

FLOWER, METAPHOR,  
AND *PORTUGALIDADE*:

ANTÓNIO DE SOUSA DE MACEDO AND MARIANA  
DE LUNA'S COMPLEMENTARY USE OF *FLORES*

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**RESUMEN:** António de Sousa de Macedo's *Flores de Espanha, Excelencias de Portugal* (1631) and Mariana de Luna's *Ramallete de flores* (1642) both make use of a central floral metaphor to exalt their native Portugal. Luna's modest bouquet and Sousa de Macedo's meticulous arrangement are introduced to the reader through two sonnets by Soror Violante do Céu. Whereas Luna writes to the newly crowned king João IV in celebration of the *Restauração* (1640), Sousa de Macedo's is a non-native reader who he would convince of Portuguese preeminence. While they differ in context and scale, both works employ the language of *portugalidade* to achieve their respective ends.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** António de Sousa de Macedo; Mariana de Luna; Soror Violante do Céu; *Flores de Espanha, Excelencias de Portugal*; *Ramallete de flores*; *portugalidade*; flowers; metaphor; Portuguese Restoration (*Restauração*); Iberian Union (1580-1640).

## FLORES, MÉTAFORAS Y PORTUGALIDADE: el uso complementario de flores en António de Sousa de Macedo y Mariana de Luna

**RESUMEN:** Tanto *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal* (1631) de António de Sousa de Macedo como *Ramalhete de flores* (1642) de Mariana de Luna emplean las flores como metáfora nuclear para exaltar su Portugal natal. El ramillete modesto de Luna y el arreglo minucioso de Sousa de Macedo se presentan al lector a través de dos sonetos de Sor Violante do Céu. Mientras que Luna le escribe al recién coronado rey João IV en celebración de la *Restauração* (1640), el destinatario de Sousa de Macedo es un lector extranjero a quien pretende convencer de la preeminencia portuguesa. Aunque difieren en contexto y extensión, las dos obras emplean la lengua de *portugalidade* para lograr sus respectivos propósitos.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** António de Sousa de Macedo; Mariana de Luna; Soror Violante do Céu; *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal; Ramalhete de flores; portugalidade; flores; metáfora; Restauración portuguesa (Restauração); Unión Ibérica (1580-1640).*

Among the many sonnets in her *Rimas varias* (1646), Soror Violante do Céu dedicates one to António de Sousa de Macedo and another to Mariana de Luna. In the case of the former, the occasion was “el libro que hizo de las excelencias de Portugal” (1646: 18). Herein she refers to Sousa de Macedo’s *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal*, a veritable encyclopedia of Portuguese preeminence published in 1631. While her sonnet does not appear among the dedicatory poems published within Sousa de Macedo’s work, Soror Violante’s composition likely dates from the early 1630s as well. The sonnet she dedicates to Luna is less explicit in its dedication but no less full of praise for the dedicatee (Violante, 1646: 14). The references to flowers and gardens within the sonnet suggest that the poem was written in celebration of Luna’s *Ramalhete de flores* (1642), which would date its composition around the same time.

With only one known work to her name and very little by way of biographical information, there is no question that Luna is the most obscure of the three. Even so, Soror Violante’s sonnet to Luna is revealing:

Atesta, por exemplo, a circulação da obra, em época contemporânea à da sua composição, entre os círculos de intelectuais e de aristocratas apoiantes da causa portuguesa dos quais Soror Violante fazia parte. Dá conta do reconhecimento da actividade da poetisa por parte de uma autora reconhecida, legitimando e distinguindo, deste modo, em termos poéticos e em termos políticos, a intervenção no campo cultural que a publicação do opúsculo de D. Mariana representa. (Anastácio, 2012: 182)

As Vanda Anastácio details in this passage, the very act of composing a sonnet in praise of Luna’s poetic work, regardless of its actual content, lends it both visibility and credibility and speaks to its circulation. Of the various groupings within which Gwyn Fox organizes female-authored poems in her study *Subtle Subversions: Reading Golden Age Sonnets by Iberian Women* (2008), the only ones that seem applicable to Soror Violante’s sonnets to Sousa de Macedo and Luna are politics, patronage, and friendship.<sup>1</sup> In the 1630s, Sousa de Macedo did not yet cut the political figure we associate with him thereafter, so it does not seem likely that Soror Violante was appealing to his position or authority at the time of writing.<sup>2</sup> Politics seems even less plausible in Luna’s case given how little is known about her. Patronage holds up a little better, but requires significant conjecture to assign that as a motive for Soror Violante’s sonnets. Considering the content of each poem, it seems most likely that both Sousa de Macedo and Luna figured within Soror Violante’s “network of friendships” (Fox, 2008: 289). In *Excelencias de*

<sup>1</sup> Fox examines sonnets by Catalina Clara Ramírez de Guzmán, Leonor de la Cueva y Silva, Sor María de Santa Isabel, Doña Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza, and Soror Violante do Céu. The chapters explore some of the forces that motivated these women to write: politics, patronage, parentage (ch. 1); marriage, motherhood, patriarchy (ch. 2); children and siblings (ch. 3); feminine friendship (ch. 4); love (ch. 5); and religion (ch. 6).

