrestricted by the need to maintain particular allegiances. In contrast, Bernardes was a writer for whom poetry did not necessarily have a value in and of itself, like it does for Ferreira and Sá de Miranda — and he was someone who, in any case, could not afford to dedicate himself solely to the work of poetry, to retire from the world in imitation of Sá de Miranda's pursuit of a *vita contemplativa*. Bernardes was a worldly and social poet; the pragmatic concern of making a living and the emotional need to feel respected seep into his poetry, and their study can broaden and enrich our understanding of the priorities and preoccupations of people who wrote poetry in the sixteenth century.

Not least amongst the preoccupations of sixteenth-century writers was the challenge of making ends meet. Writers of the early modern period rarely possessed the economic means to dedicate themselves entirely to writing. Most served in any number of administrative or military positions, or occupied a role within a royal/noble household. A consequence of this is, as Bernard Lahire says, that 'unlike those people who experience their profession as a central and permanent part of their personality, writers who, for economic reasons, work a "day job" have a cultural and "personal" foot in literature and a material (and sometimes also "personal") foot outside of literature'.⁹ So we must exercise caution lest we assume too straightforwardly that writing poetry was the 'real' interest of verse writers in the sixteenth century or that poetry was an activity divorced in the minds of those writers we study from

⁸ For a summary of the concept of 'literary field' as Bourdieu defines it and the possibilities for applying this idea to the early modern world, see Viala, 'The Theory of the Literary Field'.

⁹ Lahire, p. 445.

the interests and occupations of the rest of poets' lives. As Kathleen Bollard de Broce has shown in a study of Antonio de Guevara, literary and non-literary careers did speak to each other in the early modern period and writers sometimes fashioned their careers as writers in relation to their other careers in the court or in the church.¹⁰ Francisco de Sá de Miranda might just have been alone amongst Portuguese poets in renouncing the court for a life of contemplation and writing poetry; he chose (and was able to afford) to write poetry without being constricted by the need to conform to what someone else wanted. However, other poets — either out of desire or necessity — pursued writing alongside or as part of other career paths; they strove for various 'ends of life'.¹¹ This point is an especially important to acknowledge, because it leaves us free to ask questions about how poetry was woven into the social fabric of the time, it makes us suddenly pay attention to how poets were interested in and anxious about their status and role in society, but not always in the ways literary history has led us to expect.

WHAT IS A POETA?

There was no single way to answer the question, 'What is a poet?', in the sixteenth century. Conflicting ideas about the value and role of poets jostled up against each other across early modern Europe.¹² Poetry could deal with subjects from the most serious theology and politics to gossip and jokes, sometimes mixing them all together. The semantic borders of the term *poeta* in Iberia were so loose that almost any kind of writer could be designated as such: it was a term primarily connected to the imaginary (as opposed to the historical) and not always bound to the use of verse.¹³ As Julian Weiss has pointed out, *poeta* became a common designation for Iberian writers in the fifteenth century, but there

¹⁰ Kathleen Bollard de Broce, 'Judging a Literary Career: The Case of Antonio de Guevara (1480?-1545)', in *European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by Patrick Cheney and Frederick de Armas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 165-85.

¹¹ I borrow the phrase 'ends of life' from Keith Thomas's enlightening and entertaining book about 'roads to fulfillment' in the early modern world, called *The Ends of Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹² For this issue in France, see Viala, *Naissance*, p. 275 and for England, see Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 3-4.

¹³ Jules Whicker, *The Plays of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón* (London: Tamesis, 2003), p. 22.

was a long tradition of debating the word *poeta* and comparing it with other terms, such as *trobador*.¹⁴ In the sixteenth century, some used the word *poeta* rather freely, but others saw it as a term of esteem and sought to restrict its application to only particular kinds of writers, usually contrasting *poeta* with another term, such as *versificador*, for less accomplished writers. Exploring these debates is revealing for an investigation of the changing status of literature and of producers of literature, because as Alain Viala has noted, ‘les tensions par lesquelles s’accomplit la redistribution des dispositifs culturels se retraduisent dans le vocabulaire qui en désigne les acteurs et les pratiques’.¹⁵ Part of how poets see themselves (and how their work is received) is written into the way particular words were used and defined. By looking at the values that writers from Bernardes’s period invest in the word *poeta*, we can recover a sense of the ideals that governed cultural production and which were placed under strain by divergent uses of verse in the social world.

The connotations that hovered around the word *poeta* were not uniformly positive. *Poetas* were often called useless, lazy, mad, out of touch with reality, and immoral.¹⁶ Comic portrayals of *poetas* in Spain and Portugal presented them as people who ‘andam sempre pelos ares’ or who write sonnets ‘con sobra de locura’ and it was said that they ‘carecen de siso’.¹⁷ Afonso de Albuquerque disparagingly uses the word *poeta* as a slur against his enemies when he refers to them as ‘poetas de Índia’ in a letter to D. Manuel I, relying on the connection between poets and lack of practical wisdom and experience.¹⁸ In response to these negative associations, several writers in early modern Iberia vented their anger about the degradation of this name. As the seventeenth-century writer Suárez de Figueroa puts it, ‘torpes ingenios’ were managing to ‘damnificar la poesia’ by being included within the ranks of those called

¹⁴ See the discussion in Julian Weiss, *The Poet’s Art: Literary Theory in Castile c.1400-60* (Oxford: The Society for Medieval Languages and Literature, 1990), pp. 190-1. For one example of a writer distinguishing between *poetas* and *trobadores*, see the third chapter of Juan del Encina’s 1496 treatise, *Arte de poesía castellana*, entitled ‘De la diferencia que ay entre poeta y trobador’, in *Obras completas*, ed. by Ana María Rambaldo, 4 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978-83), I (1978), 17-18.

¹⁵ Viala, *Naissance*, p.270.

¹⁶ Whicker, p. 22.

¹⁷ These example are from: Francisco de Sá de Miranda, ‘Os Vilhapandos (MS Real Academica de la Historia)’, in *Comédias*, ed. by José Camões and T. F. Earle (Lisbon: INCM, 2013), pp. 239-322 (p. 245, l. 34); and Miguel Sánchez de Lima, *El arte poética en romance castellano* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1944), p. 17. Further references to this work follow in the text. An interesting overview of ideas about poets — from an Italian perspective — is the chapter about poets in Garzoni’s *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (first printed in 1585). See Tomaso Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutti le professioni del mondo*, ed. by Paolo Cherchi and Beatrice Collina, 2 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1996), II, 1472-525.

¹⁸ Afonso de Albuquerque, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque segundas de documentos que as elucidam*, 7 vols (Lisbon: 1884-1935), I (1884), p. 157.

poetas. In a bid to restore honour and prestige to poets and poetry writers therefore sought to squeeze what they saw as unfavourable connotations from the words *poesia* and *poeta*, leaving behind only what they deemed to be their true essence. Suárez de Figueroa distinguishes *poetas* from *versificadores*, uniting all the ‘bad’ characteristics associated with poets under this second name:

si los versificadores destos tiempos, que tan lexos se hallan de ser Poetas, pudieran con sus torpes ingenios damnificar la poesia, nunca tan menospreciada y desualida se auia hallado como aora, respeto de vsarse no pocos, o ya de puro viejos caducos, y en toda edad tan ignorantes como presumidos; o ya moçuelos, que sin noticia de letras, todo lo ciactrizan, todo lo tachan, y de todo murmuran, siendo ellos solo sugetos vilisimos, del todo incapaces, y nacidos para risa y entretenimiento de varones doctos.¹⁹

The terms of judgment here combine a distaste for the jocular and trivial with complaints about diletantism. Suárez de Figueroa brings together, therefore, two central problems in debates around what *poetas* are or should be, which we shall return to in the discussion that follows: morality and literary skill.

A key story that writers tell about the word *poeta* is the corruption of its meaning with time. In Manuel Sánchez de Lima’s defence of poetry, the dialogue *El arte poetica en romance castellano* (1580), an initially doubtful Silvio is slowly persuaded of the continued importance of poetry by Calidonio, his interlocutor, and eventually volunteers himself as a chief defender of lady Poetry. To begin with, however, he tells Calidonio in no uncertain terms that ‘true’ Poetry is a thing of the past:

Bien creo, y entiendo señor Calidonio, que en tiempos passados, era la prudencia mas tenuta y reuerneciada, y la Poesia estimada en mucho: porque los verdaderos Poetas no la empleauan, sino en cosas muy altas y subidas: como lo hizo Petrarcha, y todos los demas que aueys dicho y ento[n]ces suffriase el alabarla: pero en este nuestro, en que no la emplean los Poetas, sino en cosas tan baxas y rateras como veys, no puedo suffir oyrla alabar (p. 26).

Silvio explains that poetry has fallen in esteem because it is no longer connected with ‘cosas muy altas y subidas’; rather poets now fill it with ‘cosas tan baxas y rateras’. By calling the poets of the past ‘los verdaderos Poetas’, though, Silvio reveals between the lines that he and Calidonio are more on the same page than one might initially think: he shares the same core belief about what ‘true’ poetry is about. The dialogue becomes, then, less about trying to persuade Silvio that poetry can be worthwhile — he already accepts that — and more about teaching him to recognise the ‘verdaderos Poetas’ that exist in his own time. Indeed, Calidonio suggests, Silvio needs to be careful not to lump all poets

¹⁹ Christóval Suárez de Figueroa, *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes parte traducida de toscano y parte compuesta por Christoval Suarez de Figueroa* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1615), fol. 538r.

together, as those ‘q[ue] son de a quinze en libra, no merecen este nombre’ (p. 18), that is the name of *poeta*. The first dialogue of Sánchez de Lima’s text is a rescue mission for the reputation of *poetas* and *poesia*; but rather than a re-description of those things that people like Silvio think so negatively of, Calidonio reinvests poetry with value by restricting the definition of the words *poeta* and *poesia* so that they apply only to that which fits the following bill: ‘la Poesia es la que mata la necedad, y distierra la ignorancia, auuiua el ingenio, adelgaza y labra el entendimie[n]to, exercita la memoria, ocupando el tiempo el Poeta en studiosas, y altas consideraciones, tratando conceptos muy subidos, mezclando el agradable y dulce estilo, co[n] lo prouechoso y muy sentido’ (p. 40). Those who do not conform to this definition do not deserve to be called *poetas*.

For António Ferreira, as for Sánchez de Lima, esteem went hand in hand with the ‘nome de poeta’ in the ancient world, where poets were inspired by the divine. The repetition of ‘a este’ in the second stanza below adds an insistent note to Ferreira’s claim that only this divine voice was given honours and rewards in the ancient past:

A quem espirito, e boca, com que cante
altas grandezas os céus concederam,
e que em mor voz que humana se levante,

a este Apolo, e as Musas só teceram
verde coroa; a este justamente
a honra, e nome de poeta deram. (Cartas II. 2, 163-9)

This extract is taken from a letter from Ferreira to Cardeal D. Henrique, that asserts the value of *poetas*.

Earlier in the letter, though, whilst imitating an oft-cited passage from Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, Ferreira suggests that poets are especially valuable as truth speakers.²⁰ This concern with poets as speakers of truth also connects with a persistent preoccupation with the threat of liars and flatterers in political treatises of the early modern period, and is thus a particularly pertinent theme for a letter to D.

Henrique because, as regent between 1562-8, he was someone ‘sobre quem choviam reivindicações de todo o lado’;²¹

Pera o público bem também estudam
e cantam os bons poetas, deleitando

²⁰ The passage from Horace is *Ars Poetica*, ll. 333-4.

²¹ António Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos*, ed. by T. F. Earle, 2nd edn (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2008), p. 595. Unless otherwise stated, references are to this edition. For the importance of loyalty and avoiding flatterers, see, for example, Jerónimo Osório *Da instituição real e sua disciplina*, trans. by António Jotta da Cruz Figueiredo (Lisboa: Pro Domo, 1944), pp. 125, 400, and Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. by Lester Kruger Born (New York: Norton, 1968), pp. 193-4.

ensinam, e os maus afeitos em bons mudam.

E às vezes aos reis vão declarando
mil segredos, que então só vem e sabem,
mil rostos falsos, línguas más mostrando. (Cartas II.2, 91-6)

In the first passage I cited from Ferreira's epistle to D. Henrique, Ferreira indicates that the 'nome de poeta' was only granted to those who deserved it. But here, speaking in the present tense, Ferreira qualifies the word *poeta* with the adjective *bom*: he needs to make it clear that he does not mean all poets because only the 'good' ones will tell the hard truths and expose those with two faces and bad intentions. Ferreira shares the same fear, then, as Calidonio in *El arte poetica*, namely that the word *poeta* has come to encompass a broader range of people, and thus a broader range of moral attitudes. As he shifts tenses, Ferreira asks his readers to confront — as early modern writers often did — the fact that times had changed and seemingly for the worse. If in the ancient world the name *poeta* was given only to the divinely inspired, the same was no longer true, he implies, in the sixteenth century, when there existed *poetas* that were both 'good' and 'bad' in moral terms. Nevertheless, even if one could be more confident in locating ethical purpose in the poetry of the ancient past, Ferreira and Sánchez de Lima insist that it is still possible to find it in the sixteenth-century world, you just have to be prepared to pick carefully through the crop of *poetas*, because that word brought the moral and poetic wheat with a heap of accompanying chaff. In response to a generalised mistrust of those designated as *poetas*, these writers posit a moral idea of what poets are (or should be).

Ferreira and Sánchez de Lima's concerns find echoes in many other writings of the period, both in the vernacular and in Latin. To give just two more examples, Hernando de Soto's *Emblemas moralizadas* (1599) suggests that the title of *poeta* should be kept exclusive, arguing that 'este titulo [i.e. of *poeta*] le merecen muy pocos'.²² Soto focuses particularly on divine furor as being the central characteristic of *poetas* and cites a series of Classical examples to bolster his argument, including Virgil and Cicero.²³ Jerónimo Osório, one of Portugal's most influential Humanists, states that the role of poets ('poëtarum munus') is a moral one: 'Quid in uita sit illustre, quid obscurum, quid honestum, & graue, quid turpe & falgitiosum, quid expetendum, quidue fudiendum, sententiarum lineis, & orationis coloribus depingere,

²² Hernando de Soto, *Emblemas moralizadas* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1983), fol. 18^r.

²³ Soto, fol. 18^{r-v}.

& illustrare'.²⁴ Alluding, in particular, to Homer, as an example of this moralising mimesis, Osório echoes a well-established theoretical view of poetry, wherein, as Bernard Weinberg notes, 'poetry was by its nature an imitation or representation of reality made to conform as nearly as possible to that reality in order to produce moral effects desirable both for the individual and the state'.²⁵

The frequent mentions of Classical writers in most passages that seek to define what *poetas* are reminds us that the words *poeta* and *poesia* connoted a genealogical connection with ancient writers. That is why writers were so concerned in restricting the application of these terms to select authors and select works, because too widespread an application might devalue any truly virtuous writers by their being placed in the same categories as lesser artists. Indeed, as Dante's *Vita nuova* attests, the Latin origin of the word *poeta* and its associations with the Classical world meant that applying it to vernacular writers at all was a somewhat fraught undertaking, since it suggested the comparability of vernacular writers with their ancient forebears.²⁶

Into the seventeenth century, the problem of *poeta* and *poesia*'s semantic range persists. In Rodrigues Lobo's *Corte na Aldeia* (1619), Píndaro, the student, also suggests that only some are worthy of the name of poet and places books of poetry within the category of 'livros divinos' rather than 'livros de recreação' because poetry has a moral purpose and is divinely inspired. He cites Origen saying that poetry is a 'virtude espiritual' and Cassiodorus saying that 'a poesia tomou princípio da Divina Escritura'. His catalogue of learned authorities on the importance of poets also includes references to Plato, Cicero, and Saint Augustine.²⁷ The range of sources used here to authorise Píndaro's vision of *poetas* as a special category worthy of respect suggests the length to which poets in the early modern

²⁴ Jerónimo Osório, *Hieronymi Osorij Lusitani De nobilitate civili libri duo [...]* (Lisbon: Luís Rodrigues, 1542), fols 15^r-v. Translation: 'o officio dos poetas é [...] pintar e ilustrar com os traços das sentenças e com as cores da oração aquilo que devemos reputar como ilustre nesta vida, ou rebaixar como obscuro, o que devemos apeter, o que esquivar, o que é honesto e decente, o que é torpe e infamante.' Jerónimo Osório, *Tratados da nobreza civil e cristã*, trans. and ed. by A. Guimarães Pinto (Lisbon: INCM, 1976), p. 100.

²⁵ Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), II, 801.

²⁶ Dante Alighieri, *La vita nuova*, trans. by Barbara Reynolds, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 2004), XXV. See also Albert Russell Ascoli, *Dante and the Making of a Modern Author* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 68 n. 2, 401 nn. 148-9.

²⁷ Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, *Corte na aldeia*, ed. by José Adriano Moreira de Freitas Carvalho (Lisbon: Presença, 1992), p. 64.

period went to valorise their chosen aesthetic form — and the extent to which poetry was a ‘culturally contested practice’.²⁸ The fact that all these sources are Latin or Greek writers again reminds us of the long-standing connection between *poetas*, Classical writers, and Classical definitions of what poetry and poets should be like.

Successive generations of writers chase each other’s tails, because the semantic confines they try to set up around *poeta* and *poesia* keep falling down. As Bourdieu would tell these writers, however, they were fighting a losing game: conflicting definitions of what makes good, true, or worthwhile literature have always rubbed against each other.²⁹ The need, though, to talk so much about ‘good’ poets or what poetry ‘truly’ is points towards the battle for respect and legitimacy that poets faced.

The persistence with which Ferreira, Sánchez de Lima, and Rodrigues Lobo exult poetry’s moral functions and its divine inspiration provides a foil for considering how other writers perceived what *poetas* were, bringing into relief their rather different preoccupations. Diogo Bernardes and Pêro de Andrade Caminha, for instance, do not share the concern of asserting poetry’s worth based on moral values or by making ‘true’ poetry the domain of only those on whom shone the divine light of inspiration. As José da Silva Dias has argued, ‘a cultura não emerge, portanto, da obra de Caminha como um valor *a se* ou como um meio de nobilitação do homem sem linhagem’.³⁰ Rather Caminha sees poetry as one half of the noble whole that balances arms and letters. Neither Caminha nor Bernardes invest in poetry as a valuable pursuit in and of itself and they do not directly claim a special status for themselves because of the fact that they are poets.³¹ Even if Caminha and Bernardes do not make a moral distinction between good *poetas* and bad *poetas*, they do still make value judgements about them. Their comments about poets, though, centre on questions of style, as in this satirical epigram by Andrade Caminha:

‘Contra um Poeta’

²⁸ Matz, p. 3.

²⁹ See Viala, ‘The Theory of the Literary Field’, p. 81.

³⁰ José Sebastião da Silva Dias, *A política cultural da época de D. João III*, 2 vols (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1969), II, 930.

³¹ This situation contrasts quite starkly with the situation in England and Italy where poets and artists claimed that they should have a high status in society. For a discussion of this situation, see: John Huntington, *Ambition, Rank, and Poetry in 1590s England* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture & Society in Italy*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), pp. 80-8.

Cansado mau poeta me deixaste
 Dos versos que t'ouvi secos e duros.
 Onde aprendeste tal, como inventaste
 Tão impróprios versos, tão impuros?
 Mas em ti mesmo cuido que achaste
 De tudo desornados, e ainda escuros.
 E que ora as certas sílabas passavam,
 Ora às sílabas certas não chegavam. (II, 691)

For Bernardes, what makes a poem bad is usually a lack of 'emenda', obscure meanings, or being too 'pesado', rather than its lack of moral truth. As he complains to D. Gonçalo Coutinho:

Eu li já versos que, pera entendê-los,
 Cumpria ser Merlim ou Nigromante
 Ou andar com Apolo aos cabelos.

E outros tão pesados qu'Atalante
 Não poderá suster sós dous tercetos,
 E com três, dará passo adiante.

Eu, senhor, já pudera ter bisnetos
 Depois que comecei a fazer trovas,
 E ainda bem não caio nos sonetos.

E vejo muitos qu'inda as penas novas
 Com que saem do ninho não mudaram,
 E querem de poetas fazer provas. (Carta XXVII, ll. 43-54)

With comical exaggeration, Bernardes suggests here that poems need to be easily understood without sorcery or divine interpretation and need to be light enough that Atlas (who, let us remember, can hold up the sky) can lift them without losing his footing. Bernardes criticises those who have not trained adequately and who assume that they can graduate straight to sonnets without mastering *trovas* first. In doing so, Bernardes does not invest in the special, divine connotations of poetry that Ferreira and Sá de Miranda do, rather, as T. F. Earle has shown, he suggests that one can become a good poet as long as one puts in the hard work required and has a suitable mentor.³² Elsewhere, when he claims the value or use of poetry, Bernardes implies that poetry is worthwhile as a pastime for aristocrats or as an insurance policy for noble reputations against the vicissitudes of time.³³ Indeed, when at the beginning of *Os Vilhãndos*, Fama says that poets would be lost without her, one gets the impression that

³² See the discussion in T. F. Earle, 'A obra de Francisco de Sá de Miranda vista pelos poetas quinhentistas', in José V. de Pina Martins, *Uma biblioteca humanística: Os objectos procuram aqueles que os amam* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2015), pp. 61-9 (pp. 64-9).

³³ See *RV/FL*, Sonnet I and Cartas XXX, ll. 25-6 and XXVI, ll. 157-9.

Bernardes might also think this were true, given how often he complains about the fact that courtiers and nobles do not recognise what poetry can do for their reputations.³⁴

Bernardes, then, was not at all preoccupied with the ‘nome de poeta’ being sullied by associations with writers performing so-called lesser functions. His distinctions between good and bad poets have more to do with aesthetic qualities than with moral ones. As we will see throughout this thesis, so long as poetry could be remunerated by patrons wanting to read love poems or commissioning occasional or panegyric ones, Bernardes seems to have been content. Rather than investing in poetry as something of value in and of itself, as divinely inspired and ennobling of the spirit, he saw his role as poet as something more earth-bound.

A POET’S WORK

In addition to recognising that all poets did not think of themselves in the same way, it is important to recognise that poets were involved in a wide sociability around verse. Bernardes’s work offers us a glimpse of this world and suggests that we acknowledge a wider range of writing practices within what we might call the professional duties of early modern poets. Writing and reading poetry were dynamic — and involved — social activities. In amongst the conversation, debates, jokes, gossip, and storytelling of Bernardes’s everyday social life were the scratching sounds of pens and the rustling of paper, as poems passed from hand to hand. Courtly figures would gather in each others’ homes and ‘passavam alegremente a vida em disputas curiosas, ditos galantes, e deleitosa conversação; aos poetas davam-se motes, e glosavam-nos de repente; os que não eram [poetas] julgavam de melhor composição’.³⁵ As Arthur Marotti has said, ‘poems were an extension of artful, polite behaviour’, embedded in the social world of the polite and educated circles of European society, written, recited and read as entertainments, or to commemorate personal and political milestones.³⁶ Rather than only

³⁴ Sá de Miranda, ‘Os Vilhapandos (MS Real Academica de la Historia)’, p. 245, ll. 34-5. For examples of Bernardes insisting on the importance of poetry for securing one’s fame, see *Cartas* I, ll. 58-60, XXXII, ll. 465-72 and the discussion of the issue of fame in Chapter 2.

³⁵ *Anedotas portuguesas e memórias biográficas da corte quinhentista*, ed. by Christopher Lund (Lisbon: Almedina, 1980), p. 170. I have modernised the orthography to make sense of the passage.

³⁶ Marotti, p. 9.

dealing with beauty, art, religion, or morality, some of those categories we have now come to associate most closely with verse in the early modern world, poems also represented ‘ways of formulating actual or wished-for social transactions’ and could deal with a range of subjects from the most serious to the most trivial.³⁷ That is to say, poets chose to use their poetry as a vehicle for making requests from patrons and friends, as well as exchanging information, ideas, and stories. Indeed, Bernardes suggests that he prefers verse to prose for certain kinds of missive: when writing to his nephew, João Pimenta, to ask him to get in touch after a long period of epistolary silence, only a poem will do (Carta XXXIII, 1-3).

A poet’s work went beyond writing his or her own poetry. Poets would swap and circulate their poems amongst their friends and these in turn would be copied, altered, added to, and answered as part of an ‘ongoing social discourse’.³⁸ Indeed, the Horatian doctrine of *labor limae* had long demanded correspondence and collaboration between poets, even though not everyone entered into this with the same willingness to have their work scrutinised and critiqued.³⁹ In a recent book, Ana M. Gómez-Bravo has brought to light the various tasks that made up this social world of texts — what she calls ‘*escribano* culture’ — in fifteenth-century Spain. Although by the sixteenth century, poetry was no longer ‘the expected mode of interpersonal communication’ and had become a more specialised discourse, on its way to gaining the autonomy that the literary would eventually possess in later centuries, the activities involved in this *escribano* culture persisted into Bernardes’s age and we can read the vestigial traces of them in Bernardes’s work.⁴⁰ These traces sketch for us the image of a figure at the centre of a social world where all kinds of poems are read, edited, and written, sometimes for surprising reasons. As is often the case when dealing with the poetry of anyone but his closest friends and patrons, Bernardes adopts a sardonic tone in a complaint to Pêro de Andrade Caminha about the many requests he gets as a poet. He does, however, give us an insight into the varied tasks of the sixteenth century poet, a peek into the social world of poetic texts:

Outros se querem cá servir de mim
Em dar sentido a versos, se são versos
Os conjuros de Circe ou de Merlim.

³⁷ See Marotti, p. 9; Martines, pp. 11-12.

³⁸ Marotti, p. 135.

³⁹ See, for instance, Carta XI, ll. 82-84, 88-90.

⁴⁰ Ana M. Gómez-Bravo, *Textual Agency: Writing Culture and Social Networks in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), p. 33.

Outros, com novos modos, mas perversos,
 Querem de mim que seus contrários note
 De vis, ou d'Agarenos, ou conversos.

Um quer que lhe responda a um frio mote;
 Diz outro que lhe glose ãa cantiga
 Mais confusa que a torre de Nembrote. (Carta XI, 64-72)

Here, Bernardes laments of the impossible task of making sense of verses ('dar sentido a versos') so unintelligibly obscure they are compared to spells.⁴¹ Given enchantments were usually gobbledygook in made-up or macaronic language, Bernardes could hardly have invented a more damning critique. Indeed, this is but one amongst many criticisms Bernardes levels against impenetrable verse within his *oeuvre*.⁴² More perverse than those who ask him to make sense of such incomprehensible verses, Bernardes tells us, are those who ask him to reproach others with being *vil*, Muslim, or *converso*.⁴³ These are serious accusations Bernardes is engaged to sling. The faintest whiff of 'vileza' could threaten a person's social status because of the *provas de nobreza* and sumptuary laws that regulated the social hierarchy. The label of Muslim or *converso* could endanger an individual's reputation or, worse, land them in front of the Inquisition. Though not many poems of 'escárnio e maldizer' (to call them by the name given to their medieval precursors) found their way into printed collections of poetry after the *Cancioneiro geral*, Bernardes points to the continued production of slanderous verse in Portuguese courtly circles later in the sixteenth century as well as to a widespread association of poets and poetry with defamation — yet another note in the 'hum of connotations' around the word *poeta* which made it difficult for poets to win themselves respect.⁴⁴ Finally, here, Bernardes directs his complaint to those requests that ask him to reply to a *mote* or to write a gloss of a *cantiga*.⁴⁵ Such poetic responses were the

⁴¹ In Rafael Bluteau's *Vocabulário Português e Latino* the meanings cited for 'sentido' are 'sense' (as in the five senses) and 'meaning', rather than 'direction' which appears to be a later meaning. Rafael Bluteau, 'sentido', in *Vocabulário Português e Latino* (Coimbra: Colégio das Artes, 1712-1728) in *DICIweb, the Corpus Lexicográfico do Português* <<http://clp.dlc.ua.pt/DICIweb>> [Accessed 3 June 2015].

⁴² See, for instance, Carta XXVII, ll. 43-5.

⁴³ Bluteau's gives as one of its definitions of 'notar' the following: 'Notar alguém de defeito, falta, culpa, vício'. Bluteau, 'notar', in *Vocabulário Português e Latino*.

⁴⁴ In Spain, the circulation of slanderous verse is well-documented, but even in Portugal, in the early sixteenth century, D. Manuel I legislated against spiteful *trovas* that were circulating, stating that such verses had to be ripped up immediately by whomsoever came across them. For further details about this and the situation in Spain, see Gómez-Bravo, pp. 73-4. In England too, poetry was regularly associated with slander, see M. Lindsay Kaplan, *The Culture of Slander in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 70. As Garzoni says in *La piazza universale*, 'gli antichi Romani, per testimonio di Gellio e di Catone cacciarono i poeti di Roma, chiamandoli pubblici assassini'. See Garzoni, II, 1492. I borrow the phrase 'hum of connotations' from Kenny, p. 18.

⁴⁵ This is one of the most common social aspects of verse in the manuscript economy of poetic exchange. See Marotti, pp. 137, 171.

mainstay of poetic activity in Portugal (though Iberian lyric forms were increasingly disparaged as the century wore on), but these particular requests, he suggests, are an ask too far because of the abominable quality of the poems he is requested to gloss or respond to. Bernardes, then, was implicated in a wide sociability related to poetry: he acted as explicator, critic, and hired hand in using poetry to blacken an enemy's name. He responded to other people's poetry, not only for his own delight but also upon request from others and not always with enthusiasm.

A different task that Bernardes performed was that of mentor and guide. A sequence of ten poems in *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* between D. Gonçalo Coutinho and Bernardes illustrates this well. The sequence begins with a *sextina* where Bernardes gives encouragement to Coutinho as he wishes to 'o prémio alcançar da mão de Febo' ('A Um Amigo', p. 145, l. 2) and Coutinho responds, hopeful that he will achieve his goals with Bernardes as his 'guia', and thanks Bernardes for his valuable 'conselho'.⁴⁶ As is the case throughout Bernardes's *oeuvre*, the poet suggests that if Coutinho puts in enough effort he will indeed be able to climb mount Parnassus.⁴⁷ The poem, then, provides us with another example of how Bernardes conceives of a poet's work: it is a matter of time and dedication, of following the rules that he sets out, rather than a question of *furor divino* or moralising. Indeed, those poems that Coutinho produces in *Rimas Várias* and those that feature in early modern manuscript *cancioneiros* are love poems of the kind often disparaged by the more ethically minded in the sixteenth century.⁴⁸ The sequence of love poems between Bernardes and Coutinho makes for particularly curious and amusing reading on the topic of the poet's role in society because Coutinho posits Bernardes as poetic mentor *cum* agony uncle:

Diogo amigo meu, meu bom Diogo,
Pois d'Amor tens cantado variamente,
Ora em estado triste, or'em contente,
Qu'um conselho me queiras dar te rogo.

Abraso-me d'amor em vivo fogo;
E aquilo que mais a alma triste sente
É ver tão fria a causa do acidente
Qu'está deste meu mal fazendo jogo.

Dei já de meu amor mil claras provas;
Com lágrimas cem mil tenho lavado

⁴⁶ See the unnumbered sonnet, 'Como posso eu deixar do louro verde', in *RVFL*, p. 147, ll. 5, 8.

⁴⁷ See note 23 above.

⁴⁸ Other poems by Coutinho are reproduced in Nanci Romero, 'Edição da *Crónica de Dom Duardos* (segunda e terceira partes)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2012), pp. 178-82.

A culpa que me deu a minha Armia.

Estas da vida minha são as novas.

Aconselha-me tu, se neste estado

De meu remédio tenho melhoria. (Unnumbered sonnet, p. 152)

This sonnet-epistle places Bernardes as an expert in Cupid's affairs for having sung about the afflictions and delights of being in love. The poem contains aspects which belong to the standard conventions of love poetry, especially in the second stanza, but rather than directed to the world at large, a lament to the skies or to deaf ears of the lover, as is usually the case in love lyric, Coutinho directs his complaints straight at the love doctor, Bernardes. In saying 'estas da minha vida são as novas' he seems to suggest that the sonnet recounts his real news and indeed we can draw a connection to his real life as the cryptonym Armia is a simple anagram of Maria, the name of his wife D. Maria de Oliveira.⁴⁹ A sonnet later in the sequence (CXXXVIII), however, suggests that this sequence has been more important as a poetic exercise, as Bernardes writes with teacherly encouragement that Coutinho is moving closer to the summit of poetic achievement:

Coutinho, em tudo puro, em tudo brando,

E nos amores teus mais brando e puro,

Que, com felice engenho, o pé seguro

Moves, pelo Parnaso caminhando. (Sonnet CXXXVIII, p. 153, ll. 1-4)

This interesting sequence suggests a strong friendship between the writers and an ongoing exchange that seems to transform the love life of the young Coutinho into an exercise for poetic practice. Given what we know about Coutinho, he was clearly someone very interested in poetry. He is most famous for being 'al Camões nella morte su Mecena', both financing the 1595 and 1598 editions of the *Rhythmas* and ordering a tomb to be built for the 'príncipe dos poetas do seu tempo'.⁵⁰ From all accounts, he was a cultured individual: Bernardes refers to Ariosto (ll. 121-2), to Pliny, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela (l.126), and discusses the importance of clarity (ll. 7-9), *decorum* (ll.13-21), and *labor limae* (ll.28-30) in poetry all in the same letter to Coutinho (Carta XXVII). The *carta* and poems in *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* are difficult to date, because it is not known exactly when Coutinho obtained the Quinta dos Vaqueiros from his father, which is mentioned both in the *sobrescrito* to Carta XXVII and in Sonnet CXXXIX. What we do know is that he was born around 1565 and was in Arzila in Morocco in

⁴⁹ The date of Coutinho's marriage is uncertain. See, Romero, p. 33.

⁵⁰ This comment about Coutinho is from the Italian sonnet by Luis Franco in the front matter of Luís de Camões, *Rhythmas de Luis de Camões* (Lisbon: Manuel de Lira, 1595), n. fol.

1578, which is perhaps where he met Bernardes.⁵¹ It seems that their friendship was long-lasting given the number of poems that Bernardes dedicates to Coutinho within his printed works and considering the fact that Bernardes contributes a dedicatory sonnet to the 1595 edition of the *Rhythmas*. I think it plausible given that their friendship was close — Bernardes calls his letter ‘este familiar e amigo carne’ (Carta XXVII, l. 3) — and that, as Bernardes seems to have been involved in the literary education of the young man, Coutinho asked Bernardes to contribute that sonnet for the collection of Camões’s lyric poems. Knowledge of this relationship, then, helps further to dispel the myth that Bernardes wrote that poem as a thinly-veiled slight against Camões.⁵² Throughout his life, Coutinho seems to have held an interest in poetry as he is credited with writing various other works of literature and genealogy.⁵³ Coutinho was a member of a particularly illustrious family and he became powerful in the later years of his life. His interest in poetry suggests that some nobles were interested in learning about poetry and were keen to enlist the help of figures, like Bernardes, to improve their capabilities.

Whilst it is important to document Bernardes’s involvement in the sociability of poetry in the sixteenth century, because this affords a fuller and more vibrant view of what was involved in the day-to-day life of a poet, perhaps more interesting to us is the fact that Bernardes portrays himself as the go-to teacher, glosser, explicator, and pen for hire, as this suggests he was well-regarded and sought out for his opinions and skills. Certainly, *O Lima* itself features plenty of praise for Bernardes from the pens of other poets. It is as though Bernardes *wanted* to present himself as well respected and well connected. Indeed, his inclusion of allographic poems within both *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* and *O Lima*, which was unusual for single authored collections of poetry in the 1590s, except where dedications were concerned, suggests that he aimed to make use of the ‘value-enhancing’ potential of the allographic text, though not as part of the paratextual front matter, as we might expect, but within the sequences of poems in the body of the books themselves.⁵⁴ For someone picking Bernardes’s book from the

⁵¹ For a discussion about trying to establish Coutinho’s date of birth, see: Romero, pp. 31-5. For his involvement in the recapture of Arzila in 1578 see Robert Richard, *Mazagan et le Maroc sous le règne du Sultan Moulay Zidan (1608-1627)* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1956), p. 5.

⁵² For a discussion of this poem and the furore it has caused, see the sensible discussions of Ferreira, ‘BERNARDES, Diogo’, p. 70.

⁵³ For a discussion of the works that Coutinho authored, see Ricard, pp. 6-8.

⁵⁴ For the contrast between autographic and allographic, see Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 263. Genette mentions also the ‘value-enhancing’ power of the allographic, pp. 267-8, 283.

shelf or stall of a bookseller, the list of names featured in his books might have given a measure of both his social and cultural capital, assembling another line of defence against the threat of *murmuradores*.⁵⁵ Indeed, although his poetry might not always fit with our expectations of what makes good poetry today, the traces of his involvement within the sociability of the court demonstrate a man ensconced in the wider world of writing poetry in the sixteenth century. We must expand our idea of the functions and activities of poets in *quinhentos* Portugal in order to better understand how Bernardes fitted into his social world *qua* writer; but always in the knowledge that if you go looking, you can find him both in the lofty quarters and more mundane corners of Portugal's culture of writing.

WHAT DO POETS WANT? I: POETIC AMBITIONS

When we look closely at Bernardes's entire *oeuvre*, it becomes clear that Bernardes did not really articulate a poetic career for himself. Bernardes's poetry resists the kind of interpretation that has become usual in the burgeoning field of 'career criticism', because, unlike Virgil, Horace, Ovid, or their many renaissance imitators, like Spencer or Jonson, Bernardes is not one of those poets 'whose ambition preceded and determined their work, [...] who strove to achieve a major literary career and said so'.⁵⁶ For someone whose occupation might be said to have been a poet — because this is whence he derived his income more or less directly — Bernardes is unusual because he does not articulate a coherent shape for his work as a whole, a 'self-conscious patterning of genres over a temporal span to achieve a set of personal or professional goals'.⁵⁷ Even so, he does occasionally give voice to poetic aspirations and he looks back on his life, signalling some of the reasons why he wrote particular kinds of verse at particular moments.

⁵⁵ The threat of *murmuradores* was constant, especially in printed books. See: D. W. Cruickshank, "'Literature' and the Book Trade in Golden-Age Spain", *The Modern Language Review*, 73.4 (1978), 799-824 (p. 820). Carta XXXI, for instance, mentions this, as does the dedicatory letter to D. Álvaro de Lencastre in *O Lima*, p. 37.

⁵⁶ Helgerson, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁷ Patrick Cheney, "'Jog on, jog on": European Career Paths', in *European Literary Careers*, ed. by Cheney and De Armas, pp. 3-23 (p. 12).

The career critic's first place to look for indications of the shape of a career is usually the order in which a poet's works are printed or anthologised to see whether they either conform to a life narrative or to one of the typical generic hierarchies, established by the careers of Classical poets or Renaissance authorities like Petrarch.⁵⁸ Bernardes's printed works follow no recognizable pattern and do not seem to relate closely to a life narrative. Bernardes probably printed *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* first in 1594 because those poems were the most likely to get Inquisitorial approval, given that institution's penchant for devotional verse and distaste for secular love poetry.⁵⁹ In terms of the order of printing for his three books, one could almost go so far as to say that Bernardes seems to have reversed the generic hierarchy that we would expect of a sixteenth-century poet. If we compare Bernardes with António Ferreira, for instance, this difference becomes very clear, because, as T. F. Earle has suggested, when Ferreira's sonnets are read as a whole, it emerges that he abandoned personal love poetry to pursue 'the universal themes of national glory and religious redemption'.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the order of his *Poemas Lusitanos* as a whole suggests the gradual assuming of the Humanist mantle of a moral and political poet and, as such, contrasts with Bernardes's work wherein there is no such change. A further oddity of Bernardes's work is the fact that the opening poems of each of his collections, whilst serving as prefaces of sorts, do not articulate a sense of generic development, of the ascendance of the poet up the generic ladder. We have to ask ourselves whether Bernardes cared about such matters at all.

An observation that is regularly made about Bernardes's output is that he wrote no epic poem and that this is unusual given the fact that many of those poets with whom he associated did. The epic was clearly a genre prized in the sixteenth century, if only for its connections with nationalistic themes. Epics were the principal kind of non-devotional vernacular poetry printed in the 1570s and 1580s, suggesting that they were institutionally authorized and valued poetic forms. Much has been made of Bernardes's own thwarted ambitions to write an epic, but some of the passages cited as proof of

⁵⁸ Recent collections of essays suggest the diversity of career models available to Classical and Renaissance authors and that imagination, imitation and happenstance might all have their roles in the fashioning of literary careers. See: Cheney and De Armas; and Philip Hardie and Helen Moore, eds, *Classical Literary Careers and their Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁵⁹ For further discussion of this issue, see Chapter 3.

⁶⁰ T. F. Earle, *The Muse Reborn* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 123. For a fuller discussion of the structure of Ferreira's book, see *Poemas Lusitanos*, pp. 31-5.

Bernardes's epic ambitions seem to me to be open to different interpretations.⁶¹ Though the epic was undoubtedly prized in the sixteenth century and was valorized as the peak of the poet's career in the conventional *rota Virgílii*, there were other genres that Bernardes might be referring to when he suggests writing something to celebrate his patrons. Odes, elegies, and even sonnets could be used to celebrate a patron. Several poems attest to the fact that Bernardes was familiar with Italian poetry from the *cinquecento* and these poets produced a multitude of encomiastic verse in a variety of different genres (cf. Carta XXI, ll. 124-129; Carta XXVIII, ll. 88-99). When Bernardes talks about writing a 'nova história' (Écloga XI, l. 17; Carta XIV, l. 106) to celebrate respectively his patron or the Portuguese kings, the assumption that these 'histórias' were always meant to turn out as epics is problematic as the kind of genealogical interest Bernardes discusses could be incorporated into other genres (even if Camões did include such a 'history' in his own epic poem). For instance, Torquato Tasso wrote a *Genealogia di Casa Gonzaga* in *ottava rima* in order to celebrate the family of the Dukes of Mantua and this could plausibly be the kind of poem that Bernardes imagined.⁶² Carta XXXII, which has been the object of many speculations about Bernardes's epic ambitions, bears similarities to the *Relación de lo que Juan Gutiérrez de Valencia hizo en la jornada de Portugal con el señor don Antonio* that reports the kinds of ceremonies and meetings that took place in 1580 when Gutiérrez went to Santarem to get an accord with the son of D. Luís de Avis, who was in direct competition with D. Filipe for the Portuguese throne.⁶³ This letter belongs, then, to a completely different genre, that of the diplomatic poem, and its use of the *oitava*, far from providing reliable evidence that the poem must be a mock epic, falls well within metrical choices employed by Iberian poets for epistolary poems.⁶⁴ Despite this, Bernardes does suggest in a letter to D. Fernando Álvares de Castro that writing an encomiastic poem to a patron would be a generic step up:

Aquele grão guerreiro, aquele vosso
Invencível avô, grão viso-rei

⁶¹ Some examples of the discussion of Bernardes's epic ambitions are: Américo da Costa Ramalho, 'Diogo Bernardes e Camões', in *Camões e Alguns Contemporâneos Seus* (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1980), pp. 141-153; Eduardo Albero Correia Ribeiro, 'A pena de Camões, A espada e a caldeirinha', *Labirintos*, 4 (2008), 1-69; and Gomes, 'Diversas formas de Proteu', p. 70.

⁶² Brand, p. 155.

⁶³ For more information about Gutiérrez's text, see Fernando Bouza Álvarez, 'Escribir en la corte. La cultura de la nobleza cortesana y las formas de comunicación en el Siglo de Oro', in *Vivir el siglo de oro: poder, cultura e historia en la época moderna*, ed. by Angel Rodríguez Sánchez (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2003), pp. 77-99 (pp. 85 ff.).

⁶⁴ For a study of the verse epistle in Spain, which puts Bernardes's use of the *oitava* in an Iberian perspective, see Belén Molina Huete, 'Para una cronología de la epístola poética del Siglo de Oro (I: 1534-1600)', in *La epístola poética del Renacimiento español*, ed. by José Lara Garrido (Malaga: Analecta Malacitana, 2009), pp. 373-401.

De Castro Dom João, espelho vosso,

Ah! senhor Dom Fernando, que direi
De quem por todo o mundo dizem tanto,
Se com tal intenção não comecei?

Somente por retrato raro e santo
Das armas, do saber, da cortesia,
Quis ilustrar co'ele este meu canto.

Que pera o celebrar mister havia
Um estilo mais culto e levantado
Do que sátira pede ou elegia. (Carta XXIII, ll. 100-111)

In celebrating the famous D. João de Castro, grandfather of the recipient of the letter, Bernardes implies that he would have to adopt a higher style than that required for satires or elegies (which are the ways in which he often describes his *cartas*). There is certainly ambition here to write something in the grand style, but Bernardes does not turn this into a programmatic statement about leaving the middle style permanently behind in favour of the heroic. He does not try to fashion the shape of a whole career out of this potential generic shift. Indeed, if critics tend to equate his 'failure' to write an epic with his 'failure' as a poet, I think Bernardes would have seen this in quite different terms.⁶⁵ Because his ambitions, as articulated in the *cartas*, are almost always tied to the problem of patronage, Bernardes might have seen this failure as one of not succeeding to get a patron, rather than falling short as a poet. Bernardes's authorial identity was, in a sense, determined by what people were willing to pay him to write. No one paid him to write an epic, so he did not write one. His disappointment was probably more financial than poetic, as indeed it appears to be in Carta XXXI:

Cantei ao som do Tejo e ao som do Lima,
Chorei ao som do ferro em Berberia,
Que me valeu alegre ou triste rima? (Carta XXXI, ll. 16-18)

As another example of Bernarde articulating such desires for financial advancement, let us briefly consider Carta XI. Addressed to Pêro de Andrade Caminha, the letter is filled with complaints about the inconveniences and moral corruptions of court life. The occasion for the letter is Bernardes's departure from the banks of the Lima for Lisbon; a migratory pattern that he followed many times throughout his life when seeking favour. Bernardes tells his friend that he was 'da solitária vida já

⁶⁵ It is interesting to note here that Ferreira also 'failed' to write an epic poem, though, as T. F. Earle suggests, this might have had more to do with the high moral standards he set himself for an epic, which are described in various places within his poetic work, rather than the fact that he lacked a patron. For a full discussion of Ferreira's thoughts about the epic genre, see T. F. Earle, 'FERREIRA, António, e o projeto de criação de um poema épico', in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, org. by Vítor Aguiar e Silva, pp. 378-82.

contente' (Carta XI, l. 9), but has been forced to leave behind 'o vale e o monte' (l. 7). The reasons for this, at first, remain rather unclear — he says ambiguously that 'o tempo me forçou' (l. 8) and spends much of the opening stanzas of the letter complaining that the court forces him to act duplicitously if he is to get what he wishes (ll. 13-18). His grumbles culminate in a rhetorical question and an exclamation that present Bernardes as a man of pastoral tendencies, the very antithesis of the court:

Pode ser maior pena? Ah grave dor
Pera quem só com bosques tinha conta,
Co gado, co a Ninfa e co pastor! (ll. 19-21)

His ambitions soon shimmer amongst his claims to bumpkinhood, though:

Inda que com me ver me desafronta
O que por armas traz o animal
Por quem se pôs Jasão em tanta afronta.

Deste que tanto pode e tanto val,
Espero ver mui cedo convertido
O cobre meu em mais alto metal. (ll. 22-7)

With these words, Bernardes reminds us that he only ever leaves the countryside when he is looking for favour. By means of a discreet *periphrasis*, Bernardes expresses his hopes that his patron, Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro, will be able to improve his fortunes by using his considerable influence.⁶⁶ He moves on to suggest that if things do not work for him he will quickly scurry off back to the countryside: the adverbial 'senão' and his use of the future tense in the stanzas that follow (ll. 31-6), though, imply that should he be successful, Bernardes might stay on in the city. By suggesting that he will suffer his poverty less intensely in the countryside, he confesses, between the lines, to wanting to improve his financial situation and not being entirely content with his current situation:

Ouro não vendo lá nem vendo prata,
Sentirei a pobreza menos grave. (ll. 35-6)

One of the most systematic ways that Bernardes presents himself as a poet in the *cartas* is via his bucolic pseudonym, Alcido. Both Bernardes and his correspondents refer to him as Alcido, as a way of evoking his role as a writer of eclogues and love poetry. Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro, for example, specifically asks Bernardes to send him eclogues (*RVFL*, pp. 161-2). These mentions of Alcido point

⁶⁶ As their name might suggest, the Alcáçova Carneiro's family coat of arms figured two golden sheep. See Anselmo Braacamp Freire, *Brasões da Sala de Sintra*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1921), I, 184. Given that Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro (and his son) appear elsewhere in Bernardes's work as his patron and were influential members of the Portuguese court throughout the sixteenth century, the allusion made here must be to this family and likely to Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro who was a favourite of D. Catarina's and was *secretário do Estado*. See Disney, I, 158. For a fuller biography of this remarkable figure, see Ramos, 'O Secretário', pp. 96-119.

to the strange relationship that the *cartas* have with the rest of Bernardes's work. In a way, they are conceived as an accompaniment to and discussion of the rest of his poems, especially those that do not have an explicit dedicatee and are the most self-consciously 'literary'. In a poetic exchange between the unknown Jorge Bacarrao and Bernardes, both sides of which are printed in *O Lima*, Bacarrao refers to Bernardes almost exclusively by the name Alcido. In these letters, written after 1580 but not easily dateable with more precision, Bacarrao urges Bernardes to start writing under the guise of Alcido again. Firstly, this posits that the *cartas* do not really fit into the same genre as those poems in which Alcido figures as a character, as these letters are considered distinct from them.⁶⁷ Secondly, the reason for abandoning this kind of poetry is said to be a psychological one; after being captured in Alcácer-Quibir Bernardes can only write complaints:

Después de aquel horrible y fiero día
Que con mis ojos vi de sangre humana
Hartarse la sedienta Berbería,

Siempre me pareció la gloria vana
Que di al pátrio Lima con mi canto
Entre gente plebeya y cortesana.

[...]

Ya no soy, dulce Tirse, aquel Alcido
Que cantando de Silvia los amores
Hacia para las aguas del olvido. (Carta XVIII, ll. 13-18, 22-24)

A romantically-minded biographer would no doubt make much of this 'confession', styling Bernardes as the damaged poet who after such a terrible event cannot bring himself to write of love anew. Yet, as always, one has to be careful taking Bernardes at his word as there is likely to be another poem to make such a simple image of the poet more complex. In Carta XXVIII, to D. António de Castro, Bernardes suggests that when the Conde de Monsanto returns to Portugal from Spain, Alcido and his bucolic companions will sing once more. This suggestion belongs to the code of patronage poetry, which depicts the landscape as barren when the patron is away and is reborn upon his return:

A beleza que tinham já perdida
As suas bem nascidas várias flores,
Convosco lhe será restituída.

