

*Prosopopoeia in the Funeral Poetry of Juan Latino*¹

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1. Introducción

The long overdue recovery of the poet Juan Latino began with the recuperation of his *Austrias Carmen*, a two-book epic poem on the Battle of Lepanto.³ It would be a mistake, however, to focus exclusively on this epic as if it circulated as an isolated piece of art.⁴ After all, the short epic *Austrias Carmen* appeared in the final part of a larger volume of poetry that is dedicated to the festivities in Granada, which celebrated both the naval victory of the Holy League against the Ottoman Empire (October 7, 1571) and the birth of Philip II's male heir don Fernando (December 4, 1571) as two sides of the same medal.⁵ The epic poem has to be regarded as yet another poem of a volume that commemorates the historical event as well as the festive celebrations in Granada. Many of the poems in the volume clearly functioned once as occasional poems and decorated ephemeral structures on the Bib-Rambla Plaza. What all of these poems share is an active engagement of the reader. Their main purpose is to direct the reader's gaze in a particular direction. It is imperative to keep this performative aspect of Juan Latino's poetry in mind to fully appreciate his literary production.⁶

The strong connection of Juan Latino's poetry with the festive culture in Granada is especially visible in the second volume of poetry, published in 1576 by the same printer as the first, Hugo de Mena.⁷ The title page announces two books of epigrams and epitaphs on Philip II's daring project of transferring the remnants of his family members from tombs dispersed all over the country to a single royal temple, El Escorial. As in the preliminary poems of the 1573 volume, the epitaphs of the second volume specify the precise location of the occasional poems during the celebrations. In this way, Juan Latino reminds the reader time and again of the circumstances of the ephemeral constructions that were built to bid farewell to four of the royal bodies in the Royal Chapel. The epitaphs are complemented with two other large poems in hexameters and a number of elegies. The volume as a whole testifies to the double

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³ The landmark article of this recovery is Elizabeth Wright's *Narrating the Ineffable Lepanto* (2009), after which several more would follow (2012, 2015).

⁴ Consider, for example, the recent edition of Latino's *Austrias Carmen* in the *I Tatti Renaissance library* series, volume 61: *The Battle of Lepanto*, along with other Neo-Latin hexameter poems by Italian authors.

⁵ After the Spanish Habsburg coat of arms, the front page gives us the following title: *Ad catholicum pariter et invictissimum Philippum Dei gratia Hispaniarum Regem, de foelicissima serenissimi Ferdinandi Principis nativitate, epigrammatum liber*, which then continues with the two other works of the volume, that is, one book on the relationship between Pope Pius V and the Spanish king Philip II, and finally the *Austrias Carmen*.

⁶ If not, we may run the risk of qualifying his poetry wrongly as "dry and formulaic" (Beusterien 106) or even anachronistic (Fra Molinero 334).

⁷ The title, which appears again after the Spanish Habsburg coat of arms, reads even longer than the one of the first volume: *Ad catholicum et invictissimum Philippum Dei gratia Hispaniarum Regem, de Augusta, memorabilia, simul et catholica regalium corporum ex variis tumulis in unum regale templum translatione*, which goes on with mentioning the two persons responsible of the dynastic transfers that took place between Granada and El Escorial.

function of Latino's poetry, that is, for both ephemeral and eternal use. Latino invites the reader to participate actively and to imagine with his inner eye the scenes described. One of the rhetorical techniques to create this effect of *enargeia* (vividness) is *prosopopoeia*, or personification, a figure of speech by which a writer can "bring down the gods from heaven, evoke the dead, and give voices to cities and states".⁸ The Roman author Quintilian, speaking of '*fictiones personarum*', considers this a wonderful device for two main reasons: it conveys variety (*variant*) and vividness (*excitant*) to the orator's speech.

This article explores the use of this figure of speech in Latino's creation of a mythical image of Charles V and in his construction of mourning Mother Granada. In their introduction to a recently published volume on personification, Walter S. Melion and Bart Ramakers (1-2) pointed to the versatility of this communicative device in the works of late medieval and early modern writers.⁹ They consider this figure as an important tool for embodying meaning and emotion. In this essay, I would like to examine how Juan Latino establishes two powerful and lasting visions that shape the cultural memory of what was perhaps Philip II's most epic enterprise. I believe that these two figures and their speeches convey the indispensable frame to provide the ephemeral epitaphs with eternal glow. How did readers perceive and interpret these two types of *prosopopoeia*? In other words, what are the precise functions of this rhetorical device in the funeral poetry of Juan Latino?

