

# FERNANDO DE HERRERA'S "CANCIONES": JIHAD MEETS HOLY WAR

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Spain under Philip II was a country at war with its political and religious enemies—both real and imagined—on every side. To the north the French Huguenots and especially the Dutch Calvinists threatened the rule of this most Catholic king. To the south and east the Moslem Moors, Berbers, and Ottoman Turks were a constant thorn in the side, not just of Spain but of its Christian neighbors as well. Within the country proper, the presence of a Morisco majority in Andalucía made Christian control of the region tenuous at best, a threat made palpable by the Alpujarras uprising of 1568. Equally unnerving to the clerics of the Inquisition was the perceived threat to orthodoxy posed by the presence of *conversos* and *alumbrados* within the very hierarchy, as the deposing and imprisonment of Archbishop Carranza, the primate of Spain, suggested. As a result, the Spanish monarch increasingly saw himself and his mission in Messianic terms, and, by extension, the Spanish people as the new chosen race ordained by God to protect and extend Catholic orthodoxy in the world.<sup>1</sup>

This perception of Spain and Philip influences two of the heroic *canciones* of Fernando de Herrera. In each poem, Herrera recalls the historical battles of Lepanto and Alcazarquivir in turn, addressing Philip, first in celebration of the great victory over the Ottoman Turks in 1571 and then to lament the destruction of the Portuguese expedition led by his nephew, the impetuous young King Sebastián, in 1578. By combining Biblical imagery and geographic references with the form of the heroic ode, the poet creates works which “ocupa[n] la más alta herarquía de la escala poética” (López Bueno 733).<sup>2</sup>

## *Lepanto*

For many scholars of Spanish Golden Age literature the battle of Lepanto is notable principally for the participation of one Miguel de Cervantes as a soldier in the service of Spain. Some thirty years after the event, Cervantes's *cautivo* could still wax eloquent about “aquel día, que fue para la cristiandad tan dichoso, porque en él se desengañó

el mundo y todas las naciones del error en que estaban, creyendo que los turcos eran invencibles por la mar, en aquel día . . . donde quedó el orgullo y soberbia otamana quebrantada" *Don Quijote* 1.39, 398). For historians, the battle is at least noteworthy for the remarkable feat of papal diplomacy that made allies of erstwhile rivals in the formation of the Holy League. By joining forces, the navies of Venice, Spain, and the Papal States proposed to confront the Ottoman Turks for control of the eastern Mediterranean and the safety of Christendom. Some have called the enterprise the last crusade (Elliot 238), while others have described it as the last, great naval engagement of the ancient world (Marx 122-23). In the tactics and armaments employed on that October day in 1571, galley was pitted against galley and sword and arrow competed equally with shot and shell to determine the outcome.<sup>3</sup>

The victory of the Christian forces under the command of Don Juan de Austria had an electrifying effect on the governments and peoples who had, for so long, suffered the brunt of attacks and raiding parties along virtually the whole of the Mediterranean and Adriatic coasts. When news of the victory reached Venice, it "was received with an outburst of religious fervour not witnessed since the first Crusade" (Fuller 1.576). Otis Green describes the effect of the victory on the arts:

It was celebrated in music by Juan Brudieu, chapelmeister of the cathedral of Seo de Urgel, and by Don Fernando de los Infantes, a Cordovan cleric and musician residing at Rome. Tintoretto sought to eternalize it in painting; in this effort he was followed by Titian. There were statues, medallions, friezes; and in Rome the ceiling of a church was adorned with an inscription in gold leaf—gold taken as booty in the battle. (3.359)

And there were poems as well. José López de Toro includes well over one hundred poems or fragments of poems written to honor the victory or the individuals who made it possible.<sup>4</sup> Among these is the *Canción en alabanza de la divina magestad por la victoria del señor don Juan*, a work published as part of Herrera's prose *Relación de la guerra de Cipro y suceso de la batalla de Lepanto* in 1572.<sup>5</sup>

In her study of Herrera's historical prose, Mary Gaylord Randel distinguishes between the historical events narrated in the *Relación* and their poetic presentation in the *Canción*: "Poetry serves the purpose of lending grandeur and magnificence; history serves to record events as they actually happened, not colored by any extreme interpretation, nor even mildly distorted by the demands which verse makes on vocabulary and syntax" (Randel 102). Herrera introduces not only grandeur and magnificence in his heroic *canciones*, but he also overlays them with high emotion as well as religious and patriotic fervor. This

mix of elements has led to sometimes conflicting interpretations of these works.