<sup>2</sup> Edgar Prestage’s work (1916) remains paramount to any discussion of Sousa de Macedo’s diplomatic career. Matthias Glöel’s (2020) recent contributions on the topic also stand out.

*Portugal*<sup>3</sup> her name appears in Sousa de Macedo's chapter "Del ingenio", which the author describes as "la mayor excelencia que el hombre tiene" (1631: 55r). At the end of a list of Portugal's greatest poets he states, "y nuevamente Vilante [sic] del Cielo, monja en el Monasterio de la Rosa en Lisboa, con el grande ingenio con que haze comedias, y otras admirables obras en verso va dando a Portugal nuevas alabanças" (*ibidem*: 70r).<sup>4</sup> Given her *ingenio* and therefore her excellence, Soror Violante counts among the Portuguese flowers that Sousa de Macedo exalts in his work.

That Soror Violante dedicated sonnets to both Sousa de Macedo and Luna only begins to unravel the more significant ground shared between the three. What is clear when we look at Sousa de Macedo and Luna's work is that the latter's one known publication is not unrelated to the former's first published work. Both texts intersect on the topic of *flores*, and with this trope the one arranges what the other celebrates. As John Slater explains, such compositions were pervasive in early modern Iberia: "Las numerosas *silvas, jardines, florestas*, etc. —géneros que obtuvieron una enorme popularidad en los siglos XVI y XVII—, fueron el resultado obvio de la importancia de la colección floral como teoría de la composición" (2010: 50). While both authors fold into this particular trend, ultimately their works express something beyond literature. Sousa de Macedo fully acquaints the reader with Portuguese excellence by meticulously detailing everything that makes Portugal superlative. His is an exercise in baroque excess. Luna, on the other hand, submits her praise of Portugal on the occasion of the Restoration in the form of a modest bouquet of poems for his majesty, D. João IV. They do not differ greatly in what they say, but in how they say it. Portugal is the motivating factor in

<sup>3</sup> Sousa de Macedo uses this abbreviated title more than once in the actual work. Additionally, both Soror Violante do Céu and Francisco Manuel de Melo prefer the shorthand in their respective sonnets: "A Antonio de Souza de Macedo en el libro que hizo de las excelencias de Portugal" in the case of the former, and "Ao autor das Excelencias de Portugal" in the latter. Manuel de Melo's appears among the five dedicatory poems published as part of the actual work, whereas Soror Violante's does not show up in print until her *Rimas varias* (1646).

<sup>4</sup> In *Eva e Ave* (1676: 131) he adds: "com admiravel spirito illustrou sua patria e acreditou o engenho das mulheres".

both instances, and because each work is rooted in their homeland, they end up complementing each other in several meaningful ways. What this article examines, then, are the texts and contexts that occasioned these flowers, with special attention given to the ways that both works converge and diverge on the topic of *portugalidade*.

António de Sousa de Macedo finished *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal* (1631) when he was only twenty-two years old. This detail is not lost on the author, who, in his dedication to Philip IV, speaks of his "flores de veynte y dos años de mi edad" ("Al Rey Nuestro Señor").<sup>5</sup> Besides the flower of his youth, "estas flores" refers to the book itself, which he sees as an outgrowth of his ingenuity ("copiosos frutos de mi ingenio"). Within the title and the overall work, however, *flores* functions as a trope for Portugal. As it goes, all of the kingdoms and territories of the Spanish Empire are its flowers, rendering the latter a meadow wherein the former finds life and sustenance.<sup>6</sup> Since his work focuses entirely on Portuguese excellence, he anticipates those who would see incongruity in the title. If the plural *flores*, for instance, why just Portugal? To this he explains, "como Portugal es parte tan principal de España, escribiendo yo las excelencias deste Reyno, escrivio flores de España, y deste modo está muy bien el título, pues las Excelencias de Portugal no ay duda que son flores de España" ("Al lector"). Whereas *flores* could be read as speaking about all of the different parts of the empire (e.g., different kingdoms of Spain, colonies of the Americas, etc.), the plurality that Sousa de Macedo

<sup>5</sup> What this means is that either he wrote his letter to the king in 1628 (3 years before publication) or he was not actually born in 1606 as is commonly held.

<sup>6</sup> Glöel is right to point out that the *Portugal* and *España* of the work's title are not to be understood in the same way that we comprehend them in the twenty-first century (2020: 39), but I disagree with the assertion that Portugal was always understood as belonging to the category *España* (see Glöel, 2018). In his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611), for example, Sebastián de Covarrubias complicates the notion that *España* is absolutely and always inclusive: "Españolado, el estrangero que ha deprendido la lengua y las costumbres y traje de España" (375r). If *España* always relates to the entire peninsula, then Covarrubias would refer to language and dress in the plural. This does not disqualify Glöel's important work given that conceptually *España* performs predominately in the ways he details, but it would be overstatement to say that there was no semantic change during early modernity.

explores is exclusively Portuguese. As he will contend throughout the treatise, the preeminence of Portugal above all other parts of the world justifies this focus. *Flores de España*, therefore, frames the *Excelencias de Portugal*; whatever makes Portugal great, glorifies the Spanish Empire and *S. Magestad* by extension.