2. Philip II's Epic Enterprise

In the year 1573, Philip II somewhat abruptly decided to transfer the royal corpses of ten of his family members to El Escorial, the palace-monastery that was located close to Madrid.¹⁰ The construction of this building had started in 1563 and two years later, Philip designated it as the future burial place of his relatives. Although the dynastic transfers of 1573 and 1574 were a highly remarkable event in the cultural history of Philip II's reign, modern historical studies have paid little attention to the development of the separate transfers or the funeral festivities in each city. In fact, the enterprise consisted of two different stages: June 1573 and the winter of 1573-74. The first transfer to El Escorial took place on the 6th and 7th of June 1573 with the royal remnants of don Carlos (1545-68), the Prince of Asturias, and Elisabeth of Valois (1545-68), Philip's late wife, who had been both buried in Madrid.¹¹ The second stage of the dynastic transfers required an enormous effort from the authorities, since it involved eight bodies that were to be transported from various locations in Spain during the winter of 1573-74 to one central place in the monastery of El Escorial. The biggest challenge in this endeavour was to deliver all eight bodies at exactly the same time.

On December 28 and 29, four royal corpses were removed from the Royal Chapel of Granada: those of Isabella of Portugal (1503-39), Maria Manuela of Portugal

⁸ According to the broad definition of Quintilian: "*Quin deducere deos in hoc genere dicendi et inferos excitare concessum est. Vrbes etiam populique vocem accipiunt.*" For the entire passage on *prosopopoeia*, see Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, IX.2

⁹ Despite the diversity of subjects that are treated in the separate chapters, art from the Iberian Peninsula is not taken into consideration.

¹⁰ The bibliography on the construction and the significance of El Escorial is extensive. I limit myself to refer to one of the more recent books on the subject, Henry Kamen's *The Escorial*, in which the author challenges the current opinion about the function of the building. According to Kamen, Philip's El Escorial was not at all intended to be an expression of his monarchical power.

¹¹ Don Carlos was the eldest son of Philip II from his first wife Maria Manuela of Portugal. Elisabeth of Valois was his third wife. Both died very young at the age of twenty-three.

(1527-45), John of Austria (1528-30) and Ferdinand of Austria (1535-38).¹² In the second phase, on January 15, the royal remnants of Eleanor of Austria (1498-1558) were removed from Mérida.¹³ Both processions met in Yuste between January 25 and 27, where the corpse of Charles V joined them. Meanwhile, around January 26, the body of Mary of Austria (1505-58) was transferred from Valladolid.¹⁴ The body of Joanna I of Castile (1479-1555) was picked up in Tordesillas a few days later by the procession of Mary. Finally, all the separate processions had to arrive at the same time in the monastery of San Lorenzo El Escorial. Only the body of Joanna I of Castile had not yet reached its final destiny. The Queen was transferred to Granada, where she would be reunited with her husband Philip I of Castile (1478-1506) in the Royal Chapel and alongside her parents, the Catholic Kings.¹⁵

Javier Varela, one of the few scholars to have studied this event, describes the second stage as a particularly daring exploit. Because they were undertaken in the middle of winter, these transfers were extremely difficult. One may wonder about this sudden and unexpected decision of Philip II to transfer his family members that specific winter, especially given that the burial place was not finished (it was not completed until 1586) and the royal corpses could thus not be deposited in the foreseen space. One possible explanation is that Philip's ancestor Charles the Bold undertook a similar enterprise of dynastic transfers in the winter of 1473-74, just one century before. The Duke of Burgundy decided to transfer his parents, Philip the Good and Isabel of Portugal, respectively from Bruges and Gosnay to their final resting-place in Dijon.¹⁶

The long poem that opens Latino's volume represents the transfers as an epic exploit and Philip II as a hero:

Catholicum cineres canimus sibi corpora regum,
 Ossaque iungentem mira pietate Philippum,
 Hispanae gentis columen regemque potentem.
 Qui patrem, matrem, fratres cum coniuge sacra,
 Reginasque duas Caroli patrisque sorores,
 Ex variis populis templum transcripsit in unum.
 Quique et avos quondam disiunctos lege maritos
 Coniunxit pompa regali et funere grandi
 Regibus Isabel, Fernando et funere iunctis.¹⁷

We sing of Catholic Philip, the cornerstone and mighty king of the Spanish people, who unified around him in wondrous piety the ashes, bodies and bones

¹² Respectively the spouse of Charles V, the first wife of Philip II, and two brothers of Philip II, who died at a very young age.