Describing the *Canción*, for example, Entwistle calls it "perhaps the greatest political poem in the Spanish language," an opinion that Green questions. He asserts that it does not celebrate empire but, rather, a "victory . . . not man's but God's, though achieved by the faith and the strong hand of a Christian prince" (3.112). Macrí sees in Herrera's heroic poems "la cúspide [del poderío patrio]" (508). In his study of the structure of the *Canción en alabanza de la divina magestad*, however, Jeremy Medina argues that "the patriotic message is *not* the central element of the poem." Rather, he believes that the "real message . . . concerns the glory of God and the recognition of His constant presence; secondarily, it show [sic] His inevitable retribution against the haughty and the proud" (508). In fact, Herrera presents in the *canción* celebrating the victory at Lepanto a fascinating amalgam of many elements—religion, history and politics—reflecting the forces in conflict in the sixteenth-century world and in Spain in particular. As a result, the poet articulates an ostensibly sectarian message in the triumph of Christianity over Islam, but the sub-text is, in many ways, cautionary, even subversive. It is a technique that Herrera will repeat in his later *Canción por la pérdida del rey Don Sebastián*.

The very title of the Lepanto poem combines religion, history, and politics when it offers praise to God for a victory under the leadership of Don Juan de Austria, bastard son of Carlos V and half-brother of Philip II. Evocation of Scripture, use of the historical past tense, and reference to recent events serve to underscore this amalgamation of elements. One may add to these details the realization that in sixteenth-century Europe religion and politics were intimately intertwined as formation of the Holy League itself attests. The poem draws on all of these facets in its encomium to the victory.

Nevertheless, there is also a subversive element to Herrera's message. By relying on Old Testament invocations of Jahweh and recollections of divine intervention on behalf of captive Israel, the poet views the Christian cause through the prism of Jewish history. In the context of Inquisitorial Spain it is either a daring ploy or, perhaps, a claim to religious legitimacy for the Holy League and, most especially, for Spain. At the same time, Herrera presents a cautionary message, since his sub-text urges faithfulness to God above all as the principal guarantee of victory.

In his study of the *Canción en alabanza*, Medina examines its symmetrical structure, highlighting the balance between the sections dealing with pre-battle and post-battle circumstances (509). As he also notes, the battle itself fills the central portion of the poem while

invocations of the deity open and close each section. Furthermore, he draws attention to Herrera's use of "shifting temporal references" coupled with the "symmetrical juxtaposition of invocation and narration" as a technique underscoring God's omnipotence and eternal presence. Supporting this religious message are the Biblical evocations found in each of the sections of the poem that make of it both a hymn of praise as its title indicates as well as a prayer of petition in the direct address made to God.

The *Canción* opens as does the *Relación* by introducing the subject of the work (the battle) and its outcome (a Christian victory).<sup>6</sup> It does so, however, by addressing not the figure of Christ but, rather, that of the Old Testament Jehovah. It calls on the readers-listeners to praise him, reminding them of the destruction of the Egyptian army in the waters of the Red Sea in order to deliver the Jewish people from captivity (Exodus 15:1.4-5). Use of a Biblical allusion with maritime implications is appropriate for celebrating the victory at Lepanto, but other aspects of the comparison are provocative.<sup>7</sup>

Addressing the Lord ("Señor" [1]) as "Dios de las batallas" (3) necessarily casts what follows in the context of a holy war waged against an "enemigo fiero" (2). Implicitly, the Christian leader, Don Juan de Austria, is another Moses and his fleet the embodiment of Israel saved by divine intervention. Irony occurs when the poet refers to Pharaoh's army as the "escogidos príncipes" (7) swallowed up by the waters because of the stubbornness and cruelty of their leader (5-6). In subsequent uses of the term "escogidos," the reference is to the Christian forces as God's chosen people in the destruction of his—and their—enemies.<sup>8</sup>