Tornaram a cantar os seus pastores,
Ao som da sua branda e doce veia,
Ora queixas d'Amor, ora favores.

⁶⁷ For a contrasting view, see Gomes, 'Diversas formas de Proteu', p. 72.

Palemo chamará por Galateia
 Suspirando em vão; em vão Alcido
 Por Sílvia escreverá versos n'areia. (Carta XXVIII, ll. 25-30)

The fact that Galateia, Palemo, Alcido, and Sílvia are all characters from Bernardes's eclogues implies that this is more than a generic, flattering statement about how wonderful it is to have Castro back. Rather, the underlying suggestion is that with his return (and potentially the return of his financial support) Bernardes will be able to return to his poetic work.

Bernardes acknowledges, then, in his *cartas* the different styles of poetry that exist and their relative importance, but his discussions of writing are almost always bound to questions of patronage. The 'career' that Bernardes presents himself as seeking is thus not one of slowly clambering up the poetic podium to reach the epic at the top, but one where Bernardes manages to secure larger commissions for poems that are written in successively higher styles. As I will show in the next section of this chapter, Bernardes frequently expresses his desire to win financial rewards from his verse. Additionally, what emerges in the *cartas* is that they are the kind of poem Bernardes wrote when he needed something: the poems that his correspondents want to read — and perhaps those Bernardes best liked to write — are those poems written in the voice of Alcido. Bernardes turns to the epistle when he has business to attend to, be it discussions of what poetry is, distributing poems to his patrons, or begging for favours. He is a pragmatic poet, then, one who writes for need as well as pleasure.

WHAT DO POETS WANT? II: FINANCIAL AND SOCIAL AMBITIONS

Taking into account the competing ideas about poetry and its worth that circulated in the sixteenth century, it is important to recognise that poets were not solely focused on reaching the summit of Parnassus: as we have already begun to see, poets, like Bernardes, also had social and financial ambitions. Ambition, though, in the early modern world, was connected with sinful behaviour and the dismantlement of the social order. Plenty of authoritative voices encouraged men and women to be content with their lot and not to strive to climb the social ladder or seek fame and fortune. Saint Augustine, as a representative example, argues in the *City of God* that social harmony depends on each

member of society having a definite and immutable place within it.⁶⁸ Two recurring images in early modern literature that enshrine this idea are those of Phaeton and Icarus falling from the skies, punished for their overweening ambition and pride. Their stories find their way into many a poem or moralising emblem across early modern Europe, urging, as Ovid does in the *Tristia*, that ‘each man ought to remain within his proper position’.⁶⁹

Bernardes picks up the image of both Phaeton and Icarus in a letter to António Ferreira, saying that he worries lest Ferreira’s praise fill him with a dangerous level of pride (Carta II, ll. 16-21), and in the same letter counsels that the happiest man in the world is the simplest farmer (ll. 106-19). To choose such a life of simple satisfactions, free from ambition and envy, was easier said than done. Bernardes holds the country life up as really the only way to live a quiet and moral life, but reveals in some of his most compelling poems that something within him drives him to want more than this.

From the opening sixteen stanzas or so, Carta XXV does not appear to be a very promising poem for getting the measure of Bernardes’s ambitions. Written to Rui Gomes da Grã when he was embarking for India in 1591, Bernardes spends the first section of the poem praising Grã’s poetic abilities and wondering how he will be able to do justice to the compliments Grã has paid him in the short time before his patron embarks for India.⁷⁰ As is fitting for a patron taking up the captaincy of Ormuz, however, Bernardes turns to praise Grã’s military achievements too, portraying Grã as the perfect embodiment of the balance between arms and letters:⁷¹

Tu mesmo eterno a ti t’iras fazendo
Teus feitos, também feitos co a espada,
A tua própria pena cometendo. (ll. 37-9)

Thinking about the glories that Grã will achieve as he heads off to the Eastern reaches of the Portuguese empire, however, leads Bernardes into a despairing set of rhetorical questions about the loss of life on the *carreira da Índia* and the immoral desire for riches that motivates most involved in this enterprise:

⁶⁸ Augustine, *City of God*, 7 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957-72), VI, trans. by William Chase Greene (1960), XIX. 13.

⁶⁹ Ovid, *Tristia; Ex Ponto*, ed. and trans. by A. L. Wheeler (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1924; repr. 1965), III. 4. 26. For an overview of the use of the image of Icarus in Spanish Renaissance poetry, see John H. Turner, *The Myth of Icarus in Spanish Renaissance Poetry* (London: Tamesis, 1976).

⁷⁰ For the dating of this poem, see Gomes, ‘Diversas formas de Proteu’, p. 67.

⁷¹ Moura, p. 50.

Já vejo que t'espera o Oriente
Com novos venciementos, novas palmas,
Da nossa e de Jesus imiga gente.

Mas que chuvas, que frios e que calmas
Passámos (te pergunto) polas vidas,
E quão pouco de tudo polas almas?

Não vês como de nós são esquecidas
Por tantas cousas vãs, que nunca chegam,
E se chegam são logo aborrecidas?

Quantos agora pelo mar navegam,
Não por fama alcançar, mas por riqueza?
A ãa fraca tábua a vida entregam. (ll. 46-57)

The sentiment is one familiar from Sá de Miranda's *cartas*, the exhortations of the *velho de Restelo* in Camões's *Os Lusíadas*, and many other satirical texts of the period.⁷² The flow of moral reproach, though, is abruptly halted by an exclamation and a revelatory turn towards the self:

Mas ah! que tal é nossa natureza
Que, conhecendo isto, inda aspiro
A poder desatar-me da pobreza. (ll. 58-60)

Bernardes should not want wealth, but human nature is such that he does. He wants, then, to better his financial situation. Bernardes does not plan himself to go off to Asia in search of riches, he desires some recompense for all the effort he has put into writing poems:

Mil vezes dentro em mim choro e suspiro
Ver que do verso meu, que louvas tanto,
Tão pouco fruto em tanto tempo tiro.

Porventura sustento-me do espanto
Ou do louvor que dá quem mais não dá,
Ao meu, des hoje mais, já rouco canto? (ll. 61-6)

Bernardes wants his readers to 'give more' than just praise. Internally, he weeps and sighs in frustration that his poems lead to no substantial, material rewards. These stanzas are crucial for understanding the poem as a whole, because, in these lines, the ulterior motives bubbling beneath all those blandishments with which the poem began finally reach the surface. Bernardes spent much of the opening section of the poem trying to thank Grã for 'tuas doces rimas,/ Nas quais as minhas vejo tão louvadas' (ll. 19-20). But, given he so clearly says that 'louvor' is not enough here, it seems plausible that he is implying Grã too could 'give more' than just praise. Bernardes avoids being direct about it, but does remind Grã right in the middle of his complaints that he is someone who has spoken highly of Bernardes's verse (l.

⁷² See, for instance, José V. de Pina Martins, 'Sá de Miranda e o velho do Restelo', in *Actas da VI reunião internacional de camonistas*, ed. by Seabra Pereira and Manuel Ferro (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012), pp. 145-57.

62). In terms of Bernardes's ambitions, these lines make it clear that he sees poetry as a kind of professional undertaking, in the very crude sense that he wants to be paid for his efforts.

Bernardes turns his complains about not being able to get anything out of his verse into general pronouncements about the villainous avarice that has taken hold in Portugal:

A cobiça tão alto subiu já,
Que a fama, que s'alcança com largueza,
Debaixo dos seus pés vejo qu'está.

Ah! cegueira humana, antes vileza!
Se dar com larga mão é grão virtude,
Como o vício contratio mais se preza? (ll. 70-5)

Rui Gomes de Grã is able to step in and help Bernardes, he suggests, by adding his voice to the chorus praising the Muses and adding to their value (this is the sense of 'acreditar' here). Further rewards await him should he do so:

A chorar isto tua voz me ajude;
Acredita contigo as boas Musas,
Pois eu em tanto tempo nunca pude.

Todas as partes tens; não tens escusas
Pera deixar d'usar do seu tesouro,
Do qual, com louvor delas, tão bem usas.

Em pago te darão o verde louro;
Serás do brando Febo coroadado,
Cantado dele na sua lira d'ouro. (ll. 73-81)

Bernardes, then, tries to get Rui Gomes da Grã to direct his poetic talents towards praising the power of poetry and raising its stock. There is a circularity to the logic here: boost the prestige of the Muses and they will award you the laurel crown; something that, perhaps, would mean less if he had not increased the importance of poetry in the first place. Seeing that we know that Grã was an important political figure in the Portuguese court during the reign of Filipe I, Bernardes indicates through his request to Grã that poetry could not only win favour as a result of poets like Bernardes himself: poets needed powerful figures predisposed to poetry to sing its praises and champion its importance. Carta XXV, then, points to a problem around the status of poetry beyond what writers themselves thought *poetas* were or were not. The debates between writers about who should be called a poet do not reflect the fact that many non-writers were not interested in poetry at all and never saw it as important or, crucially, something that needed to be financially supported. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, poetic achievements struggled to win prestige against other kinds of professional success in

the Portuguese court.⁷³ Bernardes knew this only too well and is seen trying to raise poetry's status in this letter.

The close of the poem returns to the situation with which the poem begun, that is, Grã's imminent departure from Portugal. He praises Grã once more and looks forward to what his patron will achieve in the East, concluding with a promise that he will follow up this letter with another in order to repay the kind words that Grã had sent him (ll. 112-15).

The tension between a desire for money and the knowledge that such a desire is morally suspect which features in Carta XXV (ll. 58-60) is intensified in Carta XIV to António de Castilho. In Carta XIV, Bernardes confesses his ambitions in startlingly frank terms, revealing the intention for patronage that lies behind his writing of verse, but, with the imaginative retelling of two fables, he also points to the moral disaster that potentially awaits the ambitious courtier and contrasts this potential peril with the quieter, more virtuous life that he could live away from the court in the countryside.

The purpose behind Carta XIV is primarily to ask for Castilho's intervention in Bernardes's negotiations with his patron, Cristóvão de Távora. He tells Castilho that he has left Northern Portugal to go to Lisbon (ll. 37-9) in order to pursue the favour of 'Gouro' (ll. 26, 47). Although the name 'Gouro' is rather puzzling, Delfim Guimarães has suggested that the word means 'fortress', drawing on the definition provided by Dalgado's *Glossário Luso-Asiático*. This leads him to conclude that the *gouro* in question is the fort of S. Sebastião de Caparica, of which Távora was the captain.⁷⁴ On its own this link seems tenuous, but given that the letter to Castilho is directly followed by that to Távora in the first edition of *O Lima*, it appears plausible that Guimarães was correct in his assertions. Moreover, Bernardes refers to Castilho directly in his *carta* to D. Cristóvão de Távora, suggesting that Castilho will explain to Távora the reason for Bernardes's complaints about his disappointments in the court (Carta XV, l. 46). Indeed, the other possible allusion made through the mention of Gouro, i.e. to the city of

⁷³ For a discussion of this struggle in Elizabethan England, which has helped to clarify my own sense of the disagreements over the value of poetry in sixteenth-century Portugal, see Matz, p. 11; and Stephen W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: Their Poems and their Contexts* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), pp. 224-5.

⁷⁴ Delfim Guimarães, 'Os Tavoras na obra de Diogo Bernardes', *Arquivo Literário*, 1.1 (1922), 57-68 (p. 60-3).

Gaur in India, is unlikely to be significant because the Portuguese never took hold of the city.⁷⁵ D. Cristóvão de Távora was also, according to Pero Roiz de Soares, the only line of communication with D. Sebastião in the years leading up to Alcacer-Quibir and so was precisely the kind of figure Bernardes aimed to cultivate as a patron.⁷⁶

António de Castilho himself was an influential figure in the court.⁷⁷ André Falcão de Resende, Bernardes, and Ferreira all sent him poems. Two sonnets in *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* (1597) about the death of Castilho suggest that he was also a poet (Sonnets CXL and CXLI). Castilho held the well-remunerated position of *guarda-mor da Torre do Tombo* (from 1571) and eventually became a member of the Royal Council in 1578. He was well placed to act as a broker and agent for Bernardes, using his own social status to improve Bernardes's chances of winning patronage from court nobles and the king. Indeed, several documents attest to these activities. Carta XIV, as I have mentioned, describes the brokerage of favour with Cristóvão de Távora on Bernardes's behalf. Castilho's involvement in Bernardes's quest for patronage is also confirmed by a prose letter in the ANTT that thanks Castilho for helping out one of Bernardes's friends, Diogo Soares, and suggests that Castilho had also acted as the carrier of some of Bernardes's poetry to Martim Gonçalves da Câmara, D. Sebastião's *escrivão da puridade* and brother of Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, the confessor and privileged advisor to the King. The Câmara brothers were a notorious pair, responsible for some of the ideological and religious orthodoxy of Portugal under D. Sebastião. If you were not in their favour, court life was difficult.⁷⁸ The sending of poems to Martim Gonçalves da Câmara via Castilho may well, then, have been part of a series of events that would eventually lead to Bernardes's appointment as *servidor da toalha* in 1577. Bernardes's connection with Castilho in the early 1570s and the fact that Távora was particularly influential in this period suggest that both letters date from early in that decade.

⁷⁵ See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*, 2nd edn (Chichester: Wiley & Sons, 2012), pp. 77-8.

⁷⁶ Pêro Rodrigues Soares, *Memorial de Pero Roiz Soares*, ed. by Manuel Lopes de Almeida (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1953), p. 165.

⁷⁷ For more information on this intriguing figure, including his own writing, see Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, 'A "Crónica de D. João III" de António de Castilho', *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Gulbenkian*, 2 (1970), 317-403.

⁷⁸ See Vítor Aguiar e Silva, 'Camões e D. Sebastião', in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, org. by Vítor Aguiar e Silva, pp. 128-34 (pp. 130-1). The letter from Bernardes to Castilho is in Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, Maço 110, n. 137.

After an initial *captatio benevolentiae* praising Castilho and explaining why he has delayed in getting in touch, Bernardes gets down to business, telling Castilho that he has left Entre Douro e Minho for Lisbon after Gouro sent for him (ll. 22-39) and suggesting that Castilho act as a linkman in his negotiations:

Assi que se dum não, depois dum si,
Gouro me não quer dar o desengano
Por que mo dês, to pode dar a ti. (ll. 46-8)

Bernardes is tired of running after false hopes of support (ll. 49-51) and frequently points to what a better life he would have in the countryside (e.g. ll. 16-18), yet, he divulges that an unknown force drives him to abandon such ‘sossegado ócio’:

Não é meu natural o vale e a serra,
O rio, o bosque, o monte, o verde prado,
Onde não há cobiça, onde não há Guerra?

Não pretendi eu sempre em sossegado
Ócio ouvir as brandas irmãs nove
Cantar ora o presente ora o passado?

Se posso lograr isto, que me move
A querer contrastar com minha sorte
Que não consente qu’outra vida prove? (ll. 55-63)

His ambitions push him to contest his fate — this is the meaning of ‘contrastar’ here — even though he never seems to be able to live any other kind of life. His rhetorical questions suggest that following a simple, rustic life is the obviously preferable choice, yet he cannot help but want more than this. Because this poem dates from the 1570s when Bernardes had renounced the job of *escrivão dos órfãos do conselho de Nóbrega* (1558) and of *tabelião da terra de Nóbrega* (1566) in Ponte da Barca in Northern Portugal, these stanzas (and the fact that he has relocated to Lisbon) hint at a real choice that Bernardes faced in his life: either retreat from the court and a simpler life dedicated to poetry or seek to improve his ‘sorte’ in the court. Increasingly during the sixteenth century it became necessary to take up residence in Lisbon in order to be able to benefit from royal favour. As Francisco Carlos Consentino asserts

Lisboa era o local onde vivia o rei, em que se localizava a corte real e onde funcionavam as engrenagens da sociedade de corte em Portugal. Assim, no sistema de remuneração de serviços desenvolvido pela monarquia portuguesa, viver em Lisboa, próximo da corte, era importante para a obtenção dos cargos e mercês pela aristocracia lusitana.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Francisco Carlos Consentino, ‘Enobrecimento, trajetórias sociais e remuneração de serviços no império português: a carreira de Gaspar de Sousa, governador geral do Estado do Brasil’, *Tempo*, 13.26 (2009), 225-53 (p. 230).

Indeed, all those who managed to acquire an administrative position away from the court were faced with a dilemma: to take the job or renounce it in the hope that something better might come along.

Bernardes imagines that Castilho will tell him to remain strong in spite of his disappointments (l. 64), but at this point in the letter Bernardes is really full of despair, as he says in the following lines:

Quando cuido que acaba, então mais crece
A causa de queixar-me; mas de quem?
Do tempo só que mal me favorece. (ll. 73-5)

Bernardes's problems are a little more specific than these lines suggest. To be precise, he is struggling because no-one seems to appreciate the power of poetry:

Não olham qu'Alexandre inveja tinha
Não dos feitos d'Aquiles, mas d'Homero,
Porque dele cantou como convinha.

Se os escritores não culpavam Nero,
Quem pudera saber sua crueldade?
Eneias pode ser que foi mais fero.

Das musas o rigor ou amizade
De fama escura ou clara nos faz dignos,
Ou seja com mentira ou com verdade,

Oh ditosos espritos peregrinos,
Quem vos não ama e teme, não entende
Que podeis dos mortais fazer divinos.

Com força que do tempo se defende,
Uns pondeis no inferno, outros no céu;
O vosso poder só tanto s'estende. (ll. 82-96)

He takes this thought to its extreme, suggesting that the heroes of the past might well have been villains, but they had the good sense to employ a poet to praise them:

Que mais à Poesa mereceu
Júpiter que Plutão? Eram irmãos,
Vejam ond'um subiu, outro deceu.

A causa disto foi ter largas mãos
O que ficou acima dos Planetas;
O outro tinha os dedos mais vilãos. (ll. 97-101)

Bernardes builds on a passage from *Orlando furioso* here in which St John suggests that the decision to commemorate someone in verse depends entirely on the salary that one received from them.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, ed. by Lanfranco Caretti and Italo Calvino (Turin: Einaudi, 2005), XXXV. 25-8. For the identification of this parallel, see Isabel Almeida, 'Poesia, furor e melancolia: notas sobre

Bernardes, following Ariosto, uses the example of Nero's wickedness to point to the importance of poets in telling posterity about the moral worth of kings and heroes. Such intertextuality — which, as a poet himself, Castilho may have been able to recognise — makes Bernardes seem slightly less outlandish and lends authority to what he has to say. Bernardes's directness is also less shocking as the letter is addressed to a fellow traveller, whom, in this instance, Bernardes is asking to act as an intermediary for him in his negotiations with Gouro. Bernardes would not likely make such claims directly to a patron, but might have wanted to remind Castilho to emphasise poetry's power to make and break reputations when negotiating with Gouro. This poem is one example of how moral ideals quickly evaporate when the practical concern of seeking patronage enters the frame. Though perhaps exaggerated, what Bernardes says here shows how very different Bernardes was from those moral *poetas* discussed earlier in this chapter; this passage demonstrates that Bernardes clearly wanted to improve his financial situation through the means of his poetry.

Regardless, Bernardes's irreverence does not really help his situation because there are no patrons to pay for the kind of encomiastic poem he suggests he wants to write:

Pesa-me não poder, me nova história,
 Dos lusitanos reis a origem clara
 Levar ao templo da imortal memória;

Não por falta de ingenho e invenção rara,
 Estilo e arte, que Febo em tal sujeito
 Desusados conceitos m'inspirara,

Mas sabes de que nasce este defeito
 De não ver neste tempo um novo Augusto
 A quem tão bom trabalho seja aceito. (ll. 106-12)

Lighening the mood with self-deprecation and an awareness of the moral issues arising from his quest for patronage, Bernardes ends his letter with two fables, which, he tells us explicitly (l. 127), sum up his situation. The first is the tale of 'The Dog and its Reflection' that warns against being too greedy. A 1562 edition of the Aesop's fables puts the moral of the story like this: 'las vezes pierde el cobicioso lo q[ue] tiene en se poder queriendo tomar lo ageno'.⁸¹ This story fits rather well with the situation that

Ariosto e Camões', in *Magnum miraculum est homo: José Vitorino de Pina Martins e o Humanismo*, ed. by Maria das Graças Moreira de Sá, Isabel Almeida, and Cristina Sobral (Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, 2008), pp. 93-108 (pp. 98-9).

⁸¹ *Libro del sabio e clarissimo fabulador Ysopo, historiado e anotado* (Seville: S. Trugillo, 1562), fol. xxviii^r.

Bernardes and other courtiers like him faced during the sixteenth century, who often had to abandon one patron or a particular place in order to win new (and potentially greater) favours. The fable hints at the risks involved in leaving his home in the North of Portugal to pursue D. Cristóvão de Távora as a patron, by pointing to how envy might make you lose what you already have, just like the dog who loses his bone in the pursuit of one that appears to look better:

Cuidando ser outro [i.e. the reflection of the bone] mor, a boca abriu;
E, por querer tomar a presa vã,
A certa na corrente lhe caiu. (ll.157-9)⁸²

The moral of the second fable, that of ‘The Frog and the Ox’ (ll. 160-76), perhaps more closely connects with Bernardes’s surprising confession back in lines 61-3 of the ambitions stirring within him. Again the 1562 edition of Aesop’s fables gives us a reading of the story: ‘si algun pobre quiere ygularse co algun poderoso, el tal se destruye y perece, segun muestra esta fabula’.⁸³ The focus on economic ambition, however, contrasts with other retellings of the story. For instance, in Horace’s dialogic third satire of Book II, Damasippus suggests to Horace (Satires II, III. 314-20) that it would be folly to try to imitate Maecenas and thus he should throw his poems on the fire (ll. 321-2). Yet, even here the fact that Maecenas is Horace’s patron also suggests an economic dimension to Damasippus’s condemnation of Horace’s ambition. This economic interest must not have been far from Bernardes’s or his reader’s minds given the principal theme of Carta XIV is patronage. The admonitory tone of the fable contrasts with the confession of ambition that comes early in the letter, when Bernardes talks about his drive to fight against his lot in life, to ‘contrastar com minha sorte’ (l. 62, cited above). Indeed, this contrast points to the fact that ‘novos fidalgos’ like Bernardes were clearly ambitious, but encountered conservative wisdom all around them that warned against aspiring to a higher social status. His retelling of these fables in this letter also points to how commonplace anecdotes and stories take on a new energy when brought into direct contact with the experiences of writers and begin to vibrate with their fears and desires. His use of fables here also points to the ways in which Bernardes’s *cartas* were influenced by Horace, who frequently used stories to embellish and enliven his epistles.⁸⁴ It

⁸² Vasco Graça Moura, rather improbably — and with that critical tendency to see Bernardes as out to get Camões — reads this poem as a comment on Camões. Given Bernardes says to Castilho that he is going to talk ‘do que toca à mim’, this seems a fanciful interpretation. See: Moura, p. 52.

⁸³ *Libro del fabulador Ysopo*, fol. xxvii.

⁸⁴ Peter White, ‘Friendship, Patronage and Horatian Socio-Poetics’, in *Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. by Stephen Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 195-206 (p. 205).

might also indicate the influence of Ariosto's *satire* too, for they also deploy fables to humorous effect.⁸⁵

What exactly would that 'outra vida' to which Bernardes alludes in line 63 of Carta XIV look like? A retrospective reading of Bernardes's biography can provide some clues, as it suggests that he sought social advancement and, to a certain degree, was successful in doing so. Bernardes did not come from an aristocratic family, but his father was *tabelião* of Nóbrega, which suggests a degree of education and social standing (at a local level, at least). Bernardes entered the *ordens menores* in 1544 and biographers have suggested that he became part of the household of senhor D. Duarte, Duke of Guimarães, alongside his brother, Frei Agostinho da Cruz (then Agostinho Pimenta), and his life-long friend Pêro de Andrade Caminha. These indications about his early life and family place Bernardes amongst that heterogenous class of people whom João Cordeiro Pereira calls 'outra gente limpa' and what Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro calls those who 'viviam nobremente', that is to say, individuals who whilst not being from noble families themselves circulated around the nobility and shared many of its values.⁸⁶ Within the royal court, where Bernardes resided later in his life, there were two hierarchies that denoted rank: one for individuals of aristocratic blood and another for those who ascended the social hierarchy by means of rewards from the king. João Cordeiro Pereira outlines the two hierarchies as set out by D. Sebastião in 1573 in legislation that rationalised existing, but more loosely defined, systems. The first relates to the blood aristocracy and the second to the 'novos fidalgos':

Foros dos fidalgos da Casa Real a partir de 1573⁸⁷

<i>1ª Ordem</i>	<i>2ª Ordem</i>
Fidalgo Cavaleiro	Cavaleiro-fidalgo
Fidalgo escudeiro	Escudeiro-fidalgo
Moço-fidalgo	Moço de câmara

⁸⁵ See, for instance, Ariosto's telling of the story of the Ass and the Mouse in his first satire. Ludovico Ariosto, *The Satires of Ludovico Ariosto: A Renaissance Autobiography*, trans. by Peter DeSa Wiggins (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976), Satire I, ll. 247-61.

⁸⁶ Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, 'Trajetórias sociais e governo das conquistas: Notas preliminares sobre os vice-reis e governadores-gerais do Brasil e da Índia nos séculos XVII e XVIII', in *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos: A dinâmica imperial portuguesa (séculos XVI-XVIII)*, ed. by João Fragoso, Maria Fernanda Bicalho, Maria de Fátima Gouvêa (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001), pp. 249-83 (p. 253).

⁸⁷ This table is taken from João Cordeiro Pereira, 'A estrutura social e o seu devir', in *Portugal do Renascimento à crise dinástica*, ed. by João José Alves and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon: Presença, 1999), pp. 277-336 (p. 294).

This scheme helps us to trace Bernardes's career within the court, giving us a yardstick against which to measure his climbing of the social hierarchy. A chancery document from 1566 refers to Bernardes as *moço de câmara*,⁸⁸ eleven years later another document that names Bernardes as *servidor de toalha* refers to Bernardes as *escudeiro-fidalgo da casa real*,⁸⁹ then in 1582, once Filipe I is on the throne, Bernardes is referred to as *cavaleiro fidalgo*.⁹⁰ In other words, Bernardes ascended from the bottom to the top of the second order of the court nobility, which suggests that Bernardes was interested in bettering his social status. This social perspective on Bernardes's life might also help us to put an end to the wild speculation around Bernardes's accompanying of D. Sebastião to Alcácer-Quibir in 1578. Rather than travelling with the king as his official bard (a rumour started by Faria e Sousa in the seventeenth century), it is likely that Bernardes wanted to take part in the expedition in order to get promoted to *cavaleiro fidalgo* and to be able to gain a *comenda* from the *Ordem de Christo* or from the king himself. It was set out in law that the *mordomo-mor* could only promote someone to the status of *cavaleiro* if it had been proven that he 'é feito Cavaleiro em África, ou em outra alguma parte em acto de guerra, onde servisse em meus [the King's] Reinos, e Senhorios'.⁹¹ Indeed, all the chancery documents about Bernardes produced after 1578 refer to the fact that he had been with D. Sebastião in N. Africa, emphasising the importance of this fact to the favours that Bernardes then receives. The suggestion of Bernardes being the 'official poet' of the expedition seems grounded in a retrospective inflation of the importance of poetry in the 1570s, when, in fact, even epic poetry was not prized enough to encourage such a war-hungry, young monarch as D. Sebastião to want an 'official' poet to join him in Morocco. Further to this, a prosopographical analysis of the dedicatees of Bernardes's poems suggests that royal favour, rather than *mercês* granted by individual patrons, was probably high on Bernardes's agenda as no fewer than ten of the recipients of Bernardes's *cartas* were members of the *conselho de estado* for one or other of the sixteenth-century monarchs and many others are known to have occupied important roles in Portugal's political world.⁹² Bernardes selected his epistolary targets carefully, then, and sought to

⁸⁸ Lisbon, ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique (Doações, ofícios e mercês, Próprios e comuns), liv. 17, fols 367^v-368^r.

⁸⁹ Lisbon, ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique (Doações ofícios e mercês, Próprios e comuns), liv. 43, fols 12^{r-v}.

⁹⁰ Lisbon, ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Filipe I (Padrões e doações), liv. 10, fols 5^{r-v}.

⁹¹ Cited in Pereira, 'A estrutura', p. 294.

⁹² For further discussion of Bernardes's social network and its proximity to various kings, see the discussion in chapter 2.

insert himself into the social networks of the most successful courtiers in order that they might broker favour on his behalf with the monarch. Indeed, Bernardes refers to many of the recipients of his poems as either distributors or ample beneficiaries of the king's favour.⁹³

But where did Bernardes hope to end up? One answer comes in his letter to Luís de Alcáçova Carneiro, where Bernardes alludes the fable, 'The Ant and the Grasshopper':

O trigo que juntou no seco Estio
A solícita formiga, assoalhava
Des'que o bosque deixou de ser sombrio.

A cigarra importuna que passava
Acaso por ali, morta de fome,
Que lh'emprestasse dele lhe rogava.

A fim que da resposta aviso tome,
Perguntou-lhe a formiga em que gastara
O tempo em que se colhe o que se come.

A cigarra lhe disse que cantara,
Bem fora de cuidar poder cair
Naquela grande falta em que se achara.

Começou a formiga então de rir,
Dizendo: - Amiga, pois no Verão cantas,
Podes bailar no Inverno, e não pedir! (Carta V, ll. 31-45)

The message of the fable, as per the 1562 edition of Aesop's fables, is that the lazy person is always needy and therefore should pull up their socks and work instead of asking for support from others.⁹⁴

Bernardes's retelling of the story registers the moralising bent usually underlining the fable with the fact that he has the eager ('solícita') ant giving advice ('aviso') to the carefree grasshopper who was imprudently 'bem fora de cuidar poder cair/ Naquela grande falta'. But rather than leave the story there, Bernardes draws the fable's message into contact with his own life, subverting and questioning the wisdom it conventionally inscribes by suggesting that he wants to laugh in the face of the haughty ant:

Quantas fábulas destas, senhor, quantas
Se poderem em nosso tempo aplicar
Àqueles que se dão às Musas santas.

Mas eu quisera só poder passar
Os baixos da pobreza em tempos tais
Pera s'homens formigas gracejar. (ll. 46-51)

⁹³ For example, in Carta XXXIX (ll. 94-95), Bernardes refers to D. Christóvão de Moura as someone who will be able to get Bernardes a favour from D. Filipe I.

⁹⁴ *Libro del fabulador Ysopo*, fol. xxxv^v.

In a famous letter to João Roiz de Sá de Meneses, Sá de Miranda discusses the advantages of a retreat from the court and uses the story of the ant and the grasshopper to evoke his diligence in collecting biblical knowledge, so that he can go to heaven: Sá de Miranda's use of the fable is proof of his indifference to money, a rather different sentiment from that expressed in Bernardes's letter. Bernardes may even have had this text in mind when he wrote his own, distancing himself consciously from the religious and moral self-fashioning of Sá de Miranda as the diligently studious ant:

Deixemos queixas antigas!
Quero vos dizer de mim,
Que d'estas vossas amigas,
Digo as letras, para o fim
Ajunto como as formigas,
Porque ninguém me lançasse
Como á cegarrega em rosto:
No deçembro que bailasse,
*Pois cantara em agosto!*⁹⁵

Indeed, this fable seems to have been seen as particularly relevant to understanding poets and their situation in life, as Sá de Miranda alludes to the story again in his play, *Os Estrangeiros*, though this time with a more comic (and more critical) purpose:

Certo que esta nossa ciência, que ciência é apesar de muitos, não se lhe pode negar grande vantagem sobre todas as outras. Os teólogos fazem metidos por esses mosteiros mantidos às esmolas. Filósofos já passaram, com suas barbas, mal avindos uns com os outros. Aos poetas podeis-lhe dizer o que disse a formiga à cigarra: pois cantara no Verão que bailasse no Inverno. Oradores já se não acostumam, nós os tirámos das vezes. Hão-se mister ãa só vez na vida pera as obediências do papa, e ainda, entam, faz o orador arenga e buscam um doutor que a diga, por mais autoridade. Estrólogos sempre andam no porvir, o seu tempo nunca chega. Físicos bem ganham de comer, porém, se fora por vontade de Catão o Maior, nunca eles entraram em Roma. Sorligiães são uns remendões de peles rotas e cascos quebrados. Lógicos e artistas debatem continuamente e sobre a lã da porca. Enfim, o jurista só pode andar co o peito alevantado, satisfeito do seu saber.⁹⁶

In this passage, Petrónio, the lawyer, proclaims the superiority of the lawyer's skills above those of other professions. He cites 'poetas' as an identifiable group in contrast to other learned groups (i.e. theologians, philosophers, orators, astrologers, physicians, surgeons, logicians and artists, and jurists), suggesting that poetry represents a specific branch of knowledge and that those who specialise in it are a recognisable and quasi-professional group. This would make sense in terms of university disciplines,

⁹⁵ Francisco de Sá de Miranda, *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda*, ed. by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (Halle: Niemeyer, 1885; repr. Lisbon: INCM, 1989), p. 209, ll. 109-117.

⁹⁶ Francisco de Sá de Miranda, 'Os Estrangeiros (Ms Asensio)' in *Comédias*, ed. by José Camões and T. F. Earle, pp. 149-50, ll.1035-50. These lines are very similar in the other two versions of the play presented by Camões and Earle in the same edition.

but Sá de Miranda here turns practitioners of these disciplines into professionals of sorts, who earn their living by what they do. This is interesting because Sá de Miranda's brief taxonomy of professions does not line up with the schemes set out in other contexts where individuals are sorted into their various occupations. In Inquisitorial documents, for instance, the word *poeta* does not appear as a marker of identity or profession; a fact that suggests that being a poet — unlike being a *físico*, for instance, which does appear in both of these situations — was not necessarily always recognised as a meaningful epithet, perhaps because it did not reliably connote social position (like some of the other markers included in Inquisition papers, such as *vive da sua fazenda*, *doutor*, or *carpinteiro*) or, thinking in more psychological terms, because writing poetry was not considered constitutive of one's identity in itself and therefore important enough to be selected as an attribute to identify oneself in front of the Inquisition.⁹⁷ His discussion adds another layer to our understanding of what a poet was thought to be in early modern Portugal: *poeta* could be a professional category, though was probably only thought to be so by the nobility, or perhaps even, just by poets themselves.

Regardless, however, of the fact that *poeta* does not seem to have functioned as a professional marker in all contexts, Petrónio suggests in *Os Estrangeiros* that one would be ill-advised to pick poetry as a career path because it is not a very profitable one; a suggestion he makes by alluding to the story of the ant and the grasshopper. Petrónio declares that the jurist's knowledge is superior to that of other professions not only because it is more useful, but because it allows the holder to earn a living. He dismisses the logicians and artists and astrologers because their knowledge is useless (e.g. they 'debatem continuamente e sobre a lã da porca'), and denounces theologians and poets because of their poor financial situation. The former depend on 'esmolas' and the poets are like the grasshopper of the story: poor and dependent on begging for help from hardworking ants. Sá de Miranda's play, thus, rehearses the particular relevance of this fable to the professional status of poets and reiterates a commonplace about them, that is, in Alonso de Barros's words, 'ni he conhecido poeta/ senhor de muito dinero'.⁹⁸ What perhaps makes this even more intriguing though, is that Petrónio is something of an absurd character in the play, who has fallen in love with his youthful ward. He is not necessarily

⁹⁷ For an overview of the professional markers mentioned in Inquisitorial documents from Lisbon, Évora and Coimbra in the sixteenth century, see Isaías da Rosa Pereira, 'Notas sobre a Inquisição em Portugal no séc. XVI', *Lasitânia Sacra*, 10 (1978), 259-300.

⁹⁸ Alonso de Barros, *Proverbios morales* (Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1609), fol. 2r.

someone the audience would want to imitate. He puffs himself up, by declaring the importance and lucrativeness of his own profession, and utters some rather surprising views (especially about theologians). His jokes, however, rely on their being an element of truth in what he says, absurd or exaggerated as that truth might seem. Indeed, the fact was, at least where poets were concerned, a career as a lawyer was more likely to give one a better income.

Bernardes does not accept this commonplace association of poets with poverty, however. In his letter to Luís de Alcáçova Carneiro, he refuses to accede to the moral of the story and abandon the grasshopper's life he knows as a poet. Instead Bernardes says he wishes he could turn around and laugh in the face of the diligent ant, who mocks him with his moralising repartee — a surprising admission in a missive to one's patron. Two questions, then, emerge from Bernardes's playful retelling of this story: who are the ants of Bernardes's world? And what might be the financial situation that allows Bernardes to laugh back at the self-satisfied ant? The contrast between the two insects points to the seasonal aspect of the grasshoppers work: she had no difficulties during the summer when things were plentiful, but now that winter has set in can no longer support herself. This might relate to the sporadic rhythm of receiving patronage upon which the poet depends. The contrast in the story, then, is between poets who depend on patronage and other occupations that grant a more regular income. What Bernardes hopes is to be carefree like the grasshopper without the threat of having to ask for money from the ant. In other words, he seeks financial self-sufficiency, a secured income without the need for the year-round graft of the ant. This is a desire he expresses in a number of other letters, wherein he complains about having to depend on 'peito alheio' for his income (see, for instance, *Écloga* III, l. 41 or *Carta* II, l. 102). Bernardes's likening of himself to the grasshopper also suggests that he might want to dedicate himself to the activity of the grasshopper (singing) rather than that of the ant (working to make a living), intimating that he may have wanted to become something like a 'poet' in the modern sense, whose sole or principal occupation was poetry.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ I will return to the question of autonomy in Chapter 2 about patronage, because Bernardes discusses at length how his indebtedness to patrons might affect the sort of poetry that he writes.

Did Bernardes ever get what he wanted, then? Things were hopeful in the 1570s, when Bernardes had managed to secure, the year before the disaster of Alcácer-Quibir, the position of *servidor de toalha* which placed him in close contact with the king and with important nobles, as this role made him responsible for laying the King's food on the table as other men carried it in to the hall where the king would dine.¹⁰⁰ The stipend associated with this role, however, extended only to clothing and to food, which whilst helpful for Bernardes — and a usual form of payment — would not give him the freedom he ultimately wanted.¹⁰¹ Upon returning from Morocco to Portugal, Bernardes became eligible for a reward from the *Ordem de Christo*, and he was awarded a *tença* in November 1582 to the value of 20,000 réis.¹⁰² *Tenças* usually ranged between 10,000 and 40,000 réis in the Order of Christ, so Bernardes received an average-sized sum, but it certainly did not make him rich.¹⁰³ Indeed, other poets of the sixteenth century were more fortunate in what they received from the *Ordem de Christo*: Francisco de Sá de Miranda and Jerónimo Corte-Real received *comendas* that gave them properties, which would provide them with a solid income and considerably more prestige than a knighthood and annuity alone.¹⁰⁴ It was not all bad news for Bernardes in 1582, though, as around the same time as the stipend from the *Ordem de Christo*, Filipe I awarded Bernardes a significant *mercê* of 200,000 réis in properties, which would have granted Bernardes a certain degree of autonomy. However, only 73,000 réis worth of property was ever given to Bernardes and this was only in November of 1588. Indeed, Bernardes must have continued to seek favour from the king as in 1593 he was awarded a further *tença* of 40,000 réis from the royal purse.¹⁰⁵ Given that stipends were a fixed sum in réis, though, the price revolution of the second half of the sixteenth century would have impacted Bernardes's spending power. The

¹⁰⁰ A manuscript in the Biblioteca de Ajuda describes the role of the *servidor de toalha* as part of the serving of meals under Filipe I: 'à meza servia o monteiro ou trinchante, e ha o servidor da toalha; ha para este serviço hum prestes que tem cuidado de hir à cozinha com doze moços da camara para trazer a comida; [...] o prestes dava a sua iguaria ao servidor da toalha que a punha na meza'. Lisbon, Biblioteca de Ajuda, MS 51-VI-35, fols 287^v-288^r.

¹⁰¹ It is intriguing to note that the catchphrase used by Bernardes to complain about his misery after his return to Portugal circa 1579/1580 is that he 'falta pão e pano' (Carta XXIX, l. 83), that is, precisely what he was given whilst *moço de toalha*. The details of his appointment to this role are found in Lisbon, ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique (Doações, ofícios e mercês, Próprios e comuns), liv. 43, fols 12^{r-v}.

¹⁰² Lisbon, ANTT, Chancelaria da Ordem de Cristo (Próprios), liv. 5, fols 309^r-309^v.

¹⁰³ Francis A. Dutra, 'Membership in the Order of Christ in the Seventeenth Century: Its Rights, Privileges, and Obligations', *The Americas*, 27.1 (1970), 3-25, p. 4 n. 4.

¹⁰⁴ 'o estatuto de cavaleiro acabou por ser utilizado para identificar quem ingressava na nobreza através do seu patamar inferior, [...] o estatuto de comendador sinalizava um estatuto nobiliárquico superior, para além de um rendimento efectivo - fornecido por uma comenda -, por vezes muito elevado. [...] De algum modo, todas as elites portuguesas, incluindo a família real, acabaram por se cobrir com as insígnias das ordens, o que confirma a sua relevância.' Rui Ramos, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, and Nuno Monteiro, eds, *A História de Portugal*, 7th edn (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2012), p. 233.

¹⁰⁵ Lisbon, ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Filipe I (Padrões e doações), liv. 32, fol. 48^r.

value of the real remained constant but commodity prices fluctuated wildly, for instance, the price of wheat rose from around 60 réis per bushel in the middle of the century to 480 réis in 1599. As the price of key commodities rose and rose, then, it was hardly surprising that Bernardes would seek further stipends and might complain of feeling poor: the value of his fixed income was ever decreasing.¹⁰⁶

Tenças from the crown were not Bernardes's only source of income, however, as we know that in 1588 Bernardes won a prize of 40 *cruzados* (16,000 réis) for the best poem in Castilian written to celebrate the arrival of the *santas relíquias* in Lisbon that year.¹⁰⁷ As the book describes

nam faltou neste recebimento o que em semelhantes festas se costuma, que he porse premios pera quem sair com melhor inuensão [...] por sua deuação pera exercitar os egenhos Dom Fernão Martiz Mascarenhas Alcaide mór de Montemor o nouo. 40. cruzados aos que melhor cõpõsessem em louuor das santas reliquias nas quatro lingoas mais vsadas na terra, Latina, Portuguesa, Castelhana, & Italiana [...] Forão juizes destes premios nas composições das tres lingoas vulgares Dõ Manoel de Castelbrãco, Filipe d'Aguilar, & Luis Martiz de Sousa, & cõ elles hum padre da cõpanhia.¹⁰⁸

Bernardes certainly did not go his whole life without winning favour, so his constant complaints about money must be taken with a pinch of salt. Certainly, after 1580 he knew much greater success in getting stipends from the king. However, when we think that other professions, such as being a judge, physician or surgeon paid in the range of 50,000-90,000 réis per annum in the sixteenth century, those amounts that he received from the crown do not seem to equate to those that might have allowed someone like Bernardes complete financial autonomy.¹⁰⁹ Bernardes may also not have been completely satisfied with what he received because of the successes and riches of those people around him. The number of letters that Bernardes sends to Pêro de Andrade Caminha is indicative of the closeness of their relationship and the two men knew each other for a long time, serving together in the house of senhor D. Duarte when they were young. Yet, Andrade Caminha was (financially at least) much more successful than Bernardes, gaining not only a large *tença* (200,000 réis) from D. Duarte in 1576, but a

¹⁰⁶ For a discussion of these economic changes, see A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, 2nd edn (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), pp. 278-80.

¹⁰⁷ *Relaçam do solenne recebimento que se fez em Lisboa às santas relíquias q[ue] se lenáram à igreja de S. Roque da companhia de Iesu aos 25 de Janeiro de 1588* (Lisbon: António Ribeiro, 1588), fol. 96r.

¹⁰⁸ *Relaçam do solenne recebimento*, fols 93v-94r. Filipe de Aguilar was himself a poet who exchanged poems with André Falcão de Resende and Pêro de Andrade Caminha.

¹⁰⁹ These figures are taken from wage data in *Prices, Wages and Rents in Portugal 1300-1910* <<http://pwr-portugal.ics.ul.pt/>> [Accessed 3 June 2015].

comenda from the crown in 1581 with an income of circa 200,000 réis per annum, the *Hábito da ordem de Cristo*, and the role of *provedor* of Vila Viçosa. A difference in family status might explain the disparity between their courtly success, because Andrade Caminha's family were well ensconced in some of the most important houses in Portugal: his father had the position of *camareiro-mor* in the house of D. Duarte and his mother, Pascoala de Gusmão, was *camareira* of the Duchess of Bragança, D. Catarina (sister of senhor D. Duarte).¹¹⁰ Andrade Caminha's family connections laid the foundations for a successful career, then, quite in contrast to Bernardes's family who hailed from the North of Portugal and who were involved in local administration. Several other writers had a university education that enabled them to take up professional roles as lawyers or judges, which again makes Bernardes appear rather unusual in the fact that he did not appear to have a regular income apart from those stipends he won from the crown for his services: António Ferreira was *desembargador da casa do Cível* (senior magistrate in the Civil Court), Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo was *juiz dos órfãos* (probate judge, especially responsible for the estates of orphans and widows), and André Falcão de Resende was *juiz de fora* (district magistrate) in Torres Vedras.¹¹¹ In the dedicatory letter to D. Álvaro de Lencastre in his *Discurso sobre a Vida e Morte de Santa Isabel Rainha de Portugal e Outras Várias Rimas* (1596), Mousinho de Quevedo even suggests that he had abandoned poetry in favour of a career in law: he does not give his reasons, but social status and financial security were likely to have figured amongst his motives.¹¹² Bernardes was thus particularly dependent on patronage in order to support himself: a fact that perhaps explains the unusual prominence that financial questions have in his poetic works. This also means that he was unusual for not having one of his feet in another profession: he was a grasshopper through and through.

CONCLUSION

¹¹⁰ See Vanda Anastácio, 'CAMINHA, Pêro de Andrade', in *Dicionário de Luís de Camões*, org. by Vítor Aguiar e Silva, pp. 107-9 (p. 108). Senhor D. Duarte is the name conventionally given to this important figure in order to distinguish him from his father, Infante D. Duarte. For further biographical details, see T. F. Earle's notes in his edition of *Poemas Lusitanos*, p. 591.

¹¹¹ See, respectively, Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos*, p. 8; Manuel dos Santos Rodrigues, 'O Afonso Africano de Vasco Mouzinho de Quevedo: estudo histórico-literário e edição crítica' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1999), p. 19; Américo da Costa Ramalho, 'O poeta quinhentista André Falcão de Resende', *Humanitas*, 9-10 (1957-8), 100-48 (p. 116).

¹¹² Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo, *Discurso sobre a Vida e Morte de Santa Isabel Rainha de Portugal e Outras Várias Rimas* (Lisbon: Manuel de Lira, 1596), n. fol.

In late sixteenth-century Portugal and Spain, then, there were a variety of conceptions of what poets should say or do that circulated in poetry and prose. Whilst some writers invested special meaning in the word *poeta*, because of its connection to the ancient world, and granted special status to *poetas* as speakers of moral truths, others seemingly did not enter into a battle over the semantic range of the word at all. When we look at Bernardes's poetry it becomes clear that verse was used in the court for a range of purposes, some less lofty than others. Bernardes's work also reveals that some poets were motivated as much by financial and social ambitions as others were by a moralising fervour.

Bernardes's biography sheds light on one man's attempts to climb the social ladder of the court, whilst the confessions he makes and the fables he tells in his poems help the reader better appreciate the mysterious forces that drove Bernardes to pursue his ambitions, despite an awareness of the moral peril potentially associated with such aspirations.

In prosopographical terms, Bernardes stands alone in the panorama of sixteenth-century poets for not having had a university education and for not having a clear profession other than poetry. He abandoned the administrative positions that he inherited from his father out of a desire to better himself in the court in Lisbon, but consequently relied on securing patronage for his livelihood, which only came later in his life. Unlike poets such as Jerónimo Corte-Real or Pêro de Andrade Caminha, whose parents were well integrated into noble households — and who thus gave their sons a head start in the courtly quest for favour — Bernardes had to start from scratch in building his reputation with powerful individuals of his age. We can unearth the key facts of this story in documentary evidence from the Portuguese national archives, but, as this chapter has shown, we need to look at the poetry of the period too if we are to appreciate the affective dimension of the search for favour, to understand the mentalities and modes of sociability of the court. Indeed, what Bernardes's work strikingly demonstrates is that ideal notions of what a *poeta* was, were always put under strain in the real world of making a living. My reading of Bernardes's work shows how quickly ideals could cede to practicalities, thereby forcing us to think about the social world in which poetry was written and read in the early modern period. It is to this social world which we turn in the next chapter, exploring the practical problems Bernardes faced in trying to achieve his financial and social goals.

CHAPTER 2

Can Beggars be Choosers?: Diogo Bernardes and his Patrons

In sixteenth-century Portugal, turning poems into profit was a near impossible alchemy. Nonetheless, it was a task at which Diogo Bernardes tirelessly toiled. As is fitting for a poet unusually dependent on patronage for his livelihood, Bernardes's poetry is unusually preoccupied with seeking out favour and with defining the terms of client-patron engagement. The overwhelming majority of recipients of his poems that have named dedicatees are patrons, and these poems in themselves comprise a significant proportion of Bernardes's total *oeuvre*. Though no poet's work is entirely unaffected by the push and pull of patronage relations, the poetry of no other writer of the Portuguese Renaissance is dedicated so extensively to the subject.¹ Indeed, Vasco Graça Moura suggested some time ago that it would scarcely be possible to formulate an idea of patronage in early modern Portugal without the evidence of Bernardes's *cartas*.² In their general neglect of the question of literary patronage and of Bernardes's

¹ André Falcão de Resende is the nearest pretender to Bernardes, discussing patronage in quite direct terms, for instance in his exchange with Felipe de Aguilar (I, 224-5). Camões has fewer poems clearly about the question of patronage, as is the case with António Ferreira, Pêro de Andrade Caminha, and Francisco de Sá de Miranda, though all addressed their work to powerful individuals and thus were entangled in the web of patronage relations in the Portuguese court.

² Moura, p. 48.

work as a whole, however, critics have failed to follow up on Moura's suggestion; the dynamics of patronage in early modern Portugal still remain somewhat in the dark. This chapter thus pulls some of patronage's protagonists and procedures out of the gloom, by shedding light on how Bernardes articulates the nature of patronage relations and how he practices asking for favour in his poems. We see that the vocabulary of patronage is tangled up in a series of negotiations between patron and client; language is a living resource, deployed changingly and multifariously in Bernardes's efforts to argue, persuade, and advise in his poems.

