

## HERRERA'S ODES

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Eliás L. Rivers

State University of New York at Stony Brook

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Poetry is quintessential literature, it is inseparable from its original language, and hence perhaps it tends to be neglected by readers of translations and of modern prose. No one questions the importance of Cervantes and Spanish prose fiction, of Lope de Vega and the Spanish theater, but how many scholars outside our field are familiar with the poetry of Garcilaso, Ercilla, and Fray Luis, of Góngora, Lope de Vega, and Quevedo? Yet, during the Golden Age, poetry, whether epic or lyric, was taken more seriously than other more modern literary genres. A century ago American Hispanism after Ticknor led the way into Spanish lyric poetry with scholarly editions of Juan Boscán and of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, both done by William I. Knapp, and of Garcilaso de la Vega, done by Hayward Keniston. And then, in Spain, the Generation of 1927, following Rubén Darío, rediscovered Góngora and Golden Age poetry as a living tradition; this culminated in 1950 with Dámaso Alonso's *Poesía española*, which is still the best introduction to the poetry of Garcilaso, Fray Luis, and San Juan, of Lope, Góngora, and Quevedo. And at Lubbock, Texas, Eunice Joiner Gates, a great American Hispanist who in 1933 had published her dissertation on *The Metaphors of Luis de Góngora*, edited her 1960 collection of *Documentos gongorinos*, which is a monument to the rediscovery of Spanish Baroque poetry and of how it was read in the seventeenth century.

We are all aware that, among European nations, Spain has unique assets in Renaissance and Baroque poetry. Spain did not lose its rich popular, oral tradition—the *canciones de amigo*, the *romancero*—nor did it ever lose its sophisticated fifteenth-century courtly tradition. Along with the poetry of Ausias March, both in Catalan and in Castilian translations, the *Cancionero general* (first published in 1511) was revised and re-read throughout the six-

teenth century. And then, of course, with the publication of Boscán and Garcilaso thirty-three years later, Spain appropriated the Petrarchan tradition of *canzoni* and sonnets, as well as the neo-Latin and Classical tradition of elegies, epistles and satires, of odes, eclogues, and mythological fables, of epic poems, and eventually of *silvas*. These different traditions lived together and influenced one another in Spain throughout the Siglo de Oro, as Rafael Lapesa has brilliantly demonstrated in his 1962 essay entitled "Poesía de cancionero y poesía italianizante."

My own speciality is classical genres, such as the verse epistle, for example, which has been studied in at least two American doctoral dissertations: one completed in 1974 by Carol Kayn LèVine at Johns Hopkins and the other by Andrea Jean Lower in 1990 at Santa Barbara. Here I am going to focus on another classical genre, the ode, which has been studied in a recent Spanish doctoral dissertation, completed in 1992 by Soledad Pérez-Abadín at Santiago de Compostela. I will present the special case of Fernando de Herrera's odes, a case that involves certain problems of generic definition; he himself refused to distinguish his odes from his Petrarchan *canzoni*.

The canonical history of the modern ode in general, that is the Renaissance and Baroque ode in Italy, France, and England, is a book published in 1960 by Carol Maddison with the title of *Apollo and the Nine*; unfortunately, she omits the ode in Spain and in Germany, ignoring Menéndez y Pelayo's monumental *Horacio en España* and Dámáso Alonso's important appendix "Sobre los orígenes de la lira." In spite of these serious omissions, her book is useful in providing us with a general European context within which to insert the Spanish ode; with her knowledge of the classical languages, as well as of Italian, French, and English, she reads and analyzes many poems that would not otherwise be readily accessible.

Carol Maddison begins with a solid traditional introduction to the ancient odes written by Pindar, Anacreon, and Horace. The word "ode" in Greek meant simply song, that is, a stanzaic poem formally designed to be set to music; the linking of these three particular poets and their traditions is based as much on a nominal and historical accident as on a formal generic identity. Pindar's odes typically celebrate athletic contests in grandiose, mythic terms, while the odes associated with the name of Anacreon, typically drinking songs, are more frivolous and even indecent; but it was

Horace, the Roman, who drew on these and other Greek traditions to create for Europe the canonical yet eclectic corpus, unified by a well-defined poetic personality.