From the outset, therefore, Herrera presents the victory at Lepanto in religious terms of Biblical proportions. The battle between Christianity and Islam will be described by evoking Old Testament allusions to Jehovah's many interventions on behalf of the Jewish people held captive by a succession of oppressors. The poet thus suggests a continuum of oppression and deliverance from ancient times to his own. Since Jews, Christians, and Moslems are all "people of the Book," Herrera further implies a cosmic battle for legitimacy as the true, faithful people of God, a struggle resolved in this case by the triumph of Roman Christianity over Islam in the person of the Ottoman Turks and, implicitly, over Eastern Orthodoxy in that of the Greeks.

In the section describing the pre-battle events which follows, the structure approximates that found in the *Relación* (Randel 28,66). Where the prose account minimizes the religious motives of the Turks (Randel 29-30), the poem focuses on them and presents Turkish actions in the

Mediterranean as a veritable *jihad*. Not surprisingly, it does so with a distinctly Christian bias.

Stanzas two through six portray the pride and arrogance of the Turks in contradistinction to the fear and disorganization of the Christians. By personifying the enemy, the poet attributes to him two of the more egregious of the seven deadly sins, pride ("el soberbio tirano" and "el arrogante cuello del potente" [11,26]) and anger ("del impío furor suyo" and "mis iras" [22-23,32]). The tyrant is emboldened by his victories to hurl insults at the God of the Christians ("alço la frente / contra ti, Señor Dios" [22-23]) through a series of rhetorical questions that also list Turkish conquests in the Mediterranean (Estr. 4-6). Herrera neatly summarizes the extent of these in the concluding verses of the sixth stanza: "Del Nilo a Eufrates y al Danubio frío, / quanto el sol alto mira, todo es mío" (59-60). These river references literally define the borders of the empire established by Suleiman the Magnificent, one that ranged "from the Atlas Mountains in North Africa to . . . Baghdad, from the Upper Nile in Egypt to the Danube River on the Austrian border" (Marx 20). Only the two "Esperias," Italy and Spain, stand against it (28-29).

Beyond the geopolitical reality of the Ottoman Empire, the riparian references also suggest Biblical and religious connections between earlier historical events and the battle proper. Allusions to the books of Maccabees, Kings, and Jeremiah situate the contemporary Moslem victories alongside Old Testament conquests and captivity of Israel by a succession of invaders from the Seleucids to the Chaldeans and the Assyrians. In each of the scriptural antecedents, the chosen people are first punished for their unfaithfulness, then delivered from captivity by divine intervention. Parallels with the parlous state of Christendom are suggested by Rome "temerosa y umillada" (41) and France "con discordia quebantada" (45) due to the conflict between Catholics and Huguenots.<sup>9</sup> Even Spain is preoccupied with the Alpujarras uprising (46-47). Thus, like a rising tide, the Ottoman Turks threaten to inundate Christian Europe absent divine assistance.

With this in mind, the poem addresses the deity in the next two stanzas. First, it condemns the outrages committed during the Turkish raids, including desecration of holy places, the murder of innocents, and blasphemy (65-69).<sup>10</sup> Next, it entreats God to avenge these offenses (71-80) by evoking the supplicatory Psalms (78,79). These echo the more defiant questions posed by the Turks even as they imply a connection to the captivity of Israel.<sup>11</sup>

Description of the actual battle occupies stanzas nine through fourteen. In the process, Biblical and historical references become thoroughly intertwined. The Turks assume diabolical status when the

poet associates them with the “dragón fiero” (131) and the preying lion (111). At the same time, they continue to insult the Christians and their God (85-90). Allied with them are the Arab corsairs (92) and the Greeks (93),<sup>12</sup> whose combined fleets “ocuparon del mar los largos senos” (101). Opposing “los feroces Agarenos”<sup>13</sup> is the Christian fleet led by “el joven de Austria valeroso” (107). According to the poet, the Holy League serves as a divine instrument, “que Dios no sufre en Babilonia viva / su querida Sión siempre cativa” (109-10). By implication the Christians are now the chosen people “a los que [el] Señor [es] escudo” (113). In a reversal of imagery, Don Juan becomes a lion “que, saliendo de España, dio un rugido / que con espanto lo dexo atordido” (139-40). Although the Christian victory is a foregone conclusion from the opening verses of the poem, it is one fraught with cautionary lessons even for the victors.