First, I sketch a broad outline of patronage in early modern Portugal, asking: What did patrons and clients offer each other? And how did clients and patrons perceive their obligations to each other? Then, I turn to examine in detail one of the key gifts the poet had to offer: fame. Through my readings, the material paradoxes of granting fame through poetry come to light and I bring into relief the moral constraints that were imposed on those who had the power to confer eternal celebrity on patrons. These discussions lead the analysis of poems in which Bernardes muddies the moral ideals that were supposed to govern patronage relationships and takes poetry from its position as the prize of virtue to peddle it as a mere consumer product. Following this, I highlight the practical problems in the arrangement of patronage relations that brought frustration and disappointment to the poet. But if I write a lot about problems, I also write about solutions, namely, the practical alterations Bernardes proposes to the procedures of writing poetry and receiving rewards, the use of friends to build relationships and close patronage deals, and, finally, the rhetorical framing of requests in particular ways to suit the interests and disposition of the patron. What emerge in this chapter, then, are Bernardes's struggles to establish poetry as a service worthy of reward and how he tries to persuade patrons to fulfil their promises and perform their moral duties as wealthy and powerful members of society. This tells us more about what it meant to be a poet in early modern Portugal, by bringing into relief one very practical concern that governed what poets wrote about and to whom, that is, the concern of making a living.

WHAT IS PATRONAGE?

Broadly conceived, patronage is a reciprocal exchange relationship where patron and client offer benefits to each other. What those benefits might be — on either side of the exchange — varies from the material to the immaterial. From Bernardes's biography we can extract some of the forms of remuneration integral to early modern circuits of patronage in Portugal: positions within the royal household, *tenças* and *mercês* for particular services rendered, *comendas* and knighthoods in the Military Orders, positions in local government, such as *escrivãos* and *tabeliães*, brokerage with other patrons, and protection through association. Beyond Bernardes's own experiences, courtiers in early modern Portugal sought positions within public administration (e.g. the *casa da Índia*) and the courts of law as well as commercial privileges.³ An inexhaustive list of remunerative possibilities would be: properties, goods, money, employment, friendship, protection, pardons, and support in lawsuits. Gifts might be extremely large or quite small: gloves, some stuffed chickens, or presents of clothing in return for a sonnet or a *mote* on a particular theme. Beyond members of the royal family, very wealthy nobles (such as the Braganças or the Dukes of Aveiro) might also offer a similar assortment of roles within the regions they controlled or within their households.⁴ A number of poets and their families were *criados* in the households of royals and nobles, such as D. Duarte or his son, senhor D. Duarte. Nobles might also offer particular employment to *letrados* on the basis of their literary skills: Bernardes, for instance, congratulates Pêro de Lemos for securing for himself the role of secretary to the Maquesa de Alcanisas in whose 'sombra' Lemos can relax (Carta VII, l. 2).

What the poet could offer the patron was similarly varied. In Bernardes's work, patrons request poems (RVFL, 'Ao Conde das Idanhas estando fora da corte', p. 161, l. 19) and he suggests gathering an anthology of poems by various Portuguese poets to Gaspar de Sousa (Carta XXX, ll. 55-7). He offers to write celebratory poems on commission on a number of occasions and he composes occasional

³ For the use of administrative posts as a monarchical patronage strategy under Manuel I, see Susannah Humble Ferreira, *The Crown, the Court and the Casa da Índia* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 44-68.

⁴ For a discussion of patronage offered by the Bragança family and the networks of clients that they established, see Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *A casa de Bragança, 1560-1640: práticas senhoriais e redes clientelares* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 2000).

poems to commemorate marriages and deaths.⁵ Bernardes even suggests in an eclogue that he goes to market, poems in hand, to sell them as pre-written texts, which we might see as another written product to accompany love letters and the like that were sold at markets in many early modern cities.⁶

The social imagination and moral paradigms of the early modern world conceived of relationships within society as based on the distribution of mutual benefits: each should give generously to others for the benefit of the wider community. The language of patronage relations drunk from this moral discourse, imbibing a vocabulary of gift-giving that emphasised the voluntary and disinterested bestowal of favour. Any expectation of a return lay concealed under the disguise of courtesy. Of course, real life rarely lives up to such ideals, so when we examine in close detail the language in which Bernardes presents his own relationship to his patrons, we glimpse self-interest peeking out from beneath the cloak of courtesy. The incommensurability in value and indeterminacy in time that characterised the gift mode give way to the payment plans of economic transaction as Bernardes portrays his relationships with patrons in language that made recompense for poetic labour a more explicit expectation.⁷

A persistent question in studies of patronage has been the extent to which clients show loyalty to one patron or, instead, seek out the support of multiple figures.⁸ In mapping a network of poetic exchanges in the sixteenth century, we can observe that poets reached out to quite a number of different individuals in their bid to secure their livelihoods and to clamber up the social hierarchy (see Appendix I). Rather than attaching themselves to a single individual as in the model of *fidélité* advanced by

⁵ Écloga VIII, 'Joana', was written on the occasion of the marriage of Luís de Alcáçova Carneiro to D. Joana de Vasconcelos and Sonnet CXIII in *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* celebrates the marriage of D. Álvaro de Lencastre and D. Julian. There are a number of poems that commiserate the deaths of Príncipe D. João and António Ferreira.

⁶ Écloga XVI, ll. 7-9. For a discussion of this sort of written merchandise, see Fernando Bouza Álvarez, *Corre manuscrito: una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001), pp. 31-46.

⁷ There is a vast literature that studies patronage in the early modern world, important contributions to this conversation that have enriched my own sense of patronage in the period are: M. D. Jardine, 'New Historicism for Old: New Conservatism for Old?: The Politics of Patronage in the Renaissance', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), 286-304; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Viala, *Naissance*; Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston; London: Unwin Hyman, 1990); Peter Shoemaker, *Powerful Connections: The Poetics of Patronage in the Age of Louis XIII* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007).

⁸ See Sharon Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', *French Historical Studies*, 17.4 (1992), 839-62 (pp. 844-50).

Mousnier, but critiqued by Kettering, in sixteenth-century Portugal poets created multiple allegiances and sought favour from a large number of individuals.⁹ Not all those individuals who received poems from poets served as their patrons, but, in Diogo Bernardes's case, the majority did.¹⁰

Whilst the figures at the centre of the map are all densely connected to one another, no writer sends poems exclusively to individuals within this tight-knit community. Rather, each writer reaches out to other individuals beyond this central cluster, which suggests that writers enjoyed what the sociologist Ronald S. Burt calls 'structural autonomy', where individuals are not only connected to the same people, even if they are part of a dense cluster within a network.¹¹ Indeed, what was striking when I first visualised this data was the number of individuals that feature who only receive poems from one poet. This suggests that writers both sought to build relationships with other writers and established patrons (such as Francisco de Sá de Meneses or Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro) and tried to establish their own, more exclusive set of patrons.¹² Moreover, the number of patrons to whom Bernardes sends poems means that we have to think beyond Mousnier's ideas about *fidélité*, because Bernardes wrote to no less than twenty-seven individuals who were patrons. Literary patronage in early modern Portugal had developed from the feudal ties of vassalage to a serial and multiple set of relations that extended throughout various levels in the social hierarchy and into various arenas of noble life, from the *casa da índia* to the king's chamber, from the homes of nobles to the royal court itself, from the university to the courts of law.

In the medieval period, the granting of favour bound a client in vassalage to one particular lord requiring *consilium et auxilium* in return for material resources and sponsorship, but as the fifteenth century wore on this model began to wane. As royal favour, in particular, started to be monetised and began to be distributed mostly as *tenças*, the ties of obligation between lord and vassal began to

⁹ See Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', pp. 850-1.

¹⁰ Saulo Neiva characterises the following twelve letters as patronage poems: IV-VI, XV-XVI, XXIII-XXIV, XXVII-XXXI. See Neiva, p. 122. I would certainly add Carta XXXII to this list as it was commissioned.

¹¹ Ronald S. Burt, *Brokerage and Closure: An Introduction to Social Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 139-41.

¹² For a biography of Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro, see: Maria Cecília Costa Veiga de Albuquerque Ramos, 'O Secretário dos despachos e coisas da Índia Pero d'Alcáçova Carneiro' (unpublished master's dissertation, Universidade de Lisboa, 2009), pp. 96-119. For a discussion of the Sá de Meneses family as a whole and their involvement in supporting letters in Portugal, see Sá Fardilha, *A nobreza*.

weaken.¹³ Clients could take on multiple patrons and enjoyed a degree of autonomy in what they did.¹⁴ As Sharon Kettering has suggested, general or ordinary clientage, more materialistic than the paradigms usually constructed around patronage would imply, was widespread in early modern Europe.¹⁵ Only the desire for continued and additional favours created a longstanding dependence of the client on the patron. When Bernardes alludes to his fidelity to his patrons with mentions of ‘amizade antiga’ or his belonging to them (‘sou vosso’, Carta VI, l. 146) and readiness to serve, this language more likely belongs to a strategy to portray the relationship as one that is long-lasting, but which was, in fact, often called on intermittently or could be broken and rebuilt after time had passed:

Não há que dizer mais senão que prestes
Estou pera servir, qual sempre estive,
Em tudo quanto vós de mim quisestes,
No tempo que de vós mais favor tive.¹⁶ (Carta XXVIII, ll. 106-9)

Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that in several cases, Bernardes does allude to previous favours when making a request (e.g. Carta XXIX, ll. 70-2) and in some cases patrons receive multiple poems: for example, Rui Gomes da Grão gets two long letters, Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro gets four different poems, D. Gonçalo Coutinho receives a *sextina*, various sonnets, and a verse letter. When a patron gave money, then, Bernardes might not be bound in a pact of indissoluble servitude, but he certainly thought that once a patron had given some support they were likely to give it again in the future.

THE GIFT OF FAME: A PARADOX

Literary patronage was desirable for the powerful insofar as it was thought that literary praise could set an individual in history’s Hall of Fame for eternity and win them admiration amongst the living.¹⁷

¹³ Rita Costa Gomes, *The Making of a Court Society: Kings and Nobles in Late Medieval Portugal*, trans. by Alison Aiken (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 226-8.

¹⁴ Susannah Humble Ferreira states that D. Miguel da Silva was a good example of how ‘courtiers could retain personal agendas while in the service of a strong centralizing monarchy’ in her chapter ‘Inventing the Courtier in Early Sixteenth-Century Portugal’, in *Contested Spaces of Nobility in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Matthew P. Ramaniello and Charles Lipp (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 85-101 (p. 86).

¹⁵ Kettering, ‘Patronage in Early Modern France’, p. 852.

¹⁶ Unfortunately, there is not any evidence in Bernardes’s poems, nor have I uncovered any in the archives, to suggest when this time of greater favour was in the case of Bernardes’s relationship with D. António de Castro, the dedicatee of Carta XXVIII.

¹⁷ ‘Writers could also confer immortality upon others. The dead lived briefly through the memories of those who had known them, but, unless those memories were written down, they were soon lost.’ Thomas, p. 253.

Panegyric in its manifold literary forms represented a central part of a noble's self-fashioning, as Bernardes reminds Gaspar de Sousa, 'O louvor vos será grande interesse,/ Que sempre das mercês é prémio digno/ Com que mais a nobreza s'engrandece' (Carta XXX, ll. 25-6). Paradoxically, what was actually given to a patron was probably a sheet of paper with the celebratory verse written on it, yet what was promised was entirely intangible. Lyric poetry had, of course, close ties to the world of speech and song, it was regularly performed — and in some cases never written down, or written down only as an afterthought. But when it came to gifting a poem, inscription was more likely than performance. The letters, sonnets, odes, and eclogues of Bernardes's oeuvre, whilst undoubtedly sometimes read aloud, frequently allude to their status as missives, reaching where the voice will not: 'desejo e espero/ Que onde não chega a voz,/ que chegue o escrito' (Carta X, ll. 47-8). Letters are tangible reminders of the client's existence (Carta VI, l. 146); their length and the frequency with which they are sent physical demonstrations of friendship (Carta XXIII, ll. 133-6). At the end of one letter, Bernardes even suggests that his letter is a guarantee ('penhor') that he will pay back the favours that he has received from his patron (Carta XXV, l. 115).

Etymologically, the word 'fame' is associated with the spoken word, rather than the written; fame's 'mil bocas' that embroidered her costume were a representation of her connection with the power of speech.¹⁸ Indeed, oral language was considered to have special powers and the capacity to invoke the presence of the absent and these associations played into the insistent connection of fame with the oral and aural, adding to the mystical powers associated with it.¹⁹ It is these associations that Bernardes emphasises in his discussion of what he might be able to offer to his patrons. Avoiding entirely the mechanics of how poems might actually be able to generate fame, by the material storage of the poem and the repeated reading of these verses over time, Bernardes hands over the duty of memorialising the patron to divine third parties, such as Fama, Apollo, or the Muses:

Já vejo o brando Febo alvoroçado
Encordoar de novo a lira d'ouro
Onde dele, por mim, sereis cantado.

¹⁸ For the connection of fame with the spoken word, see Philip Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 49 ff.

¹⁹ Écloga XVI, ll. 7-9. For a discussion of the power of the spoken word as it was perceived in early modern Spain and its potential to be as powerful as the written word as an agent of memory, see Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, trans. by Sonia López and Michael Agnew (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 4-5.

Dos seus versos abrindo o mor tesouro,
Espalhará no mundo a vossa fama,
Celebrando Pereira mais que louro. (Carta XXXI, ll. 70-50)

Or, indeed, the processes of fame become entirely agentless, as in this passive construction: ‘Teu nome [...] sempre s’há-d’ouvir’ (Carta I, l. 102). The need to insist on the immateriality of the poem, its words unceasingly spoken by immortal gods, emerges as critical because Bernardes is usually trying to criticise the covetous accrual of material goods and wealth, which he says will disappear with time, insisting that the patron divert some of their wealth to the needy poet:

Tempo os vossos tesouros desbarata,
Os vossos edifícios põe por terra;
A boa fama não, nunca a maltrata. (Carta V, ll. 58-60)

As estátuas do tempo são gastadas,
Também o foram já suas memórias,
Se não foram das Musas conservadas. (Carta XXVI, ll. 157-9)

By supporting a poet with material benefits, the logic is that the patron is able to exchange his worldly possessions for eternal renown, unsusceptible to the corrosive force of time. Sculpture and architecture are wont to crumble with time, but poems have a special staying power because their operations belong to the immaterial world of the voice.²⁰ Bernardes thus talks about panegyric in terms of the voice of fame because the value of poetry lies precisely in the fact that time will not corrode its form; he needs to skirt over the fact that ‘a work becomes available to be read or heard only in some particular state’ because this would undermine his argument about the relative benefits of poetry and sculpture.²¹ Doubts do creep into Bernardes’s work, though. In a rare moment of material awareness, he admits that the mere survival of the poetic document does not guarantee memorialisation; poems can be forgotten, their material substrate becoming more valuable as the wrapping paper for market knickknacks than as a surface for poetic inscription:

Os versos destes tais sorve o Leteio,
Ou vem a embrulhar drogas de tenda
Como também dos meus inda receio. (Carta XXVII, ll. 25-7)

²⁰ Bernardes was far from alone in the denigration of sculpture in favour of poetry as the medium of memorialisation. António Ferreira says ‘De Lisipo esculpido, e só pintado/ d’Apeles távoas duras pereceram;/ os papéis cremos só, de que é contado’ (Cartas I.8, ll.190-2). Francisco de Sá de Miranda also exclaims in a poem addressed to Prince D. João: ‘Cairão as estatuas de metal/ Que se podia esperar de cousas mudas?’. Sá de Miranda, *Poesias*, p. 95, ll.13-14.

²¹ Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. x.

What is more important, then, in terms of what the poet gives to the patron is not the paper that changes hands, but rather the way in which a poem might be able to memorialise in the minds of readers the name of the patron. The poet promises what he cannot, in literal terms, give.

THE GIFT OF FAME: MORAL MATTERS

The power to administer the elixir of immortality did not come without responsibilities, however. Not every individual was worthy of commemoration. As Bernardes says to Gaspar de Sousa, ‘A fama da virtude se deriva’ (Carta XXX, l. 31). In an ideal world, literary panegyric should only be granted to those who deserve it: morality should govern the extent to which the poet was a free agent. The ethical imperative of speaking the truth — the poem being a kind of mirror to the glory of an individual — limited who could be praised, turning the poem into a gift offered in recognition of the honour a person had already won. As Alain Viala states when talking about Boileau’s *Art Poétique* (1674), for many writers ‘truth is the fundamental and disinterested value in respect of which texts are to be judged’.²² To disobey this moral injunction would be to turn poetry into a product like any other, available to anyone willing to pay the price and devoid of any moral discernment in who might become its subject. Such a situation would disturb the connection between fame and virtue, where fame was the prize used as an incentive to virtuous behaviour.²³ The threat that such elaborate praise would be dismissed as mere flattery accompanied the writing of any panegyric text. Whilst the distinction between flattery and praise ‘embellished’ by the artist’s prerogative might be ‘academic’, as O. B. Hardison puts it, the need to defend one’s work against such accusations was nonetheless frequently felt in the early modern world.²⁴ Flattery was seen as a scourge of the court, governed entirely by self-interestedness: ‘aduladores/ [...] por proveito seu e alheio dano,/ Sempre ao gosto falam dos senhores’ (Carta XXVII, ll. 184-6). It was a pestilence to be driven out of society for it had the potential to rot

²² Alain Viala, ‘The Theory of the Literary Field’, p. 87.

²³ See O. B., Hardison Jr., *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 21-2.

²⁴ Hardison, p. 31.

away all that which was good. As a consequence, there was no shortage of denouncements of flattery in the texts of the period.²⁵

In a number of poems, Bernardes shows himself keen to avoid the accusation that his work is mere flattery (e.g. Carta IV, ll. 74-6). Indeed, the very success of his petitions for favour depended on his ability to convince the reader that his praise was genuine. Bernardes anticipates a potential criticism of his work and, in doing so, distinguishes himself from other poets whose only mode, he suggests, was sycophantic praise. The problem was that early modern nervousness around flattery derived less from what was actually said — hence the difficulty in differentiating in stylistic terms between flattery and true praise — and more from the perceived intentions of the poet. Flattery presupposed some less-than-ideal intentions on the part of the poet, a certain indifference to the actual moral worth of the patron and a vicious interest in collecting (more often than not) material rewards: it made quantity of cash more important than quality of person. Flattery degraded the moral value of poetry, miring it in the connotations of trade, that antithesis to the aristocratic ideal.²⁶ The humanist Bishop, Jerónimo Osório puts this in no uncertain terms:

Quid de poetis dicam? Non enim solum sibi ipsis, sed omnibus in quorum studium propensi sunt, nominis immortalitatem pollicentur. Hoc enim sibi diuinitus concessum existimant ut e tenebris quos uelint eripiant atque saeculis innumerabilibus in hominum luce constituent. Caeleste profecto munus res ad laudem insignes ab obliuionis iniuria uindicare mortemque ipsam omnia delentem ingenio comprimere. Sed nescio quomodo inuitus hoc dico, tum quia poetarum ingenia sum semper admiratus, tum quia te, Solonem credo imitatus, cum illis coniunxisti. *Nescio igitur quam ratione plerique suae dignitatis obliti mercatum immortalitatis instituunt gloriamque uenalem omnibus proponunt.* Multi enim sunt qui cum nulla instrumenta uirtutis habeant eam facile a poetis nundantur quibus, si te muneribus insinues, statum te facient Iouis filium, felici sidere natum atque multiplici uirtute aurea saecula referentem.²⁷

²⁵ An exemplary instance of the moral disgust towards flattery would be the *sentenças* of D. Francisco de Portugal. Take, for example, the following: ‘Aprazíveis lisonjeiros/ sempre dão beijos de Judas,/ como são baixos palheiros/ perdas são suas ajudas’. Francisco de Portugal, *Poesias e sentenças de D. Francisco de Portugal, 1º Conde de Vimioso*, ed. by Valeria Tocco (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999), p. 222, no. 142.

²⁶ As Keith Thomas notes, ‘the aristocratic ethos was equally hostile to unrestrained money-making. Those fortunate enough to have inherited riches were happy to dismiss the search for profit by others as “sordid” and “ignoble”, unworthy of persons of “better birth” and “generous disposition”; some even held it “the prime and essential part of a lord to be ignorant of what he hath”’ (p. 112).

²⁷ Translation: ‘Que dizer dos poetas? Eles oferecem a imortalidade de um nome, não só a si próprios mas também a todos os que se sentem inclinados ao desejo dela. Pensam, na verdade, que isto lhes foi concedido da parte dos deuses para que libertem das trevas os que o desejam e dominem entre os homens com a sua luz pelos séculos sem fim. A sua missão, inteiramente recebida do céu, destina-se ao louvor, a arrancar coisas insignes da injúria do esquecimento e conter com engenho a própria morte, que apaga todas as coisas. Mas não sei de que modo sou forçado a dizer isto, quer porque sempre admirei o engenho dos poetas, quer porque tu, crio que imitando Sólon, te juntaste a eles. *Não sei, pois, por que razão a maior parte deles, esquecidos da sua dignidade, empreendem o comércio da imortalidade e propõem a todos uma glória venal.* Muitos, com efeito, são os que, não possuindo quaisquer meios de conseguirem a virtude, a compram aos poetas, os quais, se lhes deres prendas, imediatamente te farão

Jerónimo Osório worries that poetry has been debased by the free market connotations of paying for poems. The desire to turn poems into profit, he says, has corrupted one of the central moral precepts of poetry writing, namely that their praise should be only granted to the worthy. Writers had to be careful, then, to make it clear that their intentions were not coloured by mercenary selfishness, but disinterested virtue.

THE GIFT OF FAME BECOMES A COMMODITY

In striking counterpoint to Osório's statement, Bernardes's poems occasionally make explicit the poet's interest in money over morals. His letter to António de Castilho, discussed in Chapter 1, makes remuneration the sole concern of the writer. In this poem, Bernardes proclaims the almighty power of poetry to make or break an individual's fame, but in a shocking upending of the values we might expect, he states that it is irrelevant whether someone is good or bad, as poetry, be it by truth or lies, can make any one of us into heroes: the decision to commemorate someone in verse depends entirely on the salary that one received from them. This poem is one example of how moral ideals quickly evaporate when the practical concern of seeking patronage cannot be guaranteed by the existence of moral paradigms alone. To talk about paying for poetry shifted the terms of patronage discussion considerably towards the world of trade. But this is not a lone example of when the poet's gift ceases to be guided by generosity and the praise of virtue.

In the usual early modern vocabulary for describing — and participating in — patronage relationships, emphasis fell on the incommensurability of what each party offered.²⁸ Cicero and Seneca provided the language of social ethics through which to describe and frame the distribution of benefits in society. In theory, one could not — and, in practice, one should not — set about calculating the relative values of goods, services, or favours. To do so would bring the taint of trade to the whole encounter, displacing

filho de Júpiter, referindo que nasceste sob um feliz signo astral, destinado por uma múltipla virtude a tempos áureos.' Jerónimo Osório, *Tratado De Glória*, ed. and trans. by João Nunes Torráo (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2006), pp. 200-203, my emphasis.

²⁸ David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*, revised edn (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2014), p. 112.

the virtuous generosity said to govern such interactions. As Seneca puts it in *De Beneficiis*, benefits were only really benefits when no-one was keeping a tally:

the bookkeeping for benefits is quite simple. A certain amount is disbursed; if there is any repayment at all, then it is a profit. If there is no repayment, it is not a loss. I gave it only in order to give. No one records benefits in an account book and then, like a greedy collection agent, demands payment at a set day and time. A good man never thinks about his gifts unless he is reminded by someone wishing to repay him. Otherwise the benefits are converted into loans. Treating a benefit as an expenditure is a shameful form of loan-sharking.²⁹

This is perhaps a kind of world that can only exist in the mind of the moral philosopher. Social decorum might require the pronouncement of such values and the obfuscation of any calculations, but that is not to say that we cannot find evidence of this kind of calculation going on in patronage exchanges or behind the scenes. Although writers consistently speak of devotion, generosity, and ethical truth when composing letters and poems to their patrons, Bernardes often intermingles the rhetoric of vassalage, disinterestedness, and generosity with more commercial language. The letter to António de Castilho provided us in Chapter 1 with one example of Bernardes going against the grain, when he claims that patronage is more likely the determining factor in his decision to write panegyric than the moral worth of the figure commemorated. His use of the verb ‘pagar’ in the opening of his eclogue ‘Galateia’ similarly disturbs some of our expectations as to how he might frame his interactions with patrons in his verse:

Aceitai entretanto por começo,
Do que pagar espero inteiramente,
Esta piquena oferta que ofereço
A vós grande senhor, devotamente. (Écloga XI, ll. 41-4)

As the anthropologist David Graeber outlines, ‘when objects of material wealth pass back and forth between superiors and inferiors as gifts or payments, the key principle seems to be that the sorts of things given on each side should be considered fundamentally different in quality, their relative value impossible to quantify — the result being that there is no way to even conceive of a squaring of accounts.’³⁰ Here, though, Bernardes suggests by his use of ‘pagar’ — and even more so by the suggestion that one could ‘pagar [...] inteiramente’ — that there was a certain degree of equivalence between the verses offered by the poet and the favours granted by the patron. To ‘pagar’ was to ‘satisfazer o acreedor’.³¹ Rather than what happens with obligations, which draw the two individuals in question into mutual dependence, the language of payment suggests a settling of accounts, the

²⁹ Seneca, *On Benefits*, trans. by Miriam T. Griffin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), I. 2. 3.

³⁰ Graeber, p. 112.

³¹ See Bluteau, ‘pagar’ in *Vocabulário in DICIweb*.

complete defrayal of what is owed. Yet, instead of leaving the usual gestures of courtesy completely behind, the stanza above stirs an unexpectedly mercantile vocabulary in with allusions to deference ('devotamente') and gifts ('oferta'). Modalities of exchange mingle; the hallmarks of gift exchange remain and sit alongside more mercantile notions.

The nearest that Bernardes comes to putting a definite value on what he does and to asking a patron to match this with their support is the following stanza reproduced in two cartas from *O Lima*:

As mercês aos serviços s'acomodem,
Acudindo com tempo o pobre aflito,
Qu'ao rico, a qual mais, todos acodem. (Carta XVI, ll. 40-2 and Carta XXIX, ll. 100-102)

Here, the concern for equivalence prioritised in economic exchange rises to the surface.³² Whilst speaking of 'serviços' and 'mercês' places the patronage relationship firmly in lexical field of lords and their vassals, the verb 'acomodar-se' pulls the *mercê* and the *serviço* into a sort of calculation of their relative worth. Bernardes is not talking about service freely gifted, but services performed with an expectation of reward. The poet thus runs against the grain of expected behaviour, wherein 'generosity was a virtue displayed at all times by the gentleman, who, devoid of self-interest in his innocence, generously served those whom he regarded as his equals or friends or those to whom he was indebted'.³³ At a time when poetry was not necessarily seen as worthy of favour as a matter of course, Bernardes's suggestion that *mercês* match services is also a way of establishing that, on a basic level, his service actually had value in the first place.

Bernardes bolsters his argument with an allusion to the religious imperative of charity, casting himself as the 'pobre aflito', thereby further suggesting how immoral it would be for Moura or Meneses to keep all their riches for themselves. Later on in the letter to D. Cristóvão de Moura, Bernardes calls upon the customary expectation that powerful figures distribute favour to poets as a way of chastising Moura's failure to act like a munificent Maecenas:

Quem haverá, senhor, que não s'espante

³² Graeber, pp. 103-4.

³³ Fernando Bouza, 'Letters and Portraits: Economy of Time and Chivalrous Service in Courtly Culture', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Robert Muchembled, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006-2007), III: *Correspondence and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (2007), ed. by Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond, pp. 145-62 (p. 153).

de não serdes às Musas um Mecenas,
Se no mais, com mor rei, ides avante? (Carta XXIX, ll. 55-7)³⁴

Directly mentioning D. Cristóvão's intimate relationship with D. Filipe I and implying the ample benefits that this would bring to the 'valido' of the monarch, Bernardes calls to mind an impersonal 'quem' whose surprise at the courtier's miserliness in matters of literary patronage should guilt D. Cristóvão into generous action. The vocabulary used participates in the discourse of service familiar to D. Cristóvão as an agent of the king and evokes social norms that place him in a position where he would be expected to reward a client's service (whatever form that service might take). This poem, rather than simply revealing Bernardes's calculating mind, lays emphasis on equivalence as a way to force the patron to act. Suggesting commensurability becomes a tactic for getting patrons to act, as it made the obligation for reciprocation more explicit.

CHANGING THE RULES OF THE GAME

As we have discussed, the discourse of gift exchange in its ideal form required that benefits be given up freely without an (explicit) desire for reciprocation.³⁵ For a writer looking to earn a living from their verse, such a system left the client open to a great deal of risk: in the absence of a requirement for immediate reciprocation, the poet could spend all their resources sending out poems without ever getting anything in return. Indeed, Bernardes's poetry announces a series of more practical strategies that can be read as attempts to eliminate (or reduce) risk. Royal patronage was generally given after the fact, in recognition of services already rendered, and many client-patron relationships began with the client offering a gift, but Bernardes suggests how much better it is to support poets in advance, by suggesting that the 'honras' and 'mercês' were the wherewithal — Bernardes actually calls them the 'penas' — that enabled ancient poets to write:³⁶

Os celebrados gregos, os troianos,
Os famosos romãos conquistadores,
Não foram mais nas armas soberanos;

³⁴ The comparative 'mor' rather than the superlative 'o mor' is rather odd here, but is reproduced in Martins's edition as well as the first edition. It could be a printer's error for 'c'o mor rei'.

³⁵ See Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', p. 844.

³⁶ 'Relationships often began when a patron accepted the gift of a client without reciprocating, in this way incurring a debt that had to be paid later'. Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', p. 845.

Mas se no mundo têm mores louvores
A causa disso foi porque souberam
Granjeir os prudentes escritores.

As honras e mercês que receberam
Opiano e Virgílio foram penas
Com que tão altas coisas escreveram. (Carta XXVI, ll. 163-71)

Oppian and Virgil were able to write because they had received honours and favours in advance, Bernardes suggests. Oppian was perhaps the ideal model for Bernardes as he is said to have received gold coins for every line of poetry that he wrote.³⁷

Bernardes also seeks commissions from individuals, by suggesting in his cartas that he might celebrate the recipient or their family in verse:

... se deste cuidado [being poor] me vir fora,
A vós darei meu canto e, a gosto vosso,
A quem vos deu à terra e no céu mora.

Aquele santo velho (assí lhe posso
Chamar ousadamente à boca cheia),
Que tanto nos honrou o tempo nosso.

Que pera tal sujeito nova veia
Apolo me dará e lira branda,
Com que no seu Parnaso se recreia.

Mas enquanto meu espirito alheio anda
Do sossego que pede tal sujeito,
Aceitai com amor o qu'amor manda
Do mais que d'ambos guardo no meu peito. (Carta XVI, ll. 64-76)

Here the important thing is that Bernardes proposes that he is not able to write the kind of panegyric that he would like to as he does not enjoy the material comfort that composition of such a poem would require. The suggestion of providing the poet such comfort so they might go about writing their verses without being plagued by financial worry did not always have such direct benefits for the patron as verses written specifically in praise of them:

Mas permitindo o céu que se mostrasse
Em vós, à minha Musa, outro Mecenas
Por cujo tronco a baixa hera trepessa.

Inda com novo estilo as novas penas
Cantaria d'amor, mais ledo então
Entoadado de Febo e das Camenas. (Carta V, ll. 79-84)

³⁷ See 'Oppian of Cilicia', in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. by Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 1041. Virgil was often seen as a poet who managed 'not only glory after death, but comfort in this world'. David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 50.

Should Luís d'Alcáçova Carneiro show himself to be a patron to Bernardes, he would be able to sing ever sweeter verses with 'novo estilo'. The benefit for the patron is articulated indirectly through the way that ivy is said to weave its way around the tree of Maecenas. As an evergreen plant, ivy was a symbol of immortal renown, often associated specifically with the praise of poets. Carneiro will, then, win immortality through his beneficence in supporting Bernardes, the love poet, just like Maecenas is remembered for his generous support of Horace and Virgil.

Because patronage exchanges were not immediate transactions, where goods swap hands simultaneously, there were a series of time delays, which could thwart the success of the exchange. Patrons could promise one thing and then change their mind or could potentially decide not to reciprocate a client's show of generosity. Indeed, the asymmetrical power relation could even make a patron insist that a client's gift be offered, even if the prospect of a reciprocal gift had been removed from the table:

Quem ontem me mostrou rosto contente
Já hoje se me mostra carregado,
Em tudo do primeiro diferente.

Por grave ficar quer desobrigado
A me favorecer no que pretendo
De que palavra já me tinha dado.

Estes montes e vales prometendo,
Sem nunca efectuar o prometido,
Querem que o que não dão fique devendo. (Carta XI, ll. 46-54)

From one day to the next, the patron changes from cheerful to frowning in their dealings with Bernardes. So as to be taken seriously ('por grave ficar'), by not changing their mind again, the patron wants to be freed from their obligation to the poet. Although they do not keep up their end of the bargain, they expect Bernardes to and here he takes issues with this situation. Sharon Kettering has argued that 'patronage differed from kinship and friendship in that the reciprocity of its exchange was obligatory', and yet, Bernardes's work shows that such obligations were not always fulfilled.³⁸ Indeed, one of Bernardes's primary struggles in patronage was trying to make the patron feel their

³⁸ Kettering, 'Patronage in Early Modern France', p. 844.

responsibilities — one might even say their debts — to clients more keenly, in the hope that they might then pay out on their promises.

Related to the problem of promises not always leading to payment, the bureaucracy associated with the disbursement of favour from the royal purse caused some consternation amongst poets. André Falcão de Resende, in one of his many memorable patronage poems, casts himself as an unsuccessful alchemist trying to transmute the paper document of his *moradia* into something more substantial:³⁹

Busco acorros noite e dia,
mas ri do faminto o rico;
e tento em nova alquemia,
fazendo metal do Sapico
com papeis de moradia. (I, 334)⁴⁰

A poem attributed to Heitor da Silveira and sent to the Conde de Redondo, D. Francisco Coutinho, makes a similar point about the bureaucratic difficulty of transforming papers into payment and, though dismissed by Maria Lurdes de Saraiva as little more than a joke, glints with a satirical edge:

Acuda com provisão
não de papel, mas provida
de ouro e prata; que esta vida
não sustentam papéis, não.
De feitor a tesoureiro
ser-me-ia trabalho grande;
Vossa Senhoria mande
algum remédio primeiro
com que a morte o ferro abrande.⁴¹

We know that Bernardes failed to receive the full amount of his 1582 award of properties from D. Filipe I, which confirms the reality of Resende and Silveira's complaints. What these poems remind us, then, is that until writers had the money in their pocket or properties in their name, they could still face hurdles in receiving payments, even if official documents already set down in writing a contractual commitment to remunerate them. 'Esperanças vãs' were frequent in patronage's 'dessossegada dança' and so Bernardes suggests reorganising its rhythms in various ways to reduce the risk he ran of never getting paid.⁴²

³⁹ *Moradias*, as the name suggests, were payments made to those who lived in the court. For a discussion of the emergence of the *moradia* as a form of payment in the court, see Gomes, *Making of a Court Society*, pp. 215 ff.

⁴⁰ Acorros=auxílio [aid], cf. Resende, II, 383. Spaggiari does not gloss 'Sapico' and I have not been able to find a clear connection between 'Sapico' and gold, which it seems likely that the 'metal do Sapico' is.

⁴¹ Luís de Camões, *Lírica completa*, ed. by Maria Lurdes de Saraiva, 3 vols (Lisbon: INCM, 1980), I, pp. 252-3.

⁴² Anastácio, *Visões*, I, p. 908, ll. 157-8.

PRACTICAL STRUGGLES

Gaining patronage, then, was not straightforward and a number of difficulties stood in the poet's way. Patrons were not necessarily immediately ready to offer their support and could renege on their promises. The disparity in power between patron and client and the sporadic nature of patronage meant that the quest for favour could be a disillusioning business. The fragile fibres of patronage were frequently torn asunder by the changeable winds of the courtly ecosystem. In practical terms, death, changes of ministers or monarchs, and forgetfulness all stood in the way of courtiers seeking patronage. In the *Filosofia cortesana moralizada* (1587), a board game designed to while away the time whilst courtiers waited for their patrons to respond to their requests, Alonso de Barros sets out the many such obstacles that lay in wait for courtiers trying to win favour: some, as in the board game, might delay you for a turn, others involved a financial outlay, whilst others still might send you right back to square one.⁴³ The playing board in the British Museum, originally sent to Filipe I by the Medici family, circles around a 'mar de sufframiento' and vividly evokes the frustrations of seeking patronage in the early modern world. If Diogo Bernardes's work is anything to go by, this game is a fairly reliable representation of the values associated with patronage seeking and the practical pitfalls ready to trip up the courtier as they pursued the patronage of their *senhores/as*. Echoing those trials represented by Barros, Bernardes raises frequent laments about the 'vãs esperanças' of the court, the 'mudanças/ Do governo e d'ofícios desta terra' (Carta XIV, ll. 52-3) and how he is plunged into the obliterating waters of the Lethe to be forgotten by those whose favour he desires (Carta XXIV, ll. 16-18; cf. Figs 2-4).

⁴³ For a brief discussion of this game, see Harry Sieber, 'The Magnificent Fountain: Literary Patronage in the Court of Philip III', *Cervantes*, 18.2 (1998), 85-116 (p. 93).



Fig. 2. 'Pozo del oblio'. Mario Cartaro, *Filosofia cortesana moralizada* de Alonso de Barros [detail]. London, British Museum.



Fig. 3. 'Mutanza d' ministri'. Mario Cartaro, *Filosofia cortesana moralizada* de Alonso de Barros [detail]. London, British Museum.



Fig. 4. 'Passo della speranza'. Mario Cartaro, *Filosofia cortesana moralizada* de Alonso de Barros [detail]. London, British Museum.

At a time when the most lucrative posts in public administration were in the management of the empire and its trading routes, there was also the additional problem that your patron might inconsiderately leave you behind in Portugal as they sought fame and fortune in the far-flung reaches of the Portuguese empire. What is more, as happened with Rui Gomes da Grã, one of Bernardes's own patrons, the dangers of seafaring and military duty might just mean that they never return to share

the bounty gathered from their Imperial office.⁴⁴ The period in Portuguese history that Bernardes lived through was especially turbulent in terms of patronage because of the brisk succession of individuals who held power in Portugal. Following D. João III's death and the ascension to the throne of the boy-king, D. Sebastião, Portugal had two regents of vastly differing attitudes and with opposing groups of favourites, who were then followed by the reign of a seemingly fickle D. Sebastião himself. After the disaster of Alcacer-Quibir, there was then D. Henrique, followed swiftly by D. Filipe I, who again had their own *privados* and enemies. Who was 'in' and who was 'out' switched and changed every few years; a savvy poet needed enough connections to survive these reversals of fortune. Even the most successful courtiers often spent some time out of favour, as we might deduce from the biographies of some of Bernardes's own patrons: Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro and D. António de Castro both had quite turbulent careers, but were both made counts under Filipe I.

BEGGARS MUST BE CHOOSERS

One way to get around the problems of all these changes and issues was to choose your friends carefully. Later in Bernardes's life, the political tension resulting from the dual monarchy meant that factions formed in the Portuguese court and one had to be careful with whom one associated with.⁴⁵ A prosopographical perspective on Bernardes's patrons reveals that they very often had strong connections to Castile, which would have been a political advantage after Portugal lost sovereignty to Spain in 1580. António de Castilho wrote a legal document outlining the legitimacy of Filipe I's claim to the Portuguese throne.⁴⁶ D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses was one of the governors of Portugal after D. Henrique's death, was a supporter of Filipe, and Bernardes associates him with D. Cristóvão de Moura, Filipe's principal agent in Portugal and a key player in the succession.⁴⁷ D. António de Castro accompanied D. Filipe I during his entry into Lisbon in 1581 and Pedro Álvares Pereira was based in

⁴⁴ After being given a captaincy of a ship he died en-route to India in 1591.

⁴⁵ See Fernando Bouza, *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes: política, cultura, representações (1580-1668)* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 2000).

⁴⁶ Serrão, pp. 324-5.

⁴⁷ For Francisco de Sá de Meneses, see António Caetano de Sousa, *Historia genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 13 vols (Lisbon 1735-1749), XIII (1747), p. 65. For a brief account of D. Cristóvão's role in the crisis of succession, see Disney, I, 194-5.

the Madrid court for most of his life.⁴⁸ Pêro de Alcáçova Carneiro was a favourite of D. Catarina's, wife of D. João III and aunt of Filipe I.⁴⁹ Pêro de Lemos was the secretary of an important Spanish noblewoman, the Marquis of Alcanisas, D. Elvira Enriquez Almansa y Borja, widow of the late Álvaro de Borja-Aragón y Castro. Bernardes also writes to the Archiduque Cardeal Alberto, to an important ecclesiastical figure, D. Alonso Coloma and to Diego de Córdoba, one of Filipe I's closest advisors.⁵⁰

Furthermore, examining the the collective biographies of the figures featured in Bernardes's poetry points to how they were selected for strategic reasons as those best placed to act as intermediaries for him in the court. A large number of those patrons to whom Bernardes writes were *conselheiros*, the highest-ranking nobles and amongst those most intimately connected to the king. Whilst it was not the case that all these *conselheiros* whispered directly into the king's ear, election as a *conselheiro* was a mark of honour and suggests that Bernardes chose wisely those individuals with a good amount of political influence, especially in relation to the kings of the sixteenth century. This was important because one of the principal rewards he was seeking was royal patronage in the form of *tenças* or *comendas* or posts in the royal household as I discussed in Chapter 1.⁵¹ Indeed, the prosopography of Bernardes's dedicatees reveals a key difference between him and other writers, especially Sá de Miranda and António Ferreira. Whereas these poets address several of their most important *cartas* to dukes and kings, such high-ranking officials do not feature as regularly amongst Bernardes's dedicatees. This is because rather than seeing himself as a moral figure who needs to pronounce on questions of Empire (like Ferreira does in his letter to the Conde de Redondo) or on courtly behaviour (as in Sá de Miranda's epistle to D. João III), Bernardes's poems are more often preoccupied with patronage and thus are addressed to those possessing the connections and social standing apposite to his search for favour.

Friendships were a form of social capital, able to be leveraged for gains within society. As Bourdieu suggests, one's friendship circle consists of 'a durable network of more or less institutionalized

⁴⁸ For D. António de Castro's role in this event, see Soares, *Memorial*, pp. 195-6. For indications of the importance of Pedro Álvares Pereira in the Spanish court, see Bouza Álvarez, *Portugal dos Filipes*, pp. 32-3, 111-12, 117, 223.

⁴⁹ Disney, I, 158.

⁵⁰ See below for more information about these figures.

⁵¹ Ferreira, 'Inventing the Courtier', p. 92.

relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition', which, 'provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word'.⁵² These relationships could be used directly, with a direct petition for assistance, but could also be invoked less directly as a way of proving an individual's membership to a particular group, encouraging trust and even impelling an individual to act in a particular way, because group membership was a form of control.

From a panoptic and temporally flattened perspective, when we plot known connections between Bernardes's dedicatees using archival documents and genealogical data, we can observe (even if the data is necessarily partial) that Bernardes's interpersonal environment is marked by an intricate latticework of connections that triangulate Bernardes's relationships with many figures with at least one other member of the network (see Fig. 5). Bernardes continually makes use of this 'closure' within his poems in order to manage his relationship with patrons. He strategically invokes friendships between his patrons and other individuals (who are friends with both the poet and the patron) in order to build new relationships and consolidate existing ones.⁵³ This is not just an observation made with the benefit of hindsight, statistics, and sociological theory, however. To take one early modern example, Erasmus counsels in his letter-writing manual, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, that mentioning personal relationships with ancestors and relatives of a dedicatee can be an effective persuasive tactic in securing favour.⁵⁴ Bernardes makes clear use of the reputational advantages of these pre-existing connections by cross-referencing in his poems the friends he has in common with the addressee. For example, the *sobrescrito* to Bernardes's letter addressed to Gaspar de Sousa specifically alludes to the fact that Sousa is the nephew of D. Cristóvão de Moura (the dedicatee of Carta XXIX, which immediately precedes the letter to Sousa in *O Lima*). In his letter to Francisco de Moura, Bernardes mentions both António de Castilho and Pêro de Andrade Caminha at the close of the poem and suggests that they know that Bernardes is contacting Moura (Carta VI, l. 148). In a letter to D. António de Castro, Bernardes mentions this patron's 'sobrinho', D. Fernando Álvarez de Castro, who the poet says is very wise (via a

⁵² Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. by J. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 241-58 (p. 249).

⁵³ The strategic mention of 'network embeddedness' in Renaissance patronage networks has been studied by Paul McLean in his article, 'A Frame Analysis of Favor Seeking in the Renaissance: Agency, Networks, and Political Culture', *American Journal of Sociology*, 104.1 (1998), 51-91 (p. 53).

⁵⁴ Erasmus, *Literary and Education Writings*, III, 173.

to powerful patrons. Intermediaries had always been part of the system for securing favours within the court, as anecdotes from the *Ditos portugueses dignos de memória* remind us.⁵⁶ In terms of literary patronage, the interesting, but neglected poet, Jerónimo Cardoso, explains in a striking Latin elegy to his friend, Pedro Ribeiro, how essential intercessors were in the Renaissance circuit of favours:

Tu Maecenatem facis ut me fronte serena
 Respiciat, placidam porrigat utque manum,
 Nec res illius pateris de pectore nostras
 Decidere, aut curam deposuisse mei. (Elegias II. 17, ll. 5-8)

[You make it so that my Maecenas looks favourably on me and offers me assistance with a gentle hand, and you do not let him forget our business or stop taking care of me.]⁵⁷

Intermediaries might substitute for connections to a particular individual, with the middleman acting as the primary negotiator in the petition for patronage, but they could provide introductions to new individuals and might also provide a simultaneous, additional connection to a patron, used for the purpose of back-channelling the more delicate task of making, to use the jargon of today's university development offices, 'the ask'. Bernardes contacts patrons who are connected to other individuals that he knows, because his friends could then supply supplementary support in winning favour.

Bernardes adopted such a two-pronged strategy in his dealings with Cardeal Arquiduque D. Alberto, the viceroy of Portugal between 1583-93, to whom Bernardes writes directly on the occasion of the English assault on the Portuguese in 1589.⁵⁸ Bernardes does not mention his desire for patronage in this sonnet of martial praise. However, he does write a sonnet to a figure closely associated with D. Alberto, Alonso Coloma, whom he asks 'Lembra por mim ao senhor nosso Alberto/ Que seja em novo Augusto às brandas Musas' (Soneto CXI, ll.13-14). Coloma studied theology at the University of Valencia and was an influential ecclesiastical figure who, after Bernardes's death, became Bishop of Barcelona and chancellor of the university in the same city in 1599.⁵⁹ Prior to migrating to Portugal with D. Alberto, Coloma had long belonged to the *camara* of the Archduke and whilst D. Alberto was viceroy of Portugal — and simultaneously the country's chief inquisitor — Coloma was a deputy of

⁵⁶ See José H. Saraiva, ed., *Ditos portugueses dignos de memória* (Mem Martins: Europa-América, 1979), nos. 30 and 61.

⁵⁷ The translation is mine.

⁵⁸ Disney, I, 210-11.

⁵⁹ Gil González Davila, *Teatro eclesiastico de las iglesias metropolitanas, y catedrales de los reynos de las dos castillas [...]* (Madrid: Francisco Martínez, 1645), p. 337.

the Portuguese Inquisition.⁶⁰ Coloma was, then, a figure well placed to act as a middleman by having a longstanding relationship with Cardeal Archiduque Alberto. This relationship is a good example of how Bernardes enters into contact with figures within Portuguese administrative structures in order to win favour with the most powerful individuals. What is interesting, however, is that Coloma might not have been all that likely to have supported Bernardes, as a statement he made as rector of the University of Barcelona suggests that he was not particularly predisposed to the printing of *versos profanos*.⁶¹ As we will see later in this chapter with D. Christóvão de Moura, Bernardes had to contact powerful individuals who were not always very interested in poetry, because they were strategically positioned in the court. He sidles up to key patrons, by dispatching friends in advance and reminds his patrons of his connections to other important figures or to friends of the petitioned. In D. Filipe's case it seemed particularly necessary to have powerful allies as he was a king known for shutting himself away.⁶² Indeed, the way in which D. Filipe baulks at the liberality of D. Diego de Córdova in a story from the *Anedotas portuguesas* is telling of how necessary it was to have the right connections in order to win favour, as D. Filipe was rather a tight-fisted monarch.⁶³ In his own quest for patronage, Bernardes enlisted the support of two of D. Filipe I's closest allies in Portugal at the beginning of the 1580s, D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses and D. Cristóvão de Moura, asking them to act on his behalf so that the king 'empresta' the 'mercê' that he was seeking (Carta XVI, ll. 34-5; Carta XXIX, ll. 94-5).

The intervention of intermediaries was not only necessary for gaining access to the king, however.

Bernardes refers to António de Castilho as his linkman in relation to D. Cristóvão de Távora, who is alluded to under the cryptonym of 'Gouro' (Carta XIV, l. 26). Bernardes also refers back to Castilho in

⁶⁰ 'Don Alonso Coloma era hijo del conde de Elda, estado del reino de Valencia, y de la portuguesa doña Isabel de Sá, natural de Évora. Había nacido en Valencia y había estudiado en Alcalá y en Salamanca, donde perteneció al colegio mayor de Cuenca. Probablemente llegó a Portugal con el duque de Gandía, don Carlos de Borja Aragón y Castro. En septiembre de 1583, el Conselho Geral aprobaba su información de limpieza de sangre y don Alonso entraba a servir en el tribunal de Lisboa como diputado'. Ana Isabel López-Salazar Codes, 'La cuestión de la naturaleza de los ministros del santo oficio portugués. De las disposiciones legislativas a la práctica cotidiana', *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 71.239 (2011), 691-714 (p. 696).

⁶¹ The *aprobación* to the following book suggests that it was commissioned to be sent to the inquisition by D. Alonso de Coloma: Estevan Brellas, *Centuria, o Historia de los famosos hechos del gran conde de Barcelona Barcino, y de don Zinofre su hijo, y otros canalleros de la prouincia de Cathaluña [...]* (Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1600). For his statement at the University of Barcelona, see Antonio Fernández Luzón, *La universidad de Barcelona en el siglo XVI* (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2005), p. 99.

⁶² 'Between 1556 and 1598, Spain had been ruled by a monarch renowned for his love of solitude, his suspicion of the aristocracy and his austerity in dispensing royal favors', Sieber, p. 92.