¹³ Eleanor of Austria, queen consort of Portugal (1518-21) and France (1530-47), was the sister of Charles V and thus aunt of Philip II.

¹⁴ Mary of Austria, queen consort of Hungary and Bohemia (1515-26) as well as Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands (1531-1555) was another aunt of Philip II.

¹⁵ The body of Joanna was deposited in the Royal Chapel of Granada in 1574, but the actual reunification with her husband in the funeral sculpture that was designed in the first half of the sixteenth century by Bartolomé Ordoñez did not occur until 1591, when Philip II ordered to search for the sculpture in the Royal Hospital of Granada, where it had been stored in anticipation of the death of Queen Joanna. For more information, see Bethany Aram (especially chapter 6). Philip II considered his grandmother as the vital link between the Catholic Kings and the new dynasty of the Spanish Habsburg family, which originated with Charles V.

¹⁶ For more information on this earlier example of post funeral relocation, see Werner Paravicini.

¹⁷ No modern edition of Latino's second volume exists. All quotations from Juan Latino are therefore from his 1576 collection. In this case, see Latinus, *De Augusta*, fol. 1r. Translations are from my hand.

of the kings. He transferred his father, his mother, his brothers together with his sacred spouse, and the two queen sisters of his father Charles, out of various cities into one temple. Next, he reunited his once separated grandparents, married by law, under royal procession and splendid funeral, together with the kings Isabel and Ferdinand who were already united in funeral.

The proem represents Philip II as a pious Catholic king in Virgilian language. Latino recalls here the *'arma virumque cano'* of the opening line of the *Aeneid*. Philip is the *'vir'* and the royal corpses are the *'arma'* that will be used to terrify the heretics.¹⁸ The epic enterprise, however, will be totally different. No wanderings of the hero, no warfare. The emphasis is put on the family ties of the Habsburg dynasty and the pious as well as memorable work of Philip. The eight family members involved in the dynastic translations of the winter of 1573-74 are carefully named for the reader, with Philip's father Charles V at the head of the list. Of equal importance in the proem and the epitaphs is the unification of Queen Joanna with her husband and her parents, the Catholic Kings, in the Royal Chapel of Granada.

This preliminary poem –dedicated to the *'Curiales Hispaniarum'*– gives the enterprise and the epitaphs epic grandeur. Juan Latino explicitly points out the exemplary function of his poems to the reader:

Auribus arrectis audi pia carmina lector
 Vivere te in mundo iuste, sancteque docebunt
 Christicolae reges Hispani in morte beati,
 Qui in domino fati cesserunt, gesta sequentur
 Illos, nam regnis operati regia sancte,
 Sobria cuncta pie fecerunt, regna tenentes.¹⁹

Listen, reader, attentively to my pious songs. The Catholic kings of Spain, blessed in their death, will teach you how to live justly and saintly in this world. In the Lord they passed away. Fame of their deeds will follow those kings, since they saintly performed royal deeds for their kingdoms. They piously carried out everything austere, while holding their kingdoms.

The poetic voice draws attention for the piety of the royal family. Interestingly, the subject of *'docere'* shifts from the *'pia carmina'* to the *'Christicolae reges Hispani'* of the third line. Doing so, Latino offers the reader a first indication of what will be his most prominent figure of speech in the epitaphs: *prosopopoeia*, or personification. Reading the epitaphs brings Philip's family members back to life.

Before moving on to the actual narrative of this preliminary poem, in which Charles V will immediately come to the fore, the poetic voice devotes a considerable number of verses to three invocations. First, Latino addresses Virgin Mary to assist him in composing Catholic verses: *"Ferque pedem dictis vatis sanctissima virgo"*.²⁰ The first two words of this sentence refer to the invocation of the fertility dance of fauns

¹⁸ Especially the presence of Charles V will frighten the heretics. See, for example, the following statement in Latinus, *De Augusta*, fol. 30r. *"Terrorum mundi voluisti claudere templo / Haeretici ut timeant sic monumenta viri."* (You wanted to lock up the terror of the world in your temple, so that the heretics would fear the memorials of the man).