The poem again turns to praise of God who is credited with the victory (141-50). It does so in language that recalls Old Testament passages from Isaiah, where the proud are humbled and punished for their arrogance. Narrowly read this allusion recalls the sins attributed to the Turks in their earlier ascendancy over the Christians. In a broader context, however, the prophet Isaiah actually warned Israel of the consequences of infidelity to God.<sup>14</sup> Hence the prayer of thanksgiving to the “Señor de los ejércitos armados” is also a reminder to those who formed the Holy League to remain faithful to their vows.

The post-battle section that follows envisions a change of fortune so great that the once proud Ottoman Turks and their allies will tremble in fear and lament their earlier defiance (151-56). The Christians of Greece and Lebanon are particularly condemned for their support of the Moslem cause (157-72). Structurally, Herrera ties this section to the earlier ones by use of rhetorical questions. In this instance, the victorious Christians ask the conquered to consider the reasons and consequences of their defeat. The questions rise to a crescendo culminating with “¿Quién contra la espantosa tanto pudo?” (196). The answer is clear:

El Señor que mostró su fuerte mano,  
por la fe de su príncipe cristiano  
y por el nombre santo de su gloria,  
a España le concede esta victoria. (197-200)

For Herrera the victory belongs to Spain acting as God’s chosen instrument.

The jingoistic tone of the poem contrasts with that of the *Relación* insofar as the latter elevates the Christian cause to that of holy war. Don Juan de Austria has exhorted his troops “[que] hiciesen lo que

debían a caballeros y cristianos, señaladamente escogidos para servicio de Dios y reparo de la religión, porque no en vano lo había traído la Majestad Divina en aquel estado." Theirs is a holy crusade against "aquel común enemigo de la cristiandad" (349). The victory at Lepanto promises "nuevo imperio a la religión cristiana, si los que tan santamente juntaron sus fuerzas contra la impiedad y furor de los turcos, perseveran como celosos de la honra divina" (374-75).

What Herrera suggests in the poem by evocation of Old Testament sources is here made clear. God is the victor who rewards those who are faithful and brings low the stiff-necked and proud (204-05). The chosen people in this context are the victorious Christian fleet and its commander (206), who credit God with the triumph over their enemies (211-13).

The final encomium to the deity presents Spain as God's chosen right arm, an instrument of divine retribution loosed against the enemies of Christendom (Vilanova 2.745-46; Roncero López 56). The sentiment is in keeping with post-Tridentine attitudes characteristic of Philip II's Spain, in which religion was indistinguishable from politics. During his reign the Moslem threat was real as the Alpujarras uprising alluded to in the *Canción* (46-47) and the persistent raids by corsairs along the coast attest. Other perceived threats from within fueled the Inquisition's campaign against so-called *judaizantes*. Political difficulties were often cast in religious terms. The continuing campaign against the "luteranos" in the Spanish Netherlands was an extension of that thinking. Significantly, it was the next to which Don Juan de Austria was sent and from which he did not return.

By co-opting the Old Testament references to Jehovah and the chosen people, Herrera supports Philip's sense of his near Messianic role in history (Randel 52). It also casts believers in other religions of the "Book" as infidels who suffer the wrath of God. Yet, it carries with it an underlying message predicated on continued faithfulness by the chosen to the moral right (Randel 69-70; Roncero López 57).