Given the author's choice to employ *flores* as a trope for Portuguese greatness, it is incumbent upon the reader to understand to whom Sousa de Macedo intends to deliver these flowers. While he depends on the king's patronage as detailed in the dedication "Al Rey Nuestro Señor", he is not writing for the king.<sup>7</sup> Nor is it the case that he is writing for his Portuguese compatriots:

perdonad si dexada la excelente lengua Portuguesa escribo en la Castellana, porque como my intento es pregonaros por el mundo todo, he usado desta por mas universal, y porque también los Portugueses saben estas excelencias, y assí para ellos no es menester escribirlas ("Al Reyno de Portugal").

Here Sousa de Macedo emphasizes that the target audience is not Portugal (*ellos*). When he says "pregonaros por el mundo todo" he lays bare his purpose for writing. The recipient of the *flores* is everyone not Portuguese and the treatise is the means by which he intends to spread the glories of his *patria* across the globe; a vase wherein to showcase his arrangement of Portuguese excellences. This is necessary because, by the author's account, the Portuguese story has not been sufficiently told: "tan pobre de Chronicas antiguas, quan sobrada de insignes virtudes, y gloriosas hazañas de que muchos libros pudieran estar llenos" ("Al lector").

<sup>7</sup> Glöel contends that "Todos los argumentos expuestos por Sousa de Macedo están dirigidos al rey Felipe IV (III de Portugal) para evidenciar que el reino portugués es el mejor y más digno de la monarquía y que el monarca debería darle más importancia de acuerdo a su excelencia" (2020: 43). If this were the case, however, the *V. Magestad* from the prefatory letter would not be a *S. Magestad* within the text (see Sousa de Macedo, 1631: 174r, 235r, 251r). Even though his majesty is not the main audience, Sousa de Macedo acknowledges the possibility that the king may read his work and appears happy to rehearse Portugal's merits before him. The Portuguese, in fact, never tired of preaching their greatness to each of their Hapsburg kings, the most concentrated effort coming during Philip III's visit to the Portuguese capital in 1619 (see Ares Montes, 1990).

He is motivated, therefore, by a desire to "hazer algun servicio a mi patria" ("Al lector") and sees a "tratado de sus Excelencias" as the best way to accomplish this.

*Excelencias de Portugal* consists of twenty-four chapters, each containing anywhere from one (ch. 17, 19, 21) to fifteen (ch. 13) *excelencias* organized around a single theme.<sup>8</sup> Chapter nine ("De la Religion") and fourteen ("De la fortaleza de los Portugueses") are the most extensive, both totaling fifty-seven folios. Of the 138 *excelencias* detailed throughout the treatise, the two longest come from the same two chapters: twenty pages for *Excelencia XIII* from chapter nine ("Primacia de la iglesia de Braga sobre todas las de España"), and eighteen pages for *Excelencia IX* from chapter 14 ("Hazañas famosas de algunos Portugueses en particular"). The work is heavily cited throughout, with dozens of references to works by Juan de Mariana, Bernardo de Brito, João de Barros, Luís de Camões, and Manuel de Faria e Sousa, among others. Sousa de Macedo does not distinguish between fiction and non-fiction, poetry and history. All genres have a seat at the table insofar as the source in question contributes to the reader's understanding of and appreciation for Portuguese excellence, which is what Sousa de Macedo's work is all about. *Excelencias de Portugal* is one of many works written during the Iberian Union dedicated to the construction and performance of *portugalidade*.<sup>9</sup> The point, for example, is not whether the Portuguese inherently possess the *ingenio* (ch. 8), *honestidad* (ch. 11), *fidelidad* (ch. 13), *fortaleza* (ch. 14), *magnificiencia* (ch. 16), and *humanidad* (ch. 19) described by Sousa de Macedo. What matters is the projection of these qualities (among others) onto the Portuguese self-concept, making each one a Portuguese birthright.

The *excelencias* Sousa de Macedo surveys throughout his work are not presented in isolation. In the spirit of competition characteristic

<sup>8</sup> What follows is a list of chapters and, in parentheses, the number of excellences therein: 1 (6), 2 (3), 3 (13), 4 (4), 5 (6), 6 (2), 7 (6), 8 (11), 9 (13), 10 (7), 11 (5), 12 (7), 13 (15), 14 (13), 15 (4), 16 (4), 17 (1), 18 (2), 19 (1), 20 (2), 21 (1), 22 (9), 23 (3). Chapter 24, "En que se da fin a este tratado," does not detail additional excellences.