Maddison's classical introduction is followed by a study of the main Italian authors of neo-Latin odes. She indicates the evident preponderance of Horace in the Renaissance, with 16 editions before 1500 and a hundred before 1600; Pindar, on the other hand, had only four editions in the sixteenth century, and Anacreon's first edition in 1554 was virtually the only important one. She does not let us forget another fundamental fact: between the odes written in Classical Antiquity and the odes to be written in the modern languages there intervened a substantial corpus of genre-defining odes written in Latin by Renaissance humanists. She devotes no fewer than 100 pages to some twenty neo-Latin poets writing in Italy, from the fifteenth-century Hellenist Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481) to the late sixteenth-century Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), who in 1570 wrote in Latin his Horatian ode entitled "Ad Nubes" as a prayer for rain. Here I will simply list the three major neo-Latin poets of Italy that Maddison studies in this chapter: Cristoforo Landino (1424-1504), associated with Ficino's Platonic academy in Florence; Giovanni Gioviani Pontano (1426-1497), a founder of the Neapolitan academy; and the later Marc Antonio Flaminio (1498-1550), whose odes represent the Christianized maturity of the neo-Latin tradition in Italy:

It is into the local humanistic tradition of Naples that we Hispanists must insert the Spaniard Garcilaso, with his three neo-Latin odes and his single ode in Spanish. Sannazaro (1456-1530), after Pontano, had dominated the Neapolitan literary scene until just before Garcilaso's arrival; Sannazaro's works in Latin and in Italian, among them the religious epic *De partu virginis*, several Latin eclogues, six neo-Latin odes, and his Italian *Arcadia*, were all read and often imitated by Garcilaso. In addition, Bernardo Tasso (1493-1569), the first major writer of Horatian odes in Italian, was another key member of Garcilaso's literary community in Naples. There had also been Pindaric antecedents in Italy. The first edition of Pindar was published in 1511, and its influence, combined with the more familiar Horatian traditions in ancient Latin and neo-Latin, produced the earliest Pindaric, or long-stanzaed, *canzone* odes in Italian, published by Giovan Giorgio Trissino (1478-1550) in 1520, by

Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556) in 1532, and by Antonio Sebastiano Minturno (died 1574) in 1535. But Bernardo Tasso's experiments in Italian with short Horatian stanzas, of five or six lines, quite different from the longer *canzone* stanzas, were first published in 1531 and were immediately read by Garcilaso. As we all know, Tasso was the source of Garcilaso's lira stanza, which would set the pattern for most Horatian odes to be written in Spanish.

Carol Maddison devotes some 25 pages to Bernardo Tasso's Italian odes, citing the same book, published in 1951 by the American specialist Edward Williamson, which Dámaso Alonso had cited in his important appendix. Tasso had started off with *canzone* stanzas for his first odes in Italian, but he soon began to experiment in a virtuoso fashion with shorter stanzas and even interlocking rhymes. Interlocking rhymes would seem to encourage syntactic enjambement of stanzas, which was common in Horace, and which is characteristic of Garcilaso's *Ode ad florem Gnidi* written in *liras*. Tasso's more personal odes, addressed to his friends, are typically Horatian. Later on, he introduces the Christian God into his political and occasional odes. The Italian poet, who lived and wrote for more than 30 years after the death of his Spanish colleague Garcilaso, in some of his final odes combined Classical and Biblical inspirations, especially in his psalms, in which he equates David with Horace. His thirty penitential psalms, with their classical vocabulary and many mythological allusions, were written during Lent in 1557; they can be compared with other Counter-Reformational poetry and with the *alirada* translations of the Psalms written later on by Fray Luis de León. We can see in this poetry, simultaneously Classical and Christian, the antecedents of the great original odes to be written by the translator-poets of Salamanca and of Seville, by Fray Luis and by Fernando de Herrera.