⁶³ *Anedotas portuguesas*, pp. 147-8. Incidentally, Córdova receives a poem from Bernardes. The sonnet to Córdova is no. CVIII in *RV/FL*. In Carta XXII (l. 349), Bernardes mentions D. Diogo de Córdova as someone whom the Portuguese emissaries, who included Bernardes, met in Spain in 1576.

his letter to Távora (Carta XV, l. 46). Another example of the involvement of middlemen in Bernardes's dealings with patrons is the sonnet to Pedro Álvares Pereira in *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* which begs Pereira to win over Gaspar de Sousa who Bernardes says 'detendo está minha ventura' (Soneto CXXII, l. 14).

MATCH YOUR LETTER TO YOUR PATRON

In order to stand any hope of turning their poems into favours that were actually paid, the poems that asked for favour had to be carefully adapted to the patron. Clients had to frame their requests in particular ways and tap into norms of behaviour that would impel the patron to action. Such frames have been extensively studied by the sociologist, Paul McLean, in a Renaissance Italian context. McLean's use of Goffman's frame analysis provides an interesting model for understanding the language of patronage in sixteenth-century Portugal.⁶⁴ A survey of the kind of frames deployed by Bernardes suggests the values that he thought did — or should — govern the interactions between patron and client and which emotions and moral values were likely to motivate patrons into giving favour, beyond simply the quality of the poetry that Bernardes wrote and which they might have wanted to read or commission. Indeed, attention to the kinds of frames used by Bernardes suggests that even for poets, patronage was not always granted on the basis of aesthetic merit: it was not just the perceived 'quality' of the poems that mattered, rather the presentation of the person doing the asking and the reasons why they needed support were just as important — if not more so — than the poems that might be produced as part of the exchange.

In terms of letters that requested patronage, a number of the cues deemed to be persuasive had been codified in letter-writing manuals of the period. Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis* offers us a particularly rich and influential sourcebook for these frames. First published in 1522, the text was published in Alcalá, in Spain, in 1525 and 1529, suggesting its dissemination in the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, it was reprinted a total of 30 times in Europe between 1522 and 1536. The catalogue of the Biblioteca

⁶⁴ McLean, p. 53.

Nacional de Portugal lists several sixteenth-century copies of *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, including a 1524 edition that was previously owned by the Jesuit college of São Tiago Maior (Elvas) and a 1542 edition that was owned by the Jesuits in Coimbra, which therefore suggests that there were copies accessible in Portugal in the period. Although coy about direct requests made to a patron, which he calls the kind of subject matter that would make the asker 'blush with shame', Erasmus does elaborate in detail the kind of vocabulary and conceptual frames likely to motivate the recipient to help the sender out.⁶⁵ He suggests that neediness can be a 'great weapon' for the petitioner, and he should lay on thick the praise of the 'singular kindness' of the patron, by stating that the 'extraordinary goodness of his nature [...] is disposed to lighten all men's miseries' as such comments are likely to enamour the patron to the asker.⁶⁶ Securing the goodwill of the patron also required emphasis on the bonds of friendship and devotion that tie the asker and giver together. Here is Erasmus again: 'we shall say that we wish the ties that exist between us, already very strong on many accounts, to become stronger still; arguing from our own person, we shall testify to the devotion that we have always felt towards him, and the special confidence we have always placed in him, pointing out at the same time that just as there is no one to whom we would more gladly be indebted than to him, to whom we owe everything, so no one would find it easier to grant our request.'⁶⁷ As Erasmus concludes, petitioners must show that what they ask for is 'dutiful, just, honourable, essential for us, and easy and commendable for him. Next we shall point out without arrogance the advantages that will accrue to him in the future.'⁶⁸

In addition to these frames or social cues, early modern letter-writing manuals insisted that the style, content, and tone of a letter needed to be adapted to fit the contours of the recipient's disposition. Missives were targeted and personalised. The ability to improvise one's personality to fit the mood of any situation and the interests of any audience was an essential competency in the enterprise of the court. As Bernardes complains, one had to feign an interest in what was interminably dull, pretend knowledge on those subjects in which one's familiarity was minimal, and claim amateur status in domains in which one had expertise (Carta XI, ll. 13-8). The classic (and influential) statement of courtly ideals came in Castiglione's *Il cortigiano*, a book that had a long-lasting effect on how behaviour

⁶⁵ Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings*, III, 172.

⁶⁶ Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings*, III, 172.

⁶⁷ Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings*, III, 173.

⁶⁸ Erasmus, *Literary and Educational Writings*, III, 173.

in European courts was conceptualised and which, by all accounts, crystallised many of the priorities and preoccupations of what it meant to live in amongst the European nobility of the early modern period.⁶⁹ Certainly, its influence as a guidebook in the period we are examining here is unquestionably significant and the ideas which it encoded continued to be of importance, especially because much of what Castiglione had to say was reiterated and adapted to the particular situation of Portugal under the dual monarchy by Rodrigues Lobo in his *Corte na aldeia* (1619).⁷⁰ In *Corte na aldeia*, the ‘pretendente’ is seen as the paragon of courtly behaviour, as he must adapt to please everyone in his bid to win favour.⁷¹ In his study of patronage under Louis XIV, Paul Shoemaker connects patronage with courtliness precisely on these terms: ‘Castiglione describes conversation as an art of the particular: because no two men are totally alike, rhetoric [when seeking patronage] becomes a matter of improvisation and constant adjustment to the uniqueness of one’s interlocutor’.⁷² Luis Vives, the author of another popular letter-writing guide that shared the same title as Erasmus’s, highlights along with Erasmus the importance of matching a missive to its recipient. Vives goes into particular detail suggesting that one should take into consideration the recipient’s family background, financial resources, his occupation, temperament, learning, and morals.⁷³ There is no shortage in Bernardes’s work of references to this desire: he declares at one point ‘pudera converter-me/ em mais diversas formas que Proteio’ (Carta XXXI, ll. 10-11), a statement that is a boast at his proficiency in courtly metamorphosis, but which is swiftly followed by a complaint about the fruitlessness of his endless transfigurations.

The allusion to Proteus was an ambiguous one. Such insincerity was frequently lampooned in satirical literature of the period. As Bernardes himself states proudly ‘Um rosto tenho só’ (Carta XI, l. 12) and ‘Qual é meu coração, tal é meu rosto’ (Écloga XVI, l. 26), thereby intimating the degree to which many considered it better for inside feelings and outside expression to match. In *Os Lusíadas*, Camões is particularly hostile towards those shape-shifting individuals who ascend in the court through their ability to please various crowds:

⁶⁹ cf. Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, *Il ‘Perfetto Cortegiano’: D. Miguel da Silva* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1989); and Burke, *Fortunes*, p. 32.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of how Lobo continues this tradition, see Burke, *Fortunes*, p. 94.

⁷¹ Lobo, pp. 267-8.

⁷² Shoemaker, p. 22.

⁷³ Juan Luis Vives, *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, ed. by Charles Fantazzi (Leiden: Brill, 1989), p. 29.

Nenhum ambicioso, que quisesse
 Subir a grandes cargos, cantarei,
 Só por poder com torpes exercícios
 Usar mais largamente de seus vícios;

Nenhum que use de seu poder bastante,
 Para servir a seu desejo feio,
 E que, por comprazer ao vulgo errante,
 Se muda em mais figuras que Proteio. (VII. 84. 5-85. 4)⁷⁴

Sá de Miranda shares this suspicion towards duplicitous courtiers in his letter to D. João III:

Homem d'um sô parecer,
 D'um sô rosto e d'ũa fe,
 D'antes quebrar que volver,
 Outra cousa pode ser,
 Mas de corte homem não é. (ll. 111-15, p. 192)

Whilst Proteus might be invoked as the example of courtly dexterity, Erasmus reminds us that the ability to change one's personality to match one's environment had moral boundaries. The adage, 'Adopt the outlook of the polyp', 'advises us to suit ourselves to every contingency of life, acting the part of Proteus, and changing ourselves into any form as the situation demands', however, Erasmus goes on to say, 'let no one think that by this adage we are taught a disgusting type of flattery, which assents to everything in everybody, or improper changeability in behaviour [...] the wise man is like the sun, always himself'.⁷⁵ An ability to change personality, then, quickly led to accusations of flattery, the moral perils of which we discussed briefly earlier in this chapter. The Scylla and Charibdis of patronage negotiations were not matching one's letter to the recipient enough, therefore rendering one's petition ineffective, or matching it too closely and being too enthusiastic with one's praise and being accused of sycophancy. Indeed, books of Alciato's emblems confusingly enough had emblems that extol both the necessity and corruption of flattery.⁷⁶ João de Barros in *Diálogo com dois filhos seus sobre preceitos morais em modo de jogo* (1563) suggests a need to balance *adulatio* with *contentio*, in order to achieve the virtue of *affabilitas*.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ References are to Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, ed. by Frank Pierce (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

⁷⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *Adages*, trans. and ed. by Margaret Mann Phillips, Roger Aubrey Baskerville, Denis L. Drysdall, John N. Grant, and Betty Knot, 6 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), I, 133-4.

⁷⁶ Andrea Alciato, *Los emblemas* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1549), 'Contra los aduladores' (p. 118) and 'De el que no sabe lisongear' (p. 141).

⁷⁷ João de Barros, *Diálogo com dois filhos seus sobre preceitos morais em modo de jogo* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1981).

ONE PROJECT, TWO APPROACHES

Two letters that amply demonstrate the careful adaptation of tone and content to the recipient of a letter of request are the pair Carta XVI and Carta XXIX. These letters are particularly interesting because of the connections established between the recipient of each, namely, D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses and D. Cristóvão de Moura respectively. Bernardes could not have chosen two more influential figures in the political life of early 1580s Portugal. D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses was chosen by D. Henrique as one of the five governors to rule the kingdom after his death and to select the next king. He had an impressive trajectory as part of the Portuguese court and was known throughout his career as a great courtier. As a member of an important family, he accrued a great deal of wealth and was well known as a skilled poet. D. Cristóvão de Moura was no less influential a figure. He reached the peak of public life in Spain as the favourite of D. Joana (mother of D. Sebastião) and then as the ‘valido’ and ‘amigo’ of D. Filipe I. As Santiago Martínez Hernández notes, D. Cristóvão amassed a fortune unparalleled by other courtiers with his background and acquired a very large estate.⁷⁸ During the crisis of succession in Portugal, it was D. Cristóvão who orchestrated D. Filipe’s rise to the Portuguese throne, acting on the king’s behalf in distributing bribes and building his legal case to legitimacy. For this reason, he has been an especially controversial figure in Portuguese history. Known from the seventeenth century almost until the present day as the ‘fidalgo traidor’ or ‘renegado português’, he was savagely criticised by nationalistic historians for the loss of Portuguese sovereignty.⁷⁹ Luís de Sá Fardilha’s recent intervention into the historiography of the period demonstrates a continued nationalistic sentiment in Portuguese criticism. Fardilha’s work has been instrumental in recuperating the Sá de Meneses family into the cultural landscape of early modern Portugal as we now see it and he has reminded historians and literary scholars of the impact this family had on Portuguese letters over the course of the sixteenth century. However, Fardilha felt the need, in a recent article, to challenge the picture painted in Queiroz Velloso’s *O Reinado do Cardeal D. Henrique*, which had placed D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses in the pocket of the notorious D. Cristóvão. Fardilha

⁷⁸ Santiago Martínez Hernández, ‘D. Cristóvão de Moura e a casa dos Marqueses de Castelo Rodrigo. Proposta de investigação e linhas de análise sobre a figura do grande privado de D. Filipe I, *Governo, política e representações do poder no Portugal Habsburgo e nos seus territórios ultramarinos, 1581-1640* (Lisbon: CHAM, 2011), pp. 69-96 (p. 72).

⁷⁹ Martínez Hernández, pp. 72-9.

suggests that Sá de Meneses was cautious and that there was nothing like a friendship between the two.⁸⁰ It is quite striking, then, to consider that in an eclogue, Bernardes refers to these two figures as a pair of patrons.⁸¹ In Carta XXIX, the letter to D. Cristóvão, Bernardes refers directly to D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses, saying that Sá de Meneses ‘foi vosso amigo caro’ and that ‘Aquele valeroso e douto conde/ A cujo nome o seu cantado Leça/ E o grão Douro, com grande amor, responde/ [...] *já isto ouviu de mim*’ (Carta XXIX, ll. 115-17, 112 — my emphasis). Moreover, the connection between these letters goes beyond the simple indication that Bernardes has relied on both figures as patrons, because eight stanzas from Carta XVI are reproduced almost word-for-word in Carta XXIX.⁸² Indeed the phrase ‘já isto ouviu de mim’ can thus be taken in a literal way: Bernardes is saying that he has already sent the same words to D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses. Because the stanzas reproduced have something of a generic character and refer specifically to the favour Bernardes was seeking — ‘Fazei conta, senhor, qu’el-rei m’empresta,/ a mercê que por vós dele pretendo,/ Porque de vida já pouco me resta’ (XXIX, ll. 94-6, and XVI, ll. 34-6) — the implication is that they knew each other well and were both involved in Bernardes’s quest to receive some reward from D. Filipe. Because Sá de Meneses is dead at the point when the letter to D. Cristóvão de Moura was written — this is the sense of the lines ‘cuja luz o céu esconde/ Que na terra *foi* vosso amigo caro’ — Bernardes is suggesting that D. Cristóvão take up the role of patron where D. Francisco left off. In the light of these connections, we can see patronage as a collaborative affair and can observe again how social capital was a necessity in the world of the court.

Perhaps more revealing, however, are the differences between the letters. They may share some twenty-four lines and appeal to friends whom Bernardes considers to be quite close, but their differences in character are quite evident from how the two poems diverge in their content.

D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses was well known as a poet. As my network map in Appendix I suggests, he received poems from a number of writers, and many of these poems praised his skills as a writer.

⁸⁰ Luís de Sá Fardilha, ‘O “filo-castelhanismo” de Francisco de Sá de Meneses’, *Península*, 0 (2003), 201-208.

⁸¹ See *Écloga* XVI, ll. 100-102.

⁸² Compare Carta XVI ll. 10-15, 19-21, and 34-45 with Carta XXIX ll. 94-105.

This is corroborated by the *Ditos portugueses dignos de memória* where Meneses is mentioned as an authority on sonnets.⁸³ His interest in poetry, however, extended beyond writing, and he supported many other poets through patronage. For example, in his ‘Epistola a Dom Francisco de Meneses’, André Falcão de Resende thanks D. Francisco for the ‘merçes’ that he had received (I, 423). Bernardes adapts his message in Carta XVI to these facts by thematically focusing on poetry in his request. Bernardes alluded to the river Leça, with which D. Francisco was associated as a poet, and he asks his patron to judge his merits ‘tendo respeito/ A Clio, a Calíope e a Talia’ (l. 17); in other words, he asks D. Francisco to assess his worthiness on the basis of his poetic virtues. He suggests too that recompense for being lifted out of poverty would be a poem celebrating the family of Sá de Meneses.

The strategy deployed in the letter to D. Cristóvão is rather different. From the evidence that we have, it seems that D. Cristóvão was a reluctant patron of the muses. Góngora, for one, failed to garner favour from D. Filipe’s *valido* and Bernardes, as we have already mentioned, demonstrates his surprise that he is not ‘às Musas Mecenas’.⁸⁴ Given this, it is significant that Carta XXIX is some sixty lines longer than its sister letter, as though D. Cristóvão needed many more words to persuade him. Bernardes opens his poem with a statement about the role of poets in society, mentioning the freedom that poets have to celebrate or condemn with their verses:

Senhor, em todo tempo, em toda idade,
Diante reis, diante emperadores,
Tiveram sempre as Musas liberdade;

Ou pera celebrar com seus louvores
Aqueles que por seus ilustres feitos
De fama vêm a ser merecedores;

Ou para reprimir claro defeitos
Doutros qu’a torpes vícios entregaram
As obras, as palavras, os conceitos. (Carta XXIX, ll. 1-9)

In evoking the epideictic function of poetry early in his letter, Bernardes, in a way, gives himself the licence to speak frankly during the rest of the poem and to criticise D. Cristóvão for not recognising the virtue and value of poetry:

Quem haverá, senhor, que não s’espante
de não serdes às Musas um Mecenas,

⁸³ *Ditos portugueses*, p. 333, no. 914.

⁸⁴ See Diane Chaffee-Sorace, ‘Góngora and Christóvão de Moura: Portraits in Nature in the Sonnet “Árbol, de cuyos ramos fortunados”’, *Symposium*, 64.1 (2010), 1-17.

Se no mais, com mor rei, ides avante? (Carta XXIX, ll. 55-7)

These lines contain a backdoor compliment: it is the power and prestige that D. Cristóvão enjoys which makes it all the more extraordinary that he is not a patron of the muses. Nonetheless, Bernardes is clearly invoking a cultural assumption that poetry was worthy of patronage and that patronage was expected of leading lights in the nobility. Bernardes wants to shame him into supporting him: rhetorical brinkmanship of the most daring quality.

Throughout the poem, there is a focus on the largess of D. Cristóvão. Bernardes puts a spin on the fact that D. Cristóvão was charged with distributing favours for D. Filipe I at various points in his career, to suggest that this action of distribution was a reflection of Moura's inherent generosity. Bernardes constructs, then, a favourable representation of the patron using facts from the life of D. Cristóvão. Additionally, Bernardes suggests that D. Cristóvão was well placed, by heavenly favour, to demonstrate the virtue of liberality. As noted above, focusing on how simple it would be for the patron to perform the favour was one of Erasmus's top tips for composing a request. Bernardes, then, characterises Moura as munificent in all he says in Carta XXIX in a sense to make Moura think of himself in those terms and thus act accordingly, continuing the support that had been promised by his friend, and Bernardes's other patron, D. Francisco de Sá de Meneses.

ORPHEUS TRANSFORMED

One of Bernardes's most direct poems about patronage is Carta XXXI to Pedro Álvares Pereira. The poem tackles the problem of patronage head on, but a familiar tension emerges wherein Bernardes speaks directly about his intentions, but has, at the same time, to assure his patron that he merits support and is not being greedy. After presenting a series of arguments to persuade Pereira to support him, Bernardes tell his patron the story of Orpheus (l. 88 onwards). In an interpretative move that is revealing for the overall preoccupations of Bernardes's work, he turns the quintessential myth about the mystical powers of poetry into a story about patronage, as we will explore below. It is possible to

date the poem as it mentions Pereira's father and the fact that Pereira himself now has more power (l. 64-9). Pedro Álvares Pereira was appointed to the important position of *Secretário do Conselho de Portugal* in 1586, replacing his father after his death.⁸⁵ The poem, then, thus dates from soon after this appointment.

Carta XXXI opens with an allusion to the disappointments of the past, he suggests that if he does not seize this opportunity it would be better if it never offered itself to him in the first place (ll. 1-3).⁸⁶ A missed opportunity is worse than not having the opportunity in the first place. Such frustrations, however, are mentioned to show Pereira, the dedicatee of this poem, in a better light for it is with the virtuously munificent Pereira, Bernardes hopes, his fortune will improve. In contrast with previous abortive attempts to win favour, Bernardes says that 'com vosso claro aviso' Pereira will release him from the weight of poverty which drags him down. It is this contrast of past problems and present optimism that constitutes the central line of argument throughout this poem, as Bernardes presents himself as an aged and long-suffering poet, whose work has been unrewarded and whose poverty is yet to be relieved. Here Bernardes alludes to an image familiar from Alciato's emblems, though, surprisingly, departs from the emblem by not making any statement about how poverty is preventing his own 'pluma' from reaching 'la region no hollada' (Fig. 6). This is interesting, because, as we have seen elsewhere in this chapter, the poet does make it quite clear on several occasions that the patron's favour is what will allow him to soar. Bernardes focuses on his impoverishment here, appealing to Pereira's charity, although later in the letter he will change strategy, appealing instead to his desire for fame and immortality (ll. 70 ff.).

⁸⁵ For a brief biography of Pedro Álvares Pereira, see Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 4 vols (Lisbon: Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741-59), III (1752), 556-7

⁸⁶ My clumsy phrasing here is intended to gloss the difficult syntax of this stanza where the infinitival phrase, 'não se m'oferecer', is the subject of the sentence.

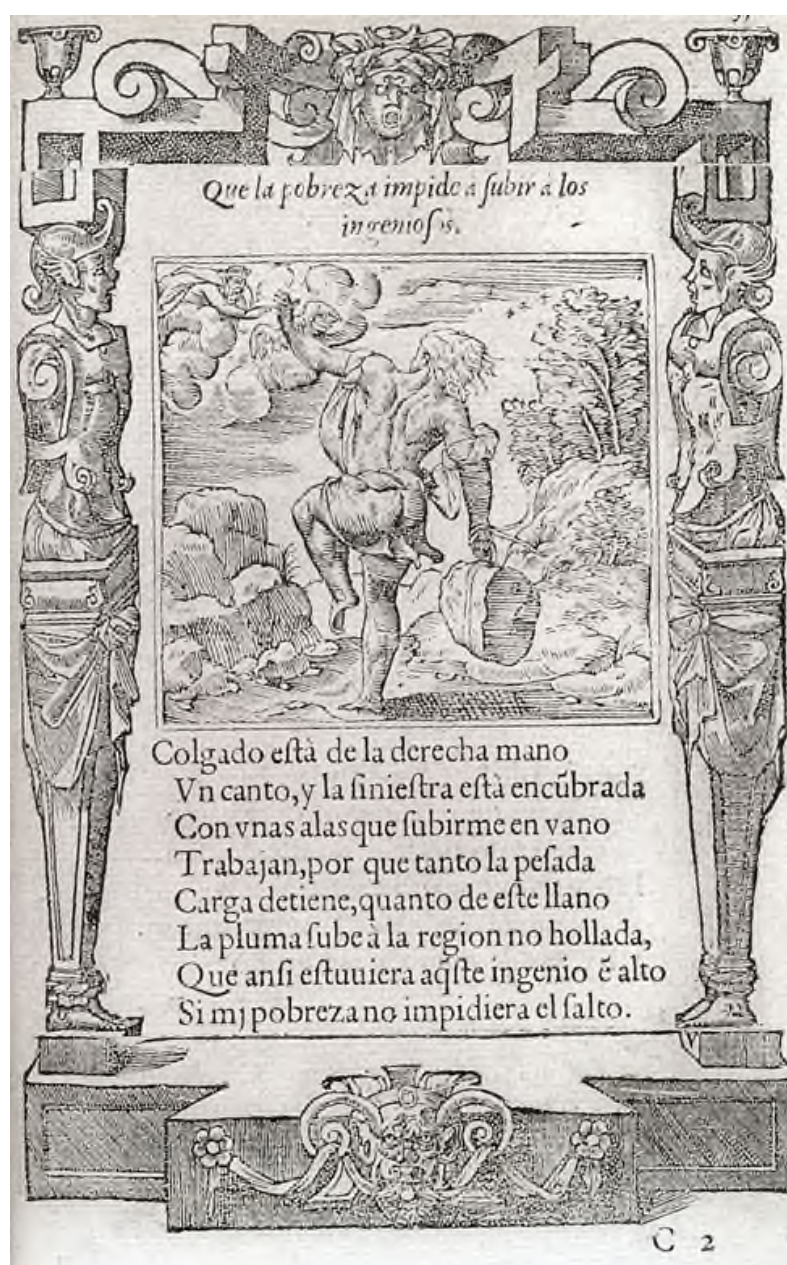


Fig. 6. 'Que la pobreza impide à subir à los ingeniosos', in Andrea Alciato, *Los Emblemas* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1549), p. 35. Alciato at Glasgow <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/images/facsimile/sm32z_c2r.jpg> [Accessed on 25 January 2016]

As he moves on to discuss how he has tried everything in order to win favour, one might be struck by how baldly Bernardes presents himself as the two-faced flatterer, given how morally suspicious the figure of Proteus was in the period. I think, though, that this passage is intentionally (read: strategically) honest in its evocation of such self-transformations. It alludes to past moral indiscretions so as to make his present persona appear more virtuous. Barbosa Machado's short biography of Pereira suggests that such openness might indeed have been a well-judged strategy in a letter to this particular patron, for the eighteenth-century historian writes approvingly that Pereira 'possuio em grao sublime todos os dotes constitutivos de hum consumado Ministro, sendo amante da verdade, inimigo do

interesse, affavel para os pertendentes, judicioso nos votos, e acautelado para os futuros'.⁸⁷ Indeed, if Machado's character portrait is in any way accurate, Bernardes's quip about 'os que [a fortuna] sublima' — and how they tend to become forgetful (and neglectful) — may well have also appealed to Pereira's distaste for self-interest and desire to show kindness towards clients (ll. 13-15).

The next lines in Bernardes's poem ask a question that I sought to answer in concrete terms in Chapter 1:

Cantei ao som do Tejo e ao som do Lima,
Chorei ao som do ferro em Berberia,
Que me valeu alegre ou triste rima? (Carta XXXI, ll. 16-18)

What did Bernardes get from writing his poetry? The implicit answer here is nothing. Though perhaps untrue in real terms, rhetorically speaking, this question invites Pereira to see it as unjust that Bernardes has not been well rewarded for the verse he has written. Indeed, to emphasise how unfair this situation is, Bernardes follows his plaintive question with a reminder of how in the ancient world poetry was granted great rewards by powerful people (ll. 19-21).

Of course, to be worthy of favour, Bernardes needed to show his intentions were pure; he had to demonstrate that greed and ambition did not motivate his request. He achieves this through a set of three hyperbolic rhetorical questions that suggest that his aims are not to have fancy silverware or an entourage clamouring for his favour. As he concludes,

Senhor, o meu desejo é ter que coma,
E cuido que mereço o que desejo.
Pois não é desejar ser Papa em Roma. (Carta XXXI, ll. 31-3)

The humorous exaggeration of these lines fits well with the straightforward tone of this letter as a whole, and suggests that Pereira may well have had a friendly relationship with Bernardes, one not overly determined by the deferential formality one might expect from a letter to a patron.⁸⁸

As the letter goes on, Bernardes continues to underline the fact that he believes he merits the favour of Pereira and that his ambitions are humble (ll. 43-5), yet he adds an urgency to his request ('o que vos peço/ É um remédio meu com brevidade' (ll. 37-8)), emphasising his old age (ll. 36, 42) and, therefore,

⁸⁷ Machado, III, 556.

⁸⁸ See Neiva, p. 123.

the need for Pereira to act quickly. As mentioned above, Erasmus suggests in *De conscribendis epistolis* that necessity was a powerful tool for persuasion. Bernardes's old age and (allegedly) straightened circumstances would be good ways to motivate the granting of patronage and fashion Bernardes as a kind of charity case, playing into the Christian imperative to help out the poor. In amongst the humility of these lines, however, are two that shock even the critic now accustomed to Bernardes's forthright poems:

Tomai este negócio de vontade,
Que não sofre descuido o mercenário
Nem largas esperanças larga idade. (Carta XXXI, ll. 40-2)

To ask Pereira to deal with this matter diligently ('de vontade') because someone looking for favour does not suffer negligence easily is direct in the extreme. Implying that he is a 'mercenário', i.e. 'aquele que trabalha com os olhos na mercè, que espera', shifts his self-portrayal in a decidedly venal direction even in view of all the mentions of how modest his needs are.⁸⁹ Moreover, he adds to the urgency of his request by also referring to his old age, which equally calls for diligence from the patron. Indeed, these lines distil the overarching concerns we have been exploring in this chapter, namely, that Bernardes is, above all else, a poet who sought favour and who was frustrated by the delays and disappointments that were intrinsic to how patronage was organised in early modern Portugal.

As he moves to praise Pereira, a necessary part of any patronage poem, Bernardes suggests that he might think all these compliments mean that Bernardes was born to exalt him, the implication being that Pereira might feel uncomfortable with such enthusiastic celebration. Bernardes reminds him, however, that poetry has special powers — Pereira should want to make use of these — and that, in any case, saints (like him?) do not refuse to be sung about:

Se nesta [carta] engrandecer vossos louvores
Té vós direis de mim que me naceu
De pretender de vós novos favores.

Digo que seja assi; também no céu
Os santos não enjeitam ser cantados,
E o inferno com canto se venceu. (Carta XXXI, ll. 53-7)

⁸⁹ See Bluteau, 'mercenário', in *Vocabulário* in *DICIneb*.

What is interesting about the final line here is how it looks forward to the story that Bernardes will tell in the second half of the poem, preparing the reader for the relevance of the Orpheus myth, where the gods of the underworld are moved to compassion by the poet's song. Moreover, one can connect this stanza with the beginning of the letter where past misfortune was contrasted with present hope, as Bernardes asks Pereira for assistance. Indeed, though it does not become apparent until the unexpected finale to the letter, lines 58-60 with their mention of Bernardes's 'sucessos maus' also anticipate the conclusion to the letter where the 'sucessos' of Orpheus and Bernardes are compared. They also figure Pereira as the saviour who will vanquish the poet's difficulties, echoing again the opening stanzas of the letter and bringing them together into a coherent whole.

As Bernardes begins to praise the wonderful qualities of Pereira, then, he reminds his patron of his father, Nuno Álvares Pereira, who, Bernardes suggests, had been a generous man. There is no evidence that this figure did assist Bernardes in his court petitions, as there are no poems dedicated to him, but this remark does reveal something about the power of invoking family history as a persuasive manoeuvre. In the *carta* to D. Fernando Álvares de Castro Bernardes deploys a similar strategy, alluding to the precedent set by Castro's ancestors as a means to incite him to equal greatness (and liberality) (see Carta XXIII, ll. 100-5).

Bernardes's celebrations of Pereira are not irrelevant to the intended outcome of the letter, but all pertain to the issue of patronage. The poet promises a poem honouring Pereira; a promise which Bernardes mentions as another incentive for Pereira to favour him (ll. 70-5). Line 76, and its praise of the noble and generous line to which Pereira belongs, plays with the image of the family tree by merging the image of the branch (i.e. the family line) by combining it with a common metaphor for patronage: the shady boughs under which the client can find rest (ll. 77-8). Bernardes elaborates this image in the lines that follow, by suggesting that favourable winds will blow on Pereira and that the sun will shine for him, allowing him to climb higher and higher towards the heavens. Indeed, Bernardes suggests, he will climb so high that the palm tree (famed for its height and often associated with fame itself) would envy him (ll. 79-81, 84).⁹⁰

⁹⁰ For a discussion of the connotations of the palm tree in emblems of the period, see: García Aguilar, p. 60.

After all this cajoling, the poem then changes direction. The transition from praise and direct persuasion to storytelling is marked by a simple ‘dizem que’ and is a good example of the essayistic structure that underlies many of Bernardes’s *cartas* which digress and wander through a series of different ideas, and different modes of writing, sometimes without an explicit connection between them.⁹¹ Here though, we have been prepared for this story and should immediately recognise its relevance because lines 16-21 alluded to Orpheus and suggested that this story tells us about the awesome power of poetry. Yet, whilst the ‘dizem que’ suggests that he is passing on a story, it also prepares the way for when he distances himself from these customary retellings at the end of the poem when we get Bernardes’s spin on how the story relates to his own life. His playful ending to this retelling of the Orpheus myth also becomes more surprising if we take into account that in another poem, one to Rui Gomes da Grão, Bernardes includes the same story but turns it into an example of the tragic consequences of love. There it figures as one of many love stories Bernardes tells to entertain his reader whilst he is on the long journey to India (see Carta XXVI, ll. 235-88). Whilst stories, then, might sometimes seem to be set pieces (Bernardes actually tells the tale in almost exactly the same words in both poems) we have to pay attention to how they are grafted into the *cartas*, for their framing can change their meaning immeasurably. What, then, is Bernardes’s message in Carta XXXI? Returning to that contrast between ‘sucessos maus’ and what Bernardes hopes he will get by writing to Pereira mentioned earlier in the poem, Bernardes uses the Orpheus story to highlight once more how he hopes that his fortune will change with Pereira’s generosity. Rather than as the all-powerful poet, Bernardes casts Orpheus in the role of the failed petitioner who ‘em vez do que esperava, alcançou pranto’ (l. 147). Whilst Bernardes might not be able to match up to Orpheus in terms of poetic quality, what he does hope is that he will not suffer the same ‘mau sucesso’ as Orpheus, that is to say, he hopes his petition for favour in the court will be successful (ll. 148-50). Retrospectively, Bernardes’s references to the ‘*corte infernal*’ (l. 97; my emphasis) and the ‘*mercê pequena [...] engano certo*’ (ll. 122-3) all resonate with the concerns of Bernardes’s own situation: his desire for patronage in the court and the fact that his hopes for favour have so frequently been dashed in the past. The poem is a masterclass in the subtle re-working of a timeworn tale that refreshes the story by placing new

⁹¹ Other abrupt signals of change of direction in Bernardes’s *cartas* include Cartas VII, l. 58 and XXVII, l. 79.

emphasis on its plot. By making Orpheus into a courtier who seeks favour from the underworld court, thus moving him away from his paradigmatic role of the poet of poets, this poem registers that important difference between the idealised notions of poetry we saw in Chapter 1 — and that were espoused by many Iberian writers of the sixteenth century — and the practical, perhaps even mercenary concerns that animate Bernardes's verse.

CONCLUSION

Patronage looms large over Diogo Bernardes's poetry, then, as it must have done over his life. Reading his poetry closely immerses us in his world, it gives us a feel for the game. It would be impossible to disentangle his poems from the web of interpersonal connections, moral prescriptions, and rhetorical requirements that constituted the patronage system. What causes his writing to stand out, though, is how it makes legible the tensions between patrons and poets, shedding light on the relentless cycle of requests and reminders, hopes raised and then dashed that made the life of the courtier a disillusioning one. Bernardes paints the patron as fickle, forgetful, and slow to realise the special powers of poets to enshrine the magnanimous in the temple of eternal renown. His poems place patronage at the difficult intersection between the need for money and the demands of morals: the poet is torn between ethical paradigms that preach the virtue of disinterested generosity and financial need that begs for more plain-talking in requests for favour. Self-conscious and often witty, Bernardes charms, threatens, entertains, and seduces in his patronage poems. He moves from flattery to manipulative *mea culpas*, from tales about pompous fishwives to promises of epic celebration, each time adapting his message to the temperament of its recipient.⁹² But rhetoric was only one tool at Bernardes's disposal. Friendships provided crucial additional leverage in the brokering of favour. Friends could be dispatched to negotiate with a difficult or otherwise inaccessible patron and could be invoked as a proof of trustworthiness when building new relationships with patrons or cited as an example to follow when strengthening existing ties. After all this wrangling, though, perhaps what we ultimately learn from reading all of Bernardes's poems is what the old courtier, Solino, tells us in Rodrigues Lobo's *Corte na*

⁹² These particular examples come from Carta XXIII, see Chapter 4.

aldeia: it does not really matter what the courtier does, because whether or not they get anything depends entirely on the generosity of the powerful patron: ‘a cortesia não satisfaz mais que a vaidade e a largueza acode ao principal da vida’.⁹³ In a system where the patron held all the power, there was really only so much that the poet could do.

⁹³ Lobo, p. 253.

CHAPTER 3
 Dignas de impressam?
 Bernardes and Print

His years advancing, Diogo Bernardes made a surprising decision: he resolved to print his works. The idea had likely been brewing for some time, as Bernardes had been contributing poems to printed books authored by other writers since the 1570s. He wrote dedicatory sonnets for the *Elegíada* (1588) of Luís Pereira Brandão, one for each of Jerónimo Corte Real's two epic poems (*Segundo Cervo de Diu* (1574) and *Felicíssima Vitória* (1578)), two that were included in *Hystoria dos cervos* (1585) by Jorge de Lemos, and a final sonnet for the 1595 edition of Camões's *Rhythmas*. When his own three books of poetry arrived on the shelves of Lisbon's booksellers in 1594, 1596, and 1597, though, Bernardes made history. Never before had a living vernacular poet printed their lyric works during their lifetime in Portugal. In fact, save the appearance of short booklets, there had been a hiatus of more or less seventy years on the printing of Portuguese lyric poetry ever since the release of the *Cancioneiro geral* in 1516. Works by Spanish authors, usually in their second or third reprint, did get issued by Portuguese printers, and some Portuguese writers, perhaps frustrated with their own country and resident abroad,

published their poetry with foreign presses.¹ In terms of Portuguese poetry printed in Portugal, epics and devotional verse were the primary kinds to surface during much of the sixteenth century. The 1590s, then, was a decade of decisive change in the world of Portuguese typography. For one thing, the slump in printing of the 1560s and 70s had given way to a rapid increase in the number of books being produced after 1586.² Attitudes towards printing and poetry were also changing at the close of the century. Indeed, for lyric poetry to make its home in the printed rather than the manuscript book, writers needed to stop seeing lyric as the sole preserve of the elite, unsuitable for what aristocratic (or aristocratically-disposed) poets considered the vulgar masses. The institutions that regulated print also had to readjust dramatically what they thought print was for and what the priorities were that governed their approval of books.³ By collecting information from the paratextual material in printed books, we can begin to piece together a general picture of the ideas that determined the way Inquisitors, royal officials, writers, printers, and editors thought about printing in the period as well as gain a better understanding of how and why Bernardes made the decision he did. Whilst ideas are crucial here, this chapter also takes into account practicalities. As remains true today, the production of a printed book demanded the cooperation and resources of potentially dozens of people. The will of the writer may have been strong, but the obstacles were many, particularly in the political and bureaucratic gauntlet that was the process of gaining licences and privileges. In order to print a book, the writer needed a willing printer, financial backing to pay for the work (from the printer themselves, a third-party *mercador de livros*, a patron, or a family member), had to gain the authorisation of three bodies responsible for censorship, and might themselves (or their printer/funder) also need to gain a royal privilege to ensure the commercial viability of the endeavour. Each stage was not just a case of box-ticking, but potentially required connections to be made and friendships to be mobilised in order to get a fair hearing — or any hearing at all. Printing a book was a protracted undertaking. A project could stumble and fall at any of the many stages in its production. To have three books released in four years is quite impressive, then, for a writer who was at the vanguard of printing lyric works in Portugal.

¹ One could think of Jorge de Montemayor who first printed *La Diana* in Milan and Venice and his lyric poetry in Spain, or Duarte Dias who printed his lyric poems during his lifetime in Madrid.

² See Jorge Borges de Macedo, 'Livros impressos em Portugal no século XVI: interesses e formas de mentalidade', *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 9 (1975), 183-221 (p. 197).

³ See Marotti, p. 210.

This chapter begins by exploring the values that were invested in the print medium in the second half of the sixteenth century. Sifting through the prefaces, dedications, privileges, and licences to printed books, particularly to verse collections, a wariness towards lyric poetry emerges: Inquisitors direct readers to devotional verse, voicing worries about lyric poetry's power to corrupt with vain amusements; and writers distance themselves from poets of secular verse, in a bid to increase their reputation and claim the worth of their works. We delve into the dealings of the Inquisition to show that this institution was not always a closed shop, but one open to the influence of powerful figures who could push works onto the Inquisitor's desk. Rather unlike in Spain, we find that it was only towards the very end of the sixteenth century that pleasure and delight could become reasons cited to justify printing lyric poetry in Portugal alongside the more common reasons of instruction or moral profit. We then explore in detail how Bernardes managed to get his books to print, the reasons for the order in which they appeared, and the extent to which he might have been involved in the preparation of his works for print. Here, it is necessary to see *O Lima* as part of a series of books that Bernardes had printed, in order to appreciate fully his unprecedented use of the printed page. Finally, I turn to consider the material qualities of books of poetry printed in the 1590s to see how these books sought to establish the fame of the writers whose work was being printed for posterity. I draw parallels between Bernardes's work and books printed in the same decade — particularly the lyrics works of Sá de Miranda and Camões — in order to bring Bernardes's own strategies of authorial presentation into relief and, consequently, to uncover the motives that moved him to print his works in the first place. Homing in on Bernardes's relationship to printing reveals a broader narrative in Portugal's cultural history by highlighting the shifts in cultural attitudes that were occurring at the end of the sixteenth century and how lyric verse was slowly legitimated as a cultural product.

OPPORTUNITIES

From a cursory look at the statistics about printing — especially of lyric poetry — in sixteenth-century Portugal, the facts seem to speak for themselves. 'Literature' made up only a small proportion of

printed books and only a handful of poets had their works printed.⁴ The simple conclusion to be drawn is that poets preferred manuscript to the printed page or were scared off — or forcibly barred — from printing their works by the Inquisition.⁵ If you search for corroboration of these conclusions in texts, however, the situation seems less obvious. Firstly, few writers in Portugal express open disdain for printed books like they did in Spain or in England.⁶ Indeed, in an oft-cited preface, António Ferreira's son suggests that his father had tried on several occasions to print the *Poemas Lusitanos* but to no avail.⁷ He puts the forty years that the book remained in manuscript down to factors out of both his own and his father's control:

Esteve este livro por espaço de quarêta annos, assi em vida de meu pay, como depois do seu falecimêto, offerecido por vezes a se imprimir, & sem se entêder a causa, que o impedisse, não ouve effeito. Agora que cõ a idade foy crescêdo a razão, conheço qual era, & quãto devo á boa estrella que o detinha vir a luz, esperãdo chegasse a de V. A. com seu emparo & favor.⁸

Even writers, such as Pêro de Andrade Caminha and André Falcão de Resende, whose work remained in manuscript until the eighteenth century, intimate in poems addressed to the *revedor de livros*, Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira, that they had typographical ambitions for their poems.⁹ One has to look beyond any presupposed aristocratic aversion to typography, then, in order to find an explanation for the conspicuous absence of printed books of lyric poetry before 1590.

In the early modern period, like today, a bit of bad press was to be expected when rising to fame. The fear of *maldizentes* or *murmuradores* surfaces almost as a matter of course in the prefatory material of printed books. As António Ferreira suggests in a letter to Bernardes, a poet who offers himself up to the potentially hostile judgements of readers, had to 'ir bem armado' (Carta XIII, l. 174). The ubiquity

⁴ Macedo, 'Livros impressos', p. 209.

⁵ These are the conclusions regularly drawn in discussions of printing in the period. Though there is some truth to them — and it is important to acknowledge the importance of manuscript dissemination alongside print — my view, however, is that a more complete picture of inquisitorial processes and documentation of the 'stigma of print' is required before we accept such hypotheses. For examples of where these conclusions are drawn, see: Ana Isabel Buescu, 'A persistência da cultura manuscrita em Portugal nos séculos XVI e XVI', *Ler História*, 45 (2003), 19-48. For the difficulties in discerning to what extent the Inquisition scared writers from even attempting to print their works see: J.-M. de Bujanda, 'L'exercice de la censure de l'inquisition portugaise au XVIe siècle', in *Le contrôle des idées à la Renaissance*, ed. by J. M. de Bujanda (Genève: Droz, 1996), pp. 153-71 (pp. 166-7).

⁶ For England, see J. W. Saunders, 'The stigma of print: a note on the social bases of Tudor poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1 (1951), 139-64. And for Spain, see: Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 2014), pp. 61-3.

⁷ In this sense I disagree in part with Ana Isabel Buescu, who surmises that manuscript must have been the privileged form of textual dissemination in the period (p. 47).

⁸ António Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1598), n. fol.

⁹ Caminha, II, 694; Falcão de Resende, I, 278.

of these complaints might make them seem cliché, but the dread of backbiting following the publication of an author's work was well founded. Writers often found themselves on the defensive, as this forthright poem by Duarte Dias suggests:

Maravilha-me muito o novo riso
Que dizem que fazeis da minha história.
Ou ela é vil e descuberta escória,
Ou vós do que deveis estais deviso.

Achais que por ventura sou remiso
Em celebrar o dino de memória?
Achais que não merece estima, ou glória,
O verso, por não ser suave e liso?

Cuidais que basta só dizer; que presta?
E mais a quem vos pode pedir prova?
Cuidais que honra por nós cousa míngua?

Ou vós heis-de seguir matéria nova,
Ou eu hei-de mostrar nesta requesta
A branda pena contra a solta língua.¹⁰

Forced to wield his pen against 'a solta língua' defaming his epic, *La conquista que hizieron los Reyes Católicos en el Reino de Granada* (1590), Dias suggests that reputations were perhaps really endangered by the sharp tongues of critics, who appear to have swarmed around the courts of Lisbon and Madrid. The threat of *murmuradores* alone might not have been enough to dissuade a writer from seeking to print their work, given that there was a known antidote to such poisonous slander (the patron), but if we are trying to reconstruct the potential obstacles a writer could envisage on the difficult path to print, this threat should feature in our reconstruction.

Barriers of a more institutionalised nature, however, presented themselves to the would-be author-in-print. From the establishment of the Inquisition in 1536, pre- and post-publication censorship gradually became a fact of life for writers and printers alike, especially after 1540 when D. Henrique, the Inquisitor General, formed a commission of three Dominicans to assess the suitability of books for print and to examine the holdings of Lisbon's libraries.¹¹ By 1576, D. Sebastião had implemented a triple review process with each printed book requiring the approval of the Inquisition, a Church

¹⁰ Duarte Dias, *Várias obras em língua portuguesa e castelhana*, ed. by António Cirurgião (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1991), p. 100. See also Pêro de Andrade Caminha's poem, entitled 'Contra um maldizente' (II, 671).

¹¹ Bujanda, p. 156.

Ordinary, and the Monarch (by means of the *Desembargo do Paço*).¹² Any one of these authorities could halt the process of transforming manuscript into print, but unfortunately not all that much evidence has been uncovered as to why books were *not* printed. Our primary sources of information are the licences printed within books that *were* approved for print circulation and we have to use them to deduce the values that these institutions sought to propagate and to map the networks of individuals who were involved in the process of granting approval for books.

In the case of lyric poetry, a general mistrust of *versos profanos* can be detected in many licences. For instance, Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira (who was *revedor de livros* for some twenty five years between 1571 and 1595) suggests that printing the *Versos devotos* (1573) of Francisco Lopes was worthwhile ‘pera que se diuertam os homẽs de outros versos & lições profanas’.¹³ In his ‘Avisos e lembranças’, which are appended to the 1581 Inquistorial Index, Ferreira targets lyric poetry, in particular, as morally perilous when he recommends ‘a todas as pessoas, que se abstenham da lição dos Livros em que há desonestidades, ou amores profanos’.¹⁴ Such an idea is echoed by Ferreira’s successor, Francisco Pereira, in a 1595 licence to the works of D. Manuel de Portugal (not printed until ten years later), wherein Pereira argues that in the absence of good, honest verses people turn to ‘versos profanos’, which are characterized as provoking ‘não pequena perda do tempo’ and ‘dano da consciencia’.¹⁵

It is important to recognise that Inquisition officials were not the only ones who voiced moral suspicions about lyric poetry. In the second installment of his bestselling *Imagem da vida Cristã*, Heitor Pinto declares that

¹² For an outline of censorship in Portugal under the Inquisition, see: Bujanda, pp. 153-171; and I. S. Révah, *La censure inquisitoriale portugaise au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle* (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1960).

¹³ Francisco Lopes, *Versos devotos en loor de Nuestra Senhora* [...] (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1573), licence by Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira, n. fol. We can also see this in: Jacopone da Todi’s *Cantos morales, spirituales, y contemporaneos* (Lisbon: Francisco Correa, 1576), in which Bartolomeu Ferreira said in his licence dated 11 August 1575, ‘sam de muita edificação & doutrina, & não tem cousa contra nossa sagrada religião & bõs costumes, & me parece que tiraram delle muito fructo os lectores deuotos, & se divertirão as pessoas de outros versos profanos & amor mundano, vendo aqui tantos affectos & effectos do diuino amor’.

¹⁴ Artur Moreira de Sá, *Índices dos livros proibidos em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1983), p. 637.

¹⁵ In his license Francisco Pereira says: ‘tudo he conforme a doutrina Catolica dos Sanctos, & pode incitar a desejos & exercicios de virtude, & vida spiritual, & servir de honesto & agradavel entretenimento a curiosos que por ventura por menos copia de poesias semelhantes, tem outras profanas’, ‘Aprovaçam’ in D. Manuel de Portugal, *Obras de Don Manoel de Portugal* [...] (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1605), n. fol.

os livros profanos de amores obscenos e histórias fingidas [são] cheios de mentiras, e delicias, e deshonestidades, e excitamētos de pecados: [...] Gastam os homens o tempo em os ler perdendo nisso muita parte dele, sem a saberem de si: e provesse a Deus que com a perda do tempo senão ajuntasse a da consciência, e do conhecimento de si mesmos. Reprendidos alguns disto dão por escusa, que se lêem pelos tais livros, é pela boa linguagem que neles acham: e por algumas coisas saborosas, que contêm. Mas nem por isso os aviam de ler, porque então é mais de temer a peçonha, quando vem coberta de oiro: ou quando se dá nas iguarias de mor gosto. Debaixo daquelas suas palavras doces está às vezes muito veneno.¹⁶

Far from being an isolated case, the words of the Hieronymite priest find a parallel in the dedicatory letter to D. Álvaro de Lencastre in Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo's *Discurso sobre a Vida e Morte de Santa Isabel Rainha de Portugal e Outras Várias Rimas* (1596), where Quevedo enumerates the moral dangers of amorous verse:

branduras, desmayos, & deliquios de amor, não seruem maes que de facilitar corações à semelhantes cuydados, leuandonos apos si como Sereas á miseraueês naufragios, & desengandos do mundo com preseheção de vícios aspera, seruem de cerrar os ouvidos á todos como as surdas aspides à voz do encantador, eu para fugir estes inconuenientes escolhi esta hytoria proueytosa em si pois he vida de hũa Santa Raynha.¹⁷

Quevedo's book contains a long biographical poem about the saintly queen in six cantos of *oitavas*, followed by fifty-one sonnets, a poem in *terça rima*, an unfinished eclogue, some fifty emblems (without images) and, finally, a series of *romances* and *glosas*. The tone of this volume is largely moralising and any mentions of love tend to be to its disastrous consequences. For example, Sonnet XXV, one of the few poems that speaks of love in Mousinho's collection, echoes the image of the shipwreck deployed in his dedicatory letter, suggesting that love is a stormy sea that will destroy him.¹⁸ Mousinho strategically opposes his work to the vanities of love poetry so as to, by contrast, accentuate the worth of his own offering. The fact that he can do this suggests that the discourse condemning lyric poetry was widespread and could be easily mobilised by a writer seeking to promote the value of their own work.¹⁹

¹⁶ Heitor Pinto, *Imagem da vida Crista, ordenado por diálogos* (Porto: Lello & Irmão, 1984), Part II, p. 218. The first part was first printed in 1563 by João de Barreira in Coimbra and the second part by the same printer in 1572.

¹⁷ Quevedo, *Discurso sobre a Vida e Morte de Santa Isabel Rainha de Portugal e Outras Várias Rimas* (Lisbon: Manuel de Lira, 1596), n. fol.

¹⁸ Quevedo, *Discurso*, fol. 72r.