<sup>9</sup> For more information, see Jonathan Wade (2020).

of the baroque, he measures Portugal against all other kingdoms and empires. The language of the text suggests that it is Portuguese exceptionalism and not merely Portuguese greatness that guides his work. One example of this appears in chapter 5, “De las grandes prerrogativas de la Monarchia de Portugal.” In *Excelencia IV* he recounts the Battle of Ourique in the context of a broader analysis of the origin and occasion of the Portuguese coats of arms and, in particular, the *quinas*. After describing Christ’s appearance to Afonso Henriques on the battlefield, he explains: “Preciense en hora buena otros Imperios de tener por fundadores a Cesares, Constantinos y Carlos Magnos, que Portugal se precia de Jesu Christo ser su fundador” (33v). To this he adds,

quanto mayor gloria es para Portugal aver visto no solamente la Cruz, sino tambien el mismo Dios Crucificado en ella. No tiene comparacion esta merced doblada que Dios hizo a Portugal, con la que a otros hizo sensilla; y aumenta mas esta merced el no la aver hecho Dios a otra persona alguna de mas de Portugal. (35v)

This passage illustrates the language of abundance that characterizes everything he has to say about Portugal. It is a language accentuated by *más*, *mejor*, *mayor*, *tan*, and *tanto*, among other words designed to enlarge or intensify the subject. In *Excelencia XII* from chapter fourteen, the author begins the section on Portuguese captains by saying “veremos que en solo Portugal uvo hombres, que igualaron a todos los que han sido celebrados en el mundo todo” (206r). This bold statement, that sees Portugal alone equal to the rest of the world combined, is modest compared to where Sousa de Macedo ends up: “Con estas comparaciones hemos visto que hizieron los Portugueses tales hazañas, que las mas celebradas que uvo en el mundo no las excedieron, ni jamas excederán algunas venideras” (209v). The pinnacle of greatness, in other words, was and always will be Portugal.

As Sousa de Macedo will remind the reader from time to time, his glorification of Portugal does not diminish the current throne. He makes this clear from the outset when he explains in his letter to the king that Portuguese greatness is Hapsburg greatness, since Portugal is

part of the crown. What this means is that he can indulge the Portugal-Castilla rivalry without fear of reprisal. Tobias Brandenberger, in fact, groups Sousa de Macedo’s treatise with other works of the *Interregno* “in which the two traditionally competing kingdoms are pitted against each other” (2010: 599). Nowhere is this more evident than in chapter 14 (“De la fortaleza de los Portugueses”), where Sousa de Macedo will dedicate nine folios to the armed conflicts between Portugal and Castilla, ultimately concluding that in all encounters of consequence Portugal remains undefeated (165r). As expected, he includes Castilla’s humiliating loss at Aljubarrota (166v-67r), but within his appraisal he also discusses the circumstances that occasioned the Iberian Union:

Tampoco puede dezirse, que quando por muerte del Rey Don Henrique sucedió en Portugal, el Rey don Phelipe Segundo de Castilla vencieron los Castellanos a los Portugueses, porque aquello fueron guerras civiles, en que unos Portugueses eran por una parte, otros por otra, antes los mas de los nobles de Portugal eran por el Rey Phelipe, y assi los mismos Portugueses se hazian guerra, y unos de otros, y no de estrangeros, eran vencidos. (173v)

He will go on to say that, despite a quantitative disadvantage, a united Portuguese opposition would have prevailed against Spain in 1580-81 (as they had in the past when the odds were against them). This plays into Portugal’s sense of identity as a people favored by God to accomplish great things no matter the obstacles placed before them.

Having published *Flores de España, excelencias de Portugal* at such a young age, it is no wonder that the author of such a lusocentric work would become an important defender, in word and deed, of Portuguese independence following the Restoration. His poem about the mythical founding of Lisbon by Ulysses (or Odysseus), titled *Ulissipo*, came out earlier that same year (1640), confirming that his writing and thinking continued to be nourished by the homeland. His publications and professional activities thereafter were no less centered on Portugal, but there was a clear pivot in the 1640s toward juridical and legalistic writing, eventually leading to diplomatic assignments in England and

Holland. Indeed, as Glöel observes, “La dedicación e importancia de Sousa de Macedo para la causa bragancista durante tres décadas está fuera de toda duda” (2020: 35). Altogether, Sousa de Macedo contributed to the tidal wave of texts penned by the Portuguese in defense of their sovereignty during the twenty-eight years of struggle with Spain following the *Restauração*. Anastácio explains:

a documentação conservada do período da Guerra da Restauração inclui um número considerável de textos que têm por tema quer a discussão da legitimidade da independência do reino de Portugal, quer o comentário aos acontecimentos que se seguiram à proclamação desta. Para sobreviver como reino, a monarquia encabeçada por D. João IV necessitava de legitimação e de reconhecimento dentro e fora do território português. (2012: 179)

This documentation not only includes the “monumental Corpus de manifiestos, alegatos y justificaciones que generó la publicística de la Restauración” (Bouza, 1991: 207), but also the abundance of shorter works (i.e., *opúsculos*) that circulated at the time.<sup>10</sup> Seemingly every Portuguese author with a pen in hand had something to say about the Restoration, including well-known poets such as Sor Violante do Céu and Jacinto Cordeiro, each of whom dedicated *silvas* to João IV, and lesser-known writers such as Manuel de Araujo de Castro whose *La mayor hazaña de Portugal* (1645) dramatizes the main events of Portugal’s liberation.