¹⁹ Latinus, *De Augusta*, fol. 1v.

²⁰ Latinus, *De Augusta*, fol. 2r.

and nymphs in the *Georgics* of Virgil, a didactic poem in four books on agriculture.²¹ In Latino's invocation, the Virgin Mary replaces the fauns and nymphs of the classical tradition. Second, the poet invokes the two youngsters to whom Christ appeared on Easter Day shortly after his resurrection. On the road to Emmaus Cleophas and his unnamed companion, as the story is told in the Bible (*Lucas* 24: 13-32), are initially reluctant to acknowledge their Master three days after the crucifixion, that is, on the day of Jesus' resurrection. Latino briefly recounts the biblical narrative (vv. 67-91) after emphasizing in an apostrophic utterance that the youngsters saw (*vidistis*) their Lord in a pilgrim's outfit. Finally, there is a third invocation of the Roman Catholic Mother Church (the *Ecclesia mater*), who is guided by the Holy Spirit, messenger of truth (*qui vera docet*).

In this third invocation Latino defines himself as Ethiopian and as the new poet (*vates novus*) Philip II is looking for. As in the first elegy of the 1573 volume, addressed to the king, Latino fashions himself as the most appropriate poet to speak of the wondrous works of God (*dicere mira magnalia*) precisely because of his Latin skills. Just like the Holy Spirit gave the Apostles the capacity to speak in different languages on Whit Sunday to communicate God's work, in Spain, people now witness a Catholic Ethiopian poet writing in Latin verse about the previously unseen (*res nova*) epic enterprise of Philip:

Non aliter populi, cives, orbisque remotus
Aethiopes cernant dicentes grandia regum,
Catholicos vates Hispana in gente Latine
Scribere magniloquos pompas, tumulosque Philippi,
Funera ducta, vias transcriptos ordine reges
Afflatus cantem divino ut nomine cippos,
Ossaque lecta cadis, cineres, et corpora miris.²²

Not unlike, people, citizens, and the remote world may see how Ethiopians, speaking of the great deeds of kings, write as Catholic poets in the Spanish nation on the grandiloquent processions and tombs of Philip, how I sing inspired by divine name of performed funerals, kings transferred in good order across the roads, grave-pillars, as well as the bones, ashes, and bodies that were gathered in marvellous urns.

Having informed the readers about the dynastic transfers as well as introduced the exemplary function of the epitaphs and the other poems of the volume, Latino is ready to start the epic narrative and to bring his first important actor on the stage: Charles V.

Staging Charles

The narrative of the poem opens with a striking image of Philip in deep devotion and moved by intense respect for his parents:

Flagrabat Christi pietatis amore Philippus
Semper, et assiduo commotus honore parentum,
Atque oculis Carolum Quintum dum cernit in horas,

²¹ Virgil, *Georgics*, I.11-12.

²² Latinus, *De Augusta*, fol. 3r. The self-fashioning of the poet becomes even stronger in the next poem, the *Prologus dedicatorius*, which is addressed specifically to Philip II. Consider fol. 12r-16v.

Incensusque magis volvebat praemia regum.
 Cui praesens aderat mater, pietatis imago,
 Rex patrios vultus contemplans ora subinde,
 Cernebatque pius venerandam iure figuram.²³

Philip always burnt with pious love for Christ, and moved by intense affection for his parents, while before his eyes he sees Charles V continuously, and thus being aflame all the more, he recalled the rewards of kings. Also present to him was his mother, an image of piety. The pious king, contemplating the features of his father, repeatedly saw his face and a justly venerable stature.

In this passage, Latino evokes the dead Charles, accompanied by his wife Isabel of Portugal, by means of an image of their son Philip in prayer. The appearance of Charles before the eyes of his devout son creates an effect of presence, which is crucial for the prosopopoeic speech. Indeed, a present verb (*cernit*) contrasts with the past simple tense of the episode. Then, the poetic voice shifts to the present perfect to recount the significant moment in which Charles V hands over power to his son at his death. The performance of prayer leads Philip to remember this important moment in his life. The reader becomes part of this intimacy and witnesses with Philip Charles' direct speech (vv. 132-274).