Returning now to Naples in the 1530s, we recall the generic characteristics of the four odes written by Garcilaso and read with interest by Italian humanists and poets. The first Latin ode, written in distichs that are frequently run-on, is typical of the Anacreontic tradition; it is a third-person narrative, with dialogue, of an encounter between Venus and her son. The goddess of love, taking pity on the amorous sufferings of men and gods, asks Cupid to grant them relief; but when her son replies by threatening his mother with taking Mars away from her, Venus finally begs him to con-

tinue the sweet tyranny of love. This Anacreontic theme was appropriate to the sixteenth century, with its Petrarchan and Platonic allegories of love, a poetic ideology that Garcilaso was well acquainted with.

In the other three odes the poet's lyric self is at the center of poems that are Horatian and epistolary, addressed to individual friends within an historical context. Ode II is addressed to the neo-Latin poet Antonio Telesio, author of *Imber Aureus*; it evokes an entire community of friends belonging to the Accademia Pontaniana, which was then holding meetings at Scipio Capece's house, and it alludes to the poet's exile, to his imprisonment on the Danube island, to the absence of his wife, children, and brothers, and to the consolation of poetry found with Telesio and other literary friends in the Neapolitan academy. Ode III is less personal, more public; it is addressed to the Spanish humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda when he was in Italy as the Emperor Charles V's official historian, preparing to draft his version of the invasion of Tunis. Garcilaso applies to Spain's modern Caesar Africanus the portrait of the ideal military man imagined by Horace in the 2nd ode of his 3rd book, a hero adorned with Caesarean and imperial blood. Finally, in his well-known "Ode ad florem Gnidi," written in Spanish and addressed to an Italian lady, Garcilaso fuses two different Horatian sources in a poem deftly composed in one of the short stanzaic forms recently invented by Bernardo Tasso. The poet's first person constitutes itself as a classical mediator between Mario Galeota, a Neapolitan in love, and Violante San Severino, a disdainful lady of the same city; the poet evokes rhetorically the sufferings of the former and the beauty and possible mythological punishments of the latter.

Garcilaso deliberately gave a Greco-Latin title to his only Spanish ode in order to emphasize the Greek origin of the generic term that Pindar and Anacreon had used. But Horace, the inventor of the Latin ode, had preferred "carmen," the basic Latin word for song. And, later on, in his edition of Garcilaso's poetry, Fernando de Herrera would deliberately replace the poet's own Greco-Latin title with the more broadly generic Spanish title of "Canción V," combining in the one term "canción" two quite different poetic genres: the Italian *canzone* and the Horatian ode. This was Herrera's practice with respect to his own poetry; he labeled as "canciones" both

his *canzoni* and his odes, whether Pindaric or Horatian. At the same time, in his general discourse on the "canción" apropos of Garcilaso's "Canción I," Herrera gave priority to the history of the Greco-Latin ode, before comparing it with the Italian *canzone* and making distinctions between what he apparently considered to be two sub-genres: "i aunque los Latinos i Griegos sean mas graves i ponderosos, mas poeticos en la lengua i terminos, i tengan mayor espiritu i mas estraño, los vulgares son mas floridos i levantados en los concetos, i mas galanes i amorosos, i sin igualdad mas onestos que todos los otros poetas" (393-94). Cascales, on the other hand, in his *Tablas poéticas* (1617), hardly mentions the ode in his section on lyric poetry, but he does analyze in detail the stanzaic structure of the Italian *canzone*. And, yet again, Francisco de la Torre, in the volume of his poetry published by Quevedo, distinguishes by title quite clearly between his long-stanzaed "canciones" and his short-stanzaed odes. Our preliminary conclusion is, then, that, although Garcilaso and other poets were aware that the classical ode was not a simple variant of the Italian *canzone*, or vice versa, Golden Age theorists did not make a clear and consistent generic distinction. In fact, neither Aristotle's *Poetics* nor Horace's *Ars poetica* provided them with an adequate basis for defining the different genres of lyric poetry, whether ancient or modern.