Mariana de Luna’s *Ramalhete de flores* is an exceptional expression of Portuguese Restoration literature. Part of what makes the work unique is its female authorship. As Anastácio points out, of the 783 *papéis* published from 1640-68 identified by João Francisco Marques, “são

<sup>10</sup> Anastácio (2007, 2008, 2009a y 2009b), in particular, has dedicated significant scholarly activity to *opúsculos* within the context of post-Restoration Portugal. Topics include Don Quixote (“Heróicas”), representations of Castile (“Fragmenting”), the conflictive relationship between Portugal and Castile (“Conflictos”), and Manuel de Melo’s provocations as an historian (“Apontamentos”), among others.

muitas vezes anónimos, mas os que se encontram assinados, são quase exclusivamente de autoria masculina” (2012: 179). This “mini-epopeia” (Silva/ Vilela, 2010: 11) consists of six poems: two *romances*, one *canção*, one poem in *octava real*, and two sonnets. The dedication to the king, one of the *romances*, and one of the sonnets are in Portuguese, with the rest in Spanish. While the Restoration occasioned a gradual increase in Portuguese language texts, Spanish was still frequently the language of Portuguese-authored literature. The bilingual composition of *Ramalhete*, in fact, maintains a cultural practice among the Portuguese that dates back to the late fifteen century. Anastácio summarizes the significance of Luna’s language choice as follows:

O facto de D. Mariana usar neste seu livrinho o castelhano e o português indistintamente é relevante neste contexto, dado que demonstra como, do seu ponto de vista, não só ambas as línguas eram veículos adequados à expressão das ideias patrióticas da Monarquia restaurada mas, também, “materiais” igualmente sólidos para a construção do novo discurso de legitimação da causa portuguesa. (2012: 186)

As Anastácio highlights, Spanish and Portuguese were both a means and an end for Luna. They gave her ideas mobility and permanence. *Ramalhete* demonstrates what was true for Luna and her compatriots: that there was no reason for the ubiquitous use of Spanish within Portuguese-authored works to suddenly end in 1640. If anything, the Portuguese had more reason than ever to write in Spanish because the battlefield for legitimacy was taking place in texts and contexts largely outside of Portugal and Portuguese. As a genre, in fact, early modern Iberian *defensas* were typically written in Spanish since, in the words of Sousa de Macedo, it was “mas universal” (“Al Reyno de Portugal,” *Flores de España*).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> João IV’s *Defensa de la musica moderna* (1650) is one of the most recognized titles within the genre. Among the hundreds (if not thousands) of early modern texts published with *defensa* somewhere in the title, only a few are in Portuguese (e.g., Luis de Marinho Azevedo published two in the mid-1640s).

The exceptional nature of Luna's work begins with its title. *Ramalhete* had not been used in the title of any published work in Portuguese before Luna's.<sup>12</sup> By comparison, beginning in 1589 with Fray Pedro de la Visitación's *Ramillete de flores de todos los psalmos y canticos*, half a dozen works in Spanish with *ramillete* in the title appeared before Luna's *Ramalhete*.<sup>13</sup> This should not come as a surprise since, as John Slater observes, "Con frecuencia los autores fueron muy explícitos con el hecho de que ellos tenían en mente un *ramillete* o una *guirnalda* cuando componían sus trabajos" (2010: 48). Hers is not merely a collection of poems, as might be understood by the first part of the title. These flowers are celebratory, motivated by *a felicidade deste Reyno de Portugal em sua milagrosa restauração por sua Magestade Dom João IV do nome, e XVIII em numero dos verdadeiros Reys Portuguezes*, as the rest of the title reads. The full title does not lack for intrigue. The emphasis on Portugal's happiness is important, as it reveals the author's own disposition towards the occasion. In describing the *Restauração* as miraculous, Luna invites the reader to consider the role of deity in bringing about this change (a common theme in Restoration literature). The title would be incomplete without acknowledging the instrument through whom God brought about this miracle: João IV. Luna takes every opportunity to emphasize his royalty throughout the work, using *Magestade* twice on the title page, six times in the dedication, and five more times throughout the work. The end of the title is no less important than the rest because it adds a touch of subversion to the otherwise festive tone. João IV only comes out as the eighteenth of the "verdadeiros Reys Portuguezes" if you eliminate the Hapsburg Dynasty.<sup>14</sup> In Luna's estimation, then, you had to be Por-

<sup>12</sup> In 1616, a work by Jacome Carvalho do Canto was published with the title *Perola preciosa, e arte para servir a Deos, com o exercicio de muita virtudes, que neste livro se ensinão a obra por hum estilo suave, & devoto*. Inserted at the end of this work, however, is a separate piece called *Ramalhete de flores espirituales, contem alguns avisos breves e importantes* that was never published separately.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the most well-known of these works is *Ramillete de flores o colección de cosas curiosas* (1593), which includes ten compositions for vihuela, making it one of the oldest known manuscripts of its kind.