### *Alcazarquivir*

The implications of such a responsibility are made painfully clear in the *Canción por la pérdida del rey Don Sebastián*, which laments the Portuguese disaster at the battle of Alcazarquivir that resulted in the loss of both the king and the cream of Portuguese nobility. While the victory at Lepanto inspired numerous works of art and literature, the influence of the defeat at Alcazarquivir was most deeply felt on the Iberian peninsula.<sup>15</sup> The aftermath of the battle also resulted in profound political and religious change in Portugal.<sup>16</sup>

Beyond the literary and stylistic similarities evident in the two *canciones*, other historical connections between the two events are noteworthy. For example, one of the Moslem commanders at Alcazarquivir, Muley Maluc, had also fought at Lepanto, where he narrowly escaped capture (Morales 303-04). On the Christian side, King Sebastián was inspired by a desire to imitate Don Juan de Austria by becoming “un paladén de la fe católica entre los infieles” (*Enciclopedia Universal* 54.1267). As in the earlier victory, Philip II was asked to support the endeavor with troops and treasure but declined in this instance (Anderson 96).

Evocation of Biblical passages which focus on Israel in conflict with its enemies is a constant in both *canciones*. The underlying message of these passages is that of faithfulness to God. Thus, in the Lepanto poem, Herrera evokes the Psalms of petition and celebration, while the *Canción por la pérdida* turns to those passages of Isaiah and Jeremiah which sound a cautionary note. In each poem, the Christian force—whether of Spain or of Portugal—assumes the role of the new Israel threatened by the infidel armies of Islam.

Each of the *canciones* begins by recalling Exodus 15, which describes destruction of Pharaoh’s army in the waters of the Red Sea. While the Lepanto poem casts the Turkish forces in the part of the Egyptian charioteers, the implication in the Alcazarquivir instance is that the Portuguese army and that of Pharaoh meet similar fates. Such a reading is suggested by the somber and muted tone adopted at the outset. At the same time, the sorrow (“voz de dolor” [1]) and fear (“espíritu de miedo” [2]) also suggest Jeremiah, where “a voice is heard in Ramah, lamenting and weeping bitterly: it is Rachel weeping for her children . . . because they are no more” (31:15).<sup>17</sup> The poet alludes to the outcome of the historical event when he promises to relate “la llorosa istoria” (v. 7) in which “todas sus vencidas gentes fieras / ven tremolar de Cristo las vanderas” (12-13).

In the main body of the poem, Herrera indicates the reasons for the destruction of the Portuguese expedition. Turning once more to Isaiah (31:1),<sup>18</sup> he intimates that the root cause of the defeat are the sins of the Portuguese. Instead of relying on “aquella cumbre/de eterna luz,” the Christian army “con soberbia cierta / se ofrecieron la incierta / victoria.” Rather than looking to heaven, they “sólo atendieron siempre a los despojos” (23).<sup>19</sup> It is not holy war that motivates them but personal gain. Consequently, like Pharaoh and his army, “cayeron en despenadero / el carro y el caballo y el caballero” (25-26).

In a stunning reversal of imagery, Herrera compares the Christian army to the Biblical enemies of Israel and attributes to them the same sins manifested by the Turks in their run up to Lepanto. The arrogance,



pride, and furor of the "soberbio tirano, confiado / en el grande aparato de sus naves" (Lepanto 11-12) are here the failings of the Portuguese and their allies. The cruel irony of a great maritime power shipwrecked in a sea of sand is reinforced by references to geography and, especially, to aquatic imagery. The fate of "Lusitania mísera" (8) will be remembered "dende el África Atlante y seno ardiente / hasta do el mar de otro color se viste, / y do el límite rojo de Oriente" (9-11); in short, through the whole of the Portuguese empire. In defeat the sands "se tornó sangriento lago" (49), an image that evokes the earlier lines even as it suggests the destruction of Pharaoh's charioteers in the waters of the Red Sea. In a further irony, the Christian fleet at Lepanto was successful because of the Spanish army, which "en la llanura / venció del mar al enemigo fiero" (1-2). While the enemy may be the same, the location and outcome of the battle are profoundly different.