¹⁹ For more information about Quevedo, see Luís Gomes, 'Os sonetos de Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo Branco: estudo e edição crítica' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2004). Another example of a writer making use of this moralising discourse would be the Neo-Latin writer Diogo de Teive, who, in the preface to the third book of his *Epodon libri tres* (1565), casts himself as the Catholic Horace, downplaying delight in favour of moral instruction in verse. For further discussion of this interesting writer and his curious self-fashioning, see Catarina Fouto, 'Edition and Study of Teive's Epithalamium: The *Epodon libri tres* (1565) and Neo-Latin Literature in Counter-Reformation Portugal' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2012), pp. 77-91.

It is well known that Portugal was the country that adopted the reforms of the Council of Trent with the most zeal and had, in many ways, the tightest censorship controls.²⁰ But a tendency has been to see the Inquisition as a mechanically repressive organisation, entirely responsible for quelling the free-thinking, humanistic spirit of the first few decades of the sixteenth century. The examples of Mousinho and Pinto, though, show that the Inquisition was not an institution apart from society, scowling at and burning texts produced by a more liberally-minded populous. The Inquisition reflected and formed taste in the sixteenth century.²¹ Isabel Almeida notes that there was a tendency in new editions of old writers to 'rechristianise' or 'remoralise' works that had, their editors thought, been dragged away from their moral origins by immoral readers.²² Another particularly amusing anecdote about the princess D. Maria, given by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, further illustrates my point that readers' opinions were often very much in harmony with those of the Inquisition: passed a copy of Petrarch's love poetry, D. Maria de Bragança is said to have shut the book in horror without reading a word, unable to bring herself to read it because of her religious scruples.²³ Furthermore, books of devotional poetry sold well in early modern Portugal, certainly in most cases better than secular verse. Bernardes's own *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* went through more reprints than any of his other collections. As Ana Isabel Buescu notes, books on religious themes made up a significant proportion of the volumes contained in early modern royal libraries.²⁴ This trend was far from an exception in the book markets of early modern Europe. For instance, Keith Whinnom notes for Golden-Age Spain, demand for devotional texts far outstripped that for secular verse or, indeed, any text we might refer to today as 'literature'.²⁵ In Renaissance Italy too, the bulk of books produced were on religious subjects, especially in the Counter-Reformation climate of the latter half of the sixteenth century.²⁶

²⁰ See Révah, p. 8.

²¹ For a sensible treatment of the Inquisition, and its role as reflecting rather than necessarily fostering conformist religious attitudes, see R. W. Truman, *Spanish Treatises on Government, Society, and Religion in the Time of Phillip II: The 'De reigme principum' and Associated Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 5-7.

²² See Isabel Almeida, 'As Obras de D. Manoel de Portugal: Um cancionero ao divino', in *Convívio: estudos sobre la poesía de cancionero*, ed. by Vicente Beltrán Peñío and Juan Salvador Paredes Núñez (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2006), pp. 31-53 (pp. 46-7).

²³ For this anecdote, see Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, *A Infanta D. Maria de Portugal (1521-1577) e suas damas* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1983), p. 46.

²⁴ Ana Isabel Buescu, 'Livros e livrarias de reis e de príncipes entre os séculos XV e XVI. Algumas notas', *eHumanista*, 8 (2007), 143-70 (p. 161).

²⁵ Keith Whinnom, 'The Problem of the 'Best-Seller' in Spanish Golden-Age Literature', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 57.3 (1980), 189-98 (p. 194).

²⁶ Richardson, *Printing*, pp. 137-8.

If we think of the Inquisition in rather top-down terms, we risk overlooking the fact that, like any other institution, the Inquisition was, in Robert Darnton's works, a 'network of players', 'a human system, which mitigated the rigidity of censorship as the direct expression of reason of state' — or in this case, reason of religion.²⁷ This bureaucracy had faces and names. As we will see when we look more closely at Bernardes's relationship with the institutional systems regulating print, reputations and friendships could make playing the system easier. Inquisitors could also be inconsistent: the fate of Camões's epic in the first edition and in the so-called *edição dos Piscos* is a case in point.²⁸ In fact, what the editorial fortunes of this particular text tells us is that Inquisitors were not working in isolation; their office existed alongside, and could be influenced by, others. Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira was the Inquisitor who approved both the first edition of *Os Lusíadas* and later the severely edited 1584 edition (known as the *edição dos Piscos*). Literary history has made much of this fact and historians have either cast Ferreira as the great villain of Portuguese cultural history or its enlightened hero. Nineteenth-century historians — in particular Sousa Viterbo — suggested that Bartolomeu was a tolerant and liberal figure in an age of ideological oppression because he approved the printing of the first edition of *Os Lusíadas*. As Vanda Anastácio points out, his portrait of Ferreira has continued to influence literary historians to this day, who suggest that any interventions that Ferreira may have made in the 1584 edition of Camões's epic were done 'por motivos alheios à sua vontade, pressionado pela intensificação da vigilância a que se assistiu durante o período em que durou a Monarquia Dual'.²⁹ But thinking in such terms leads us to forget that individuals can change their minds, that they fell within a chain of command, and had their work altered (like any civil servant) with the changing of political tides. The evidence to corroborate a *lenda dourada* — or even a *lenda obscura* — around Frei Bartolomeu is thin and Inquisitorial licences are so short and formulaic that, on occasion, it is difficult to measure whether the friar is displaying apathy towards a text or whether he was simply overworked and wrote the licence in a rush. Indeed, Francisco Bethencourt notes that from 1591 the *revedor*'s duties increased and 'Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira devia visitar todas as livrarias de Lisboa, controlando inclusive a venda

²⁷ Robert Darnton, *Censors at Work* (London: The British Library, 2014), p. 233.

²⁸ On the question of Frei Bartolomeu's influence on the *edição dos Piscos*, see the summary of critical opinions provided in Vanda Anastácio, 'A lenda dourada de Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira', *Revista Convergência Lusíada*, 27 (2012), 28-38 (p. 35).

²⁹ Anastácio, 'Lenda dourada', pp. 150-1.

ambulante na feira do Rossio, à porta da Misericórdia, junto do Palácio Real e noutros locais'.³⁰ Instead of being the indication of 'abatimento e frieza', his short licence to the 1584 edition could be the result of an increased workload, especially with the growing number of books being printed in Portugal.³¹ Furthermore the *edição dos piscos* was brought to the Inquisition by the Archbishop of Lisbon: the licence states that 'Vi por mandado do ilustríssimo e reverendíssimo senhor Arcebispo de Lisboa, Inquisidor Geral destes Reinos os *Lusiadas* de Luís de Camões'.³² Though it is a formula so common as to risk seeming unimportant, the construction 'Vi por mandado de [insert important person here]' does not appear in every licence issued and a number of different individuals are listed as being responsible for submitting works to the Inquisition. This suggests that the insertion of this formula is, in fact, meaningful and that some figures like the King, Viceroy, or high-ranking Church officials presented books to the Inquisition, using their clout to push a book forward in the process of licencing. The Inquisitorial reviewer, then, was not an entirely free agent and could be persuaded (or coerced) into letting a book go forth to the printers despite their own reservations. A consequence of this was that one way of bettering your chances at clearing this particular hurdle was to send your work to the desk of the *revedor de livros* via an important royal or ecclesiastical figure. Two examples of significant works that were first printed under the protection of royals, but later heavily censored, are the theatrical works of Gil Vicente and Sá de Miranda. Sá de Miranda's *Os Estrangeiros* was dedicated to Cardeal D. Henrique in 1559 and that dedication was reproduced in the 1595 edition of his *Obras*, but later ended up on the Index of 1624 and was significantly altered in the 1622 *Comedias famosas portuguesas*. Gil Vicente's daughter, Paula Vicente, was awarded a privilege from D. Catarina upon the publication of the *Compilaçam* (1562), suggesting her support for the volume, though a number of Vicente's plays had been banned following the 1551 Index. Patrons, then, could influence the fate of a work and make its publication more likely. The Inquisition might also approve a work that is later rejected by the Ordinary or the *Desembargo do Paço*: this happened with a chivalric romance which was rejected by the *Desembargo do Paço* after licences were granted by the Inquisition and the Ordinary.³³ In other words, the

³⁰ Francisco Bethencourt, *História das Inquisições: Portugal, Espanha, Itália* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), pp. 171-2.

³¹ Sousa Viterbo, 'Apontamentos para o estudo litterario do primeiro censor de Camões', *Circulo Camonianos*, 33 (1890), 1-13 (p. 7).

³² License (without title) in Luís de Camões, *Rhythmas*, n. fol.

³³ See António José Saraiva, *História da cultura em Portugal*, 3 vols (Lisbon: Jornal do Fôro, 1950-1962), III (1962), 143.

revedores did not hold all the power or have the final say in decisions about printed works going to press. Their impact on the world of letters was mediated by the influence that powerful figures could have on their decisions. The Inquisition's judgements on the moral status of texts changed over time, reflecting as well as informing the moral and intellectual climate of the age.

We have already explored some of the reasons that might lie behind the preventative censorship of works of lyric poetry, or for that matter, any book: moral and religious panic. But the Inquisition did more than just pronounce on the ideas contained in books and their moral worthiness. To be sure, licences almost always feature the negatively-phrased formula 'não há nehuma cousa contra a sancta fé e bõs costumes', but they also positively construct the meaning of the printed medium. Within their licences, Inquisitorial officials attribute a special function to the printed book and invest it with particular values. Not just the repository for anything not deemed overtly heterodox, they imply that print has a special worth by talking of books 'dignas de impressam'. This language of worthiness promotes the print medium to a special status, a medium reserved only for deserving works. If propaganda today usually tries to camouflage its intentions to (re)educate, in sixteenth-century Portugal licences make it clear that print is a means for 'edificaçam'. There is regular talk of moral 'proveito', as though printing exclusively religiously informative texts would draw the reading public away from vain 'passatempos' towards morally profitable reading matter.³⁴

It was only as the century drew to a close, and Frei Bartolomeu was replaced as *revedor de livros*, that more literary concerns began to be cited as reasons for authorising a book and that pleasure becomes a principle of print. There is a marked difference between Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira's licence for the first edition of Sá de Miranda's *Obras*, typical of the licences collected in Sousa Viterbo's study of the *revedor de livros*, and Frei Manuel Coelho's in the 1595 edition of Camões *Rhythmas*.³⁵ In the former, Ferreira says that 'não tem cousa contra nossa santa fee, & conthem doctrina, & sentenças, que podem

³⁴ Such phrasing is included, for instance, in 'Licença da Sancta Inquisisam' in *Obras do celebrado Lusitano o doutor Frâncisco de Sá de Mirâda* [...] (Lisbon: Manuel de Lira, 1595).

³⁵ Sousa Viterbo, *Fr. Bartolomeu Ferreira, o primeiro censor dos Lusíadas; subsidios para a historia litteraria do seculo XVI em Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1891).

aproueytar para os costumes, por onde saõ dignas da impressam'.³⁶ Coelho, however, shifts the debate to include both delight and pleasure in his assessment of Camões's poems: 'com sua poesia pode ensinar, & com a variedade deleytar a muytos'.³⁷ The printer, Alexandre de Sequeira, echoes this sentiment in his 'Prologo do Impressor aos leitores' included in Bernardo de Brito's *Silvia de Lysardo em que ha varios sonetos & rimas* (1597), suggesting that the reader will find within the poems 'muito aviso e recreação pera entendimentos curiosos' and confirming a change in attitude at the very end of the sixteenth century.³⁸

In only reluctantly accepting the pleasure principle in licences to Portuguese books, Portugal was rather different from Spain. As Begoña López Bueno argues,

el principio del deleite, del hedonismo formal, había ya triunfado en la poesía española, pero era preciso mantener en la teoría aquella farisaica justificación contenidista que apelaba a una prestigiosa tradición sin la cual la poesía se quedaba huérfana de apoyos doctrinales y en una peligrosa senda de autojustificación por sí misma.³⁹

This can, in part, be explained by the fact that Portuguese reviewers for the Inquisition were almost always Dominican friars, whereas in Spain a series of important writers were themselves *revedores*: Ercilla, Lope de Vega, and Espinel all worked for the Inquisition.⁴⁰ Indeed, the arrival of Filipe I in 1580 must have, over time, brought a more Spanish spirit to the world of printing in Portugal, encouraging a more open approach to typography as a whole.⁴¹ It remained challenging in Portugal, though, for lyric poets to print their works in presses in Lisbon, Évora, Coimbra, or Porto until the close of the century, when the slow crawl of ideological change finally left open a space for the valorisation of lyric poetry and the establishment of its suitability for print.

³⁶ 'Licença do Sancto Inquisisam', in *Obras do celebrado Lusitano o doutor Frãscisco de Sá de Mirãda collegidas por Manoel de Lyra* (Lisbon, 1595).

³⁷ License (without title) in Luís de Camões, *Rhythmas*, n. fol.

³⁸ 'Prologo do Impressor aos leitores', in Bernardo de Brito, *Silvia de Lysardo em que ha varios sonetos & rimas* [...] (Lisbon: Alexandre de Sequeira, 1597), n. fol.

³⁹ Begoña López Bueno, *La poética cultista de Herrera a Góngora* (Seville: Alfar, 2000), p. 14. See also the discussion in García Aguilar, pp. 118 ff.

⁴⁰ García Aguilar, p. 92 n. 92.

⁴¹ Eugenio Asensio, 'Los "Lusiadas" y las "Rimas" de Camões en la poesía española (1580-1640)', in *Luís de Camões*, ed. by Eugenio Asensio and José V. de Pina Martins (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982), pp. 39-94.

MEANS

In the preceding pages, I have given a flavour of the ideological hostility towards lyric poetry that went beyond the walls of the Inquisition and highlighted lyric poetry's particular unsuitability for the printed page because of the edificatory mission ascribed to print, principally by Inquisitorial officials. These ideological concerns form the backdrop to Bernardes's attempts to print his work. At one level, it makes his decision to print his poems whilst alive all the more remarkable: Sá de Miranda and Camões had the safety of their graves to protect them from some of the potential negative side-effects of printing. Moreover, being dead automatically conferred a certain degree of authority to them as writers; death was almost a requirement for accession to the canon in the early modern period. To succeed, then, Bernardes had to have tactics in place.

In view of the opposition to the printing of secular lyric — and the period's clear favouring of devotional poetry — it is hardly surprising that Bernardes's first work to be printed was a collection of religious verse. The decision makes even more sense when we think that several of the poems featured in *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* had, in fact, already been printed in the *Relaçam do Solenne Recebimento* (1588), where one of them had been awarded a prize.⁴² On the back of this, Bernardes could position himself easily as a religious poet with a certain pedigree and he could be fairly confident that they would receive a favourable reception, having already been judged prize-worthy by clergymen and fellow poets. Indeed, Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira's *licença* is uncommonly effusive in its praise for Bernardes's book: 'o autor mostra muita erudição e devação, e não vai aqui cousa contra nossa sagrada religião e bons costumes, antes tudo é de edificação e muito digno que se leia e imprima'.⁴³

Owing to these facts, Luís de Sá Fardilha's argument that it was the editor's decision that *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* would be printed before his other works seems questionable. It was not only commercial reasons that might have led a writer to choose to print their devotional verse first: there were other practical reasons why a book of religious verse was a good bet for a first book. Fardilha reaches the

⁴² *Relaçam do solenne recebimento*, fol. 96r.

⁴³ The licence is transcribed in Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires's edition of Diogo Bernardes, *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, ed. by Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires, p. 37.

conclusion that Bernardes had little to do with the printing of this book on the basis that the *dispositio* of the book lacks the coherence of the author's second book, *O Lima*. Fardilha highlights Bernardes's organizing presence both in the dedicatory sonnet that opens *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* and in the rubrics above a number of poems, but suggests that because the opening sonnet makes no mention of the poems dedicated to the saints and does not account for the secular poems that come at the end of the book, these poems must have been used by the printer effectively to pad out the book.⁴⁴ The frontispiece certainly promises a book of religious verse, as the title tells us that the book will feature poems dedicated to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, various saints, and 'outras [rimas] mais de honesta e proveitosa lição'. The woodcut of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene at the foot of the cross also aligns the book with others of religious concerns, especially because Simão Lopes (his printer) re-uses the same woodcut on the front of the *Primera parte de la sylva spiritual* by António Álvarez, which was printed in the same year (See Figs 7-8).

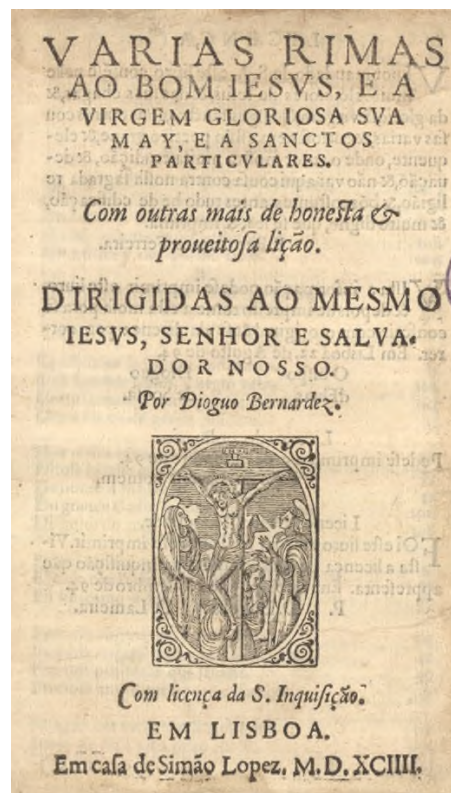


Fig. 7. Frontispiece from Diogo Bernardes, *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1594). Biblioteca Nacional Digital <<http://purl.pt/15031>> [Accessed on 25 January 2016].

⁴⁴ Luís de Sá Fardilha, 'As *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, de Diogo Bernardes, e os seus contextos', *Via Spiritus*, 5, (1998), 53-74 (pp. 58-60).

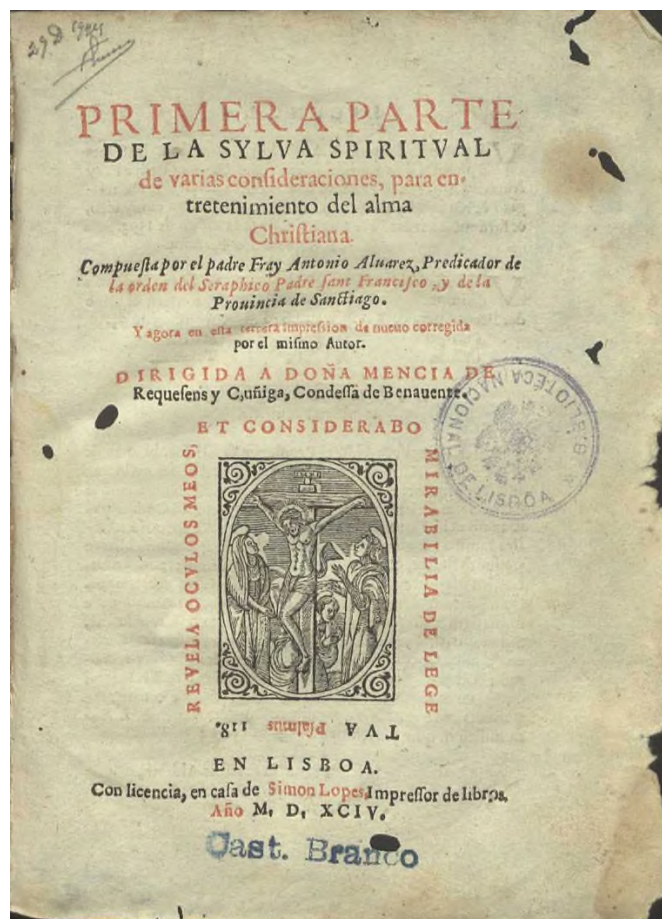


Fig. 8. Frontispiece from Antonio Álvarez, *Primera parte de la Sylva spiritual* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1594). Biblioteca Nacional Digital <<http://purl.pt/23158>> [Accessed on 25 January 2016].

I would be wary of ascribing anything that seems jumbled to the hands of the printer, though. Simão Lopes was, in the words of Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, ‘dotado de uma curiosa *apetência* intelectual, ele manifestou ao longo de mais de uma década de trabalho ser sensível, por um lado, aos *jogos de poder* e, por outro lado, à produção no campo da escrita que ele mesmo cultivou’.⁴⁵ He printed a monumental volume of Aristotle’s works in 1593 and presents himself as the translator into Portuguese of Alonso de Villegas’s *Flos sanctorum* (1598).⁴⁶ He was, then, a printer likely to have thought carefully about what he was printing, rather than gathering a random assortment of texts together. Indeed, to say that the book is messily organised avoids having to think about why certain poems might have been included even though they did not fit the general thematic concerns of the collection.

⁴⁵ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, ‘A tipografia lisboeta no último quartel do século XVI’, *Revista portuguesa de história do livro*, 3.6 (1999), 29-62 (p. 52).

⁴⁶ *In libros ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum, aliquot Conimbricensis cursus disputationes in quibus praecipua quaedam ethicae disciplinae capita continentur* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1593).

It seems a weak argument to say that the dedicatory sonnet does not catalogue all the kinds of religious verse in the pages of Bernardes's volume and therefore those not mentioned must have been added later: rarely does a prefatory poem do the work of outlining everything to follow. Is there, then, a better explanation for the poems 'de honesta e proveitosa lição' than simply that they are an editorial aberration? There is one, perhaps, if we consider to whom some of these mismatched poems were dedicated. Senhor D. Duarte, Pêro d'Alcáçova Carneiro, Cardinal Alberto, and D. João de Castro were all major figures of the recent past or of the political world in which Bernardes was writing. Cardeal Alberto was the one who had sent the book to the Inquisition (referred to in the licence as 'S.A' [Sua Alteza]) and was viceroy of Portugal and Chief Inquisitor at the time. The very old, but still powerful, Pêro d'Alcáçova Carneiro, had been chosen to be part of the council established to help the inexperienced Alberto out as he took power in Portugal. To include dedications to these figures within one's work at the time Bernardes was printing might well have been politically advantageous. Certainly a decision like this would sit well with Bernardes's concerted efforts to present himself as a well-connected individual throughout his other volumes and reminds us of several Italian authors, such as Ariosto or Aretino, who studded their printed works with allusions to powerful figures.⁴⁷ Furthermore, what seems out-of-place from a contemporary perspective might have added to the reading pleasure of early modern readers, by introducing *varietas* to the book. *Varietas* became a key concept in the appraisal of literary texts, and especially in terms of the *dispositio* of lyric anthologies, across Europe in the Renaissance.⁴⁸ It became especially important in terms of the delight that a text would generate, as the licence to the 1595 *Rhythmas* attests (see above), and which is echoed in the licence to the 1601 printing of *A primeira parte da Cronica do Emperador Clarimundo* by João de Barros.⁴⁹ Frei Bartolomeu refers to Bernardes's poems as 'outras cousas várias e curiosas', a positive description — and the idea of variety is suggested by both Bernardes's 1594 book and his later *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*. To

⁴⁷ As Brian Richardson argues, 'through the press, authors could broadcast their citations of others [i.e. patrons] to a readership many times larger than if they were using manuscript publications'. Richardson, *Printing*, p. 102.

⁴⁸ Critical studies on the concept of Renaissance *varietas* and its related terms are legion, for some discussion see García Aguilar, p. 264; Terence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 3-34; Heinrich F. Plett, *Rhetoric and Renaissance Culture* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), p. 186. For a sense of the long-lasting importance of *varietas* in European culture, see Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴⁹ Frei Manuel Coelho in his license to Barro's work, suggests that the work 'contem outras cousas varias, & diferentes' but suggests that this is positive by quoting a famous commonplace about variety: 'A abelha, a muytas eruas dece, & não de todas colhe'. License without title, in João de Barros, *A primeira parte da Cronica do Emperador Clarimundo* [...] (Lisbon: António Álvares, 1601), n. fol.

view the miscellaneous contents as a sign of a defect and a lack of involvement by the author is thus quite an unhistorical move.

The final licence for *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, that of the Desembargo do Paço, was granted on the 3 November 1594. Just a month later, in December of the same year, Bernardes received the licences for his next book, *O Lima*.⁵⁰ Though *O Lima* was not printed until 1596, Bernardes must have come quickly to the decision to print another book after gaining approval for his first. I would suggest that Bernardes made use of the reputation he had won through the printing of *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* in order to gain institutional approval for his next venture into print. Perhaps even, *O Lima* landed on the reviewer's desk at the same time or before *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*. Regardless, the alacrity with which the book was dispatched after *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* suggests a connection between the two events. Given the short time lapse and the fact that the Inquisitor was one and the same — Frei Bartolomeu Ferreira — it seems hard to think that the enthusiastic praise lavished on *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* by the *revedor* would not have coloured his opinion of Bernardes's next work, though it was a rather less devout offering.

The time lapse between the conferral of the licences for his work and the date of the book being printed can be explained in both commercial and practical terms. *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* appears to have been printed with some speed after the final licences were given, quite unlike *O Lima* which lingered in manuscript until two years later when it was finally printed. Lopes could have been quite confident that *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* would sell well, because it was a book of devotional verse. The fact that the book was reprinted four times in the first quarter of the seventeenth century (in 1601, 1608, 1616, and 1622) suggests that it was indeed something of a bestseller.⁵¹ Lopes had also undertaken to print the *Sylva spiritual* in the same year, which was a re-print of a 1587 text printed in Salamanca.⁵² He had perhaps taken this text on because of its success across the border in Spain — before Lopes printed it, this text was re-printed in 1588, 1589, had six potential printings in 1590 (two in Valencia, four in Zaragoza), and was re-issued again in 1591 and 1594. His role as a businessman is

⁵⁰ The two dated licenses are from 1 December and 10 December 1594.

⁵¹ For further details about the various editions of *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, see Bernardes, *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, ed. by Pires, pp. 32-3.

⁵² Antonio Álvarez de Benavente, *Primera [-segunda] parte de la sylva spiritual [...]* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1594).

not just evident from the fact that he picked texts that were bestsellers. Lopes first appears in the colophon of printed books in the 1580s as the financier of editions printed by other houses, for example, the *Summa sacramentorum ecclesiae* (1582) was printed by Manuel de Lira but at the cost of Simão Lopes ('expensis Symonis Lopes') and the *Analyticus commentarius, seu relectio, ad celebratissimam L. si curatorem habens, C. de in integrum restitutione minorum* (1583), also printed by Lira, features the following tagline in the colophon: 'expensis egregij viri Simonis Lopez, biblopolae'. Even after editions begin to appear with the indication 'en casa de Simon Lopez' in 1588, Lopes continues to collaborate with other Lisbon printers such as Manuel de Lira, António Álvares, and Alexandre de Siqueira.⁵³ He was also diligent in acquiring royal privileges for several of the books that he printed in the 1590s.⁵⁴ Notwithstanding the fact that Lopes produced no fewer than eight texts in 1595, the delay in printing Bernardes's might have also have been prompted by the printer's seeking of a privilege. It was often the case that printers or writers would wait several years before being granted one: Sá de Miranda's *Obras* was given its first licence in 1589, but the royal privilege did not come until 1595. Indeed, the need for some financial security from a privilege was growing because paper prices had been rising, making the raw material of production — and therefore the initial financial outlay of a printer — increasingly high. The price in the 1590s had risen from the 1580s average of 345.5 réis/ream to 613.6 réis/ream.⁵⁵

Although a dedication to a powerful figure was no guarantee of any financial support, either for the production of the book or for the author directly, it seems reasonable to assume that some thought went into the decision to dedicate *O Lima* to the Duke of Aveiro, D. Álvaro de Lencastre.⁵⁶ As I argued in Chapter 2, Bernardes was always strategic in his choice of protectors and in terms of the persuasive tactics he deployed in his requests. In typical fashion, the primary concern in Bernardes's dedicatory epistle is the protection that D. Álvaro's name would provide, shielding his work from the

⁵³ For instance, the following books suggest his joint ventures with other printers: André de Avelar, *Reportorio dos tempos [...]* (Lisbon: Manuel de Lira, 1590); Cicero, *M. Tulij Ciceronis Epistolae familiares [...]* (Lisbon: António Álvares, 1591); Jerónimo Cardoso, *Dictionarium latino lusitanicum et vice versa lusitanico latinum [...]* (Lisbon: Alexandre de Sequeira, 1592).

⁵⁴ See Venâncio Deslandes, *Documentos para a história da tipografia portuguesa nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: INCM, 1988), pp. 137-8.

⁵⁵ Data taken from *Prices, Wages and Rents in Portugal 1300-1910*. I have calculated a simple mean for the available years of data in the 1580s and 1590s.

⁵⁶ As Jaime Moll warns, a dedication is not a guarantee of support from that individual: see Jaime Moll, 'El Libro en el siglo de oro', *Edad de Oro*, 1 (1982), 43-54 (p. 46).

criticisms of readers. Bernardes, however, points out that it was on the suggestion of his brother, Frei Agostinho da Cruz, that he decided to dedicate the work to D. Álvaro. Bernardes once again, then, made use of the ties that he already had with a patron via one of his friends in order to capture favour, mentioning that ‘o padre meu irmão’ was ‘capucho d’Arrábida, súbdito de Vossa Exclência’ (p. 38). D. Álvaro was the patron of the Arrábida monastery which was situated close to his palace near Setúbal. Indeed, D. Álvaro seemed to have taken a great interest in the monastery, being responsible for expanding and improving the buildings of the religious sanctuary during the sixteenth century. Furthermore, Agostinho da Cruz appears to have known the Duke and his wife, D. Juliana, well, penning several eclogues that either feature them in pseudonymic disguise or make clear references to them.⁵⁷ The sonnet that Agostinho da Cruz dedicates to Bernardes in *O Lima* is slightly strange in its emphasising of the friar’s poverty and devotion and does not altogether chime with the tone of the eclogues and letters to follow. However, such piety was likely to appeal to the Duke, who by all accounts was devout, not only in view of his involvement with the Arrábida monastery, but also in the fact that he funded the sending of Jesuit priests to Protestant England.⁵⁸ This perhaps also explains the unusual woodcut on the front of *O Lima*: one might expect the coat of arms of the house of Aveiro, as happened with Mousinho de Quevedo’s *Discurso*, but *O Lima*’s woodcut is religious, with the motto ‘Nossa senhora da vitória’ (see Fig. 4).



Fig. 9. Woodcut from frontispiece to Diogo Bernardes, *O Lima* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1596). Biblioteca Nacional Digital <<http://purl.pt/14667>> [Accessed 25 January 2016].

⁵⁷ Daniel Augusto da Cunha Faria, *A vida e conversão de Frei Agostinho: entre a aprendizagem e o ensino da Cruz* (Lisbon: Épheta, 1999), pp. 38, 41-2.

⁵⁸ Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 557.

Beyond such strategic paratextual presentation, *O Lima* was likely to have appealed to the Duke in generic terms too: the eclogues that Agostinho da Cruz wrote suggest that this was a kind of poetry that appealed to D. Álvaro. In dedicating his *Chronographia ou repertorio dos tempos* (1594) to D. Álvaro, André de Avelar suggests that the Duke was ‘tão afeiçoado ao câpo & exercicio delle’.⁵⁹ The bucolic themes of Bernardes’s eclogues were apt to please such a figure, even if such an imaginary landscape lacked the practical, agronomical applications of Avelar’s text. Avelar’s dedication, however, also leads us to consider another curious fact about D. Álvaro: he received four works dedicated to him in the 1590s, three of which were printed by Simão Lopes.⁶⁰ No evidence has come to light that Lopes was tied to the Duke or his family, and of course the Duke was of the highest noble stock (making him a natural choice for a patron), but such a coincidence raises the possibility that D. Álvaro may have some connection with the printer and may have funded some of his typographical efforts. Indeed, André de Avelar makes it clear in his dedication to this figure that he had been part of the Duke’s household, making the possibility that he received support yet more likely. Searching in the Ducal archives, now kept at the University of Coimbra, has not revealed that Bernardes gained any major support from D. Álvaro, but the archives of the Dukes have been somewhat scattered since this title was stripped from the family in the eighteenth century. Rather unlike the Dukes of Bragança, some of their properties — including a palace constructed by D. Álvaro — now lie in relative disrepair.

Whether the real reason for the delay in printing *O Lima* was practical or financial, what is clear from the dedication and from the coherent structure of the work is that Bernardes was involved in the preparation of *O Lima* for print. Though doubts remain about the exact date of his death, Bernardes was most probably alive to see this work leave the presses of Simão Lopes. As a whole, the division of the volume into two books, one of eclogues and another of *cartas*, places the work amongst many poetry collections that arranged their contents in sections dedicated to different genres.⁶¹ The organisation of the volume is simple but coherent. Within each book, there is also a sense that the

⁵⁹ André de Avelar, ‘Ao excellentissimo Senhor Dom Alvaro de Lencastre Duque de Aveiro’, in *Chronographia ou repertorio dos tempos [...]* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1594), n. fol.

⁶⁰ Dedicated to D. Álvaro and printed by Simão Lopes were: André de Avelar, *Chronographia* (1594); Bernardes’s *O Lima*; and Garcia de Resende, *Choronica que tracta da vida e grandissimas virtudes e bondades, magnanimo esforço, excellentes costumes & manhas & claros feytos do christianissimo Dom Ioão ho segundo deste nome [...]* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1596). Quevedo’s book was printed by Manuel de Lira.

⁶¹ See Fraga, p. 35.

poems are purposefully arranged. The eclogues are ordered chronologically.⁶² Though many are difficult to date with precision, those that lament Bernardes's time as a hostage in Morocco and complain of his misfortunes upon his return to Portugal around 1580 come later in the sequence. As for the *cartas*, the first letter, to Sá de Miranda, is the earliest, dating before the older poet's death in 1558. It is a fitting opening for the collection of *cartas* and suggests something about the authorial persona that Bernardes wished to present in *O Lima*.

In the *Poemas Lusitanos*, António Ferreira began each book of epistles with a letter addressed to a member of the royal family. This choice of addressee for arguably the most important poems in these sequences is revealing for Ferreira's self-fashioning as a Humanist poet who speaks moral truths to those in power. The decision to open the *cartas* of *O Lima* with a letter to a poet suggests that we are dealing with a poet more concerned with his reputation amongst his peers and mentors than with those in positions of power. As we will explore in more detail at the end of this chapter, this decision provides an initial indication of Bernardes's use of the printed book to claim his status as a poet and establish his reputation as a writer of verse. Like the sonnets that open the *Poemas Lusitanos*, though, Carta I to Sá de Miranda projects an ideal readership for his poems: he seeks the virtuous and educated 'bom esprito', and flees from the envy and ignorance of the 'vulgo':

O bom esprito que pretende fama,
Ser louvado do povo não deseja,
Que sempre ao menos sabe-o mais a fama.

Queres que de meus versos juiz seja
Um mau, um ignorante? D'ambos temo,
A ignorância dum, doutro a inveja.

Trabalho por sair a vela e a remo,
D'antre Cila e Caribes; não queria
Por fugir deste, dar naquele extremo. (Carta I, ll. 13-21)

To seek the restricted readership of the 'bons engenhos' like Ferreira, however, is not to forego the potential for a great name, rather it is all the better to seek fame, by not following the whims of the masses, but adhering to the universal, eternal precepts of the poetic elite.

⁶² For a discussion of this see, Gomes, 'Diversas formas de Proteu', pp. 31-5.

Bernardes's poem to Sá de Miranda is, in essence, encomiastic. But it is not just a praise poem. It is also one that suggests a burgeoning poetic confidence on the part of Bernardes. It opens tentatively, with praise of Sá de Miranda's longstanding place alongside Apollo. Although Bernardes suggests that he had always thought it better to keep silent (l. 10), in this poem he dares to break into song. As the opening poem to a new book of poems and a new genre, this is a fitting idea. Furthermore, as a true beginning has to, the poem looks to the future as well:

D'alguns cantarei eu, se por ti venho
A levantar-me tanto que, na fonte
Castália, mate o grande ardor que tenho. (ll. 61-3)

In some ways, though, it is rather strange that Bernardes chooses Sá de Miranda as his guide and inspiration (ll. 52-3), for the kind of poetry he says that Sá de Miranda will hear from him ('Então ouviras tu mais alta rima', l. 65) is one that leaves behind the bucolic love poetry for which Bernardes was famed:

Da loura e branda Ninfa o Pastor duro
No bosque oiço queixar, sem lhe valer;
D'ambos me rio já, posto em seguro.

Que mor contentamento pode ver
Que ver-se livre quem no mundo vive,
Sem ter já que esperar nem que temer?

O cobiçoso e cego se cative
De seu ouro; sem Deus, ajunte e guarde,
Que nunca guardar muito por bom tive.

O peito sem ventura, aquele qu'arde
Neste fogo cruel, que tanto lavra
Que mata cedo, e quando morre é tarde. (ll. 77-86)

In these lines, Bernardes suggests that he will retreat from the world like Sá de Miranda famously did, excoriating the vices of the world and leaving behind the corrupting influence of desire. The phrase 'posto em seguro' certainly echoes Sá de Miranda's own words in the sonnet 'Alma que fica por fazeres hoje' (l. 14), suggesting how carefully Bernardes matched this letter to its recipient.⁶³ As a poem of 'initiation', these declarations of intent could also be read as markers of the transition in *O Lima* from eclogues to epistles, leaving behind shepherds' complaints for a more moral kind of poetry.⁶⁴ In this way, such a passage could be seen as a distant echo of Horace's own first epistle,

⁶³ Sá de Miranda, *Poesias*, p. 68.

⁶⁴ I borrow the term 'initiation' to describe a poem setting out a poet's intentions from Lawrence Lipking, *The Life of the Poet* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984), p. 13.

where Horace renounces frivolities to concern himself with more serious moral questions: ‘So now I am laying aside my verses and other amusements./ My sole concern is the question “What is right and proper?”’⁶⁵ However, as we now know well, Bernardes’s *cartas* are very aware of their own breaches of moral decorum.

For all Bernardes’s good intentions to follow in Sá de Miranda’s footsteps, the *cartas* do not entirely live up to the designs he maps out in the following lines:

Ora enganos d’amor lhe vou contando,
Outrora de sereno, claro e puro,
O vou (como costume) celebrando. (ll. 70-2)

In retrospect, we know that Bernardes continued to write in a variety of genres throughout his life and moved between the city and the country, never definitively retreating from the world. But that does not necessarily mean that we should disregard this poem as insincere. Rather, it proves another indication of Bernardes’s ability and desire to match his epistles to their recipients. When compared to the poems that follow, it becomes clear that Bernardes never was ‘posto em seguro’ (l. 79). His desire to ‘Passar por esta vida de maneira / Que fosse ao céu aceito, à terra grato’ (ll. 90-2) is shown to be difficult when the court requires multiple changes of personality and the life in the country requires a guaranteed income that Bernardes struggled to secure. The contrast between his intentions in Carta I and the personality we see in the later letters brings into relief how differently Bernardes describes what it meant to be a poet, when compared to many of his contemporaries.

The structure of the book of *cartas* follows a largely chronological scheme. Carta II dates from before 1569, when António Ferreira died, and so does Carta VII which suggests that Pero de Lemos could seek out Ferreira for poetic assistance. Carta IV dates from when D. João de Castelo Branco was in Ceuta, probably in the 1550s.⁶⁶ Cartas VIII and IX are from around 1561 as they relate to Bernardes’s brother becoming a friar. Cartas XII and XIII are again dateable as being written prior to 1569 because

⁶⁵ Horace, Epistles I. 1. 10-11. Here I prefer the translation given in Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, trans. by Niall Rudd, rev. edn (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979). For a discussion of Horace’s looping poetic career, see Stephen Harrison, ‘There and Back Again: Horace’s Poetic Career’, in *Classical Literary Careers and their Reception*, ed. by Hardie and Moore, pp. 39-58.

⁶⁶ Further archival research would be necessary to date this letter more precisely, but we know that D. João de Castelo Branco was made Captain of Vila Nova de Portimão in 1549 and received a series of honours, including being made *conselhoiro* in 1555, in the early years of D. Sebastião’s reign, which point to his service in North Africa. See Lisbon, ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique (Privilégios), liv. 4, fol. 57v.

they are an exchange between Ferreira and Bernardes. We can place letters XIV and XV around the mid-1570s, as this was when D. Cristóvão de Távora was at his most powerful, and the next series of letters in the early 1580s because they refer to Bernardes's time as captive in Morocco or allude to Filipe I (XVI-XX).⁶⁷ These first twenty poems then are arranged in chronological sequence. There are, however, some anomalies later in the collection. Carta XXXII, the penultimate in the collection, recounts the diplomatic mission of Pêro d'Álcáçova Carneiro to Spain in 1576 and thus pre-dates a number of those poems that surround it. Cartas XXI and XXII lament the death of António Ferreira and thus were most probably penned soon after his death in 1569, thereby pre-dating several poems (e.g. XVI-XX) that come before them. The poems with the latest verifiable date, Cartas XXV and XXVI, which must have been written in 1591 when Rui Gomes da Grão embarked on his second and final trip to India, are not the last in the collection.⁶⁸ In general, though, even if the over-arching scheme is not one of reliable chronology, letters are paired with their responses and form series (such as those between Bernardes and Jorge Bacarrao, Carta XVII-XX). Cartas XIV and XV make a pair, referring to the same patron, D. Cristóvão de Távora. Cartas XVII and XVIII are both written to patrons who are at their country estates and praise the life that they might live there. Cartas XXIX and XXX to D. Cristóvão de Moura and his nephew Gaspar de Sousa also form an obvious pair because of the relationship between the two dedicatees. The scheme of the eclogues and the sense of order in the *cartas* does suggest the editorial involvement of the poet in the production of *O Lima*. Such involvement lays the ground for the discussion of the self-presentation enacted through the book that comes later in this chapter. Bernardes was strategic about his dedication, strategic about when he sought approval, and was likely to have been involved in the preparation of the volume as he had been with *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*.

By 1597 and the printing of *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, Bernardes's third and final work, the poet had died. This is made clear by the dedicatory poem provided, again by his brother, Frei Agostinho da Cruz, that ends the volume. This text has usually been taken as evidence that Bernardes was not involved in the preparation of this volume; evidence corroborated by the book's apparent 'incúria

⁶⁷ See the discussion of Carta XIV in Chapter 1.

⁶⁸ Gomes, 'Diversas formas de Proteu', p. 67.

editorial'.⁶⁹ Whilst one cannot argue with the errors in pagination, numeration, and typography that are catalogued by Aníbal Pinto de Castro in his facsimile edition of the first printing of *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, there is some evidence to suggest that Bernardes might have been involved in organising some of the structure of the book.⁷⁰ The change from Simão Lopes to Manuel de Lira might also be a way to explain the less polished presentation of Bernardes's 1597 book, because as Artur Anselmo notes, with sly understatement, Lira's works 'em geral não se distinguem pela perfeição'.⁷¹

When we look more closely at the *dispositio* of *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, there emerges a clear sense that the book has been organised by genre. The book comprises in the main a large number of sonnets that are grouped together (interspersed by four *canções*) and are followed by other Italianate/Classicised forms: an ode, several elegies, and epigrams. The poems in *medida velha* then finish off the collection and are separated from the rest by the title 'RIMAS VARIAS/ FLORES DO LIMA./ SEGVNDA PARTE' on fol. 106^v. This is a typical organising method and one that is echoed by the generic groupings in Camões's *Rhythmas* (1595) and in Sá de Miranda's *Obras* (1595). As we saw with *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, the bringing of such varied forms together in one book also fits with the principle of *varietas* that came to determine the production of lyric poetry anthologies in the late sixteenth century and which is signalled by the adjective 'várias' that features in the title given to this collection as well as to Bernardes's 1594 anthology.

Within the sonnets themselves, we can identify three proemial sonnets that open the work (I-III) and a narrative sequence (IV-LXXXV) that is interspersed with four *canções* in the manner of Petrarch's *canzoniere*. This is followed by four mythological sonnets (LXXXVI-LXXXIX). Sonnets XC-XCIX are then dedicated to praising his fellow poets before a long sequence of occasional poems that begins with Sonnet C.

As with *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, many recent critical appraisals of *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* focus on the 'messiness' of the volume and, in so doing, neglect the principal of *varietas* that might have made

⁶⁹ Gomes, 'Diversas formas de Proteu', p. 13.

⁷⁰ Diogo Bernardes, *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, ed. by Aníbal Pinto de Castro (Lisbon: INCM, 1985), pp. 12-14.

⁷¹ Cited in Bernardes, *Rimas Várias*, ed. Castro, p. 12.

Bernardes's text a delightful bouquet of variegated poetic flowers. They also ignore the fact that back in 1986, T. F. Earle suggested that the opening 36 sonnets of *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* made up a sonnet sequence. Earle is quite right in his identification of a narrative overarching the poems, though I think that the sequence extends all the way to Sonnet LXXXV rather than finishing at XXXV. Earle only discusses Bernardes's sequence briefly, however, at the end of an article that carefully illuminates the narrative drama and poetic skill in António Ferreira's sonnet sequence in the *Poemas Lusitanos*. The story told in Bernardes's book deserves more attention than those few lines in Earle's article, which are unfavourably disposed towards Bernardes's sequence.⁷² There is not space to do them justice in this thesis, but the presence of a narrative sequence of sonnets and *canções* suggests that Bernardes's books got progressively more complex in their organisation.⁷³ *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* was primarily organised by theme and although its final assortment of *versos profanos* can be explained in social and commercial terms, the overall *dispositio* is slightly disordered. *O Lima* takes a simple but coherent approach: two books, one for each genre. In *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, however, the opening sequence of sonnets and *canções* is much more ambitious, because they tell a story.

Sonnet IV initiates the sequence with Cupid striking the poet with his arrows. The poet then falls in love with Marília and spends most of the sequence warbling about the torments of love and the pain of being separated from his beloved. The end to the sequence is unusual and less clear-cut than Ferreira's sequence in the *Poemas Lusitanos*. There is no *in morte* section in Bernardes's collection, rather the ending is instead marked by the death of another poet's lover, Fílis, which Bernardes's lyric persona worries will upset his own lady, Marília. There is a gesture, then, towards the finality which death can offer a sequence, whilst leaving the poet's suffering unresolved.⁷⁴ One might even see this lack of closure as a strategic means by which to accentuate the pain of the poet as, ultimately, it is never brought to an end. Far from a slap-dash effort on the part of the printer, when viewed in light of the concern for *varietas* in the organising of poetic anthologies in the period and with an eye to the loose, but, I would argue, curated internal structure of *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, authorial intentions can be

⁷² T. F. Earle, 'A Portuguese Sonnet Sequence of the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 63 (1986), 225-34 (pp. 232-3).

⁷³ I intend to discuss this sequence in an article in the future.

⁷⁴ Petrarch had also dedicated a sonnet to the death of another's lover. See the sonnet, 'La bella donna che cotanto amavi', Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. by Marco Santagata (Milan: Mondadori, 2004), no. 91.

spied in a book that has rarely been seen in such terms. It was thus likely that Bernardes had a hand in the organisation of all his volumes.

MOTIVES

So far we have established that Bernardes took care when printing his works, was strategic in what he printed when, and to whom he dedicated his books. What remains to be explored, then, is *why* Bernardes would want to print his work.

Few are the poets who succeeded in printing their lyric works in sixteenth-century Iberia. Well-known poets, such as Boscán or Garcilaso, only had their works transformed into printed books after their deaths. For a writer endlessly devoted to the pursuit of patronage, printing was not necessarily an obvious move for Bernardes. Books did not sell in numbers likely to enrich their authors in any considerable way — and profits were likely shared between writers and the others involved in the production of the book, if indeed writers got any money at all.⁷⁵ As Bernardes's suggests in a passage about the circulation of his poetry in the wider world, one had to select one's readers, if they were going to help one out financially:

Os versos que por meus andam na praça
Se os o rico lê, não me conhece;
O pobre qu'aproveita, se m'abraça? (Carta XIV, ll. 70-2)

Unlikely to bring about great fortunes, Fame might be lured out of her cavern with printed words. As the sixteenth century wore on, print became the principal medium for establishing the reputation of an author; a way almost of purchasing fame.⁷⁶ This is usually the stated or implicit aim of works printed after their author's death. In his dedication to D. Teodósio, Duke of Bragança, in Corte-Real's *Naufragio e lastimoso sucesso* (1594), António de Sousa says 'quisera guardala [i.e. a obra] pera mim só, mas sendo persuadido por amigos a quem dei vista della, que a imprimisse, & não defraudasse o author da honra que por ella lhe seria dada de todos os que a lessem'.⁷⁷ To print was to grant an author the fame

⁷⁵ Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Pennsylvania: University Pennsylvania Press, 1995), p. 41.

⁷⁶ See Brian Richardson, *Manuscript Culture in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 12; and Bouza, *Communication*, p. 43.

⁷⁷ 'Ao excellētissimo Principe D. Theodosio Duque de Bragança' in Jerónimo de Corte-Real, *Naufragio e lastimoso sucesso* [...] (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1594), n. fol.

they deserved but might not receive if their works remained in manuscript. It was an act of generosity in a way that dedicating to print one's own works was not.

The surge of works of lyric poetry being printed in the 1590s might also be attributable to political circumstances and nationalist tendencies. Under the yoke of Spanish rule, the establishment of Portuguese as a language of culture became an ever more pressing concern for writers and printers alike. This was even promoted by D. Filipe.⁷⁸ In his preface to readers in Bernardo de Brito's *Silvia de Lysardo em que ha varios sonetos e rimas* (1597), the printer, Alexandre de Sequeira, tells us that he was

com zelo de os entregar à estampa, tanto que o bõ gasalhado deste primeiro abrir caminho pera os mais. Ficãdome de tudo isto o premio de ver a lingoa Portuguesa engrandecida com impressões, & conhecida por esta via, a fermosura que tem, em Verso, & Prosa, & os estrangeiros desenganados, da opinião que entre si trazem, de serem as suas muy auentajadas da nossa.⁷⁹

The sentiment is one repeated in almost every volume of vernacular lyric poetry printed in the 1590s in Portugal.⁸⁰ Bernardes himself says in his dedication to D. Álvaro in *O Lima* that he hopes that 'ficarão [...] as lusitanas musa muito mais acreditadas. E cantarão [...] sem terem inveja das estrangeiras' (p. 38). Concealed behind such selfless declarations was, of course, a certain self-confidence and desire for fame.⁸¹ In the second proemial sonnet in *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, Bernardes writes with the characteristic modesty topos, saying 'escrevi não por fama nem por glória' (RFFL, Sonnet II, l. 5), but in doing so, suggests that his intentions might be a little less humble than giving 'fruito algum ou passatempo' (Sonnet I, l. 11) to his readers. Modulating his apostrophe to the muses by suggesting his poetry will make its readers 'warned' (*aviso*) about the 'murder' (*homicida*) of which love is capable, he riffs on the idea of death, suggesting that he who gave his own life (i.e. Jesus) is the one who should be loved (l. 14). Nonetheless, he does beg the muses, 'Conservai a memória do meu dano' (Sonnet III, l. 7): he asks to be remembered. His opening sonnets here also play in a subtle way with the 'educate and delight' trope that so often determined what poets say they do. Reducing a 'both ... and' to an 'either ...