<sup>14</sup> António, Prior do Crato, who also competed for the crown during Portugal's crisis of succession in 1580, does not figure into the list of eighteen either. To acknowledge him

tuguese to count as a true Portuguese king. This gets at the question of legitimacy, one of the primary areas of contention during the Portuguese Restoration War and a focal point of Restoration literature.<sup>15</sup> Overall, the title page presents readers with a lens by which to understand the rest of the work.

The dedicatory page "A Sua Real Magestade" includes a six-line initial with the letter "A" projected on a bouquet of flowers springing from an ornate vessel. The first poem, a *romance* in Portuguese celebrating the day of the king's coronation, features a 3-line initial of the letter "E" also on a backdrop of flowers, although not nearly as elaborate. The flowers are inscribed, therefore, in both word and image. What follows the initial is a dedication punctuated by humility and praise. She describes her contribution as a "piquena flor" compared to the "famosos laureis, que as celebradas Musas, & Soberanos Apollos desta Cidade lhe tem dedicado." Altogether, Luna addresses João IV as *Magestade* six different times over the course of the *dedicatória*; a significant number considering that it is less than a page. The repetition of his title serves to reinforce his legitimacy, something she also accomplishes at the end of the dedication when she invokes God's lasting care ("a quem Deos guarde felices annos"); because, for the Portuguese, God has everything to do with the success of the *Restauração*. This appeal to divine authority features often in *Ramalhete* and in Restoration literature overall, including the opening lines of Sor Violante do Céu's well-known sonnet "A el Rey D. João IV de Portugal": "Que logras Portugal? hum rei perfeito, / quem o constituyo? sacra piedade" (Violante, 1646: 10). Later in the same poem she will ask and answer, in the same dialogic form, "E que tem de feliz? ser por Deos feito" (*ibidem*: 10). This is not just an appeal to divine authority, then, but a recognition that it is by God's hand that all of these things are done. Between the title and dedicatory pages, Luna establishes a laudatory and celebratory tone for her work that she will reinforce in each of the poems

as a Portuguese king would negate the legitimacy of the House of Braganza from which João descended.

<sup>15</sup> This constitutes a departure from what was the norm during the Iberian Union, when the Hapsburgs were widely acknowledged as legitimate monarchs by the Portuguese.

that follow. There is no shortage of praise for the king therein, but overall her work intends to “mostrar o fulgor da nacionalidade portuguesa” (Silva/ Vilela, 2010: 9-10).

*Ramalhete* opens with a *romance* in Portuguese titled “A El Rei N. Senhor no dia que se jurou por Rei, e Senhor destes seus Reinos de Portugal”. The choice of a *romance* is fitting considering the occasion celebrated within the poem as well as the overall scope of Luna’s work. What is more, *romances* comprise a narrative structure that allows the poetic voice to tell the story of Portuguese Restoration. With the mention of *Ulisseia*, the very first line of the poem invites the reader to consider Portugal’s mythic identity (Luna, 1642: 254r).<sup>16</sup> Two different epic poems dedicated to the same subject appeared in the years leading up to the publication of *Ramalhete*: Gabriel Pereira de Castro’s *Ulisseia* (1636) and Sousa de Macedo’s *Ulissipo* (1640). Luna quickly moves from a primordial past in the first stanza to João IV’s acclamation, “quinze de Dezembro / Daquele ano desejado” (254r) in the second. The use of “desejado” is of particular importance as it portrays the Restoration as the fulfillment of an enduring desire. The third stanza further reiterates this point: “A ser de tantos desejos / Alma de um desejo largo, / E a tomar o ceptro ativo / Deste império Lusitano” (254r). She intensifies the desire in these lines by expanding them in number (*tantos*) and duration (*largo*). The poem eventually ends with the poetic voice returning to the concept of desire, although it is no longer the collective desire for sovereignty but an individual desire that the king receive her praise; that he accept this bouquet of carefully selected and arranged poems.

In “A sua magestade pello proprio das guerras, que se dizem com Castella,” her poem in *octava real*, Luna will express something similar to what we see in the dedication and opening *romance*: “El alto Dios con poderosa mano / A Portugal cumplió esta esperança” (1642: 265v). Once again, God is the responsible party and the Restoration is characterized as the fulfillment of Portuguese longing; the realization of their collective

<sup>16</sup> Luna also mentions Ulysses towards the end of her *canção* (1642: 256r).

*saudade*. Earlier in the same poem, Luna again attributes recent events to divine will:

Primero mil males, y mil daños  
la famosa nación recebería  
de señores, y principes estraños:  
mas su felicidad comenzaría  
a mil, y a seiscientos quarenta años  
en un sublime rey, que por misterio  
el cielo lo daría al luso imperio. (1642: 265v)

What is particularly important here is the hyperbolic contrast between Hapsburg rule (“señores, y principes estraños”) characterized by the harm it inflicted, and the year 1640, when happiness was reborn in the person of João IV, a gift from the heavens. The reference to “sublime rey” (which also appears twice in the *canção*), is also noteworthy. It underscores his high and exalted place; a station made possible by divine intervention, as Restoration literature reiterates. Her Spanish sonnet advances similar claims: “En vòs obró el cielo quanto el quiso, / Y os dió de sus grandezas tanta parte. Que os haze de la tierra un paraíso” (1642: 266v).