It has been taken for granted that the Horatian ode was more important than the Pindaric ode in sixteenth-century Spanish poetry; the Horatian ode has always been dominant in modern Spanish scholarship and criticism. This has been in part the result of two well-defined and attractive poetic personalities, the ironic self-deprecating voice of Horace himself and the yearning Christian Platonic voice of Fray Luis de León. These two personalities found an echo in the elective affinities of Menéndez Pelayo, himself a reader and imitator of Horace, as well as a neo-Catholic, and in those of Dámaso Alonso, whose own poetry cultivates at times an anguish akin to that of Fray Luis and whose criticism appreciates subtle modulations of Horatian tone and rejects the stentorian voice of public poetry celebrating such Pindaric events as military victories. Alonso's reaction to Medrano's three non-Horatian odes is typically negative. He has this to say, for example, about Medrano's Ode IV, addressed to Philip III in Salamanca:

Todo, en el fondo, frío, frío... En toda ella rimbomba de lo lindo el parche hispano. ¡Dios mío!, ¿pero es Medrano éste? ...No, no es éste nuestro Medrano. Es quizá su negación. Todo lo que en él es contención, delicadeza, concisión sentenciosa, es aquí desenfreno, hipérbole, imagen desaforada y griterío... (I:231-32)

From my own point of view, it is not a question of two Medranos, but of two different types of ode: "our" Medrano is of course the Horatian poet; the other Medrano, alien to Alonso, is Pindaric. But Fray Luis himself had translated, not only many of Horace's odes in five- and six-line stanzas, but one of Pindar's, using in this case a 19-line Italian *canzone* stanza.

Returning to Herrera's own poetry as a whole, which, as Andreina Bianchini has pointed out (see her contribution in this collection) is predominantly love poetry, we find that the poet, by means of his classifying titles, makes clearcut metric or generic distinctions among sonnets, elegies (always in *terza rima*), "canciones" and eclogues (both of them written in long or short *canzone* stanzas), "estanzas" or octavas reales, and sestinas. Nevertheless, the modern scholar-critic can hardly avoid questioning the simple generic or metric grouping of the 26 so-called "canciones," with no indication of the difference between classical odes and Petrarchan *canzoni* proper. In her dissertation, Pérez-Abadín follows the Alonso tradition in considering the "lira" stanza to be an essential generic element defining the Spanish ode; applying this criterion to her corpus of the 25 "canciones" found in the Cuevas edition of Herrera's poetry, she finds four of them to be proper odes and four additional ones to be composed of stanzas sufficiently "aliradas" to be associated with them. I would like to propose a different approach. On the basis of the same corpus of 25 so-called "canciones," plus the early ode recently discovered and published by José Cebrián (265-67), I have attempted first to segregate as a group the evidently Petrarchan *canzoni*, which seem to me to include ten poems (only one of which Pérez-Abadín includes among her corpus of odes); the three earliest ones have the Italian trademark of the *commiato* (ed. Cuevas, 433-34, note), and all of them, whether or not they refer clearly to the Countess of Gelves with the pseudonym of "Luz," evoke the familiar Petrarchan landscape of love. This leaves sixteen remaining poems, not eight, as Pérez-Abadín asserts; these sixteen

can be dated approximately between 1566 and 1586, and may then be viewed, it seems to me, as constituting Herrera's corpus of classical odes. (Only one of them, the famous Lepanto *Canción en alabanza de la Diuina Magestad, por la vitoria del señor Don Juan*, which is also an early poem, has an Italian *commiato*.) In the two odes addressed to Don Luis Cristóbal Ponce de León it happens that love is mentioned as a counter-theme, a distraction from singing of heroes in epic and Pindaric verse:

...la destreza i arte  
 de los ínclitos pechos generosos  
 que bañó Betis, Tajo i Duero frío,  
 a qu'aspirava el rudo canto mío,  
 oscurecidos yazen en olvido;  
 sólo es Amor mi canto;  
 los ojos bellos i oro puro canto;  
 ¡tal me tiene'l crüel preso i rendido,  
 i entregado a la fuerza de mi llanto! (673)

Similarly, at the beginning of the apparently epithalamic ode addressed to Don Fernando Enríquez de Ribera ("Si alguna vez mi pena," 391), the poet refers to love poetry, but only to distinguish it from dithyrambic poetry.