Description of the battle proper occupies the central portion of the *Canción por la pérdida del rey Don Sebastián*. Portents of doom are evident from the outset (31-32). "Mezquina Lusitania" (45) is brought low because "el Señor visitó sobre sus males, / para humillar los fuertes arrogantes" (34-35), much as he did to the forces of Islam in the earlier battle.<sup>20</sup> Here, however, it is the Christian force that is destroyed and the instrument of God's wrath is the Islamic army, composed of

... los bárbaros no iguales,  
que con osados pechos i constantes  
no busquen oro, mas con crudo hierro  
venguen la ofensa i cometido ierro. (36-39)

As Roncero López observes, "es la imagen de un Dios implacable, inmisericorde" (58), Jehovah rather than Jesus, who demands above all faithfulness from his chosen ones and punishes its absence.<sup>21</sup>

Condemnation of the base motives of many members of the expedition anticipates the opinion of historians, who recognize that many courtiers encouraged the king in his plans for their own gain.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, Anderson describes the "headstrong Sebastian, surrounded by fawning sycophants," eschewing the advice of wiser heads (96).<sup>23</sup> Herrera casts no aspersions on the young king, who, although foolish in his quest for glory, nevertheless, is valiant in defeat (Morales 312). In fact, the poet likens him to one of the cedars of Lebanon, opining that "no igualó en celsitud y hermosura / jamás árbol alguno a su figura" (77-78). Although some of his nobles died as gallantly as the king,<sup>24</sup> Herrera condemns others who demonstrated "desmayo y torpe miedo" in the face of the enemy (52).

A series of rhetorical questions asks whether the present army is composed of the same sort of “famosos . . . fuertes . . . [y] belígeros varones” (vv.53-54), who established the Portuguese seaborne empire. Herrera asks in disbelief: “¿Cómo así se acabaron y perdieron / tanto heroico valor en sólo un día?” (62-63). The answer lies with a wrathful God who “lo derribó deshecho, / a los impíos y ajenos entregado, / por la raíz cortado” (83-85). As at Lepanto, the outcome of the battle remains in God’s hands, not man’s.

At the conclusion of this lament, Herrera once more adopts a cautionary tone. He warns “infanda Libia, en cuya seca arena / murió el vencido reino Lusitano” to refrain from gloating over its victory (vv. 92-98). He goes on to intimate that the Moslem triumph will be short-lived:

que si el justo dolor mueve a vengança  
alguna vez el Español corage,  
despedaçada con aguda lança  
compensarás muriendo el hecho ultrage. (99-102)<sup>25</sup>

In a very real sense, Herrera addresses an audience of one. As was the case in the earlier poem, he directs his message to Philip II, urging the Spanish king to fulfill his messianic role and avenge the defeat of the Portuguese.<sup>26</sup> Alas, it was not to be, for Spain’s reaction to the death of the young King Sebastian and the captivity of the flower of Portuguese nobility was to move to absorb Portugal under the Spanish crown. Holy War inevitably gave way to *real politick* in the court of Philip II.<sup>27</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>See Randel 52. Parker, *'The World'* also considers Philip's messianism.

<sup>2</sup>Vilanova (2.741) claims that the "*canciones heroicas* . . . constituyen la más clara fuente prebarroca de la lírica herreriana."

<sup>3</sup>See Herrera, *Relación* 358.

<sup>4</sup>He includes one by G. K Chesterton, but fails to mention a poem by King James VI of Scotland, written when he was a boy. See Fuller 1.567 for references to the latter.

<sup>5</sup>See note in Herrera's *Poesías*, ed. García de Diego, 1.

<sup>6</sup>"Florece en las armas el imperio de los otomanos, espantoso a todos los Príncipes por la grandeza de sus ejércitos y gloria de la disciplina militar, y por la abundancia maravillosa de sus tesoros, con que había por largo curso de años extendido los términos de su potencia por todo aquel espacio, que hay de tierras entre el Euxino y Archipiélago, Mediterráneo y Egipto con los senos de Arabia y Persia, cuando confederados contra el la iglesia romana y los venecianos con el Rey Filipo de España le quebrantaron en una sangrienta y memorable batalla todos los brazos de su poder y rompieron los intentos con que aspiraba al dominio de la tierra toda" (*Relación* 261-62).

<sup>7</sup>See Randel 96 and Montori de Rodríguez 57, for more on this passage.