The opening quatrain of Luna’s Portuguese sonnet “A El Rei Nosso Senhor” emphasizes many of the same ideas from the previous paragraph, with an important addition: “Alto senhor, a quem o Ceo divino / Escolheo por mysterio soberano / Para seres do Reyno Lusitano / Outro Peno, mais prospero, mais digno” (1642: 265v). The first two lines get at the idea of the king’s electness, which folds into the broader idea of Portugal as a *povo eleito* (a fundamental characteristic of early modern *portugalidade*). Luna then links João IV to Peno, more commonly known as Aníbal Barca, one of the great Carthaginian generals. This reference is particularly meaningful because it connects Luna to Luís de Camões. In the third Canto of *Os Lusíadas*, Camões refers to Peno in stanzas 116 and 141. Using this name for Aníbal, although obscure, may not be enough to establish a connection to *Ramalhete*. The full context of the reference, however, makes the association with Luna more compelling. Camões

says “Tu também, Peno prospero, o sentiste” (1639: 224).<sup>17</sup> Thus, when Luna describes João IV as an enhanced Peno by saying “mais prospero,” she is also paying tribute to Portugal’s greatest poet. Camões, of course, is one of the protagonists of Sousa de Macedo’s *Excelencias de Portugal*. In many instances, Sousa de Macedo will use *nuestro* before a reference to Camões to emphasize Portugal’s collective identification with him: “nuestro poeta” (1631: 69v, 239r), “nuestro Camões” (57v), “nuestro gran poeta Camões” (6v), “nuestro gran poeta” (211v). This is one of the defining features, in fact, of Portuguese literature written during the Iberian Union.<sup>18</sup> Neither Luna’s *ramalhete* nor Sousa de Macedo’s *excelencias* would be complete without Camões, “flor que dá cheiro a toda a serra” (Camões, 2003: 556).<sup>19</sup>

Bookended by desire, the remainder of the opening 140-line *romance* showers the newly crowned king and his kingdom with constant praise. In the fourth stanza, for instance, the poetic voice draws a familiar comparison: “Hia sua Magestade / tam airoso, & tam bisarro, / que o sol vendo que o vencia / d’enveja escondeo seus rayos” (254r). Luis de Góngora’s celebrated sonnet, “Mientras por competir con tu cabello,” paints feminine beauty in similar terms, but whereas the sun shines in vain in his poem, in Luna’s the sun hides its rays altogether, envious that it cannot compare to the king’s radiance. In the spirit of baroque one-upmanship, João IV’s brilliance in Luna’s poem exceeds that of the feminine object of Góngora’s sonnet. This spirit of competition reappears elsewhere in the poem, explicitly stated in some cases (“competiam,” “competencia” [Luna, 1642: 256r]), and implied in others: “Não vio a soberba Roma / em seus triumphos cifrado / mayor poder, que ostentavam / os Portugueses fidalgos” (256v). Luna highlights the moment of coronation through a particularly apt use of antithesis: “Ahi das mãos do Arcebispo, / varam justo, illustre, & sabio, / tomou a coroa, que era / dom piqueno, a Rey tamanho” (256r). Instead of contrasting small (*piqueno*) with big (*grande*),

<sup>17</sup> This appears in Canto 3, Stanza 141, line 7.

<sup>18</sup> For more details regarding Camões’s place within Portuguese literature of the Dual Monarchy, see Wade (2020: 60-69).

<sup>19</sup> This line comes from his sonnet, “Senhora minha, se de pura inveja”.

the poetic voice puts forward “Rey” as the size, emphasizing the greatness of his royal stature. In the two stanzas preceding, the king is put in the same company as the founding fathers of his faith and his fatherland: Abraham of the Old Testament and Afonso I, respectively (256r).

Another frequent topic in *Ramalhete* is the vastness of the Portuguese empire. In her *canção*, Luna speaks of João IV’s reign “de Polo a Polo” (261r), something she will echo in the sonnet “Alto senhor, a quem o Céu divino”:

Vosso nome famoso leve agora  
Daqui donde no mar se banha Apollo,  
A fama, gran senhor, em doce canto:

Atè os roxos terminos da Aurora,  
E dilatado assi de Polo a Polo  
Possa do mundo ser fatal espanto. (265r)