⁷⁸ See Asensio, pp. 45-55.

⁷⁹ 'Prologo do Impressor aos leitores', in Brito, *Silvia de Lysardo*, n. fol.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of how printed books of lyric poetry became an integral part of the *questione della lingua* in Portugal, see the excellent article by Sheila Moura Hue, 'A impressão da lírica dos contemporâneos de Camões', *Floema*, 5.5 (2009), 65-98.

⁸¹ As Fernando Bouza has rightly argued, 'the rhetoric of modesty expected of writers who considered themselves cultured demanded that they insistently deny any aspirations for public recognition, since satisfaction with their own virtue allegedly precluded any need for fame, which depended on the opinions of others. Nonetheless, early modern authors did wish to win this general fame just as much as the possible profits from the sale of their books or protection from the powerful obtained through their writing'. Bouza, *Communication*, p. 43.

or' in his proem makes Bernardes's text seem modest in its ambitions, but given that harvesting moral fruits was the aim that the Inquisition and other writers emphasised more than anything, to imply that one could possibly read his work as a playful pastime was to reveal his position with regards to the exclusively moralising concerns of the time: he still saw his works as entertainments. Fame also lingers as a potential motivation in the prefatory material to *O Lima*. In his dedication to D. Álvaro de Lencastre, Bernardes says 'Não achei cousa, cuidando nisso muitas vezes, com que mais pudesse acreditar este meu *Lima* [...] que com o dirigir a Vossa Excelência' (p. 37). The word 'acreditar' incorporated the idea that D. Álvaro's name would make people trust Bernardes's work (in a sense that is similar to the use of *acreditar* in modern Portuguese), but in Bluteau's dictionary the first definition is 'dar credito, & opinião a alguém' and he cites a Latin example that expressly relates the term with the acquisition of a 'name' and 'fame': 'Ex hoc opere tibi colliges nomen, ou famam comparabis'.⁸² It was with D. Álvaro's name, then, that Bernardes might enhance his own reputation, but this was more than just a defensive move to ward off nasty *murmuradores*. Agostinho da Cruz's dedicatory sonnet also talks of the 'aplauso' that Bernardes will receive, once more pointing to a building of authorial repute through the printing of his volume. However, his is an unusual dedicatory poem in which Cruz, in a modulated modesty *topos*, suggests that he cannot really praise Bernardes himself without stepping from his devotional path:

Do Lima, donde vim já despedido,
Cavar cá nesta serra a sepultura,
Não sinto que louvar possa brandura,
Sem me sentir turbar do meu sentido.

A lã de que me vêem andar vestido,
Torcendo em várias partes a costura,
Os pés que nus se dão à pedra dura,
Nem me deixam ouvir, nem ser ouvido.

O povo cujo aplaudo recebeste,
Vendo teu brando *Lima* dedicado
A príncipe real, claro, excelente,

Louvará muito mais quanto escreveste.
De mim, meu caro irmão, menos louvado,
Louva comigo a Deus eternamente. (*O Lima*, p. 39)

In the first two stanzas, Agostinho da Cruz says that he is unable to talk of 'brandura' because it would distract him from his devotional life (l. 4) and that the isolated life he has chosen of a humble woolen

⁸² Bluteau, 'acreditar', in *Vocabulário in DICIWeb*.

habit and bare feet means that he will not be able to hear Bernardes's song nor be heard himself (l. 8). He cannot and should not praise Bernardes's work. And yet, both stanzas also feature sort of *praeteritio* because Cruz does, in fact, mention the 'brandura' of the Lima (and, by inference, Bernardes's work) and his words do get heard because they are included in this volume. He points in the next stanza to the praise and applause that Bernardes will receive from the 'povo' because of the importance of the dedicatee of his book. In the closing lines, turning his attention back to himself, he invites Bernardes to praise God with him. Such a devout dedicatory poem would likely have appealed to the pious D. Álvaro (who is mentioned in the sonnet), but the reader is left a little startled by a poem that does not lavish the kind of praise conventional in such paratextual poems.

Anthologies of lyric poetry in the last decade of the sixteenth century are pulled in two directions. On the one hand, they confidently claim their authors as proof of the value of Portuguese as a language of culture. On the other, their paratexts register some anxiety around the literary status of lyric poetry in general; they bear the hallmarks of editors and writers seeking to stamp lyric poetry with the seal of legitimacy. The material presentation of the first editions of Sá de Miranda's *Obras* and Camões's *Rhythmias* give a good sense of this. Both works are printed in quarto format: it was usually only upon re-edition or when an author had had various other works printed that their texts would be transferred to one of the smaller sizes, 8º, 12º, 16º, or 24º. The *mise en page* and use of woodcuts monumentalises these works, conferring on them the status of printed equivalents of architectural memorials (see Fig. 10).⁸³ The sonnets in Sá de Miranda's book are particularly decorated: the printer alternates between roman and italic type and uses several woodcut decorations and decorative capitals. This perhaps reflects an investment in the sonnet as the most prestigious poetic form and one which proved Sá de Miranda's worth as a poet. Certainly, the sonnet was considered by Herrera in his annotations to Garcilaso as 'la más hermosa composición i de mayor artificio i gracia de cuantas tiene la poesia italiana i española'.⁸⁴ The placing of a single sonnet per page with such elaborate woodcut decorations also

⁸³ For an interesting discussion of architectural motifs in early modern English books and how they monumentalise works, see William H. Sherman, 'On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext and Early Print Culture', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina Baron, Eric Lindquist, and Eleanor Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 67-81.

⁸⁴ Fernando de Herrera, *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso*, ed. by Inoria Pepe and José María Reyes (Madrid: Cátedra, 2001), p. 265.

indicates that this was something of a luxury text. Blank space quite literally had to be paid for as paper was the main expense for a printer.⁸⁵ In the *Rhythmas*, Camões's sonnets are on occasion placed two per page and the decoration of the pages is less elaborate: there are no decorative initial capitals, for instance. *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* was printed on smaller, 8º pages. In this way, the *Obras* wear the value of the book on their leaves.

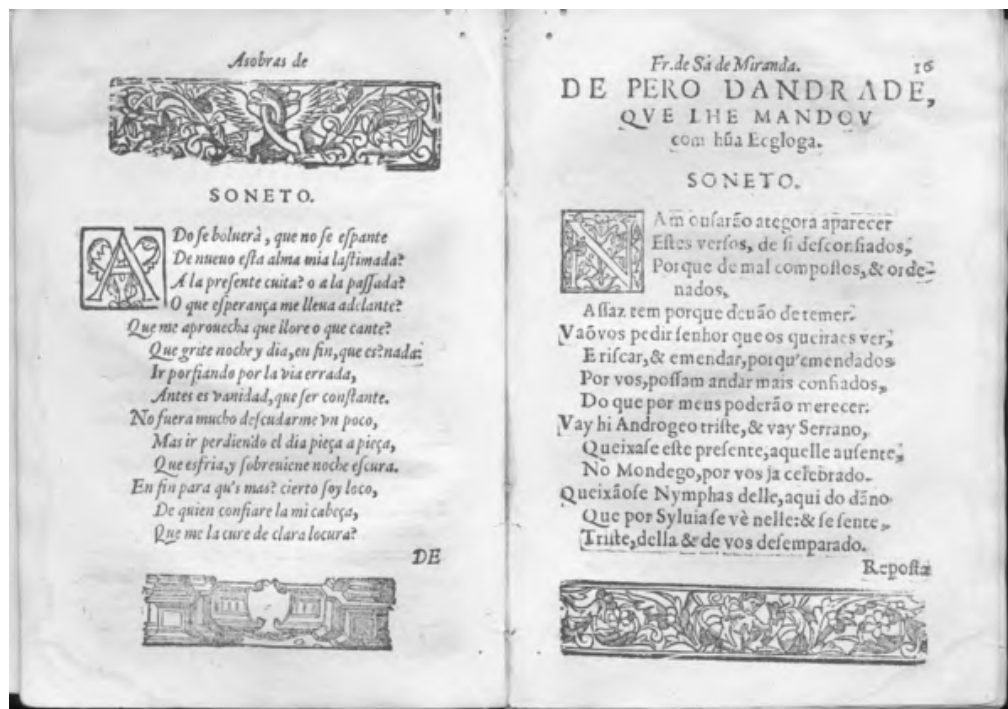


Fig. 10. Francisco de Sá de Miranda, *Obras do celebrado lusitano doutor Frãisco de Sã de Mirãda* (Lisbon: Manuel de Lira, 1595), fols 15v-16r. Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra. Shelfmark: R-1-28.

Dedicatory poems and epistles to the reader do their usual work of establishing the authority and quality of the works enclosed in both Sá de Miranda's and Camões's works. The rubrics in Sá de Miranda's *Obras* lay emphasis on the Italian models that Sá de Miranda brought to Portugal, raising him above the increasingly disparaged old Iberian lyric tradition and placing him in a poetic lineage fathered by Petrarch. For instance, his *canção* is characterised as 'seguinte ao Petrarcha na composição daquella, *Vergene bella, &c.*' (fol. 4v), various sonnets are categorised as being composed 'pellos mesmos consoantes, como fez o Petrarcha' (e.g. fol. 6v) and his 'Chistes' are said to be 'ao Modo Italiano' (fol. 148v). Such rubrics might seem a little inconsequential, but coupled with other aspects of the book's composition, they suggest that Sá de Miranda is, by way of such paratextual features, being inserted into an illustrious writing tradition — they belie the need to seek ways of legitimising lyric poetry, of

⁸⁵ In Spain, the cost of a book was directly tied to the number of sheets used to make it. See Bouza, *Communication*, p. 44.

establishing its cultural currency, in an environment hostile to it. The titles, too, are involved in this process of legitimation. In Sá de Miranda's case, the title given his works by Manuel de Lira unquestionably claims authority for its author: each word in the title, *As obras do celebrado lusitano o doutor Francisco de Sá de Miranda*, does some work in claiming Sá de Miranda's place amongst the most illustrious writers. The choice of the word *obras* is predictable for a posthumous edition of a writer's literary production, recalling the *opera* of classical authors and the *obras* of Boscán, Garcilaso, and other well-known writers.⁸⁶ *Celebrado* suggests that his authority can hardly be doubted and the mention of his nationality reminds us of the political *enjeux* in which printing was entangled in the period. Finally, mentioning Sá de Miranda's title (*doutor*) also serves to claim his authority, by signalling his social standing and education.

The paratextual material in the 1595 *Obras* also points interestingly to the emergence of a concern for authorial intention and ownership within the world of print — and in the nascent literary field at large. The book gives credit to the 'verdades que vos [D. Jerónimo de Castro] em seus originaes alcançastes'⁸⁷ and comes with an 'Auto da aprovação destas obras', that is, a judicial guarantee that the poems produced in the book were taken from an autograph, that could be verified by comparing the handwriting of a document known to be by Sá de Miranda to D. Jerónimo de Castro's manuscripts. This latter document, which comes at the end of the book, is curious for invoking a civil authority not usually involved in the printing of books. It testifies to a concern with the establishment of an authoritative version of a text and with connecting author and work in some verifiable way. It is an unquestionable indication of the emergence of modern authorship that bound author to text in a legal way.⁸⁸ The fact that the procedures by which this legal bondage were enacted in this particular case were so singular and unusual reminds us, however, that we are dealing with an early moment in the history of the modern 'author', where concerns about ownership and authority are in the air but a clear system of dealing with these issues had not yet been established.

⁸⁶ For a discussion of the use of the words *obras* and *rimas* in titles of Spanish anthologies of lyric poetry, see García Aguilar, pp. 236-7.

⁸⁷ 'Ao muito illustre senhor Dom Jerónimo de Castro', in *Obras do celebrado lusitano*, n. fol.

⁸⁸ Foucault suggests that an important element of the 'author function' and how it connects texts to legal and institutional systems. See Michel Foucault, 'What Is an Author?', in *Textual Strategies*, ed. by Josué V. Harari (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 141-60.

Said to be rescuing his work from the insecure vessel of the manuscript book, the paratexts to Sá de Miranda's *Obras* cast Jerónimo de Castro, who sourced the poems for the book, in the role of a hero saving the work from a 'segundo naufrágio' caused by the unreliability of manuscript transmission.⁸⁹ So too, in the 'Prólogo aos Leytores' in the 1595 *Rhythmas*, we are told that, in compiling the book, Camões's poems were gathered from various 'liuros de mão, onde estas obras andauão espedeçadas', but care was taken to copy the 'emêda verdadeira' so as to avoid the errors that often appear in manuscripts because of the 'inadvertencia de quẽ as trasladou'.⁹⁰ These texts constitute early evidence, then, of those preoccupations with the fixity of print and its ability to establish *the* version of a text that became essential to the eventual dominance of print within the literary world. More than this, the printed form of Sá de Miranda's *Obras* is said to return the 'esmalte' and 'preço' to the work, making it the 'tesoro' that it once was.⁹¹ Such terms figure the transformation of manuscript into print as one that restores (or enhances) the value of the work. We might take all this metaphorically, indeed Morais says that 'estos bienes [...] vencen plata y oro', though one cannot help but think that the talk of restoring the sheen and the price of the work also has, more literally, to do with the new, printed object that Sá de Miranda's poems had been turned into; these words qualify its new material form as precious. Far from being a neutral shift, the move from manuscript to print involved an investment in what each material support meant and, often, a decision about which was preferred. We cannot apply these concerns directly to Bernardes's case, but they do hint at potential motivating factors in his decision to print his own lyric works and bring to light some of the values invested in print as a medium for poetic dissemination.

In the 1595 edition of Camões's *Rhythmas*, the Grecian orthography suggests from the outset that we are dealing with a singular work. Estevão Lopes, the *mercador de livros* responsible for the financing of the book and author of the epistle to the reader, makes it clear that this title is designed to situate Camões's work in the illustrious tradition of classical and Italian lyric poetry, the authority of which

⁸⁹ 'Ao muito illustre senhor Dom Jerónimo de Castro', in Sá de Miranda, *Obras*, n. fol.

⁹⁰ 'Prólogo aos Leytores', in Camões, *Rhythmas*, n. fol.

⁹¹ 'Ao muito illustre senhor Dom Jerónimo de Castro', in Sá de Miranda, *Obras*, n. fol., and 'A Dom Ieronimo de Castro', by Jerónimo de Morais, n. fol., l. 13.

was unimpeachable: ‘esta palavra Rhythmas, (que os Italianos, & Franceses pronunciam sem aspirações) descende de [rhythmos] vocabulo Grego, que quer dizer numero ou armonia [...] e ambas as significações convem propriamente ao verso de medida Italiana’.⁹² When outlining all the genres in which Camões writes, he compares him favourably to many major authors. His very learned prologue wields the intellectual authority of the past to legitimate Camões’s work, not only in explaining how *rimas* should be composed and what their qualities are, but also in the way it sets out the paradigmatic author of each genre and how Camões exceeds or matches them.

Those who orchestrated the early forays of Portuguese poets into print worked hard to claim the value of the work they were printing against an institutional, political, and religious backdrop that had long been hostile to such productions. The analysis of the materiality of these books, then, reveals the armoury at the disposal of editors and printers seeking to legitimise lyric poetry as ‘digna de impressam’. Bernardes’s works are much less elaborate than Sá de Miranda’s *Obras* or Camões’s *Rhythmas*. In *O Lima* italics mark out the text from the rubrics and front matter (which are in roman type), but this book does not feature elaborate woodcuts to decorate each of the poems and there are no decorated initial capitals. The reasons for this plainer appearance are not entirely clear. Simão Lopes’s books tended to have a simpler appearance when compared with those editions produced by Manuel de Lira in the 1590s. As we have mentioned, Lopes was a commercially-minded printer and unelaborate presentation of Bernardes’s work might have had to do with ensuring that *O Lima* was a text which did not unnecessarily raise production costs that would eat into the profitability of the volume. Lopes did not obtain a privilege for *O Lima* and it is not clear that a patron funded the printer’s costs and so printing it more cheaply could have been advantageous. In practical terms, Lopes’s books produced in the 1590s rarely feature a great number of woodcuts, so the simplicity of *O Lima* might also have to do with the availability of such decorations and his willingness to purchase them or have them made.

⁹² ‘Prólogo aos Leytores’, in Camões, *Rhythmas*, n. fol.

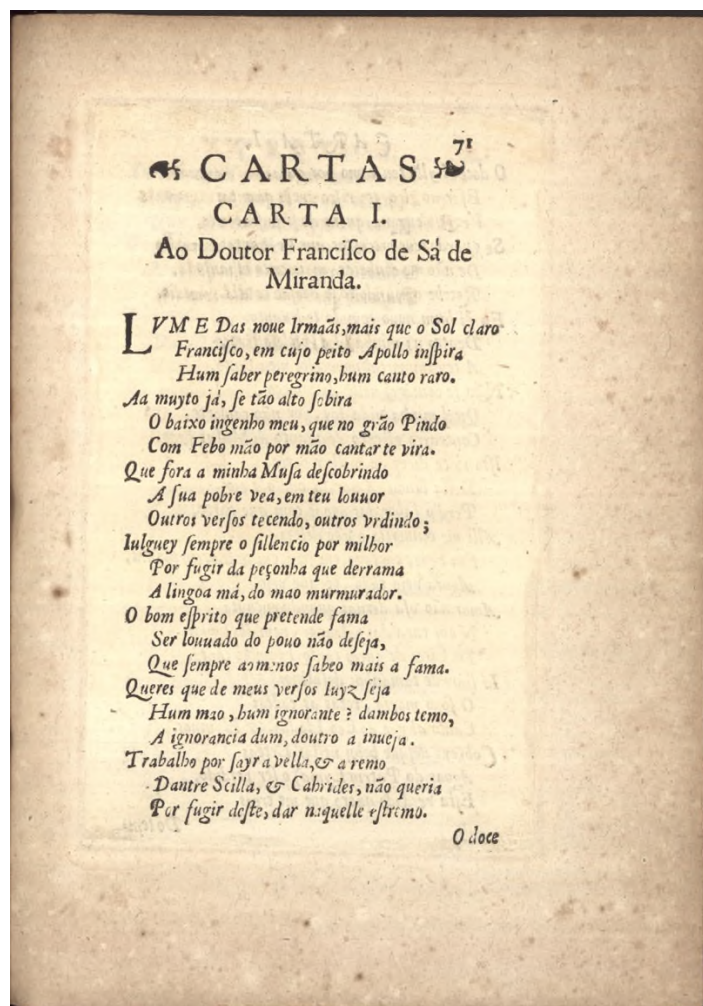


Fig. 11. Diogo Bernardes, *O Lima* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1596), fol. 71^r. Biblioteca Nacional Digital <<http://purl.pt/14667>> [Accessed 25 January 2016].

If the materials of *O Lima* do less work than those by Camões, Mousinho, or Sá de Miranda to establish his authority, that is not to say that the concerns with authorship and authority are entirely absent from Bernardes's book. We saw earlier in this chapter that Bernardes seems to have been involved — to some extent at least — in the production of all three of his books. By looking closely at his book as a whole, we can see some evidence of paratextual and rhetorical manoeuvres designed to establish an authorial identity. Indeed, the very move to gather his poems together for print was something that many poets never did during their lifetime: it was an act of assembling a poetic persona. Most of the poets we encounter in manuscripts did not compile an anthology of all their verse. Those who did, for instance, Sá de Miranda or Andrade Caminha, usually addressed these collections to powerful figures from which they sought protection. For these writers, compilation was very much involved in a process of self-presentation.

In his poems, Bernardes is usually coy about making a name for himself. In a letter to António Ferreira, he contrasts his own fate in posterity to that of Ferreira, suggesting that his own name will perish upon his death:

Meu nome co a vida s'acabara,
O mundo não soubera se nasci. (Carta XII, ll. 32-3)

Nevertheless, in a quite literal way, Bernardes's books do try to make a name for him. And that name is, poet of the Lima. Explaining his choice of title to D. Álvaro de Lencastre, Bernardes tells the Duke he chose *O Lima* because 'tal nome me pareceu que lhe não quadrava mal, pois tudo o mais do que nele vai escrito compus na sua ribeira'.⁹³ To take this at face value, whilst likely true, would be to miss the authorial strategy at play. Choosing the name of a river as one's identifying marker was not a random decision or without cultural precedent. Poets frequently deployed fluvial *antonomasia* as a way of referring to other authors: it was an integral part of Renaissance elegant variation. In Portugal, each major poet was associated with a river and this became a symbol of them and their work. Comparing Portuguese rivers with Italian ones was also a primary means of establishing the comparable skills of Portuguese poets with Classical and Renaissance forebears. In Bernardes's work he often refers to Sá de Miranda, Ferreira, Caminha, or João Rodrigues de Sá de Meneses by the name of their associated river. Indeed, in Carta XII, addressed to António Ferreira, Bernardes uses these river substitutes to stake Ferreira's claim to greatness, as each of the rivers cited referred to an Italian author:

Ouvir teu doce canto já desejam
Tejo, Mondego, Douro, Neiva e Lima,
Por onde o curso seu mais brando rejam.

Dos quais se não fará menos estima
Que d'Arno, Míncio e Pó, Sorga e Sebeto,⁹⁴
Ouvindo em suas praias tua rima; (Carta XII, ll. 4-9)⁹⁵

Portuguese poets want to hear his sweet song, but, Bernardes suggests, Italian poets would be no less impressed by Ferreira's poetry than his compatriots. This poem is usually considered along with Ferreira's response (Carta XIII) as a kind of *ars poetica*, yet another principal anxiety of the poem is the

⁹³ *O Lima*, p. 37.

⁹⁴ The Arno was Dante's river; the Míncio was Virgil's; the Po Aristo's; the Sorgue belonged to Petrarch; and the Sebeto was Sannazaro's.

⁹⁵ Bernardes's use of the rivers here echoes Ferreira's use of a list of rivers in his sonnet I.9, though, in Bernardes's poem poetic glory, rather than love, is the principal theme. Bernardes's includes other European rivers from outside Portugal, which Ferreira does not, because he wants to draw an explicit contrast with Ferreira and other great, European authors. For a more detailed discussion of Ferreira's sonnet and its Petrarchan subtext, see Earle, *Muse Reborn*, pp. 105-7.

question of fame: who might deserve it and why. The ending of the poem sees Bernardes adopting a rather modest pose, placing his hope in his friends to correct his humble verses, but throughout there is a sense that through his friendship he might climb a little higher: ‘por ti/ Espero de ter nome entre famosos’ (l. 30). The use of the river images to suggest that Portugal’s poets might be able to match Italian ones is certainly suggestive for our understanding of Bernardes’s insistent use of the figure of the Lima in his work. It leads us to consider the cultural politics and ambitious self-fashioning implied by the recurrence of this device.

On a simple level, to mention the Lima in the title of two of his books was a way of signalling that they were works belonging to him. As we will see in the next chapter, this fluvial association recurs in Bernardes’s later reception. What is significant about the Lima in Bernardes’s work, however, is how it becomes much more than just a title, but a signature. The mentions of the Lima proliferate in his work appearing in almost every love sonnet, eclogue, or epistle. This tag marks Bernardes’s works as his, creating a sense of individuality and identity.⁹⁶ The repeated inscription of the Lima in Bernardes’s poetry joins author with work. We saw with Sá de Miranda’s printed *Obras* that the connection between author and work was becoming important with the transfer to print from manuscript distribution: the writer was being imbued with a particular authority, the ‘original’ with a particular value.⁹⁷ The Lima acts as a sort of guarantee that we are dealing with poems by Bernardes. It is particularly effective as a marker, for it can operate even as the poet takes up pseudonymic disguise or adopts those multifarious faces of the *cartas*; it creates an authorial presence without having to invest specifically in the use of the first-person pronoun and without Bernardes having to be wholly consistent in his self-presentation.

⁹⁶ As many critics have shown, the assertion of a particular individual as being responsible for a work is a central feature of the modern conception of an author and was increasingly becoming important in the early modern period, particularly with the rise of print as the privileged medium for textual dissemination. For a useful summary of how the notion of the ‘author’ was changing in the sixteenth century, see Andrew Bennett, *The Author* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 44-9. My use of the phrase ‘author function’ obviously derives from Foucault’s landmark essay ‘What is an author?’, where he demonstrates that the idea of an author is created in discourse and became more important with the emergence of legal issues around copyright, ownership, and determining who was responsible (i.e. able to be punished/prosecuted) for a particular work. See Foucault, p. 141.

⁹⁷ For a discussion of how the change from manuscript to print entailed changes in concepts of authorship and the importance of ascribing a name to a text, see Marotti, pp. 135, 242-5.

Why would Bernardes seek such a way to bind all his texts together? Richard McCabe has argued that ‘the creation of an authorial “persona” is arguably the principal means by which a poet negotiates his own “canonicity” and for many writers this is true.’⁹⁸ The Lima and its mention in the titles of two of his works can be seen as part of a strategy to create an identifiable persona, a literary brand if you will, because it binds the poems together in much the same way that the literal threads of the books’ bindings do. By creating a unified corpus, this signature also creates an image of the author, one who is represented by his body of poetry. The insistence on the name of the Lima, then, relates to the creation of an authorial presence and consequently to his negotiations with posterity.

CONCLUSION

By tracing the slow legitimisation of lyric poetry over the course of the sixteenth century and Bernardes’s authorial strategies in his books, we have gained new insights into how the status of lyric poets was changing and how print was involved in this process. Although mainly concerned with establishing print as a medium of which only the most sanitised, religiously and politically orthodox poetry was worthy for most of the sixteenth century, erudition, variety, and pleasure gradually became qualities praised in books of lyric poetry approved by the Inquisition. Taking into account the people involved in the process of getting a book printed, we can also observe the reasons why printing was slow and how poets might be able to mobilise their reputation and/or contacts in order to make the process easier. In brief, what we can conclude from the evidence that we have is that the Inquisition was a system made of people too. No steadfast rules held true for what could or could not be printed, because other agents could (and did) intervene in the process of approving a work for printing. Texts had mixed fortunes, falling in and out of favour — or, more precisely, in and out of Inquisitorial Indexes — as time progressed and as different editions were produced. A crucial point to bear in mind in discussions of the world of print production is that the Inquisition reflected as well as shaped taste. There were plenty of readers who treated *versos profanos* with suspicion and the best-sellers of the

⁹⁸ Richard A. McCabe, ‘Authorial Self-Presentation’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser*, ed. by Richard A. McCabe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 246–82 (p. 246).

sixteenth century were primarily devotional works. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* was the book by Bernardes that was reprinted the highest number of times. Printers in Portugal met the desire for devotional works with multiple reprints of numerous Spanish and Portuguese books, as is demonstrated by the texts that Bernardes's printer, Simão Lopes, produced.

When we look closely at the material form of poetry collections from the final decade of the sixteenth century, we are reminded that whilst authors might make books, books also make authors. Printed books had material elements that could build or consolidate the reputation of an author and also establish a single text as the definitive version of a poem. In this sense, 1590s Portugal was already concerned with issues that only became the regular preoccupation of authors and editors in Europe in later centuries. The use of illustrations, the *mise en page*, and a range of paratexts all worked hard in printed books of poetry by Sá de Miranda, Camões, and Bernardes to confer authority, legitimacy, value, even an idea of luxury on the texts enclosed within the pages of these collections. Bernardes, sooner than any other Portuguese vernacular poet, seized on the printed medium as a way to consolidate his reputation as a writer worthy of being remembered in posterity. His use of the figure of the Lima, in particular, suggests a desire to provide an identifying marker in his poems; it constitutes a manoeuvre of self-presentation because it becomes a way of sheafing a range of texts and voices together. It is a discursive strategy for linking all the texts to a single person, and is thus implicated in the creation of Bernardes as an author in the modern sense, as this connection between writer and text is a central component of the modern 'author function' as Foucault describes it. Given Bernardes's critical fortune, though, we know that a book's power was not eternal. Despite occupying a surprising and drastically novel position in the development of authorship in Portugal, Bernardes had vanished from the canon by the second half of the seventeenth century. In light of this, the choice of the Lima as his signature was not an auspicious sign. As Bernardes so often reminds us in his work, the Lima was thought to be related to the mythological river Lethe, the one that washes away the memories of a hero's former life as they pass on to the Elysian fields. By selecting the Lima/*leteio* as his emblem, then, was he prophetically signing his work away to oblivion? Perhaps unknowingly so, but the irony of the Lima's dual valency certainly seems stark today.

CHAPTER 4

Bernardes and his Readers, or, How to Be a Non-canonical Poet

This chapter goes in search of Bernardes's readers. We saw in the previous chapter that Bernardes expended significant effort in preparing for the journey his works would take into posterity. Here, we see whether his preparations were enough for his writings to endure and we investigate which of his texts had the most staying power and why. It adds to that array of actors involved in the printing of Bernardes's works, a cast of characters whose reading of and writing about Bernardes maintained his reputation as an important Portuguese poet for some decades after his death. As with the other chapters in this thesis, where people and what they do with poetry have stood centre stage, here we see that a writer's afterlife is sustained by the energy of those who read, comment, buy, transcribe, and keep their work. When readers' interest wanes, so does a writer's posthumous *énergie vitale*. Tracking down readers from the past is no easy feat, however, when the footprints they leave behind are slight and faded. Few amongst Bernardes's readers left traces in the card catalogues, databases, and bibliographies that orient the researcher's expedition into the past. Unlike with an author like Camões, Shakespeare, Montaigne, or Petrarch, who have always had a swarm of readers buzzing around their

works, it is harder to find Bernardes's readers because the evidence they have left behind for us is scantier and more scattered. There are fewer of those commentaries, annotations, imitations, refutations, allusions, and/or parodies that make up the varied and enduring afterlives of 'great' writers. And many of the extant signs of Bernardes's reception go unrecognised or unnoticed because readers in the last fifty years or so have been so unfamiliar with his work that they have not always spotted what is hidden in plain sight. Often, though, Bernardes's 'reception' amounts to an adjective here and a scribble in the margins there, the traces of his readers so sparse that one might wonder about the worth of gathering up such meagre and scattered clues.

My reasons for doing so are twofold. The first derives from the sense of surprise that the modern, academic reader experiences when encountering Bernardes's work for the first time. On the horizon of scholarly expectation, Bernardes's *cartas*, in particular, hover as unidentified poetic objects. These poems defy and disrupt our received sense of the generic boundaries of the verse epistle in early modern Portugal by being deployed in the negotiation of patronage. They fall outside the taxonomical categories set out by studies of the Iberian verse epistle.¹ The comments and scribbles of early modern readers provide some measure of what captivated or inspired, moved or incensed those who read his work during his lifetime and after his death. They tell us about readers' favourite texts and ones that elicited little interest, helping us to figure out whether early modern readers were equally surprised by Bernardes's daringly direct verse. What we discover is that readers were much less interested in the *cartas* than in the melancholic eclogues. The evidence we have about Bernardes's reception suggests that the aesthetic priorities of readers made the eclogues much more natural choices for praise. Yet, part of the failure of Bernardes's *cartas* to capture readers' attentions must have had to do with the fact that they are so bound to the circumstances of their composition. It is hard to recognise their rhetorical skill and appreciate Bernardes's protean poetic persona without seeking further information about Bernardes's biography and about his recipients. This problem is symptomatic of the reception of much occasional poetry in the early modern period, which, as it was recopied and/or printed travelled beyond its original context, could 'lose' some of its original significance. In some early modern

¹ See Introduction for further details on the unusual preoccupation of Bernardes's work with patronage within the wider field of sixteenth-century Portuguese poetry.

manuscripts we see the traces of a certain anxiety around this textual migration in rubrics that variously try to encode the original social situation of the text's production or to recode the significance of a text within a new contextual frame.² Readers of the *cartas* tend, as I will show, to focus on the aspects of his poems that travelled better; they focus on satirical or metatextual themes that persisted as concerns in the reader's age, ignoring the sections more directly involved in the search for patronage. In revealing their differing interests in these poems, though, these readers register the rich signifying potential of the *cartas*. The second reason for following the shadows of obscurity as they fall over Bernardes's work is that Camões's reputation was being chiselled into the monument it is today right at the moment when Bernardes's reputation crumbled. Tracking Bernardes's fortunes with readers thus enables us to tell new stories about canon formation in early modern Portugal; it allows us to observe how the attachments and associations of readers — with each other as much as with the books they talk about — makes and breaks the reputations of authors. The contrast between these writers' intertwined fates brings into clearer relief the accidents of history and the actions of particular agents in the creation of the Portuguese canon. This again shows how certain writers were portrayed as embodying particular ideas about poetry and what poetry was for, becoming yardsticks against which other poets were measured.

My sources and methods in this chapter are eclectic for I am dealing with a splintered history. I examine the composition of manuscript miscellanies, analyse paratexts and prefaces, look for hidden allusions and explicit mentions of Bernardes's poetry, track sales and ownership records, and decipher handwritten annotations, in order to get a sense of Bernardes's 'reception', understood in the broadest possible terms. I draw on material approaches to medieval and early modern manuscripts, and borrow from the book historian's toolkit, but also engage in the close reading and philological work that animates my readings of poems in other chapters. First, I put Bernardes's paltry, twentieth- and twenty-first-century critical fortune into historical perspective. If today Bernardes is little known and little read, even amongst specialists of the period, in the first decades following his death Bernardes remained a point of reference in the world of Portuguese letters. What I show is how Bernardes's

² For a discussion of the importance of rubrication in late medieval Iberian manuscripts, see Gómez-Bravo, p. 175-9. For a similar discussion in an English context, see Marotti, pp. 7-10.

poetry became embroiled in the *questione della lingua* in Portugal, a debate which sustained interest in his work for a time, but plummeted into obscurity soon after the Restoration. I tease out the multiple meanings behind seemingly bland terms of approbation that push us to think about reception in multifarious ways. In this chapter, it becomes clear that a reader's thoughts about a text are often mediated by other readings that have gone before. Indeed, sometimes readers turn out to be once, twice, even thrice removed from Bernardes's text, involved in acts of citation and cross-referencing that reveal the layers of influence that determined Bernardes's early modern reception. Readers participate in conversations and debates that lay down paths of thought and vocabularies to be followed or abandoned. They place themselves in alignment or opposition with other readers and what they say about a given text. For all these connections and associations, Bernardes's poems are not tethered to a specific place or time; we see them in transit, moving across borders and across centuries and into the hands of different readers with different interests and agendas, experiences and expectations. In the second half of this chapter, then, we step away from general trends in Bernardes's reception to attend to the particular responses of individual readers of the *cartas* who have left very material evidence of their reading in the archives. So as to avoid side-stepping the problem of why we might read Bernardes today, however, I add my own contrasting readings to those of early modern compilers and annotaters, thereby continuing to demonstrate the plurality of the *cartas* signifying power.³

BERNARDES, THE POPULAR

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Fame had ceased to trumpet the name of Diogo Bernardes. Texts that sought to collect the writings of Portugal's 'melhores engenhos' or those that painted Mount Parnassus and its inhabitants no longer counted Bernardes amongst the most illustrious of Portuguese poetic voices.⁴ As Margarida Vieira Mendes argues, only two sixteenth-century figures

³ As Rita Felski argues, 'to focus on a work's origins is to side-step the question of its appeal to the present-day reader' (p. 10).

⁴ See José Adriano de Freitas Carvalho, 'La formación del Parnaso portugués en el siglo XVII. Elogio, crítica e imitación', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 109.2 (2007), 473-509.

withstood the seventeenth-century shake ups in the canon: Sá de Miranda and Camões.⁵ Despite their knowledge of writers from other times and other places, Portuguese readers from the seventeenth century seem to have had little awareness of Portugal's own literary history. It was a commonplace in the sixteenth century to say that the Portuguese failed to appreciate home-grown talent and the complaint seems (from all indications) to be a truthful one. T. F. Earle concludes thus in a study of two editions of Sá de Miranda's poetry annotated by seventeenth century hands:

quem lê os comentários fica impressionado com a pobreza da concepção que os seus autores tinham da literatura portuguesa. Parecem ignorar os poetas quinhentista contemporâneas de Sá de Miranda [...] todos eles viviam ainda numa clima essencialmente latinista, e os seus autores preilectos eram sobretudo latinos — sendo Camões a única grande excepção.⁶

The descent to oblivion, however, was a gentle slide for Bernardes rather than a precipitous tumble. His works were reprinted several times in the seventeenth century. *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* had the biggest editorial success: it was printed four times in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, in 1601, 1608, 1616, and 1622. *O Lima* was reprinted in 1633 and its licences give some measure of Bernardes's reputation at the time. Frei Sebastião dos Santos refers to Bernardes as the 'insigne Poeta Diogo Bernardes' and Frei Ayres Correa says in his licence: 'Vi estas Eglogas, & Cartas de Diogo Bernardes, tão celebradas por suas, como elle eternizado por ellas; & me pareceo que se de todo não ouuera quẽ outra vez as estampara; seria deixar hũ tal serviço mal pagado'.⁷ Given the later fate of Bernardes's work, Correa's statements are tinged with historical irony, but his hyperbolic terms do suggest that Bernardes's name had survived the passage of almost forty years since his death. His books had made their way into important Iberian libraries too, as José María Díez Borque shows in an important overview of the poetic holdings of early modern Iberian libraries.⁸ Bernardes certainly was not as popular as the Classical and Italian Renaissance authors that find themselves in the majority of those libraries studied by Díez Borque, but he does find himself in as many libraries as Sá de Miranda (i.e. 3), more than António Ferreira (2), and only two fewer than Camões. As an initial indication of

⁵ Margarida Vieira Mendes, 'Baroque Literature Revised and Revisited', in *A Revisionary History of Portuguese Literature*, ed. by Miguel Tamen and Helena Carvalhão Buescu (New York; London: Garland, 1999), pp. 58-78 (pp. 69-72).

⁶ T. F. Earle, *Estudos sobre literatura e cultura portuguesa do Renascimento* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2013), p. 103.

⁷ 'Licenças', in Diogo Bernardes, *O Lima* (Lisbon: Lourenço Crasbeeck, 1633), n. fol.

⁸ For an overview of books of poetry mentioned in library catalogues between 1600-1650, including by Portuguese authors, see the interesting article by José María Díez Borque, 'Libros de poesía en bibliotecas del Siglo de Oro (1600-1650)', *Revista de filología española*, 90.1 (2010), 69-98.

Bernardes's reception across the border in Spain, a Portuguese bookseller's inventory from 1622 tells us that *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* (1597) was being sold in Madrid in the seventeenth century alongside the works of Sá de Miranda, Camões, Mousinho de Quevedo, Baltasar Estaço, and many more Portuguese writers.⁹ This wide diffusion is then reiterated by Bernardes's inclusion in the libraries of important, political figures.

The Conde de Gondomar, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, ambassador to England and one of the most influential players in Spanish political life during the first decades of the seventeenth century, amassed an impressive library of almost 6,500 items that has been catalogued by Carmen Manso Porto.

Amongst the count's library, which houses books in multiple ancient and modern languages, figures a number of books of Portuguese poetry, including all three of Bernardes's works. *O Lima* and *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* appear in their respective first editions (1596 and 1597) and *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* in the 1601 re-print.¹⁰ The 1637 *índice* of Felipe IV's library in the Torre Alta of the Alcázar de Madrid also listed two books by Bernardes: a 1622 edition of *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* and the first and only edition of *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima* (1597).¹¹

The seventeenth-century catalogue of an unidentified Jesuit college in Portugal, which is held by the BNP, cites 'Eglogas & cartas de Bernardes' (i.e. *O Lima*) as one of the volumes in its holdings and is catalogued somewhat surprisingly under the heading 'Humanistae & gramatici' alongside the works of mainly Classical authors.¹² This catalogue is interesting because it divides the catalogue up into different spaces, separating those in the 'Livraria dos Irmãos' from the 'Livraria Publica' (wherein Bernardes's books were found). Indeed, this inventory goes so far as to identify the books held in the various rooms of key individuals within the college (like the Rector) and those that were in the refectory and the vestuary. The only other Portuguese volumes listed in the section entitled 'Humanistae & gramatici' are two books of poetry by Baltasar Estaço, a rather more devout writer than

⁹ José Manuel Prieto Bernabé, *Lectura y lectores: La cultura del impreso en el Madrid del Siglo de Oro (1550-1650)*, 2 vols (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2004), II, 318-27.

¹⁰ Carmen Manso Porto, 'Inventario de la librería del conde de Gondomar' in *Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar (1567-1626): erudito, mecenas y bibliófilo* (n.p.: Xunta de Galicia, 1996), pp. 415-636 (p. 578).

¹¹ Fernando Bouza, *El libro y el cetro: La biblioteca de Felipe IV en la Torre Alta del Alcázar de Madrid* (Madrid: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2005), p. 401.

¹² 'Catálogo de livros da livraria de um colégio Jesuíta', Lisbon, BNP, COD 4279, fol. 23^v.

Bernardes who satirised Petrarchan love poetry and even *Os Lusíadas* in his volume, *Sonetos, Canções, e Eglogas, e outras rimas* (Coimbra, 1604).¹³ One could understand Estaço, a cathedral canon, finding his way into the library of a Jesuit college, but *O Lima* comes as something of a surprise. His works must not have been thought unduly scandalous, but rather potentially of edificatory value for the students of the college given their inclusion in the 'public' library. All these catalogues, then, point to a wide circulation of his work in Iberia during the seventeenth century. Bernardes's texts were found outside Portugal and in a variety of settings, from educational establishments to the private libraries of kings and nobles. Of course ownership is not always a reliable sign of readership, but we should not forget that one can do more with a book than just read it. Ownership of books was a quintessential feature of the early modern aristocrat's self-fashioning. Books, especially when put on display, represented the learning of the individual (as well as their wealth) even if they did not read all that was on their shelves.¹⁴ From a writer's and printer's perspective, ownership did not only have positive benefits for the owners themselves, but, as the printer Loureço Craesbeeck suggests in the dedication of his 1626 edition of *Os Lusíadas* to D. João de Almeida, the association of a book with a powerful noble might also increase the book's stock with others: 'se a ordinaria valia, & estimação dos diamantes he regulada pelas mãos q̃ os trazẽ, ninguem duuidar à vẽdo este [livro] nas de v. m. de q̃ será o seu preço inestimavel'.¹⁵ Bernardes's presence in the libraries of nobles could have both been a reflection of the esteem in which he was held and, potentially, played a part in his continued renown as a poet.

BERNARDES, THE GENTLE

Amongst those readers of Bernardes's poetry who have left traces for us today, the earliest and most enthusiastic are those poets who wrote directly to him during his lifetime. Francisco Sá de Miranda,

¹³ 'A poesia profana, mesmo aquela produzida por Camões, não vale a pena neste mundo de injustiças e valores ímpios, diz o nosso cônego, defendendo a musa sacra, divina, cuja recompensa não é material, mas celeste.' Sheila Moura Hue, 'Baltazar Estaço, um leitor de Luís de Camões', *Floema*, 1.2 (2005), 135-50 (p. 144). Estaço did, though, end his life in disgrace after he was accused of 'osculos', 'amplexos' and 'tocamentos deshonestos' by one of the ladies who came to his confession. For an account of Estaço's fate, see António Baião, *Episódios dramáticos da inquisição portuguesa*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1936-1953), I (1936), 69-108.

¹⁴ Bouza, *Communication*, p. 65.

¹⁵ 'A Dom Joam d'Almeida do Conselho delRey nosso Senhor', in Luis de Camões, *Os Lusíadas de Lays de Camões* (Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1626), n. fol.

António Ferreira, Pêro de Andrade Caminha, Agostinho da Cruz, André Falcão de Resende, Gonçalo Coutinho, and Jorge Bacarrao all praise Bernardes's quality as a poet. Their poems take us back to the question of Bernardes's self-fashioning discussed in Chapter 1 as they create an image of Bernardes as, above all else, a writer of pastoral love poetry. Although these poets often praise him in rather general terms, some of their comments do, nonetheless, articulate what marks his poetry out and suggest which poems these readers found particularly interesting. Bernardes's brother, Frei Agostinho da Cruz, singles out an eclogue as one that resonates with him as he took his vow of poverty (Carta IX, ll. 67-69). Jorge Bacarrao echoes this interest in Bernardes's eclogues by almost exclusively referring to the poet by his bucolic pseudonym, Alcido, and praises the way that 'A Sílvia neste mundo diste glória' (Carta XVII, l. 4). For Bacarrao, Bernardes's melancholy song soothes the listener with its sweetness:

Por mí contento estoy te contemplando
Sentado en una peña, y con tu llanto
A los que te oían ablandando.

El aire bullicioso el entretanto¹⁶
Sosegando, y del río sus corrientes,
Gustando la dulzura de tu canto. (Carta XVII, l. 52-7)

At first glance, Bacarrao's poem appears quite general. However, these lines make clear allusions to the most famous of Bernardes's eclogues, number XIV entitled 'Sílvia'. He alludes both to the eponymous beloved, Sílvia, and to the 'curvo penedo' (Écloga XIV, l. 4) (i.e. Bacarrao's 'peña') on which Alcido perches as he laments his mistress' cruelty. Bacarrao's poem is an early indication of how iconic the image of Alcido on a rock lamenting Sílvia would become and points to the particular power of Bernardes's verses to 'ablandar', a verb of which the related adjective and noun, 'brando' and 'brandura', become synonymous with Bernardes's poetry in his later reception.

The image of the lovelorn poet who sings sweetly of Sílvia by the banks of the river Lima is somewhat at odds with the portrait of Bernardes sketched in this thesis, where we have seen him wrangling for favour and complaining about his misfortunes at court. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, though, Bernardes himself marks a crucial difference between the love poems and the patronage poems, as though they did not belong to the same poetic project. The patronage poems are swept up in the

¹⁶ This line contains an emphatic repetition of the definite article, which refers back to the noun phrase, 'El aire bullicioso', in order not to produce a *vers faux*.

hustle and bustle of daily life and refer to Alcido and love poetry as a different kind of verse, one belonging to a more autonomous, aesthetic realm. Space, in particular, marks the difference between his patronage poems and the less worldly concerns of his love poetry. The *cartas* are usually set in the city, whereas the shepherds of the eclogues reside in an idyllic bucolic zone beside the river Lima or in deserted pastures.¹⁷ The image of Bernardes I am presenting in this thesis, then, differs from the early modern reception of Bernardes's work because my primary interest has been in the *cartas* rather than the eclogues; I have focused on the pretender to favour rather than the lover. Instead of rejecting the image of the lover altogether, however, I think it is possible to reconcile the two halves of Bernardes's poetic persona, the two books of *O Lima*. For one, the eclogues rarely figure a complete retreat from the world: Eclogue XVI features a poor shepherd who goes to hawk poems at market and Bernardes's later eclogues lament his sufferings as a hostage of war in Morocco. Bernardes's awareness of his own poetic persona — and of the fact that his patrons wanted love poems and eclogues — also shows that these poems were written with worldly concerns very much in mind. The opening *oitavas* to Eclogue XI certainly demonstrate that an eclogue could be written to please a patron (cf. ll. 1-48).

In a way, my overall reading of Bernardes's work — one that sees it thoroughly entangled in the warp and weft of patronage relations — principally differs from early modern readers in terms of scope. Early modern readers might not have read all of Bernardes's work. Indeed, some of the most interesting cases of his early modern reception refer to a single poem. For example, André Falcão de Resende writes a satire addressed to Bernardes, which praises 'a vida religiosa; e reprende os que se desvelão buscando o proveito temporal'. This poem was composed following the recitation of a poem by Bernardes:

Aquella noite foy bom dia claro,
que tu com pedra branca me contavas,
quando te vi e ouvi, Bernaldez raro.

Com que brandura então me ali cantavas
os versos, com que a nova e santa vida
d'hũa religiosa amplificavas. (Resende, I, 362, ll. 1-6)

The allusion to a poem about the 'nova e santa vida / d'hũa religiosa' is probably to the tercets included in *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, with the title 'A Dona Maria de Vilhena quando se meteu freira'.

¹⁷ As we will see later in this chapter, Bernardes's attitude towards the country life is quite ambiguous in the *cartas*.

Though Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires provides no biographical information in her edition about the lady mentioned in the poem, it is likely that the D. Maria de Vilhena in question was a lady-in-waiting for D. Catarina who took her vows in the Mosteiro da Anunciada de Lisboa (a Dominican convent).¹⁸ In the rest of the poem, Resende implies that he is preaching to the choir, that Bernardes abhors the search for worldly profit as much as Resende claims he himself does.¹⁹ Resende tells the story of a greedy father who sends his children off into various spheres of work in order to amass fortunes. This imaginary parent has children who go to the East, but lose their booty in a shipwreck, a son who takes the cloth only to make his money through simony, and another who turns to the court in pursuit of royal favour. Bernardes himself rails against the covetous who ‘se busca e se procura/ A honra e a fazenda mais buscada’ (Carta XXVI, ll. 104-5), but the thoroughly saintly Bernardes of Resende’s poem is far from the more complex character who emerges from a reading of Bernardes’s entire *oeuvre*. Curiously enough, the fable of the Ant and the Grasshopper I discussed in Chapter 1 reappears in Resende’s satirical letter, with the ant as the figure who laughs at those who have not been diligent enough to provide for themselves through the winter of old age (I, 367, ll. 187-9). The story again proves a useful way to register the difference between the virtuous and venal personas of the poet. Bernardes’s desire to be a grasshopper-poet was very clearly in conflict with the moral concerns Bernardes’s contemporaries. Resende is quite unusual in singling out Bernardes’s religious verse for commendation, but he slots in with other readers because that keyword ‘brandura’ (l. 4) returns here, as it will persistently do in most of the critical appreciations of his work in the first decades after his death.

A critical preoccupation of the early modern period was the choice of the language of erudition. Long thought deficient in comparison to Latin, vernacular tongues won a series of committed defenders in the sixteenth century. Pietro Bembo’s *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), Juan de Valdés’s *Diálogo de la lengua* (1535), and Joachim du Bellay’s *La deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549) are the best-known

¹⁸ D. Maria de Vilhena was ‘Dama da Rainha D. Catharina, e da Inanta D. Maria, filha del Rey D. Manoel: chamada de alta vocação, foy Freira na Annunciada de Lisboa, da Ordem de S. Domingos’: Sousa, *Historia Genealogica*, XII.I, p. 506.