<sup>8</sup>See Vilanova 2.745 who says of the poem: "No existe en la literatura española del siglo XVI un poema que encarne con mayor perfección y grandeza el espíritu español de la Contrarreforma, proyectado con todo su ímpetu en la lucha sagrada de la Cristiandad contra el Islam."

<sup>9</sup>See also Randel (35) and Marx's (23) analyses of France.

<sup>10</sup>Herrera seems to have in mind the Turkish actions at Corfu (*Relación* 329) and Cyprus (*Relación* 305). As many historians point out, similar outrages happened on both sides.

<sup>11</sup>"O God, the heathen have invaded thine inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple, they have reduced Jerusalem to ruins." (Psalm 78:1); "How long, O Lord? Wilt thou be angry forever? Shall thy jealousy burn like a fire?" (5); "Why should the heathen say: 'Where is their God?'" (10).

<sup>12</sup>In the *Relación*, Herrera calls the Greeks "torpes y perdidos con flojedad y cobardía" (336). Stirling Maxwell explains some of the actions of Greek fishermen prior to the battle (359-96).

<sup>13</sup>A Biblical allusion to the Arab origins as the children of Hagar and descendants of Ishmael. See *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* s. v. "Hagar," Vol. 5, 154-55, which also ties them to Islam.

<sup>14</sup>See *Beacon* 4.39 and *The New Jerusalem Bible* 1159. See, also, *Beacon* 4.98-99 and 581 for more on Tyre.

<sup>15</sup>For example, Calderón de la Barca places the action of his play, *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza*, against the backdrop of preparations for the expedition. In *El alcalde de Zalamea*, Philip and his entourage are on their way to Portugal to claim the vacant throne. A 1622 book by Juan Bautista de Morales, *Jornada de Africa*, recounts the preparations for and the battle itself along with its aftermath.

<sup>16</sup>Since the body of the king was never recovered, there arose in Portugal a cult of *Sebastianismo*, which looked for the return of the king. Ransoming of surviving nobles effectively destroyed the Portuguese economy. After the death of Sebastián's uncle, Philip II laid claim to the throne of Portugal and fulfilled his dream of uniting the two countries on the Iberian peninsula under his crown. See Brooks 34-49 for a synopsis of *Sebastianismo* and 8-33 for the political and economic effects on Portugal.

<sup>17</sup>Citations from this poem are taken from the García de Diego edition, 1941. See also Vilanova 2.746-47.

<sup>18</sup>"Woe to those who go down to Egypt to seek help there, who build their hopes on cavalry, who rely on the number of chariots and on the strength of mounted men, but never look to the Holy One of Israel nor consult Yahweh."

<sup>19</sup>Randel (38) remarks that "Portugal, indeed all of Christendom, becomes the new Israel bewailing its apostasy from God's way."

<sup>20</sup>See also Isaiah 13:1: "The day of Yahweh is coming, merciless, with wrath and fierce anger, to reduce the earth to desert and root out sinners from it.

<sup>21</sup>Compare to Isaiah 13:17: "See now, I stir up against them the Medes, who think nothing of silver, who take no pleasure in gold."

<sup>22</sup>*History of Spain and Portugal* 5.201, 203.

<sup>23</sup>Payne (1.241) observes that "the passion of [Sebastian's] life was the idea of a great crusade against the infidels." He goes on to call the king an "incompetent [and] emotionally unbalanced prince."

<sup>24</sup>Morales, "Jornada" Chapter 19, lists the names of the fallen nobles.

<sup>25</sup>See Macrí's comments on the implications of this passage in *Fernando de Herrera* 509. See also Vilanova 2.747.

<sup>26</sup>Roncero López (56) detects "el espíritu español de la Contrarreforma" in both of these *canciones*. Vilanova (2.748) recalls Sonnet LXIII, which directly addressed Philip and urged him: "bolved contra el suelo órrido africano/el firme pecho i vuestra osada gente" to avenge the defeat of the Portuguese.

<sup>27</sup>Portions of this paper were presented to the Vth Biennial Conference of the Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Poetry held at the Ohio State University on 20 October 2001.

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