Luna would have the name and fame of her beloved king visit every inch of the globe. She accomplishes this poetically by emphasizing his reach from north to south (“Polo a Polo”) and east to west (“Aurora” and “Apollo”) with the rising and the setting of the sun. Towards the end of the opening *romance*, she directs a final wish to the newly crowned king along the same lines: “assi vosso nome, & sceptro / vejais senhor, dilatado: / Daqui donde acaba a terra, / & começa o mar Oceano / até donde a linda Aurora / tem os thalamos rosados” (256r-57v). The vastness of the Portuguese empire was still a favorite topic of Portuguese authors during the seventeenth century. Manuel de Faria e Sousa, for example, initiated a historiographical project dedicated to Portugal’s dominion across the globe. What began as a condensed version of Portuguese history in 1628 with *Epítome de las historias portuguesas*, culminated with the posthumously-published series *Asia portuguesa* (1666), *Europa portuguesa* (1678), and *Africa portuguesa* (1681). *América Portuguesa* was to be the fourth installment of a project always designed to demonstrate Portugal’s global supremacy. Luna adds her own voice to the conversation with the above lines. Her particular use of *dilatado* to describe the Portuguese Empire recalls similar passages from Frei António Brandão’s *Terceira parte da Monarchia Lusita-*

na (1632), Manuel da Costa's *Arte de furtar* (1652), and António Vieira's *História do futuro* (1667).<sup>20</sup> Not to be left out, Sousa de Macedo dedicates *Excelencia II* of chapter five to "El imperio de Portugal quan dilatado sea", where he explains that Portugal "comprehende las quatro partes del mundo Europa, Asia, Africa y America cosa que no ha tenido alguna de las Monarchias antiguas tan afamadas" (1631: 25r).

Both Sousa de Macedo and Luna's works might be considered speech acts of a celebratory nature, but only hers is occasional. She wrote in praise of Portugal's newly crowned king. She added hers to the many Portuguese voices that would emerge with the *Restauração*. The fame of some of those authors preceded them (e.g., Cordeiro, Soror Violante), but others seemed to appear at this critical moment to make a one-time declaration, never to be seen again on the literary landscape. This would be the case for Araújo de Castro, for example, whose *comedia* stands as his only published work. Of course this is also true of Mariana de Luna. Her single literary pronouncement, a modest bouquet of poems, leaves no questions for the reader regarding who it was for and why. The themes therein are familiar, finding echoes within Restoration literature. *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal*, on the other hand, was not written in celebration or defense of the Restoration, having come out nearly a decade before. Whereas Luna is "metaforizando a grandeza da restauração portuguesa" (Silva/ Vilela, 2010: 11), Sousa de Macedo represents Portuguese greatness in every conceivable way possible. Portugal's many excellences are the flowers that Sousa de Macedo arranges for the reader. Luna would have her flowers delivered to the king to whom they are written, whereas Sousa de Macedo's ambitions are global. Entering what would end up being the last decade of the Iberian Union, he would have the world (including his king) recognize Portuguese preeminence.

<sup>20</sup> In chapter 15 ("Das excellencias do Reyno de Portugal & procedencia que tem a outros Reynos da Crisandade") of book 10, Brandão explains: "o Reyno de Portugal se engrandeceo com a navegação & conquistas da India Oriental & os Reys deste Reyno virão seu Imperio dilatado por tantas partes do mundo" (1632: 149r). Costa's letter to the king from the prefatory sections of *Arte de furtar* includes two references to *dilatado*: "Senhor do mais dilatado Imperio" and "crecerá seu Imperio, que os bons desejaõ dilatado até o fim do mundo." Finally, Vieira speaks of Portugal as "o mais poderoso & dilatado Imperio" (1718: 90).

Notwithstanding the years that separate Luna and Sousa de Macedo's works, they intersect at the place where flowers become a trope for praising their native Portugal. When Soror Violante repeats *jardim* in her sonnet to Luna, we understand that "o 'jardim' de que se fala tem valor metafórico: o jardim para cujo melhoramento contribuem as 'flores' da poesia é o 'do Rey', ou seja, Portugal" (Anastácio, 2012: 182). This same metaphor guides Sousa de Macedo's work. Within the vast expanse that was the Hapsburg Empire, he only had eyes for his native Portugal. No wonder that he contends that it would be better to be king of Portugal alone than the rest of the world combined (1631: 249r-50v). It is fitting that in her sonnet in praise of *Excelencias de Portugal*, Soror Violante counts both the author and his work among the "tantas glorias" (15) that constitute Portuguese excellence.<sup>21</sup>

Soror Violante do Céu's sonnets to Sousa de Macedo and Luna reveal what I hope this essay has made clear: that *Flores de España, Excelencias de Portugal* and *Ramalhete de flores* have more in common than the mere fact that their authors were favored with sonnets by Soror Violante. Not that this particular fact is inconsequential—we are left wanting to know more about the nature of their relationships and "the literary culture of seventh-century Iberia" (Fox, 2008: 285)—but that there is much more to Sousa de Macedo and Luna than this particular detail. The use of *flores* to achieve their respective ends invites further inquiry, which I have initiated, but by no means exhausted, here. My analysis follows what I see as a complementary relationship between the two works in question. The different contexts in which they were written does not keep them from speaking a similar language. Notwithstanding differences in gender, genre, and circumstance, both Sousa de Macedo and Luna demonstrate proficiency in the shared language of *portugalidade*.

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<sup>21</sup> Soror Violante's poem dedicated to Sousa de Macedo is a *soneto con estrambote*. The additional tercet gives the poem a rhyme scheme of ABBA ABBA CDC DCD DEE.

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