¹⁹ It is surprising that Resende pens such a poem and sends it to Bernardes, for, taken together, they represent the sixteenth-century poets whose work is most marked by the quest for patronage. They certainly were not successful enough in their search to be compared to merchants on the *carreira da Índia*, but one can detect social ambition in both writers’ work.

examples of Humanist writers extolling the qualities of vernacular languages and claiming that they possessed the same capacity for elegance and eloquence as Latin. Portuguese, though oft derided by its own speakers, also had its champions.²⁰ Early supporters of Portuguese were Fernão de Oliveira who praised Portuguese in his *Grammatica da lingoagem portuguesa* (1536) and João de Barros, one of Portugal's most distinguished Humanists, who wrote the *Diálogo em louvor da nossa linguagem* (1540). These defences of Portuguese sought to combat criticisms about the sound of Portuguese or its lexical range, by making their own claims about the intrinsic virtues of the language. However, they also sought to extend such lines of argument by asserting that it is what people do with a language that matters more than a language's lexical range or pronunciation. Fernão de Oliveira urged his readers: 'não desconfiemos da nossa lingua porque os homẽs fazem a lingua e não a lingua os homens'.²¹ Or, as the son argues in Barros's dialogue, by quoting Cicero, 'Nas palavras não há coisa tão áspera que o uso não faça brando e suave'.²² In order to supplement these arguments about the use of the language being a crucial factor in determining its worth, a feature of defences of Portuguese became the inclusion of a list of great writers who could prove its potential for excellence.

A notable example of this comes in Pêro de Magalhães Gândavo's *Diálogo em defesa da língua portugusa* (1574). Here Gândavo pits the Portuguese, Petrônio, against the Castilian, Falêncio, in a debate to establish the superiority of their respective languages — Falêncio's name being, obviously, a humorous indication of the deficiencies of Castilian that will be brought to light during the discussion. The crux of the dialogue is determining which language is closer to Latin. Unsurprisingly, Petrônio argues successfully for the greater proximity of Portuguese to the prestigious ancient tongue in phonetic, grammatical, and orthographic terms. But, as an additional piece of evidence to prove that the Portuguese language can serve as a vessel for erudition and elegance, Petrônio provides Falêncio with a list of the best Portuguese writers. His inventory represents an early attempt to establish a canon of Portuguese letters; a feature that would become essential in later apologia of the Portuguese language and, consequently, defences of the Portuguese nation itself during the Dual Monarchy. João de Barros

²⁰ For a fuller discussion of sixteenth-century defences of the Portuguese language, see Sheila Moura Hue, ed., *Diálogos em defesa e louvor da língua portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2007), pp. 1-36.

²¹ Fernando de Oliveira, 'Quarto capitolo', in *Grammatica da lingoagem portuguesa* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1536), n. fol.

²² Moura Hue, *Diálogos*, p. 51.

and Heitor Pinto figure amongst the prose writers Gândavo selects for his defence. As for poetry, Sá de Miranda is the first to be named and is recognised as the founding father of a new age of Portuguese poetry, one of a more Classical orientation. Camões provides the confirmation that Portuguese can produce an epic to rival those of any other European language. Continuing the anaphora (‘vede’) that introduces each writer in his catalogue — and which, at this point, has reached the peak of its cumulative effect — Petrônio concludes his enumeration of writers thus: ‘vede a brandura das [obras] daquele raro espírito Diogo Bernardes, vede finalmente as do doutor Antonio Ferreira de quem o mundo tantos louvores canta’.²³ Bernardes is there, his writing so excellent that he can be included in a best of the best list. And this is only the first time Bernardes makes it onto the shortlist of Portugal’s premier authors.

Perhaps the most notable (and most frequently cited) of Bernardes’s admirers was Lope de Vega. Bernardes features, for example, in the third canto of Lope’s *Laurel de Apolo* (1630) as a Portuguese writer of renown:

A Bernaldez ofrece,
Y dize, que ser Principe merece
*Cantando Alcido vn dia ào son de às agoas.*²⁴

Citing the first line of Bernardes’s fourteenth eclogue — the very same one to which Bacarrao alludes in his letter — Lope stakes Bernardes’s claim to the title ‘Principe’ on the merits of his bucolic verse. Lope had also listed Bernardes at the end of the *Arcadia* (1598) as one of the best poets from Portugal.²⁵ This text became the touchstone for Manuel Severim de Faria’s defence of the Portuguese language in the second of his *Discursos vários políticos* (1624). Severim de Faria praises the ‘brandura das Églogas de Diogo Bernardes’ and notes that ‘o insigne Poeta Lopo da Vega confessa que os escritos de Diogo Bernardes o ensinaram a fazer versos pastoris’.²⁶ In similar terms to those used by Severim de Faria, António de Sousa Meneses cites Bernardes in the section entitled ‘De la lengua Portuguesa’ in his *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal* (1631) as one example of ‘la aptitud para todos los estilos que tiene la habla Portuguesa’. Once more it is ‘la blandura’ of Bernardes’s eclogues that gets underlined.²⁷

²³ Moura Hue, *Diálogos*, pp. 73-4.

²⁴ Lope de Vega, *Laurel de Apolo* [...] (Madrid: Juan González, 1630), fol. 26^r.

²⁵ Lope de Vega, *Arcadia, prosas y versos*, ed. by Antonio Sánchez Jiménez (Madrid: Cátedra, 2012), p. 641.

²⁶ Manuel Severim de Faria, ‘Discurso segundo da língua portuguesa’, in *Discursos vários políticos*, ed. by Maria Leonor Soares Albergaria Vieira (Lisbon: INCM, 1999), pp. 69-98 (p. 93).

²⁷ António de Sousa Macedo, *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal* [...] (Lisbon: Jorge Rodrigues, 1631), fol. 239^r.

Bernardes even appears in the list of the Portuguese authors consulted ‘pera se fazer este Vocabulário’ in Bento Pereira’s *Thesouro da lingua portuguesa* (1647). Here, Bernardes’s work is once more implicated in the struggle to claim the richness of the Portuguese language and to refute the ‘descredito de nossa língua, sendo injustamente de algũs julgada por menos copiosa’.²⁸

Approximately ten years later, in Francisco Manuel de Melo’s *Hospital de letras* (completed around 1657), Bernardes is the first to be pulled from the shelf of Portuguese poets for diagnosis of poetic ills.²⁹ The question of Portuguese ‘envy’ of other cultures rears its head again, just before Bernardes is praised by Francisco de Quevedo:

AUTOR:	Bem está tudo isso, mas nós mal, se a este passo havemos de examinar toda esta livraria. Sendo assim que, só para a estante dos poetas portugueses, que agora nos fica à mão, necessitamos de muitos dias de conferência. [...]
LÍPSIO:	Se o achaque dos Portugueses não for inveja, cedo espero que tenham saúde.
QUEVEDO:	Ora venha o primeiro desses vulgares.
AUTOR:	Eis aí tendes o <i>Lima</i> de Diogo Bernardes.
QUEVEDO:	Esse foi poeta da Terra da Promissão, todo mel e manteiga; não se viu musa mais mimosa. ³⁰

It is significant that Manuel de Melo mentions *O Lima* here. Again, this points to the importance of the eclogues within his *oeuvre* as a whole, for Quevedo’s characterisation of Bernardes has little to do with the social and financial concerns of the *cartas* that make up the other half of Bernardes’s 1596 book. Indeed, ‘mimoso’ is a near synonym of ‘brando’ confirming once more an interest in the gentle qualities of his poetry.

Before bringing this brisk enumeration of references to a close and trying to make sense of them as a whole, I am going to add one more surprising (and hitherto unconfirmed) allusion to Bernardes’s work: one in Cervantes’s first book, *La Galatea* (1585). As Mary Malcolm Gaylord has noted, *La Galatea* is usually held in low esteem by Cervantes scholars, though its diversity of subject matter and creative re-imagining of the pastoral genre suggest that it is a text which merits further critical

²⁸ Bento Pereira, ‘Frontispiece’ and ‘AVTORES PORTVGVESES/ OS QUAES TODOS SE LERAM/ pera se fazer este Vocabulário’, in *Thesouro da lingua portuguesa* (Lisbon: Paulo Crasbeeck, 1647), n. fol.

²⁹ For the date of completion of the *Hospital das Letras*, see Joan Estruch Tobella, ‘La concepción de la poesía en *Hospital das Letras* de Francisco Manuel de Melo’, *Quadrant*, 6 (1989), 5-20 (p. 5).

³⁰ Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Apólogos Dialogias*, ed. by Pedro Serra, 2 vols (Braga: Angelus Novus, 1999), II, 87.

attention.³¹ One theme central to the text is poetry itself, signalled by the poetic contest between Francenio and Lauso and by the arrival of the muse, Calíope, in Book VI, who catalogues a list of great Spanish authors and extols the virtue of combining arms and letters. In light of this interest in poetry, Carroll B. Johnson reads the unexpected plan for Galatea to marry an unnamed, Portuguese shepherd — and Elicio's promise to leave singing behind and to take up arms to defend her — not only as politically charged (the shepherd's nationality was certainly important given that Cervantes was writing just a few years after the Union of the Crowns), but as implicated in the cultural tussle between the two nations. In Johnson's own words, Galatea's

marriage to the unnamed Lusitanian means simply that Galatea/Poetry is about to be forcibly removed from Castile where she belongs and taken to Portugal, that Portugal will replace Castile as the center of poetic creation. The Portuguese poets, apparently can or will be able to do what the Castilian poets cannot.³²

When added to Lope de Vega's enthusiastic remarks about Bernardes and other Portuguese writers in the *Laurel*, Johnson's argument adds grist to those made by Hélió Alves in a recent article where he asks for the influence of Portuguese writers on their Spanish contemporaries and successors to be better acknowledged across the disciplinary frontier in Spanish Studies.³³ What is tantalising for a study of Bernardes's reception are the terms in which the 'pastor lusitano' is described by Cervantes: the friends Elicio and Erastro learn to their surprise in Book VI that 'tenía concertado de casar Galatea con un pastor lusitano que en las riberas del blando Lima gran número de ganado apacienta'.³⁴ Given what we now know about Bernardes and his early reception, the poet who sings by 'las riberas del blando Lima' can be no other than the author of that famous poem, 'Cantava Alcido um dia ao som das águas'. Johnson refers to Bernardes as a potential candidate for this honour, but quickly dismisses him in favour of Sánchez de Lima.³⁵ He does so primarily on the grounds that Sánchez de Lima's influence can be found in the prologue to *La Galatea* as well as in later passages.³⁶ His dismissal of Bernardes strikes me as a little hasty. For one, there is no strong argument that the 'pastor lusitano' must fulfil all the criteria of Cervantes's own poetic ideal in order to represent a poetic threat.

³¹ Mary Malcolm Gaylord, 'Cervantes' other fiction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes*, ed. by Anthony J. Cascardi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 100-30 (pp. 101-2).

³² Carroll B. Johnson, 'Cervantes' *Galatea*: The Portuguese Connection', *Iberoromania*, 23 (1986), 91-105 (p. 93).

³³ See Alves, 'Sem exclusões'.

³⁴ Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *La Galatea*, ed. by Francisco López Estrada and María teresa López García-Berdoy (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995), p. 506.

³⁵ 'Bernardes' candidacy falters—besides for lack of epic—on grounds of general obscurity and of chronology.' Johnson, p. 95.

³⁶ Johnson, pp. 97-102.

Additionally — and contrary to what Johnson suggests — Bernardes's poetry was known well before his works went to print in the final decade of the sixteenth century and his eclogues were already circulating in manuscript form in the 1580s.³⁷ Moreover, Cervantes was in Lisbon in 1580-82 and Bernardes had previously made connections with Spanish poets during an embassy to Madrid in 1576.³⁸ Bernardes wrote an eclogue entitled 'Galateia' and the mention of the 'blando Lima' evokes both the customary vocabulary of Bernardes's reception and his strong connection with the river Lima. As discussed in Chapter 3, Bernardes's repeated allusions to the Lima in the titles of his printed works and within his poetry turned the river into his poetic signature. Other poets recognised this topographical connection too. Jorge Bacarrao says that Bernardes eternalised the Lima (Carta XVII, l. 2) and Sá de Miranda's sonnet, included after Carta I in *O Lima*, connects him with the very same river in Northern Portugal (l. 10). The Portuguese shepherd who resides by the banks of the Lima must be Bernardes. *La Galatea* therefore provides another indication of the reputation that Bernardes had gained during his lifetime; a reputation so great that even two of the most illustrious writers of Spain's *Siglo de Oro* saw him as an exemplar of poetic excellence and even a rival to their national, cultural pre-eminence.

Though none of these scattered references to Bernardes represent a sustained engagement with his work, they are nonetheless intriguing. They all mention Bernardes directly as a major author, one who enriches the Portuguese language and stands as an example of Portuguese poetic excellence. Under the Dual Monarchy, his work becomes ammunition on the cultural front of Portugal's battle to retain its identity after the loss of political sovereignty in 1580. Their praise does not treat his entire poetic output equally, however. Bernardes's eclogues receive the most attention and it is always their 'brandura' (or a close synonym) that is lauded.

One can make a broader claim for the popularity of the eclogues with reference to the frequency with which they appear in manuscript miscellanies. One or more of Bernardes's eclogues (often identified as

³⁷ See Martínez Torrejón, 'Seis elegias de Diogo Bernardes', pp. 4-5.

³⁸ Donald McCrory, *No Ordinary Man: The Life and Times of Miguel de Cervantes* (London: Peter Owen, 2002), pp. 100-102. For the connections that Bernardes made in Madrid, potentially with Francisco de Aldana, see Martínez Torrejón, 'Vispera de la batalla', p. 210.

‘elegias’) appear in ten different early modern manuscripts.³⁹ His fourteenth eclogue was particularly popular, appearing with a series of five *glosas* in response to it in a manuscript held in the Escorial library and was even translated into Latin.⁴⁰ This is quite in contrast to the fortune of the *cartas*, of which I have, to date, found only three instances in manuscript miscellanies: Carta VII which appears in the *Cancioneiro de Luís Franco Corrêa* (fols 219^r-220^v) and Carta XXIII which appears in the same variant in the so-called *Cancioneiro Juromenba* (now MS P-128 in the Library of Congress) (fols 10^v-12^v) and in MS 393 in the Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra (fols 142^v-145^r).

What beguiled Bernardes’s readers was the ‘brandura’ of his verses. A somewhat ineffable concept, and not one that was explicitly theorised in early modern Iberia, its elusiveness registers that temporal gap that yawns between us and Bernardes’s early readers. ‘Brandura’ is an interesting term to investigate because questions of theme, style, sound, and affect converge upon it and its related adjective. One word cannot reconstruct the entirety of a reader’s experience of a text, but the philological exploration of the word shows that a seemingly banal term of appropriation can encompass various facets of a reader’s experience and what draws them to a text. ‘Brandura’ suggests how important it is to see reader’s interests as being motivated by a combination of prosody, theme, setting, personal experience, and so forth. As I will argue, gentleness can even take on a political importance.

Gentleness is primarily a quality associated with the middle style and particularly with lyric poetry.⁴¹ As María José Vega argues, Renaissance theorisations of the lyric ‘contrapone la dulce blandura del estilo lírico florido a la grave y áspera magnificencia del heroico’ and ‘privilegia los contenidos amorosos y el programa poético asociado al petrarquismo y a la estilización pastoril’.⁴² The passionate sufferings of

³⁹ For more details about the manuscripts that contain Bernardes’s poetry, see Appendix 2. The elegy was a catch-all and so the frequency with which it is used in the rubrics of manuscript miscellanies can be potentially misleading. For the fact that it covers a number of styles and metres, see: Luís de Camões, *Rimas Varias de Luís de Camões*, ed. by Manuel de Faria e Sousa, 2 vols (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1685-88), II.IV (1688), fol. 1^r; and Fernando de Herrera, *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garvilaso*, ed. by Inoria Pepe and José María Reyes (Madrid: Cátedra, 2001), p. 558.

⁴⁰ The *glosas* are found in Madrid, Biblioteca del Escorial, MS Ç.III.22, fols 51^v-61^v. The Latin poem deserves more careful analysis for its reworking of Eclogue XIV, but it borrows enough of the images from this eclogue to suggest that it is indeed a translation of Bernardes’s pastoral poem, see Lisbon, ANTT, MSLIV 2209, fols 75^v-77^r.

⁴¹ Several Latin synonyms for ‘brando’ and ‘brandura’ feature in Quintilian’s classification of the middle style. See Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell, 5 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), V, XII. 10. 58-61, 64. Indeed, it is the gentle river that is Quintilian’s metaphor for the middle style, the exemplary location of Bernardes’s eclogues.

⁴² María José Vega, ‘Poética de la lírica en el Renacimiento’, in *Idea de la lírica en el Renacimiento (Entre Italia y España)*, ed. by María José Vega and Cesc Esteve (Vilagarcía de Arousa: Mirabel, 2004), pp. 15-43 (p. 30).

Bernardes's shepherds, their frustrated longing for cruel and absent mistresses, form the central thematic territory for 'gentle' lyric songs. Within the lexical repertory of lyric poems themselves, and especially eclogues, 'brando' and 'brandura' feature as key terms to describe the songs of lovers, the qualities of the beloved, and the nature of the muses. The almost excessive insistence on these terms within the poems pushes the reader to identify 'brandura' as a quality of the poem at large; the repetition reinforces and augments the overall effect of 'gentleness'. Additionally, the use of the adjective 'brando' in Bernardes's poems — frequently paired with 'suave' — connects 'brandura' with a quality of voice (e.g. *Écloga* VI, l. 22; VII, l. 5; X, l. 167). What is 'brando' is pleasing to the ear. Such a term of evaluation, then, reminds us that sound effects were a crucial aspect of the reception of poetry; the prosodic qualities of a poem when recited contributed as much as the overall conceit or lexical choices to the charm of a poem for readers.⁴³ This acoustic dimension to 'brandura' helps us to identify one reason why Bernardes is so frequently praised for this quality in texts seeking to elevate the status of the Portuguese language. 'Brandura' gained a particular charge in the *questione della lingua* and became a quality apologists for the Portuguese language avidly sought to identify with their native tongue because Portuguese was criticized for the 'aspereza de su pronunciacion'.⁴⁴ Rodrigues Lobo, for instance, says that Portuguese has the best qualities of every language, including the 'brandura' of French.⁴⁵ To identify an author as demonstrating 'brandura' was thus to demonstrate the potential 'brandura' of the Portuguese language as a whole and, by extension, its ability to compete with — or better — other vernacular tongues.

'Brandura' is not only an intrinsic quality describing a poem or a voice, however, it speaks to a poem's affective force. If speech is 'gentle', it has the effect of soothing or softening the mood of the listener:

Ao brando som suave
Da tua doce fala, que dureza
Se não abrandará? (*Écloga* II, ll. 201-3)

⁴³ For a recent study of the importance of poetry's sound in Early Modern England, see Neil Rhodes, 'Framing and Tuning in Renaissance English Verse', in *Renaissance Transformations: The Making of English Writing 1500-1650*, ed. by Margaret Healy and Thomas Healy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 32-47.

⁴⁴ 'Al illustrissimo señor Ascanio Colona', in Luís de Camões, *La Lusíada de el famoso poeta Lays de Camões. Traducida en verso Castellano de Portugues, por el Maestro Lays Gomez de Tapia* (Salamanca: Juan Perier, 1630), n. fol.

⁴⁵ Portuguese 'tem de todas as línguas o melhor: a pronúnciação da latina, a origem da grega, a familiaridade da castelhana, a brandura da francesa, a elegância da italiana'. Lobo, p. 69.

When readers identify ‘brandura’, then, they might not only be testifying to Bernardes’s compositional skill in a technical sense, but also to the way in which they have been moved and swayed by his poems. Much was potentially at play in a reader’s use of this term to qualify Bernardes’s poetry. But the challenge a concept like ‘brandura’ poses for the modern critic, as Michael Baxandall argues, is not only identifying the semantic range of the word but also how to match up its potential meanings with the aesthetic object in question.⁴⁶ What, specifically, are the features of Bernardes’s poems that contribute to the effect of gentleness? How is gentleness encoded within the poem? Bernardes’s famous fourteenth eclogue is perhaps a good place to start looking:

Cantava Alcido um dia ao som das águas
Do Lima, que mais brando ali corria
Dizem que por ouvir suas doces mágoas

Sobr’um curvo penedo que pendia
Por cima da corrente vagarosa
Se me não lembra mal, assi dizia

Sílvia nestes meus olhos mais fermosa
Que o sol de dia, que de noite a lua
(Não digo lírio já, não digo rosa)

| Can | tav | a | Al | ci | dō | um | 'di | a | ao | som | das | ág | uas
| Do | Li | ma, | que | mais | 'bran | dō | a | li | co | rri | a
| Di | zem | que | por | ou | 'vir | suas | do | ces | má | goas

| So | br'um | cur | vo | pe | 'ne | do | que | pen | di | a
| Por | ci | ma | da | corr | 'en | te | va | ga | ro | sa
| Se | me | não | lem | bra | 'mal, | a | ssi | di | zi | a

| Síl | via, | nes | tes | meus | 'olh | os | mais | fer | mo | sa
| Que | o | sol | de | 'dia, | que | de | 'noite | a | lu | a
| (Não | di | go | 'lí | rio | já, | não | 'di | go | ro | sa) (Écloga XIV, ll. 1-9)

Besides the first line, there is relatively little elision, which contributes to the rhythmic smoothness of these lines and the main rhythmical stress consistently falls on important words (unlike in Ferreira, for instance).⁴⁷ The sibilance at the end of the first line (‘som das águas’) transports us to the banks of the Lima, reproducing the sound of the river flowing by and thereby adding to the acoustic pleasure of the poem. There is a tranquil connection between the poet and the natural world, as his song makes the river flow more gently: this is a kind of *mise en abîme* of the act of listening/reading, suggesting the

⁴⁶ Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 116.

⁴⁷ See Ferreira, *Poemas Lusitanos*, pp. 39-42.

power of Alcido's song to calm all those who hear it (be they animate or not!). Mentions of the 'Lima [...] mais brando' and the 'doces mágoas' further enhance the poem's quality of 'brandura', associating the whole scene with gentleness and sweetness. As we read on in the poem, there are no exclamations or rhetorical ejaculations, none of the excitements and disturbances of, for instance, Camões's 'égloga dos faunos'.⁴⁸ The tone is melancholic, its unanswered rhetorical questions symbolic of the poem's gently plaintive mood. These suggestions are not exhaustive, but indicate some of the features of Bernardes's poem that might have contributed to 'brandura' becoming the term most closely associated with his work.

Though 'brando' certainly seems an adequate adjective to describe Bernardes's poetry, the consistency of its application to his verse becomes a little uncanny after a time. The consistency with which this term is employed, though, allows us to posit a web of citation between readers, to trace an extended conversation about the value of the Portuguese language. Participating in the same discourse, each successive defence of the Portuguese language alludes to and builds upon earlier contributors to the debate. For instance, in the passage cited above, Severim de Faria makes it clear that he is drawing on what Lope de Vega had said before him. António de Sousa Macedo does not draw a direct link between Lope's praise of Bernardes and his own, but, in a different section to the one cited above ('Del ingenio'), Macedo alludes to Lope's *Aradia* in a marginal note about Corte-Real; a passage that also contains a mention of 'el suave poeta Diego Bernardes'.⁴⁹ Bernardes's presence in defences of the Portuguese language, though they claim prestige for him, might, perplexingly, prove to be the index to a waning interest in his works rather than straightforward confirmation of his pre-eminence. These texts keep Bernardes as a reference point on the cultural horizon, but do little more than this. Their consistency and brevity suggests a lack of direct engagement with his work; a deferral to the judgement of illustrious predecessors. The stasis of Bernardes's reception suggests that an author could end up in a kind of literary purgatory, a limbo between fame and oblivion, if the attachments of readers were not dynamic enough. His reception became somewhat one-dimensional: it was all about the eclogues and

⁴⁸ For a study of this racy poem, see Thomas R. Hart, 'Camões' *Égloga dos Faunos*, *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 53.3 (1976), 225-31.

⁴⁹ Macedo, *Flores*, fol. 69^v.

their suavity. If we contrast this critical inertia with the response to Camões's work during the same period, Bernardes's reception looks particularly lacklustre.

Camões was a controversial figure in the early seventeenth century. In response to the increased influence of Aristotle's *Poetics* at the end of the sixteenth century and the example of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* as the prime Renaissance epic, *Os Lusíadas* became the centre of a debate about what epic poetry was and what norms should govern it. The quarrel was launched in 1629 when Manuel Pires de Almeida gave a presentation to the *Academia dos Ambientes* entitled 'Juízo crítico sobre a visão do Indo e Ganges, rios da Índia, a El-rei D. Manuel, representado nos Lusíadas de Camões em o Canto Quarto'. The debate centred on the episode referred to in Almeida's title, i.e. D. Manuel's dream in Canto IV, but went to the heart of the question of Camões's status as an epic poet: was his work a generic innovation or an aberration? Was Camões the supreme master of the epic, or another flawed imitator? The debate raged on for decades, taken up most notably by João Soares de Brito, João Franco Barreto, Manuel Severim de Faria, and Manuel de Faria e Sousa (to whom we will return shortly).⁵⁰ By the end of the century, though, Camões became the national poet of Portugal and achieved international renown, especially through the various translations of his work. Indeed, paradoxically, it was because of debates about Camões's success as a poet, rather than in spite of them, that he became the unquestionable 'príncipe dos poetas' that he remains today. As Alain Viala has argued in the case of French literary *querelles*, the agonistic space of the quarrel is fertile ground for thinking.⁵¹ Writers on both sides of the Camonian debate had to counter or deflect the argumentative blows of their opponents with ever more elaborate critical manoeuvres.⁵² This required close reading of Camões's poem and the mobilisation of considerable rhetoric and erudition. His work gained a new vitality because it solicited and sustained the attachments of readers; both favourable and critical responses to his poetry contributed to his enduring and growing success. The quarrel prompted encomiastic texts, such as Severim de Faria's 'Vida de Luis de Camões com um particular juízo sobre as partes que há-de ter o poema heróico e como o Poeta as guardou nos seus Lusíadas' and Faria e

⁵⁰ For a brief study of the debate, see Manuel Ferro, 'ALMEIDA, Manuel Pires de (1597-1655), in Aguiar e Silva (org.), *Dicionário de Camões*, pp. 22-4.

⁵¹ Alain Viala, 'Un temps de querelles', *Littératures classiques*, 81 (2013), 5-22 (p. 19).

⁵² For a detailed study of the debates, see Maria da Conceição Ferreira Pires, *Os Académicos Eborenses na Primeira Metade de Seiscentos: a Poética e a Autonomização do Literário* (Lisbon: Colibri, CIDEHUS-UE, 2006).

Sousa's 'Juízo del poema' in his edition of *Os Lusíadas* that cemented Camões's place in the canon. In response to critiques, supporters of Camões made ever grander claims about his status as a poet. The comparative staleness of Bernardes's reception, the repetitive way in which the same texts and qualities are referenced, then, contrasts sharply with Camões's own seventeenth-century fortunes. In order to survive the passage of time, we can conclude, it is not enough to be acknowledged as 'great', readers have to go out and do things with your work.

This begs the question: why did Bernardes fail to attract new readers? Part of the problem was probably due to the availability of Bernardes's work. *Os Lusíadas* and Camões's lyric poetry were printed at least once in every decade of the seventeenth century but the last.⁵³ Sá de Miranda's *Obras* were also printed multiple times throughout the century, first in 1614, then in 1632, 1651, and 1677, whereas after 1633 no further editions of any of Bernardes's three books were printed until the late eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Determining why this was the case is rather difficult, but I think that it does, in part, have to do with the way in which Bernardes did not attract the engagement of readers in the same way that Camões and Sá de Miranda did. Sá de Miranda had the claim to being the father of the *estilo novo* in Portugal and Camões was seen as the best product of this new poetic tradition. All other voices fell somewhat by the wayside. The focus on Bernardes's eclogues in the reception of his work also did him no favours as the seventeenth century wore on and the bucolic mode and *terça rima* became less fashionable. Amongst poetic anthologies of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, few contain eclogues. The *romance* had become the premier poetic form and is by far the one most present in eighteenth-century manuscript and print miscellanies. The prestige of the epic as a genre also meant that Camões was *a priori* a more likely candidate for canonisation and less likely to lose out as new poets began jostling for space atop the Portuguese Parnassus.

It is easy to be overly deterministic about how politics led to Camões being enshrined as *the* poetic voice of Portugal, because his poem spoke of the heroic feats accomplished by the Portuguese.

⁵³ For details of editions of Camões's work, see Vanda Anastácio, 'A criação de um poeta nacional: breve panorâmica das edições da lírica camoniana entre 1595 e 1870', *Floema*, 6.7 (2010), 61-74 (pp. 71-2).

⁵⁴ See T. F. Earle, *Theme and Image in the Poetry of Sá de Miranda* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 143-4.

Nevertheless, the Dual Monarchy did give rise to a range of texts that satirised the Spanish and clamoured for Portuguese autonomy.⁵⁵ Literature has always been attached to the identity of nations and communities and Camões appealed to readers looking for a national icon because he both claimed the superiority of the Portuguese people and managed to write a pretty good poem. Indeed, as Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires makes clear, critics of Camões tended to emphasise his literary prowess over his nationalistic fervour. Seventeenth-century commentaries regularly bolstered their own laudatory remarks with reference to Tasso's sonnet in praise of Camões and followed up with a list of figures who had also praised Camões, including Lope de Vega, Herrera, Francisco Sanchez Brocense, and Soares de Figueiroa, whose authority as major writers in their own right added further credence to their claims.⁵⁶ His literary skill lay at the centre of claims to his status as the prince of Portuguese poets. But for a political moment of new beginnings, Camões was ideal as a poet for the Restoration because he managed to talk about the past and the future within *Os Lusíadas*.⁵⁷ In this regard, Bernardes's mode of pastoral regret was precisely not what was needed. His eclogues and elegies so regularly look back at a sorry moment in Portugal's history: the disaster of Alcácer-Quibir and the reason for Portugal's loss of sovereignty. The elegies in *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus*, in particular, do not mince their words when it comes to the folly of the whole endeavour:

Ah jornada infelice, ah cego engano,
deixar tão rica terra, ir a destertos
por livrar de um tirano outro tirano!

Ambos imigos nossos, ambos perros,
ambos desprezadores da cruz santa,
ambos tinham um culto, ambos mil erros.

Quem põe os olhos nisto não se espanta
de permitir o céu castigo tanto
a descuido tamanho, a culpa tanta.

Dia cheio de dor, cheio de espanto,
enquanto o sol der luz, verdura os prados,
celebrado serás com triste pranto. (*VRBJ*, p. 195, ll. 112-23)

⁵⁵ See Hernâni Cidade, *A literatura autonomista sob os Filipes* (Lisbon: Sá de Costa, n.d.); and Bouza, *Tempo dos Filipes*, pp. 32-4.

⁵⁶ Maria Lucília Gonçalves Pires, *A crítica Camoniana no século XVII* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1982), pp. 59-62.

⁵⁷ See Helder Macedo, *The Purpose of Praise: Past and Future in The Lusíads of Luís de Camões* (London: King's College, London, 1983).

Indeed, José Martínez Torrejón perceptively argues that the less politically critical variants of Bernardes's elegies — those that appear in Ms. 8920 in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal — were recopied in the late seventeenth-century miscellany, the *Cancioneiro de Fernandes Tomás*, precisely because the criticisms levelled in *Várias Rimas ao Bom Jesus* would scarcely have been appreciated in a newly independent Portugal.⁵⁸ Editors and printers do not talk directly about why they chose *not* to print a certain writer's works, but it certainly seems possible to suggest that printers who needed the support of powerful patrons to finance their editions and carry them through the bureaucratic gauntlet of the printing process might have been less amenable to such pessimistic verses in a newly independent Portugal.

BERNARDES, THE THIEF

Though Bernardes's reputation was sustained in tracts that proclaimed the glory of the Portuguese language in the first third of the seventeenth century, Bernardes gradually began to disappear from the literary purview of writers as the century wore on. Some of the reasons for Bernardes's fall from the canon were accidents of history, results of changing literary fashion, political circumstances, and the power of time to erase. In some cases, though, his position in the canon was not only influenced by passive neglect, an inability to solicit the interest of readers, to spur editors or printers to print new editions. Some readers sought to shove him forcibly from the peak of Mount Parnassus. Notorious for his harsh treatment of Bernardes, Camões's most fervent admirer, Manuel de Faria e Sousa, is one early modern reader responsible for today's lack of critical interest in Bernardes. Faria e Sousa paints Bernardes as a pilferer of poems, who resorted to poaching Camões's verses and including them in his own printed volumes. In each of Bernardes's three printed books, Faria e Sousa tells us, 'ay muchas cosas que èl usurpó a Luis de Camões, y las más dellas van agora en esta Edicion, porque tuve por justo restituírle destos robos'.⁵⁹ Throughout his monumental two volume edition of Camões's *Rimas*, Faria e Sousa notifies the reader when a poem has been 'wrongly' attributed to Bernardes. The scare

⁵⁸ Martínez Torrejón, 'Seis elegias de Diogo Bernardes', p. 11.

⁵⁹ 'Juizio destas rimas', in Camões, *Rimas Várias*, I.I, § 20.

quotes are necessary here as his reasoning primarily derives from his sense that Bernardes was not a ‘poeta’ but ‘un versificador poco limado’ and, therefore, anything that seems to have been of any quality *must* have been stolen.⁶⁰ As he says of the sonnet, ‘Onde porey meus olhos que não veja’, ‘el Soneto con su limpieza, y felicidad està deziendo cuyo es’.⁶¹ Faria e Sousa’s accusations have had a long-lasting influence on scholarship about sixteenth-century lyric, because they made it so difficult to trust printed editions of Bernardes’s work as reliable indicators of authorship. It has only been with the careful work of scholars such as Leodegário de Azevedo Filho and Hélio Alves that some of the more contentious attributions made by Faria e Sousa have finally been settled ... and usually in favour of Bernardes.⁶²

What is curious about Faria e Sousa’s reactions to Bernardes’s work, though, is how they change in intensity depending on what he is talking about. In his edition of *Os Lusíadas*, he is barely interested in Bernardes, because he is someone who never attempted an epic poem.⁶³ Indeed, in his *Fuente de Aganipe* (1644), Faria e Sousa cites Bernardes as a good example of a bucolic writer in the poem ‘Pan i Apolo’.⁶⁴ He mentions his doubts about the authorship of some of the eclogues in the ‘Prologo’ to the fourth part of this work, but adopts a measured tone, one rather different from that which he would eventually take in his introduction to Camões’s ninth eclogue, which states:⁶⁵

Quien tendrá conocimiento de los pinceles poeticos de Camões, y de Bernardes, que pueda creer, que es de los deste, lo que es de los de aquel? En Bernardes no ay erudicion; no ay affectos; no ay conceto considerable; no ay elevacion alguna; no ay constancia; porque se acaso tiene dos versos suficientes, los ahoja con mil sin numero, y con mil desaires. Pues si en estas cinco eglogas ay todo esto tan proprio de Luis de Camões, como dexaran ellas de buena gana de ser suyas, por ser de quien nunca pudo tanto? Bernardes usó de una llaneza, que aunque mal cultivada, se hizo lugar en el vulgo.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ ‘Vida del Poeta’, in Camões, *Rimas Várias*, I.I, § 27.

⁶¹ Camões, *Rimas Várias*, I.I, 205.

⁶² See Luís de Camões, *Lírica de Camões*, ed. by Leodegário A. de Azevedo Filho, 7 vols (Lisbon: INCM, 1985-); and Alves, ‘Waves, Winds, Words’.

⁶³ ‘Vida del Poeta’, in Luís de Camões, *Lusíadas*, ed. by Manuel de Faria e Sousa (Madrid: Juan Sánchez, 1639), col. 48.

⁶⁴ Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Fuente de Aganipe o rimas varias [...] Parte Segunda* (Lisbon: Juan Sánchez, 1644), fol. 45^r.

⁶⁵ Manuel de Faria e Sousa, ‘Prologo’, in *Fuente de Aganipe o rimas varias [...] Parte Quarta* (Lisbon: Juan Sánchez, 1644), § 14.

⁶⁶ This text was only printed long after Faria e Sousa’s death in the 1779 edition of Camões’s complete works by Tomás de Aquino, but was alluded to in the 1589 volume of the *Rimas Várias*. I was not able to consult the 1779 edition, but the Visconde de Juromenha cites Faria e Sousa’s criticisms in his nineteenth-century edition: Luís de Camões, *Obras de Luíz de Camões*, ed. by Visconde de Juromenha, 6 vols (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1860-1869), III (1861), p. 341.

I would argue that it is only when Bernardes is seen as a threat to Camões, that Faria e Sousa rails against him in such vituperative terms. Bernardes's eclogues were usually seen as the best of his work, and might challenge Camões's for their quality. Albeit in a round-about (and rather unfair) way, Faria e Sousa does suggest that there was merit in Bernardes's poetry precisely because he thinks they are worth attributing to Camões. In order to be able to attribute them to Camões — without, it seems, any real scholarly reason — Faria e Sousa must perform a sweeping character assassination to discredit Bernardes so thoroughly as to make the reader believe that such a stark difference in quality between the two poets makes the job of the editor a simple one: because Bernardes is such an uninspired writer, Faria e Sousa suggests, it is easy to make attributions since what is good is by Camões, what is more mediocre is by Bernardes. As Vanda Anastácio has noted, there was a competitive streak in editors of Camões's work in the first century or so after the poet's death, where each claimed to have gathered the most complete (i.e. the largest) corpus of Camonian verses.⁶⁷ We can read Faria e Sousa's editorial manoeuvres in light of this competition. In his jealous attempts to prove 'his poet' the greatest poet (in response to the quarrel I discussed earlier) and to establish his editions as the greatest editions of the greatest poet, Faria e Sousa bypassed the anonymous poems of manuscript miscellanies that were usually the source of editor's additions to the Camonian corpus and chose to rip apart Bernardes's books instead. He padded his edition (and his ego) with the pages of poetry he tore from Bernardes's books, justifying his pillaging in only the most subjective of terms.

BERNARDES, THE BEGGAR

Though singular in his erudition and in his dramatic response to Bernardes's work, Faria e Sousa was like other readers of Bernardes's work in that it was Bernardes's sonnets and eclogues that caught his poetic eye. Indeed, after considering the extent to which the *cartas* were eclipsed by Bernardes's eclogues and elegies in his early modern reception, one begins to wonder what it was about his verse letters that meant they failed to attract readers. One factor that might have come into play is how rooted the letters are in the original circumstances for which they were written. As I have shown

⁶⁷ Anastácio, 'A criação de um poeta nacional', pp. 68-9.

throughout this thesis, Bernardes's *cartas* were originally written with specific readers in mind and were intended to help him win patronage of various sorts. Though the names of the recipients of Bernardes's *cartas* would have undoubtedly impressed early readers of *O Lima*, since many of the individuals mentioned were still alive and held important positions in the political sphere, as these figures passed away one can well imagine that some of the initial power of these poems would be lost. By seeking out individual readers of the *cartas*, we can see that even when uninterested in the wrangles of patronage, Bernardes's poems could speak meaningfully to readers.

Tracking down early modern readers has been a difficult task. Of the two *cartas* that we find in early modern manuscripts, Carta XXIII addressed to Fernando Álvares de Castro is the only one about which we can glean anything substantial about a reader's response to it. The Library of Congress manuscript (P-128), one of two manuscripts in which this poem appears, is extremely interesting for the fact that it contains some twenty-eight different poems attributable to Bernardes, including a *carta*, several elegies, *cantigas* and *canções*, two eclogues, multiple sonnets on both religious and amorous themes, as well as some of Bernardes's *glosas* in *medida velha*. The predilection of the compiler was certainly for the longer poems included in *Rimas Várias Flores do Lima*, as four elegies from this collection find their way into the manuscript, some with variants. Carta XXIII appears amongst a series of love poems, mainly by Camões, and is separated from the other poems by Bernardes, of which thirteen appear one after the other towards the end of the collection (fols 108^r-123^r). Indeed, there is little of satirical or patronage interest within the collection, which makes Carta XXIII seem a little anomalous within the miscellany as a whole, as will become clear when we look in more detail at this poem. Its inclusion could have had more to do with the compiler's interest in Bernardes's work more generally, copied because it was attributed to him rather than because it resonated with the other compositions in the anthology.

More interesting for the study of Bernardes's readers, then, is a manuscript held in the library at the University of Coimbra (MS 393). Here, the poem is reproduced in an eighteenth-century *sammelband* of gatherings in quarto format. Bound in mottled leather, with raised bindings, and a gold flower motif embossed on the spine, Bernardes's poem appears in a gathering taken seemingly intact from another,

earlier manuscript. Besides the binding itself, several documents within the miscellany are dated (the latest being 1721) and suggest that it was likely that the book was compiled in the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁶⁸

The miscellany as a whole contains 28 sections. The hands, binding, paper size, paper quality, and, in one instance, the presence of dyed edges, help us to identify each of the sections as distinct and each taken from another, pre-existing manuscript book or booklet. There is no title to suggest that the miscellany was purposefully bound together with a particular thematic interest in mind. However, there are some material features which hint that this *sammelband* was more than a random assortment of documents bound together for convenience or to preserve loose *folhetos*, as sometimes happened in libraries. For one, there are several indications that many of the sections of the miscellany were originally part of another larger volume: sequences of page numbers inscribed in sections 2, 5, 14, 16, and 19 suggest that these sections were lifted from existing volumes. Some degree of selection seems to have gone into the composition of these sections too, as a series of poems by Tomás Pinto Brandão in Section 26 was preserved intact, though the binder had to take one gathering of four quarto sheets (i.e. fols 262^r-269^v) and then bind in an extra half-sheet with the final sonnets (fols 270^{r-v}) that must have been part of the next quire in the original manuscript from which these pages were taken. The compiler of MS 393 was also not concerned with truncating poems that started or ended on a leaf that they wanted because it contained some other work, e.g. fol. 221^v features one complete stanza and then six lines of the next *décima* entitled, ‘A castella sobre as guerras que teve Portugal com ella’, suggesting that this poem was not of interest (and did not need to be kept intact), but the ones on the other side of the sheet were.

Thematically, four major preoccupations emerge: prophecies, love poetry, satire, and the University of Coimbra. Sections 1-3 and 28 belong to those prognostications associated with the cult of *Sebastianismo*, especially Section 2 which catalogues the ‘etimologias misteriosas do vocábulo *Sebastianus*’ (fols 24^r-33^v). There are several sections of love poetry, especially eclogues, including Section 6 (fols 100^r-105^v), 20 (fols 222^r-228^v), and 27 (fols 271^r-287^v). A number of sections feature satire, such as a parody of Os

⁶⁸ The ‘Relação q’ se mandou ao Excell^{mo} Marques de Marialva, em q’ se lhe dá conta do sucesso e prizoens do Rancho da Carqueja; em Coimbra’ is dated 1721: MS 393, Section 18, fols 202^r-209^v.

Lusiadas, entitled *Os Borrachões* (fols 108^r-121^v), some *décimas* by the notoriously naughty D. Tomás de Noronha (fols 213^r-219^r), and the ‘Certame da Humanidade com a Bicha de sete Cabeças glorioso trabalho de Hercules e Retrato dos sete Pecados Mortaes...’ (fols 52^r-59^v). The printed catalogue of the library informs us that the ‘Certame ...’ ‘é um escrito satírico, feito em 1633, contra D. André de Almada e outros indivíduos da Universidade de Coimbra’, suggesting its inclusion was perhaps for two reasons: its satirical content and its connection to the university.⁶⁹ Certainly, another text in the miscellany combines these two interests, relating information about the ‘Rancho da Carqueja’, a group of students who caused havoc in Coimbra in 1720-1.⁷⁰

The section with Carta XXIII appears between fols 138^r-151^v. It is a single gathering of seven sheets (an unusual number given that they are all bound as one quire) and contains Bernardes’s poem alongside sonnets, a long poem in *oitavas*, and a series of *motes* and *volts* all in the same seventeenth-century hand. Carta XXIII appears on fols 142^v-145^r. When thinking about why Bernardes’s work might have been transcribed here, we have potentially two compilers to think of. First the compiler of the original manuscript who placed Bernardes’s work in a miscellany alongside the other poems which we have in the gathering included in MS 393 (we’ll call them A); and, second, the compiler of the University of Coimbra MS 393 who chose to include this group of pages in the *sammelband* we have today (B).

Although the work of anthologisation is both the product of ‘the planned and the random’, B likely chose to include Carta XXIII and the gathering in which it fell because of its satirical content.⁷¹ Its concern with the pomposity of forms of address in its opening stanzas fits well with the other satirical texts mentioned earlier and with a certain concern for analysing courtly behaviour that is seen in the satirical ‘Execração de Madrid feita por hu’ Portugues’ (fol. 151^v), the long poem entitled ‘El Cortesano Español’ (fols 175^r-185^r), and the ‘Cartilha e doutrina de Dama de Paço com suas anotações e reflexions’ (fols 190^r-192^v).

⁶⁹ See Augusto Mendes Simões de Castro et al., eds, *Catálogo dos manuscritos*, 23 vols (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1935-2003), II (1945), 137.

⁷⁰ See Castro et al., eds, II, 139.

⁷¹ Ralph Hanna III, ‘Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England’, in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. by Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 37-51 (pp. 37-8).

A different, but related affinity might have motivated the compiler of the original manuscript (A) from which this gathering was taken. We can suggest this on the basis of another long poem which features within this section of the manuscript: the ‘Oitavas de hũ fidalguo de coimbra a sua miseria’.⁷² This poem complains extensively of the unnamed *fidalgo*’s poverty and his various attempts to win favour after serving as a soldier. Curiously enough, the poem begins with a short catalogue of four major Portuguese authors:

Os portugueses peitos não domados
cante o Cortereal dignos d’estima,
os mares so por eles navegados
celebre o bõ Camoes cõ grave rima,
as magoas e os amores delicados
Alcido cante junto do seu Lima
mostra o Pereira a que o não sabia
o sengue inda oje fresco em Berberia. (fol. 146^r)

The poem alludes to Jerónimo Corte-Real, Camões, Bernardes, and Luís Pereira Brandão. Significantly, all except Bernardes are alluded to by name and are mentioned as writers of epics. Bernardes appears in the guise of Alcido by the river Lima, and is the only one to be cited as a love poet. This opening confirms that whoever had written it had some knowledge of Portuguese literature and shared the sense that Bernardes was most famed for his bucolic love poetry. The writer cites these poets and what they sing about not in order to extol the wonders of Portuguese poetry, however, but to signal how different his own verse will be, as he explains in the stanza that follows:

E a quem desta alma tem a melhor parte
e a quẽ saõ todos muito inferiores
mostre no ã quizer sem engenho e arte
e ganhe para si dignos lououres
pinte a seu gosto o sanguinoso Marte
ou faça alegres rimas por amores
ã eu não canto amor nẽ gentileza
mas chorarei misérias e pobreza. (fol. 146^r)

His poem then goes on to recount his misfortunes ever since a young age as a *criado*. The writer might not have felt any kinship with Bernardes, since he portrays Bernardes as lovelorn shepherd, but the

⁷² This poem is thought to have been written by Diogo de Sousa Camacho in the late sixteenth century and appears in a number of manuscripts found in Portuguese libraries. See: Hélio Alves, ‘Em torno da recepção da poesia camonianiana no século XVI: As *Oitavas de um estudante, fidalgo e pobre à sua miséria*’, *Revista Camonianiana*, 2nd ser., 10 (1997), 33-43; and Valéria Tocco, *Diogo de Sousa Jornada às Cortes do Parnaso* (Bari: Adriatica, 1996), pp. 10-11.

compiler A might just have sensed certain resonances and amplified them by transcribing these texts into the same compilation. In different ways, both poems are pleas for support and suggest that the worthy do not get what they should.

Though certainly outspoken, Carta XXIII is an unusual patronage poem because it does not directly ask Fernando Álvares de Castro for support. It merits, I think, close reading to bring out some of its subtleties. The poem opens by saying that the winter has caused Bernardes to put a stop to courtesy, forcing him to get in contact with his patron (ll. 1-3). Bernardes has been biding his time and not singing whilst Castro has been away from Lisbon, but he is eager to go back to his lyre (ll. 46-8). In any case he does not think that it will be long before Castro returns to him because the countryside is so boring (ll. 58-60). His long enumeration of all that is dreary and uninteresting about the countryside (ll. 61-81) suggests that Bernardes is less patient than he says, because the poem later turns to persuade Castro to head back to Lisbon and to take up the active life, following the model of his grandfather, the illustrious D. João de Castro (ll. 94-120). One could easily interpret the poem as one not really about the quest for patronage at all, but instead a moral poem that takes a stance against the *vaidade* of the city and the leisureliness of the country life, suggesting that the active life is the only virtuous option for the time in which Castro and Bernardes lived. I think the poem is bolder than this though: if Bernardes wants to write an heroic poem, he is not very well going to sit around and wait for a hero to approach him. Carta XXIII is Bernardes fashioning his very own hero-patron, urging him out of the quiet country life so that Bernardes can write about him.

In this reading, the satirical opening to the poem can be read as a subtle *captatio benevolentiae*, which assures the reader of Bernardes's sincerity and disdain for flattery by criticising the use of excessive forms of address. His comparisons with what he used to do insist upon the fact that here Bernardes is not being the flatterer that he has been on other occasions (a characteristic admission of his moral failings):

Os títulos ilustres, soberanos,
 Senhor, ao rei se devem tão somente,
 Pera todos os mais servem d'enganos.

Digo isto porque já mui largamente
 Adulei por palavra e por escrito.

Ma no perciò o guadagnato niente. (Carta XXIII, ll. 19-24)⁷³

Bernardes suggests that he wants to get the business of calling his patron ‘senhor’ out of the way at the beginning of the poem, because he does not want his patron to get used to being called this in case he get so accustomed to being addressed like this that he would be offended if Bernardes should then address him as ‘vós’. These are difficult lines to make sense of, not least because the punctuation in the modern edition places a period at the end of line 6, which would be better as a comma, as it is in the 1596 edition (fol. 133^v). The modern editor Martins is quite right, however, to move the parenthesis to finish at the end of line 6 rather than the end of line 5, which makes little sense in the first edition. In amongst Bernardes’s careful distancing of himself from others more vicious in their intentions and manipulative in their use of titles, there remains some complements to the patron: the title *senhor*, he says, fits Castro ‘muito folgadamente’ (l. 4). Bernardes is distancing himself from flatterers, but still manages to compliment his addressee.