My preliminary hypothesis is that, in order to write the history of the classical ode in sixteenth-century Spain, without letting ourselves be overwhelmed, along with Menéndez Pelayo and Dámaso Alonso, by the personal charm of Horace and of Fray Luis, we should take quite seriously these sixteen odes written by Fernando de Herrera. His odes, along with those of Fray Luis, constitute in fact the basic corpus of the nascent national tradition; and the contrast between the two poets gives us a broader base for defining the genre in Spain. On the one hand, Fray Luis's odes dwell upon the Christian or Platonic opposition between suffering in an earthly prison and yearning for heavenly peace; Herrera's dithyrambic odes, on the other hand, typically celebrate military victories, noble, patriotic heroes, and the national destiny, with a direct social and political value of the sort that Anne Cruz has noted (in this collection). Both sets of odes constantly echo classical and Biblical poetry; but if, as Alberto Blecua suggests, Fray Luis's translations and imitations of the *Psalms* could well have awakened the suspicions of



the Spanish Inquisition, no one could have found anything suspicious in the Biblical tone of Herrera's warlike odes, celebrating Spain as God's new chosen people. There is some overlap between the two poets: Fray Luis has his ode to Santiago and his "Profecía del Tajo," while Herrera's Stoic ode beginning "Al varón firme y justo," and written in liras, echoes both Horace and Fray Luis. As Cristóbal Cuevas comments, "Veo en estos versos un 'aire salmantino' que, por tema, estructura, métrica, y hasta por la alusión a héroes españoles—el Cid, el Gran Capitán—, recuerda la Oda II de fray Luis—'Virtud, hija del cielo.'" But, despite such marginal coincidences, it is obvious that the two sets of odes are substantially antithetic, constituting a binary Horatian / Pindaric opposition peculiar to Spain. Since we are all familiar with Fray Luis's odes, I will now limit myself to reviewing the general characteristics of Herrera's odes.

Let's begin with the question of meter and genre, which, as Begoña López Bueno, Pérez-Abadín's mentor, has recently shown in her study "La implicación género-estrofa en el sistema poético del siglo XVI," is fundamental in the classical tradition. Taking Fray Luis' *lira* as the generic norm, she shows that, of Herrera's "canciones," only five (now six) are written in liras or "estrofas aliradas" of eight lines or fewer, all of them early: the one beginning "Al varón firme y justo"; an ode to his patron the Conde de Gelves ("Ilustre Conde mío"); an ode to Pedro Vélez de Guevara ("Vellejo, si mi canto") celebrating a Roman banquet; the epithalamium addressed to Don Fernando Enríquez de Guzmán ("Si alguna vez mi pena"); the ode addressed to Don Juan de Austria celebrating the defeat of the Moriscos; and now the recently discovered 1566 manuscript ode addressed to the crown prince Don Carlos in praise of Mal Lara. The ten remaining odes have stanzas of ten lines or more. All but two of these sixteen odes are motivated by specific historical events or persons; the two exceptions are the already twice mentioned ode addressed abstractly "Al varón firme y justo" and one that begins "Süave Sueño, tú qu'en tardo buelo," which is a sort of prayer addressed to the god of sleep by an insomniac poet, a topical situation common in Latin, neo-Latin, and vernacular verse, as Herrera himself explains in his *Anotaciones* (542-44).

We may take as typical of the odes in praise of Andalusian aristocrats the one addressed in 1578 to Don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán,

the seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia ("Príncipe ecelsa, a quien el hondo seno," 762). This nobleman ten years later on would be named by Philip II as commander of Andalusia and of the Invincible Armada. In the first two stanzas, with the usual learned periphrases, the poet invokes the inspiration of Pindar and of Apollo in order to sing, not the history of Achilles or of Aeneas, but "vuestra insine memoria," thus making it immune to the ravages of time, "el Tiempo desdeñoso." The heroic deed being celebrated in this ode is the rescue by the Duke of a relative imprisoned in Africa after the Battle of Alcazarquivir; but, as much as anything else, the poem celebrates the immortalizing power of Herrera's own poetry, which is capable of renewing the past glories of the Duke's family, beginning with Guzmán el Bueno. Another ode ("Deciende de la cumbre de Parnasso," 596) celebrates in similar terms Doña Francisca de Córdoba, a grand-daughter of the Gran Capitán and sister of the third Duke of Sessa. Equally Pindaric is the only ode by Herrera dedicated to a person who seems not to have been an aristocrat, one Pedro Fernández de Andrada, an athletic breaker of horses and the author of a treatise on the Moorish short-stirruped style of horseback riding (*Libro de la gineta de España*); this ode ("Alça del hondo seno," 329) is not addressed directly to the hero but, in rhetorical apostrophe, to the Hesperio, Betis, or Guadalquivir River.

The mythological and epic re-creation of past ethnic glories, which is a trademark of the Pindaric ode, is elaborated with great eloquence in the two poems dedicated to two medieval Spanish kings who had been canonized: the martyr San Hermenegildo (a poem probably commissioned by the city of Seville) and Fernando el Santo, re-conqueror of Seville, a poem written on the occasion of the transfer of his relics; as Cuevas notes, this ode must have been recited, or perhaps sung, in the cathedral.

Let's conclude now with three more familiar odes by Herrera: two of them are dedicated to Don Juan de Austria and the other is a lament for the Christian defeat at Alcazarquivir. In the first of these the poet celebrates in pagan, mythological terms the Alpujarras victory over the Moriscos. Herrera's own song is compared to Apollo's hymn to Jupiter when the latter had defeated the Giants. In the other two ("Cantemos al Señor, que en la llanura," 257, and "Voz de dolor i canto de gemido," 376) pagan mythology is replaced by numerous Old Testament subtexts, fully annotated in Vicente Gar-

cía de Diego's "Clásicos Castellanos" edition; these subtexts give discursive substance to these two well-known odes overflowing with Spain's Catholic imperial grandiloquence. Together they present in diptych form the Christian victory at Lepanto and the Christian defeat at Alcazarquivir. Separated by six years, the contradictory results of these two battles are seen as opposing aspects of the mysterious justice of the Hebrew and Christian God, who both rewards and punishes his chosen people. With them we conclude our summary review of the divine Herrera's odes.

When in the future someone writes a new history of the European ode, she will of course add a chapter on the Spanish ode, to be inserted right after the Italian ode. The neo-Latin odes written by Italians and the Italian odes written by Bernardo Tasso will still be of fundamental importance for the whole sixteenth century, in Italy and elsewhere. Garcilaso's three neo-Latin odes and his one Spanish ode are the links between Naples and Tasso, on the one hand, and the Iberian peninsula, on the other. The lira, taken by Garcilaso from Tasso, and Tasso's "estrofas aliradas" provided Fray Luis' Salamanca school with the basis for the creation of the Horatian ode in Spanish. Mal Lara, as Alberto Blecua has reminded us, was the bridge that took the Spanish ode from Salamanca to Seville, where Herrera seems deliberately to have distanced himself from Fray Luis' modestly Horatian or spiritual models. He established new Pindaric models, which he labeled "canciones," in praise of Andalusian noblemen and in celebration of military events in the Mediterranean. With the introduction of the *silva* at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there would be a major shift in the system of Spanish poetic genres; but the *silva* to the god of Sleep adapted from Statius by Quevedo would be as authentic an ode as that addressed by Herrera to the same pagan god. And, at the same time, Góngora, for his elaborately Pindaric ode *De la toma de Larache*, would continue to use the stanzaic form of the Italian *canzone*, complete with *commiato*. Just a year ago, at a conference convened by Begoña López Bueno in Seville and in Córdoba, younger Andalusian scholars, such as Juan Montero for the sixteenth century and Pedro Ruiz Pérez for the seventeenth, with Soledad Pérez-Abadín from Galicia, collaborated in beginning to write a new outline history of the Golden Age ode in Spanish. We can look forward to the publication in the near future of the proceedings of that important

conference, to which this paper of mine is a simple revisionary appendix.

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