The humorous anecdotes that follow must surely have been an integral part of the poem’s appeal. Bernardes entertains in order to win over. The story of a black lady selling fried fish to whom ‘se pôs ilustre’ in a ‘sobrescrito’ (ll. 25-7) and another which left him laughing for an entire week which said ‘ao estimado e reverendo/ Magnífico senhor Lourenço Afonso,/ Em cuja senhoria m’encomendo’ (ll. 34-6) tap into an anxiety in the period about the use of forms of address. Indeed, D. Filipe I was so concerned about the misuse of forms of address that he put regulations in place to control and standardise their usage on the basis of a person’s social status. Vasco Graça Moura suggests that these comments allow us to date the poem as after 1586, as this was when D. Filipe I issues a ‘Proclamation on Etiquette’, which pedantically outlined the forms of address suitable for addressing everyone from the king to one’s own children.⁷⁴ As Geoffrey Parker comments, this document was quite controversial, caused disgruntlement amongst courtiers, and was even placed on the Inquisitorial Index.⁷⁵ From this letter to Fernando Álvares de Castro, forms of address seem to have also been a source of amusement; the poem laughs at the ridiculous disparity between the style of address used and the lowly position of the person actually being addressed. These jokes place Bernardes within an

⁷³ I have slightly altered the Italian orthography in Martins’s edition to make line 24 more legible.

⁷⁴ Moura, p. 50.

⁷⁵ Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Phillip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 286-7.

aristocratic world where he knows what the correct form of address is and amongst whom modesty might have been considered more a virtue than the adulatory misuse of grand epithets. Its comedy value has affinities with the mocking of the hyperbolic register of love letters that are exchanged between individuals in the anonymous play, *Auto dos Escrivães do Pelourinho* (1625), which features as one of its many gags the elaborate and over-the-top *sobrescritos* of the love letters that the illiterate pay scribes to compose for sending to their beloveds.⁷⁶

The searing mockery of the poem then dulls for a moment. Bernardes picks up his lyre that had lain silent since Castro moved from the Tejo to the Mondego (ll. 46-8). In language borrowed from love lyric, he says that he will not sing about the departure of his patron, for he might expire from sadness. It is not fate nor the stars who have brought gloominess upon Bernardes world, but the long absence of D. Fernando (ll. 52-4). The ‘discurso da vida triste e vário’ (l. 56) has taught Bernardes the patience to wait for his patron’s return, but taking up that satirical voice again, he suggests that his patience will not be tested for long:

No vosso apartamento voluntário,
Não pode durar muito vosso gosto,
Por mais que vos prezeis de solitário. (ll. 58-60)

Some eight stanzas follow that catalogue how boring the countryside is, culminating in the following surprising lines:

Deixemos a solidão aos professores
Da vida que escolheu a bela Santa,
Exemplo de penitência a pecadores. (ll. 82-4)

These stanzas are remarkable for their directness and their union of poet and patron in abandoning solitude and leaving it to the ‘professores’. The sixfold anaphora of the verb ‘enfada’, in lines 61-78, reiterates how boring Bernardes is making the countryside seem. But this passage surprises the reader of the rest of Bernardes’s work because so often Bernardes praises the countryside as the life of virtue and one free from the troubles of the political world. For instance, Bernardes praises the country life extensively in Carta XXVIII to D. António de Castro (ll. 55-75). Given that this poem was written after 1582, when D. António had been made Conde de Monsanto by D. Filipe I, the ideal of retreat

⁷⁶ See ‘Auto dos escrivães do pelourinho’, in *Teatro português do século XVI*, ed. by José Camões, 3 vols (Lisbon: INCM, 2007), I, 103-133 (ll. 309-13; 493-8; 614-16).

might have particularly appealed to him because he had had a rather turbulent life: he was twice exiled from Portugal, each time accused of traitorous behaviour, only later to be pardoned. Furthermore, Bernardes spends a few lines talking about hunting which was a particular interest of D. António's seeing as he was *conteiro-mor* and in charge of the Lisbon hunting grounds (ll. 58-60, 67-9).⁷⁷

By contrasting Carta XXIII with Carta XXVIII, then, we see that the letter to D. Fernando Álvares de Castro is yet another example of how Bernardes, ever on the lookout for patronage, would alter what he would say depending on the person he was addressing. Nevertheless, for a patron who has seemingly chosen this life of retreat — and who Bernardes thinks would appreciate his satirical comments on forms of address — such clear arguments against the country life are amusing and unexpected. All becomes clear, though, as Bernardes reminds Castro of his illustrious lineage (ll. 85-7) and informs him that

Nunca a sombra do freixo nem da faia
Criou Trocatos, Fábios, Cipiões,
Nem quem por cima deles pôs a raia. (ll. 94-6)

In order to be virtuous, Castro must take up the mantle of his grandfather and seek martial fame. This is no straightforward praise of the *vita activa*; this is an exhortation to greatness, intended to give the poet someone great to sing about. Bernardes uses his knowledge of Castro's forebear, D. João de Castro, as the spark to set the flames of ambition alight. His suggestion that Castro's grandfather has cleared a path for him to reach eternal fame and the discussion that follows ressonates with the language of patronage discussed in Chapter 2: the mention of fame and glory within Bernardes's work usually goes hand in hand with references to how poetry is the best means to preserve that fame. Rather than suffering with his patron off in the countryside, where Bernardes cannot get anything from him, Bernardes takes up his pen to persuade Castro to head back to the city and chase heroic ideals. The implication being, I think, that if he does so, Bernardes might be able to win favour from him, or even, be able to celebrate him in song as he heads off to do something heroic. At the end of the poem, Bernardes suggests that Castro will please those who know him whatever he does (ll. 130-2), yet our poet has certainly lain down plenty of expectations in what preceded (ll. 103-5, 118-20) that

⁷⁷ For a brief biography of D. António de Castro, see Sousa, *Historia Genealogica da casa real portuguesa*, XI (1745), pp. 948-9.

contradict such a statement. This letter, then, might be read as a rather oblique patronage poem, not one that asks directly for support but which tries to put the patron into a position where he might be able to act better as a patron for Bernardes. The poet encourages his patron to seek fame and glory, for fame and glory are the poet's *raison d'être* and the source of their livelihood.

BERNARDES, THE POET'S POET

The collection of letters in *O Lima* have more to showcase than just Bernardes's skill and daring in writing patronage poems, however. Clues to alternative readings of his work can be found in the annotations to a first edition of *O Lima* (Res. 315) held in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora (a copy which is not cited in the Universal Short Title Catalogue).⁷⁸ As William Sherman has wisely noted, 'marginalia rarely speak directly to the questions we most want answered' and when non-linguistic signs are used additional deciphering is required when seeking out the interests and preoccupations of readers.⁷⁹ Readers who mark their books tend to develop signs or codes for breaking the text into more manageable chunks, they digest key lessons, and signal important passages to be remembered or revisited, marking them out so that they are easier to find. The researcher has to gather these marks together, to spot habits and patterns in how signs are used and in what is singled out in a text as important or interesting.

The handwritten annotations to copies of Sá de Miranda's works studied by Earle, and those printed comments made by Faria e Sousa to Camões's *oeuvre*, prove how insightful annotations can be for understanding what readers thought of early modern writers; they highlight the issues these readers privileged in the works they commented and the intertexts they identify sheds light on their own intellectual background and interests. In the seven copies of the first edition of *O Lima* that I have had the opportunity to examine in Portugal, however, few contain annotations at all, and most do not

⁷⁸ No copy from Évora is currently listed in the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* under Diogo Bernardes, *O Lyra de Diogo Bernardes em o qual se contem as suas eglogas e cartas* (Lisbon, 1596), see <<http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/345286>> [Accessed 27 January 2016].

⁷⁹ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 15.

contain enough markings to construct an idea of the kind of readers who engaged with Bernardes's work. Once more we are faced with scanty evidence about Bernardes's reception and the methodological challenges implicated in the study of a non-canonical author. A copy in Évora's Biblioteca Pública, though, does contain a number of passages highlighted in the margins with a small cross or asterisk. At first sight, the little crosses and asterisks in Res. 315 do not look promising, but when we compare all the passages marked out, we can notice a pattern, an underlying interest that motivates the reader to highlight certain lines of text.

BPE Res. 315 has a bookplate and an inscription that tell us that the book was part of the library of Teresa de Mello Breyner. Born in 1739 and a writer in her own right, Mello Breyner was a high-ranking noble (she married to become Condessa de Vimieiro) and friendly with the Marquesa de Alorna and the poets of the Nova Arcádia.⁸⁰ Her ownership of a first edition of *O Lima* suggests that she had an interest in the literary heritage of Portugal, bucking the stereotype of the Portuguese intellectual only interested in what came from abroad. The ink in which her name is signed in the book matches that of the annotations within and, although they are simply crosses and asterisks and therefore difficult to attribute with certainty, it seems reasonable to suggest that the annotations were made by Mello Breyner herself. In any case, it is striking that all the annotations highlight passages to do with the question of poetry: rules for writing good poetry; Bernardes's thoughts about himself as a poet; or complaints about what he dislikes in other poets. Given this consistent attention to passages that might teach the reader something about writing, it is hardly surprising that it is a letter by António Ferreira (not one by Bernardes) that is most heavily marked. Carta XIII, which also appears in Ferreira's *Poemas Lusitanos*, is well-known for being a recapitulation and reiteration of key precepts from Horace's *ars poetica* and a development of those ideas.⁸¹ It is the poem most self-consciously concerned with the theorisation of writing poetry that features in *O Lima*. Indeed, it is an important poem for our overall understanding of the reception of Classical ideas about writing in Portugal in the sixteenth century. The poem takes the form of a letter of advice from poetic master to pupil. It begins with a lament

⁸⁰ For more information about the biography of Teresa de Mello Breyner, see Raquel Bello Vázquez, *Mulher, nobre ilustrada, dramaturga: Osmia de Teresa Mello Breyner no sistema literário português (1788-1795)* (Santiago de Compostela: Edicións Laiovento, 2005).

⁸¹ T. F. Earle has studied this poem in detail in his *Muse Reborn*, pp. 27-32.

about the difficulties of being a poet and having to make a living in the world, but eventually turns away from these concerns to offer Bernardes guidance:

... trataréi contigo amigamente
Do conselho que pedes (Carta XIII, ll. 55-6)

Sixteen passages in total are marked out in this poem, which each give some sort of recommendation about writing or offer wisdom for the potential writer: for instance, Ferreira's advice that 'boa imitação' 'o fero / Ingenho abrandá' (fol. 100^r) is marked with a cross, as is his argument on the following page that 'De bem escreuer, saber primeiro hé fonte' (fol. 100^v). In the other poems annotated, similar themes emerge in those passages that the reader has highlighted.

Another poem which is heavily annotated is Carta XXVII addressed to D. Gonçalo Coutinho, Bernardes's poetic disciple. Indeed, this poem is another that features a number of allusions to Horace's *ars poetica* and which are often the lines marked out in the margins of Res. 315. For instance, the line 'O tempo o mau descobre, o bom apura' (fol. 147^r), which echoes Horace's comments about the *labor limae* (*Ars poetica*, ll. 290-4), is highlighted by the reader. This passage issues similar directions to two stanzas marked out in Ferreira's letter, where time,

Corta o sobejo, váy acrecentando
O que falta, o baixo ergue, o alto modera
Tudo a hũa igoal regra conformando.

Ao escuro dá luz, & o que podera
Fazer duuida aclara, do ornamento
Ou tira, ou poem, co decoro o tempera. (fol. 101^r)

Mello Breyner's copy of *O Lima*, then, suggests that for a reader uninterested in the wranglings of patronage, the book could constitute a repository of warnings and recommendations about how to write poetry.

And yet, the annotations in Mello Breyner's copy are concentrated in the first two pages of the poem (fols 146^v-147^r). Focusing on the opening of the letter and its comments on the kinds of poetry that annoy Bernardes misses what the rest of this 208-line poem has to offer. As Bernardes signals, after line 79 the poem turns its focus from the disappointments of the city and its presumptuous poetasters to focus on the virtues of the country life:

Por tanto mudo aqui a linguagem

À vida que escolheste aldeã,
Que faz a esta de cá muita vantagem. (ll. 79-81)

Contrary to what we might expect, what follows comprises no straightforward elegy to a humble, rural idyll. For one, Bernardes seems to be going on what he has heard rather than on reliable evidence of what Coutinho's *quinta* might actually be like (ll. 112, 149). The poem is also studded with self-reflection that reveals a tension and interplay between the city and the country; his idealised projection of the life that Coutinho lives would be an unrealistic (and even hypocritical) aspiration for himself. So too, it becomes doubtful by the end of the poem whether Coutinho will live such a life for long. Indeed, looking at Coutinho's biography, Bernardes would be right to suggest so. Coutinho seems to have kept a low profile after 1578, when he participated in the recapture of Arzila, as not much is known about him until the 1590s. The indexes of Chancery records from the reigns of D. Sebastião, D. Henrique, and D. Filipe I do not mention D. Gonçalo Coutinho at all. Until into his thirties, then, D. Gonçalo Coutinho might well have lived that life of country retreat that Bernardes evokes in such detail in his letter. Nonetheless, his later life was very active (in the *vita activa* sense) as he was governor of Mazagão between 1623-1627 and later became governor of the Algarve in 1633. He corresponded with a great number of key political figures of the dual monarchy, as a collection of letters in the Casa da Cadaval and that date from 1600 suggest.⁸²

Bernardes certainly suggests that Coutinho lives a safe distance away from rapacious merchants and the disappointments of the court. With his characteristic self-awareness, Bernardes, however, censures himself for chasing the tails of the officers of the *despacho*:

Aí de cada manhã não sois filhado
Do mercador, do xastre e calceteiro,
Que na cama vos tinham emprazado.

Aí cada semana o sapateiro
A vossa própria pele não esfolia
A troco da de bode ou de carneiro.

Aí não encontrais com mariola
Que depois que vos moe, vos diz “guarda”,
Nem anda o pé por lamas em qu’atola.

Aí basta vestir de roupa parda
E servir de rocim galego ou macho,
Ora posto de cela, ora d’albarda.

⁸² For an outline of the contents of this document, see Romero, pp. 36-47.

Aí não rabeais aos do despacho
 Que vos levam trás si sem vos dar vento;
 E nisto também eu a mim tacho. (ll. 97-111)

The language in which Bernardes describes the city is graphic and, at times, strikingly violent. From the merchants who come to get you in your bed to the cobbler you tans your own skin for shoes, his vision of the city is a hell of greed and self-interest. As we read on in the poem, though, it becomes clear that the life that Bernardes describes Coutinho living not one of rustic simplicity. There are passages that suggest that the *quinta* is a place for reading and contemplation (ll. 124-6) and for communion with God through nature (ll. 160-5), but Bernardes suggests that Coutinho will remain in contact with his friends in Madrid and Lisbon (ll. 175-7), as Carta XXVII itself proves. Indeed, Coutinho, it seems, also enjoyed a good income whilst at his country estate:

Cartas e dados vão-se pôr de lodo,
 Ou vão-se aposentar cos do contrato
 Que trazem o dinheiro em casa a rodo. (ll. 133-5)

Looking behind the bounty with which nature has supplied his *quinta*, we can spy the whole agrarian economy of Coutinho's farm. Bernardes is not talking about living like a poor farmer, plucking fruits directly from the trees, but living on a country estate with serfs labouring to reap the harvest. Coutinho was certainly not making olive oil or bread:

O azeite, por mais que vo-lo gabem
 De claro e de louro e de gostoso,
 Muito mores louvores nele cabem.

Também i tendes trigo espantoso,
 Segundo ouço dizer, que de certeza
 Não sei se faz pão feio, se fermoso.

Foi liberal em tudo a natureza
 Co essa vossa quinta dos Vaqueiros,
 E deu-lhe inda convosco mor riqueza. (ll. 145-53)

In a particular moment of self-consciousness, Bernardes suggests that as someone who has tried a series of different lives, he can say that the country life is the best:

Finalmente, senhor, que me resumo
 Qu'outra vida não há que melhor seja,
 Posto que a todas vou lançando o prumo. (ll. 169-71).

Bernardes speaks from experience; he knows all too well the hassles and delusions of the city life and that is why his enumeration of all that is excellent 'ai' is so extensive. As we know, Bernardes lived his life migrating between Northern Portugal and Lisbon, moving back to the city several times during his lifetime in order to seek favour. He never lived a life of leisure quite like the aristocratic Coutinho,

though. In light of this, the poem begins to look like a kind of *mempsimoiria*, an illustration of the discontent Bernardes felt with his lot in life. The Quinta dos Vaqueiros sounds like a place of material ease and contrasts starkly with the life Bernardes describes himself to be living. The insistent anaphora of the deitic ‘aí’ continually reminds the reader that ‘over there’ is nothing like right here where Bernardes is writing. Instead of a set piece on the virtues of the life in the country, then, one could read Carta XXVII as a patronage poem, encouraging support from Coutinho by contrasting their two situations. Furthermore, to add to the unusual tenor of the poem, it is not clear by the end of the letter that Coutinho will always want to stay in the countryside. Bernardes presents this as a good life ‘for the time being’, not one that he will necessarily pursue for his whole life:

Enfim, senhor, vós escolhestes bem,
Seja por ãa via ou outra via,
Tal vida, por agora, vos convém. (ll. 193-5)

These ambiguities around the country life and whether it really is a life of simple pleasures only increase in the final lines of the poem. Rather like in Horace’s *beatus ille* epode, where the final lines reveal that the speaker will not give up his business dealings and will not follow such a life as he has just described, Bernardes says that he has been keeping Coutinho from important business: the word ‘negócio’ suggests a life quite in opposition to the *otium* expected of the true *vita contemplativa*.

CONCLUSION

The search for early modern readers has been a search for meaning, an attempt to appreciate better the interests and intentions of readers of Bernardes during his lifetime and afterwards. I started out this chapter wondering whether early modern readers also felt their frames of reference being breached by Bernardes’s genre-defying *cartas*. What could early modern readers have got from these texts, texts that have failed to set alight the passions of critics in more recent encounters with Bernardes’s work? This question hangs in the air, largely unanswered, for I have been able to find relatively little evidence of how readers engaged with these poems. Most readers, we are led to conclude, skipped over or skirted around the *cartas*. It was the gentle eclogues that drew their attention. When readers do give a sense of what they find interesting in the *cartas*, we see that they focus on the satire or poetics included in these poems. These are certainly important aspects of Bernardes’s letters that need to be acknowledged, but,

as I have shown, we can still detect in these poems characteristics of Bernardes's poetic voice that we have explored in other chapters of this thesis, namely, Bernardes's self-consciousness about his search for patronage, his awareness and admission of his own failings, and his flair for finding different (often oblique) strategies for making his patrons support him (and feel sorry for him).

Bernardes's fate in the hands of early modern readers shows us that we need to be flexible and dynamic in the methods that we deploy in reception studies. The history of his readers tells us that we have to look beyond just what readers say, but how they cite and interact with other readers, for this can tell us about what is needed to make it in the long term as a writer of renown. It is not enough to be named as an important figure to become truly canonical, readers need to form attachments with your work, find it interesting, debate it, recommend it, and also have access to it (via manuscript copies or new printed editions). Once readers stop doing these things, even a well-established reputation can quickly crumble and fade away. As we have seen, to tell the story of the making of the non-canonical author is no straightforward exercise, for readers, editors, and owners do not tend to talk about what they have stopped reading and why. It is difficult to figure out why Bernardes's works ceased to be printed after 1633, despite their reasonable success up to that date: did he stop being printed because he was no longer popular or did he lose popularity because he ceased to be printed? Where does the vicious circle begin? One cannot be entirely sure. One is left to make inferences from the fates of other writers, what it was about their work that meant they could successfully solicit and sustain the enthusiasms of readers. A jumble of political events, historical trends, and the actions of specific agents all come into play. The political climate in Portugal during the Restoration was unlikely to have appreciated an author who complained so extensively about the horrors of Alcácer-Quibir and the disastrous decision-making that led up to that moment, arguably the low-point in Portugal's history as a nation. The eclogue had ever decreasing prestige as a literary form as the seventeenth-century wore on. Bernardes did not write an epic and had no claim to being a great renovator of Portuguese letters, as was so frequently claimed of Sá de Miranda. As time passed, more writers jostled for space in the canon and consequently pushed a number of their forebears out of lists of the greatest Portuguese authors. Manuel de Faria e Sousa also so severely slandered Bernardes that it would have been difficult for any writer to recover from such an attack on their poetic reputation. Whereas with Camões new

ideas were continually being exchanged about his work, Bernardes became petrified, a relic of ‘gentleness’. To speak of canonisation, then, is to speak of a complex network of influences and ideas.

The insistence of readers on the term ‘brandura’ forced us into philological investigations of what this term could mean. The results vivify our ideas about reception because they bring together sound, theme, conceit, and affect. This term also suggests the interplay between aesthetic appreciation and politics, as ‘brandura’ becomes charged with special importance in the quarrel around the use of the vernacular in Portugal. We found that readers’ comments emerge from the crossroads between political need and the aesthetical judgment of Bernardes’s work. If ‘reception’ tends to be about citation and imitation, especially in Renaissance studies, a kind of hunting down of influences and allusions, Bernardes’s reception takes us beyond these habits to consider what struck readers in their hearts and how poems sounded to their ears. In the end, the challenges of studying the reception of the non-canonical teaches us to be more resourceful in where we look for evidence of readers and changes the nature of what we go looking for.

Conclusion

Although this thesis has ostensibly been about Diogo Bernardes, he has not been lonely in these pages. Patrons, brokers, printers, inquisitors, friends, relatives, and readers have all bustled in and around his poetry. My approach has consistently been to see the *cartas* as letters, that is, as texts with a social function, written in an interpersonal space. I have pointed out the textual signs of what Bernardes might have tried to *do* with his poems as well as the markers of what readers themselves might also have done with them. Such an approach — made possible, perhaps even necessary, by the very nature of the *cartas* — has led to an emphasis on what Bernardes can tell us about what poets and poetry were thought to be for in the sixteenth century and how this was changing in a time of political turbulence, economic instability, and under the increasing influence of the printing press.

Professionally speaking, Bernardes was unusual because his main sources of income were the positions in the court that he held for two short periods of his life and the *tenças* he received after 1582. Unlike other poets of his age, who were almost all lawyers, he did not go to university and had poetry at the centre of his attempts to earn a living at the court. And yet, contrary to ‘professional’ writers elsewhere

in Europe, Bernardes never made any explicit claims to social worth on account of his being a poet: his poetry implies that verse was not highly prized enough for such a rhetorical strategy to work.

Moreover, his ideas about what made for a good poet have more to do with hard work than mystical or divine powers of inspiration. His practical and down-to-earth concerns also meant that he never articulated a poetic career, or, at least, he did not consciously map out an ascending poetic trajectory for himself. All his projects for epics were tied to prospective patronage, which, never amounted to anything: neither poems, nor profit.

Bernardes's unusual social status suggests that further work needs to be done on the relationship between literature and the social order in early modern Portugal. In particular, it would be interesting to investigate further the careers of vernacular poets alongside Neo-Latin writers of verse. It would be fruitful to deepen our sense of how writers articulated their position in society and how in flux the images and vocabulary of social distinction were.

In his poetry, Bernardes often complains about the moral corruptions of his age. He sets high standards by which he judges those in his milieu, castigating flattery, dishonesty, greed, and ambition. What makes him intriguing as a poet, however, is that he never quite lives up to the standards he sets himself and is self-aware enough to reveal that he knows his own hypocrisy, as we saw in *Cartas* XIV, XXV, and XXXI. Indeed, we saw in Chapter 2 that Bernardes admits to taking on ‘*mais diversas formas que Proteio*’ (*Carta* XXXI, l. 11) in his quest for patronage. He was supple and able to match his poems to the interests and the situation of his patron. Acutely self-conscious about his relationship to his patrons, I have shown that Bernardes's *cartas* reveal much about the practical steps needed to be taken in the search for favour. In particular, his poems are interesting for uncovering the importance of intermediaries in patronage negotiations; they bring to the fore the importance of social capital in the world of the Renaissance court. Bernardes's poems also suggest how unfair the patronage system was, demonstrating that patronage relations were always tipped in the favour of the patron who could choose never to answer the poet. In response to the risk and uncertainty of these relationships, I revealed that Bernardes shifts their terms ever toward the commercial, edging towards a situation where debts to patrons could be paid conclusively — and paid by poetry.

The question of why Bernardes decided to print his works was one I posed to myself early in my research. In order to answer it, it was necessary to think again about the world of printing in general terms and to attend in close detail to the material features of printed books, examining what was invested in print as a medium during this age and tracking the changes that were happening. In Chapter 3, I argued that the Inquisition's anxieties about secular lyric poetry echoed a wider unease around what poetry was supposed to be for. Scrutinising the paratexts of books of lyric poetry, I demonstrated that it was only as the sixteenth century came to a close that pleasure became a justification for printing them. Inquisitorial licences tell us that moral profit and instruction were the primary reasons why books were deemed 'worthy of print'. However, the Inquisition did not simply impose their ideas on the general reading public, rather there is plenty of evidence to suggest that readers at large remained more interested in saving their souls than being delighted or having fun. Against this backdrop, Bernardes was remarkable for deciding to print his lyric poetry during his lifetime and for using his books to create an authorial persona. Indeed, his insistence on the figure of the Lima as a signal of his authorial presence in his printed works suggests that Bernardes represents a turning point in the way writers thought about themselves as authors and how they integrated printing into their self-fashioning as a writer, especially for posterity. Bernardes's printed books offer a good set of examples of the increasing individualisation of authorial personas that was eventually to become an integral part of modern conceptions of authorship.

Despite his efforts to secure himself a place in the emergent Portuguese canon, however, Bernardes only remained a key figure in the Iberian cultural landscape for a few decades. Whilst further archival research — particularly in libraries in Spain and the USA — would be useful for developing our sense of Bernardes's early modern reception, a clear picture emerges from the evidence that we have: it was Bernardes's eclogues and elegies that were preferred over the *cartas* by early modern readers. By exploring in detail the terms of evaluation deployed by early readers, I demonstrated in Chapter 4 that the methodological problems posed by Bernardes's non-canonical status push us to reflect on just how multifarious an author's 'reception' can be. If translation, imitation, citation, annotation, and editing are usually the modes of reception we focus our critical attention on, Bernardes's case teaches us to look

elsewhere (e.g. at the materiality of print books and manuscript miscellanies) and to consider the prosodic and affective as important dimensions of a reader's experience of and interaction with a text. The story of 'brandura' as a critical term pointed to the intersection of aesthetics and politics, suggesting that the two cannot always be untwined. From Bernardes's fate in the hands of readers, we also saw that sustaining a place in the canon required more than being claimed as a good author. Readers need to do more with your work for your reputation to survive.

Given all the space that I have afforded to Bernardes's thwarted ambitions, his misfortunes in life and in his afterlife, I give, I will admit, a slightly bleak view of the poet's life in this thesis. All these problems, though, have too often been neglected in the history of literature in Portugal. I am sure that our understanding of the lively cultural world of early modern Portugal is poorer, if we fail to take note of the practicalities of living the life of a poet. Perhaps, though, it is fitting that this aspect of Bernardes's work is only now beginning to receive its critical due: his work clearly speaks to a time of precarious employment and reduced funding for the Arts and Humanities. As we saw in Chapter 4, the significance of Bernardes's *cartas* changed as they encountered new audiences through time and this continues to be true. In the twenty-first century, Bernardes's struggles and disillusionment certainly ressonate with this young academic who has years of grant proposals and job applications ahead of him. Bernardes seems someone who would understand the difficulties of chasing academic trends and of appealing to fickle funding bodies. Like many who try to make their way in a competitive professional field, Bernardes, confronted with the extreme difficulty of making a living from his pen, thinks about giving up his gift from Apollo and relinquishing it to those who know better how to lie and flatter their way to success:

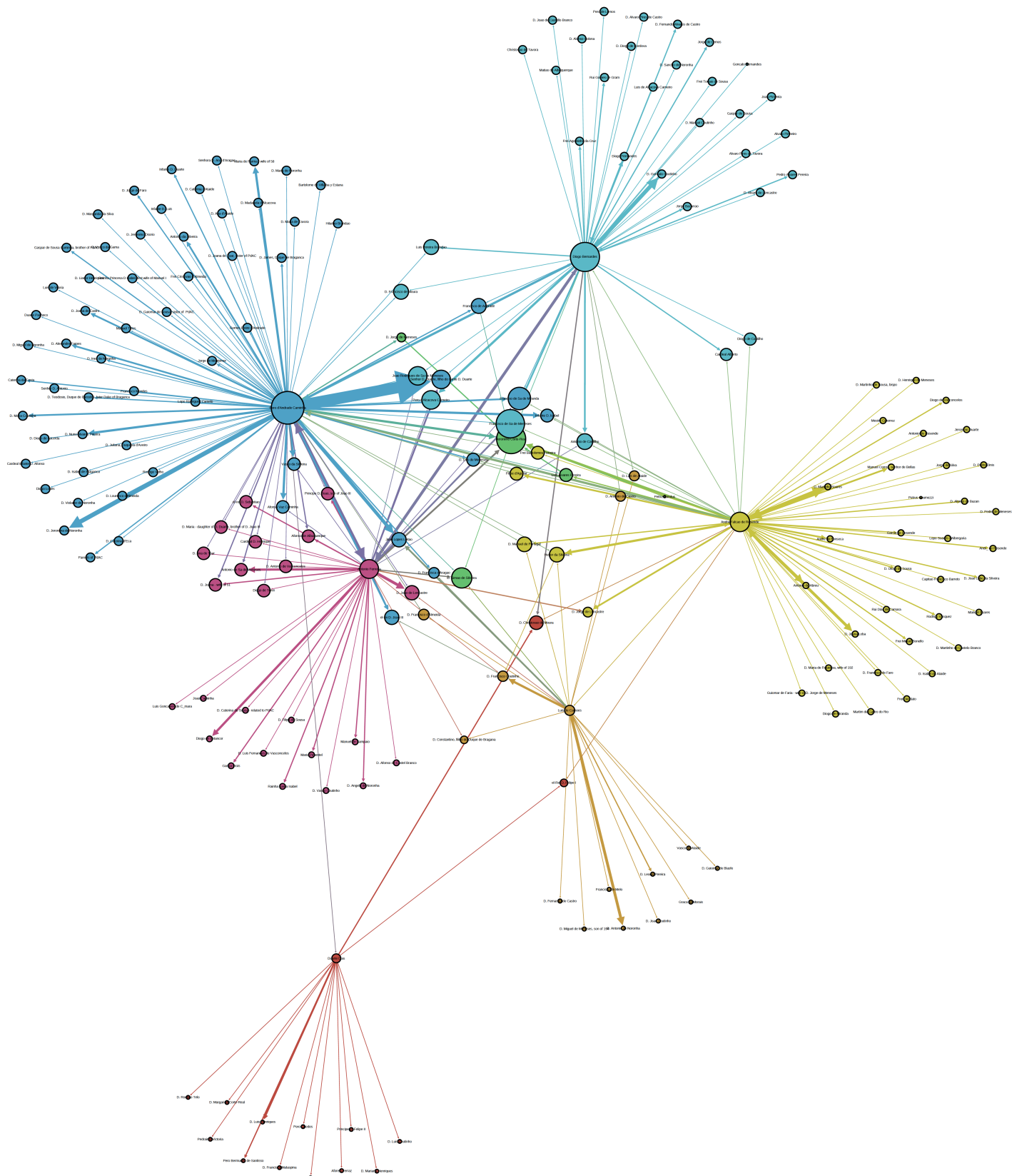
Enfim, se m'há-de ser sempre peçonha
O dom que me deu Febo, aqui s'acabe;
Des'agora lho largo, em mão o ponha
De quem lisonjear e mentir sabe. (Carta XI, ll. 94-7)

And so we reach the central paradox of Bernardes's life and work: why did he continue to write in the face of such difficulties and disappointments? Why not choose a different path that would better lead to the realisation of his ambitions? Our final conclusion has to be that, although he knew writing poetry was a kind of poison, only likely to end in frustration and pain, it was a poison he could not quite resist.

APPENDIX I

A Network Map of Poetic Exchanges in Sixteenth-Century Portugal

The following map displays the connections made between poets, their friends, family, and patrons through the sending of poems to named dedicatees. It is based on a database I compiled of poetic exchanges using printed works from the sixteenth century and modern critical editions of the works of the poets concerned (principally, Diogo Bernardes, Pêro de Andrade Caminha, Luís de Camões, Jerónimo Corte-Real, Duarte Dias, António Ferreira, Francisco de Sá de Miranda, and André Falcão de Resende). This data was inputted into the network visualisation software package, Gephi, which plots these connections as a map. Nodes (i.e. individuals) are positioned in relation to those other nodes to which they are connected. The distribution algorithm balances a basic force that repels nodes from each other with the connections plotted that draw them together (the algorithm used here is Yifan Hu). The node size is proportional to their 'Eigenvector Centrality', which is a measure of how important the node is to the network. The thickness of the arrows is proportional to the number of poems exchanged between the two nodes that the arrow links.



APPENDIX II

A Finding List of Bernardes's Poems in Manuscript Miscellanies

The follow table lists the poems attributed to Diogo Bernardes that I am currently aware of existing in manuscript miscellanies. There are doubtless many more to uncover, but this list provides a measure of which texts were the most popular in the early modern period.

LIBRARY/ARCHIVE	TITLE	SHELFMARK	POEM TYPE	FIRST LINE	PRINTED COMPARATOR	POEM NUMBER (IF EDITED)	PAGE NUMBER
	Cancioneiro de Cristóvão Borges ¹		Eclogue	'Hagora Alcido emquanto o nosso gado'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga III	No. 66	Fols 47r-49r
	Cancioneiro de Cristóvão Borges		Elegy	'A ti bon Jesu que tanto offendi'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , Elegia III	No. 68	Fols 55v-57r
	Cancioneiro de Cristóvão Borges		Eclogue	'Cantaua Alcido hum dia al sô das agoas'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga XIV	No. 150	Fols 75r-78r
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás ²		Sonnet	'Num bosque de loureiros rodeado' ³			Fol. 15v
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Sonnet	'Horas breves do meu contentamento'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LXXV, pp. 88-9		Fol. 22v
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Sonnet	'Eu me parto de Vos campos do Tejo'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XXVI, pp. 47-8		Fol. 25r
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Sonnet	'Brandas agoas do Tejo, que passano'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XXVII, p. 48		Fol. 36r
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Sonnet	'Desaparecem ja, por mais que estendo'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XXVIII, pp. 48-9		Fol. 52r
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Sonnet	'Já do Mondego as agoas aparecem'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XXIX, pp. 49-50		Fol. 52r
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Eclogue	'Num solitario Valle, fresco e verde'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga II		Fol. 86r-88v
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Elegy	'Eu que livre cantei ao som das agoas'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 184-90		Fols 153r-154r
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Elegy	'Sobre hum alto Rochedo em Berberia'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 190-9		Fols 155r-v
	Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás		Sonnet	'Claro e fresco Ribeiro, doce, e brando'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XI, p. 60 ⁴		Fol. 156v
Coimbra, BGUC		MS 393	Carta	'Senhor dô fernaõ dalvrez pois Janiro'	<i>O Lima</i> , Carta XXIII		Fols 142v-145r

¹ For more details, see Arthur Lee-Francis Askins, ed., *The Cancioneiro de Cristóvão Borges* (Paris: Touzot Libraire-Editeur, 1979).

² See *Cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás: fac-símile do exemplar único* (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação Nacional, 1971).

³ The manuscript attributes this sonnet to Bernardes, though it is not included in his printed oeuvre.

⁴ The poem is a variant of the printed sonnet, see Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, *Estudos Camonianos*, 2 vols (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1922-4), I: *O Cancioneiro de Fernandes Tomás; índices, nótulas e textos inéditos* (1922), p. 114.

Coimbra, BGUC		MS 543	Estâncias	'D'hua virgem fermosa e esposada'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 140-61		Fols 24 ^r ff.
Coimbra, BGUC		MS 543	Sonnet	'Eu fiz como ja disse o Mantuano'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 139-40		
Coimbra, BGUC		MS 543	Elegy	'Aquí o Rei do ceo onde vos veja'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , Elegia I, pp. 34-8		Fols 32 ^r ff.
Coimbra, BGUC		MS 543	Endechas	'Virgem soberana'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 94- 6		Fol. 34 ^r
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately ⁵	Eclogue	'Cantava Alcido hum dia ao son das agoas'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga XIV		Fols 39 ^r - 42 ^r
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately	Sonnet	'Ó frescas rosas cinco, ó cinco estrellas'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 46- 7		Fol. 104 ^r
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately	Elegy	'A ti bom Jesu, que tanto offendi'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 43- 6		Fols 112 ^r -113 ^v
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately	Sonnet	'Que flores vos darey tam peregrinas'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , p. 48		Fol. 116 ^r
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately	Elegy	'Agora quando Marte esta movendo'	<i>RVFL</i> , Elegia II, pp. 168-73		Fols 155 ^r -157 ^v
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately	Eclogue	'Num solitario vale, fresco e verde'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga II		Fols 157 ^r -163 ^v
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately	Sonnet	'Nam corre o Lima como de primeiro'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto CXVII, p. 127		Fol. 163 ^v
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately	Sonnet	'Passa el tiempo como passar suele'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LXII, p. 78 ⁶		Fol. 179 ^v
Coimbra, Private Collection		Manuscript Owned Privately	Mote with Glosa by D.B.	'A lo que fue tiengo infinito amor' ⁷			Fol. 179 ^v -180 ^r
Évora, BPE		CXII/1-36	Sonnet	'De noue a Magdalena vai segura'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 134-5		Fol. 128 ^v
Évora, BPE		CXII/1-36	Sonnet	'Banhada em vivas lagrimas Maria'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , pp. 135-6		Fol. 128 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT	Cancioneiro de D. Cecília de Portugal ⁸	MS 1835	Sonnet	'El cielo con la tierra ha contratado'	<i>VRGBJ</i> , p. 163		Fol. 17 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209 ⁹	Sonnet	'Onde achaste Marilia tão bom meio'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XLVIII, p. 67		Fol. 19 ^r
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'Nas agoas de hũa fonte hum dia olhaua'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XLIX, p. 68		Fol. 19 ^r
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'Não sei q murmurais agoas serenas'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto I, p. 69		Fol. 19 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'Dexai o claros rios de correr'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LI, pp. 69-70		Fol. 19 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'Que quer de my Amor q ja não tenha'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LII, p. 71		Fol. 20 ^r

⁵ I am grateful to T. F. Earle and Telmo Corujo dos Reis for providing me with the details of this interesting manuscript. The information listed here is from that compiled by Corujo dos Reis.

⁶ The first line is a slight variant of the printed edition. It would be worthwhile investigating whether the sonnet shows further variations.

⁷ I have not been able to track down a printed version of this from the index given by Corujo dos Reis.

⁸ See António Cirurgião, ed., *Cancioneiro de D. Cecília de Portugal* (Lisbon: Ocidente, 1972).

⁹ Arthur Askins studies this manuscript and provides copies of the poems that have clear variants from the printed versions or from other manuscript copies. See Askins, 'Diogo Bernardes and Ms. 2209'.

Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'De mil sospeitas uans se me leuantam'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LXX, p. 83-4 ¹⁰		Fol. 20 ^r
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'Tão pouco posso ia q̃ não abasto'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LXXII, p. 85 ¹¹		Fol. 20 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'Onde porei meus olhos q̃ não veja'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LXXIII, p. 86		Fol. 20 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'O claro, e doce rio fresco e brando'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XL, p. 60 ¹²		Fol. 97 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'Com seu cabelo louro destrançado'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XLIV, pp. 63-4		Fol. 97 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Sonnet	'Dos uossos oys mais q̃ o sol fermosos'	<i>RVBJ</i> , p. 86		Fol. 120 ^r
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Eclogue	'Aguora Alcido, Enquanto o nosso gado' [Truncated, only lines 1-87]	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga III		Fols 125 ^v -126 ^v
Lisbon, ANTT		MS 2209	Eclogue	'Depois q̃ o leue barco ao duro remo' [lacks 56 introductory lines included in printed version]	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga XI		Fols 163 ^v -165 ^r
Lisbon, ANTT		MSLIV 1710	Sonnet	'Que doudo pensamento este que sigo?'	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LXXIX, p. 91		Fol 105 ^r
Lisbon, ANTT		MSLIV 2037	Sonnet	'O frescas rosas cinco, ó cinco estrelas'	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 46-7		p. 611
Lisbon, Biblioteca de Ajuda		51-II-18 ¹³	Elegy	'Eu que livre cantei ao som das águas'	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 184-90		Fols 1 ^r -7 ^r
Lisbon, Biblioteca de Ajuda		51-II-18	Elegy	'Sobre um alto rochedo em Berberia'	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 190-9		
Lisbon, Biblioteca de Ajuda		51-II-18	Sestina	'Cansados tenho já com longo pranto'	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 199-201		Fols 7 ^r -8 ^r
Lisbon, BNP		COD 2	Epigram	'Fermosa virgem clara, inda mais clara'	<i>VRBJ</i> , p. 162		Fol. 9 ^v
Lisbon, BNP		COD 2	Elegy	'Eu que livre cantar ao som das águas'	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 184-90		Fols 21 ^r -23 ^r
Lisbon, BNP		COD 2	Elegy	'Sobre hu alto rochedo em berberia'	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 190-9		Fols 23 ^r -25 ^r
Lisbon, BNP		COD 2	Elegy	'Lymiano do mar a larga praya'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga XIII ¹⁴		Fols 25 ^r -26 ^r
Lisbon, BNP		COD 2	Eclogue	'Paceu minhas avelhas, eu em quanto'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga IV		Fols 26 ^r -27 ^v
Lisbon, BNP		COD 8920 ¹⁵	Elegy	'Limiano do mar a larga praia'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga XIII ¹⁶		Fols 7 ^r -v

¹⁰ Askins shows that this poem shows several variants from the printed poem, see 'Diogo Bernardes and Ms. 2209', pp. 156-7.

¹¹ This poem contains several variants from the printed poem, see 'Diogo Bernardes and Ms. 2209', p. 157.

¹² Askins shows that this poem shows several variants, 'Diogo Bernardes and Ms. 2209', p. 158.

¹³ See Martínez Torrejón, 'Seis elegias de Diogo Bernardes', p. 12.

¹⁴ As Martínez Torrejón this elegy is an earlier version of Bernardes's thirteenth eclogue: 'Seis elegias de Diogo Bernardes', p. 4. He gives a complete transcription of this poem on pp. 21-3.

¹⁵ For a description of the poems by Bernardes included in this manuscript, see Martínez Torrejón, 'Seis elegias de Diogo Bernardes', p. 4-11.

¹⁶ As Martínez Torrejón suggests, this elegy is an earlier version of Bernardes's thirteenth eclogue (p. 4). He gives a complete transcription of this poem in his, 'Seis elegias de Diogo Bernardes', pp. 21-3.

Lisbon, BNP		COD 8920	Elegy	'De peña en peña moviendo las pasas' ¹⁷			Fols 8 ^{r-v}
Lisbon, BNP		COD 8920	Elegy	'Nunca um apetite mostra o dano'			Fols 9 ^r - 10 ^r
Lisbon, BNP		COD 8920	Elegy	'La sierra fatigando de contino'			Fols 10 ^{r-v}
Lisbon, BNP		COD 8920	Elegy	'Eu, que livre cantei ao som das águas'	<i>V/RBJ</i> , pp. 184-90		Fols 337 ^r -339 ^r
Lisbon, BNP		COD 8920	Elegy	'Sobre um alto rochedo em Berberia'	<i>V/RBJ</i> , pp. 190-9		Fols 339 ^v -341 ^r
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia		12-26-8/D 199 ¹⁸	Sonnet	'Montes, valles, bosques verdes, prados'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto XXXVIII, p. 59		Fol. 4 ^r
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia		12-26-8/D 199	Sonnet	'Señora vos sois de neve alva e fria'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto XIX, p. 40		Fol. 5 ^r
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia		12-26-8/D 199	Sonnet	'Deixai claros rios de correr'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto I, p. 69		Fol. 9 ^r
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia		12-26-8/D 199	Sonnet	'Se como em tudo o mais fostes perfeita'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto XVII, pp. 38-9		Fol. 14 ^r
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia		12-26-8/D 199	Cantiga	'Alcido toma esta roza'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Cantiga VII, p. 193		Fol. 60 ^v
Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia		12-26-8/D 199	Eclogue	'Camtava Alcido hum dia ao som das aguas'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga XIV		Fols 179 ^r -183 ^v
Madrid, Biblioteca del Escorial	Livro de sonetos e octavas de diversos autores. 1598. ¹⁹	Ç.III.22	Sonnet	'De mil sospeitas vans se me alevantão'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto LXX, p. 83-4		Fol. 16 ^r
Madrid, Biblioteca del Escorial	Livro de sonetos e octavas de diversos autores. 1598.	Ç.III.22	Sonnet	'Eu me aparto de vós campos do Tejo'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto XXVI, pp. 47- 8		Fol. 17 ^r
Madrid, Biblioteca del Escorial	Livro de sonetos e octavas de diversos autores. 1598.	Ç.III.22	Sonnet	'Hum firme coração, posto em ventura'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto XX, pp. 40-1		Fol. 17 ^v
Madrid, Biblioteca del Escorial	Livro de sonetos e octavas de diversos autores. 1598.	Ç.III.22	Eclogue	'Camtava Alcido hum dia ao saõ das agoas'	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga XIV		Fols 47 ^r - 51 ^v
New York, Hispanic Society of America, Hispanic Library	Hispano- portuguese <i>cancioneiro</i> of the Hispanic Society ²⁰	B 2558	Sonnet	'Que doudo pensamento este q sigo'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto LXXIX, p. 91	No. 66	p. 154 [fol. 60 ^v]

¹⁷ Martínez Torrejón argues that this previously unattributed poem, as well as the two that follow it, are by Bernardes, see 'Seis elegias de Diogo Bernardes', p. 4.

¹⁸ See the index provided in Maria Isabel S. Ferreira da Cruz, *Novos subsídios para uma edição crítica de lírica de Camões: os cancioneiros inéditos de Madrid e do Escorial* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1971), pp. 141-58.

¹⁹ See the index in Cruz, p. 177-94.

²⁰ See Arthur Lee-Francis Askins, ed., *The Hispano-Portuguese Cancioneiro of The Hispanic Society of America*, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 144 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Department of Romance Languages, 1974).

Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128 ²¹	Epistle	‘Senhor dom Fernão d’Alvres pois janeiro’	<i>O Lima</i> , Carta XXIII		Fols 10 ^v - 12 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Glosa	‘Sanctas llagas si la culpa’	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 61- 2		Fol. 27 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Eclogue	‘Passei minhas ovelhas eu em quanto’	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga IV		Fols 31 ^v - 33 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Sonnet	‘O frescas rosas cinco, o cino estrellas’	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 46- 7		Fol. 34 ^r
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Mote and Glosa	‘Culpa fue querer miraros’	<i>RVFL</i> , pp. 257-8		Fol. 34 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Eclogue	‘Príncipe soberano não vos seja’	<i>O Lima</i> , Écloga XII		Fols 37 ^r - 41 ^r
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Elegy	‘Agora quando Marte está movendo’	<i>RVFL</i> , Elegia II, pp. 168-73		Fols 45 ^v - 47 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Elegy	‘A ti mui bom Jesus que ofendi tanto’	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 43- 6		Fol. 51 ^r - 52 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Elegy	‘Que coraçam tam duro, que vontade’	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 39- 42		Fols 52 ^v - 53 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Elegy	‘Eu de vos que darei virgem sagrada’	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 73- 8		Fols 57 ^r - 59 ^r
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Sonnet	‘Dos olhos porque perdi a liberdade’	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto V, p. 26		Fol. 77 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Sonnet	‘Novos cauzos de amor, novos emguanos’	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto LXXVII, p. 90		Fol. 78 ^r
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Canção	‘Amor pois me inflamaste’	<i>RVFL</i> , Canção I, pp. 27-9		Fols 108 ^r -109 ^r
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Canção	‘Inda que pouco dito’	<i>RVFL</i> , Canção II, pp. 34-5		Fols. 109 ^v -110 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Canção	‘Ablanda ja meo pranto’	<i>RVFL</i> , Canção III, pp. 42-4		Fols 110 ^v -111 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Elegy	‘Não vos faço senhora esta lembrança’	<i>RVFL</i> , Elegia XIII		Fols 111 ^v -113 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Canção	‘Angella que dos anjos rodeada’	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 177-82		Fols 113 ^v -116 ^r
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Ode	‘Senhor não me atrevia’	<i>VRBJ</i> , pp. 235-40		Fols 116 ^r -117 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Canção IV	‘Desertos bosques, valles saudozos’	<i>RVFL</i> , pp. 53- 6		Fols 117 ^v -118 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Elegy	‘Incertas esperanças certos medos’	<i>RVFL</i> , Elegia III, pp. 174-6		Fols 118 ^v -119 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Elegy	‘Por cumbres y por valles sin camino’	<i>RVFL</i> , Elegia I, pp. 165-8		Fols 120 ^r -121 ^r
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Elegy	‘Cuidando de emcobrir no triste feito’	<i>RVFL</i> , Elegia IV, pp. 176-7		Fols 121 ^r - v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Sonnet	‘Do branco lírio e da vermelha rosa’	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto VI, pp. 26-7		Fol. 121v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Sonnet	‘Hum firme coração posto em ventura’	<i>RVFL</i> , Soneto XX, pp. 40-1		Fol. 122 ^r

²¹ For a full catalogue of this manuscript, see Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, ‘Mittelungen aus portugiesischen Handschriften’, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 8 (1884), 430-48. Many of the poems in this manuscript show variants from the printed edition. A list of these can be found in Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, ‘Mittelungen aus portugiesischen Handschriften’, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 9 (1885), 360-74.

Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Sonnet	'Lima que neste valle verde e ameno'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto XXXI, p. 51		Fol. 122 ^r
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Sonnet	'Musas que tendes feito nesta praia'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto XXXV, p. 57		Fol. 122 ^v
Washington D.C., Library of Congress		Portuguese Manuscripts, P-128	Sonnet	'Sombrio e verde valle onde se acolhe'	<i>RV/FL</i> , Soneto XXXIX, pp. 59-60		Fol. 123 ^r

APPENDIX III
A List of First Editions of *O Lima* Consulted

Listed below are the shelfmarks for the copies of the first edition of *O Lima* (Lisbon: Simão Lopes, 1596) that I consulted during the preparation of this thesis:

Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, R-11-39

Évora, Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Res. 315

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Res. 199 V.

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Res. 2463 P.

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Res. 3994 V.

Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Res. 5178 P.

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- Évora, Biblioteca Pública de Évora, MS CXII/1-36
- Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria da Ordem de Cristo (Próprios), liv. 5
- Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. Filipe I (Padrões e doações), liv. 10
- Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. Filipe I (Padrões e doações), liv. 32
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- Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique (Privilégios), liv. 4
- Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, Maço 110, n. 137
- Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Manuscritos, MS 2209
- Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Manuscritos da Livraria, MS 1710
- Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Manuscritos da Livraria, MS 2037
- Lisbon, Biblioteca de Ajuda, MS 51-II-18
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- Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Manuscritos Reservados, COD 2
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