Through the rhetorical figure of *prosopopoeia*, Latino manipulates the mythical image of Charles V and his relationship with his son Philip. In the monologue, Charles declares that he will teach (*docebo*) his son the secrets (*arcana*) of government in accordance with divine law. The first advice, or even exhortation, is to destroy all the 'sectae' and 'haeretici' that Philip considered already extinguished (*quas tu iam rere perustas*). Second, Philip must revere the Pope as the supreme head of the Roman Church. The Pope, as a good pastor, will tell him Christian laws and doctrines (*Christi leges, et foedera dicet*), which Philip has to obey completely: "*Ne digitum latum praescriptis ore recedas*".²⁴ To achieve success, the only thing Philip has to do is to follow Christ. From personal experience, Charles explains him (*expertus refero*) how he opposed strongly all difficulties with the aid of Christ, the leader of the Spanish people (*Christo ducente Hispanos*). Nevertheless, Philip faces even more serious problems, both on earth and sea:

Nunc etiam regnis rerum discrimina nostris
 Iam graviora tibi terris, pontoque manebunt.
 Tu ne cede malis, in Christo fortior ibis.²⁵

Now there will await you even more dangerous situations in our realms, both on earth and sea. Do not give in to evil, with Christ you will proceed even more strongly.

The last sentence of this quote contains a clear reference to Virgil's *Aeneid*.²⁶ Before Aeneas descends to the underworld, the Cumaean Sybil predicts the horrible wars of the future, which will be necessary to found the city of Rome. In his own struggle for the Catholic faith, Philip has to follow the example of his grandparents

²³ Latino, *De Augusta*, fol. 3r.

²⁴ Latino, *De Augusta*, fol. 4r.

²⁵ Latino, *idem*.

²⁶ Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI.95: "*Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*"

Ferdinand and Isabel, the first Spanish kings to be called Catholic kings, in his actions against the Moriscos and other heretics. Ferdinand and Isabel were the founders of the Holy Office, the Spanish Inquisition, represented by the poetic voice as the real virtue and power of the Spanish kings.²⁷ Furthermore, Charles encourages his son to participate at the councils of the Catholic Church and to act as the supreme defender of Catholic faith over there.²⁸

Sede regens celsa, fulgenti regius ense
Haereticis bellum, flammis, mortemque mineris,
Funditus, et pestem candenti falce recindas.²⁹

Reigning on a high seat and brandishing your sword in a kingly way, threaten the heretics with war, flames, and death. Eradicate the pest completely with a glowing sickle.

The brandished sword is interpreted as an imminent threat to bring justice to the world. In his epic poem *Austrias Carmen*, Latino visualizes a similar symbolic menace: in the first book, a Holy League captain warns the Morisco galley slaves of the fleet against allying with the enemy, the Muslims of the Ottoman Empire.³⁰

After insisting on the importance of fighting the heretics, Charles urges his son to prepare his royal funeral: “*Tu pietate mihi funus regale parabis*”.³¹ Then, he confesses to the Lord his sins and asks for mercy. Here, Charles’s speech to his son, thus, lays out the ‘just causes’ of the dynastic transfer and gives authority to the project. We experience the message together with Philip in an act of contemplative reading. Doing so, Latino shows us the ideal illustration of how to bring honour to the family members of Philip. This continuous taking care of the royal bodies helps the souls of the deceased to be purified in purgatory.

Finally, Charles promises Philip universal power if only he keeps in mind his parents’ reign. The peace of Christ (*pax Christi*) will be given (*data*) to the Spanish Catholic kings and Philip will live in peace (*pacificus*) as supreme ruler of the world (*rerum potieris ubique*) and the shining example to all other kings on earth (*exempla daturus*). With this final prediction, Charles also finishes his direct speech. This literary fashioning of the last words of Charles V, through the device of *prosopopoeia*, perfectly shows us how the author creates the effect of presence to give meaning to the dynastic transfers. Moreover, the imaginary elaboration of Charles’s political testament in a direct speech from father to son embodies the emotions of affection that the poetic voice likewise wants to arouse with his epitaphs.

3. The Appearance of Mother Granada

Let us now turn to the role of Mother Granada, who is omnipresent in Latino’s poetry. The personification of Granada plays an important role in the first epitaph of

²⁷ The notes in the margin leave no space for doubt: “*Officium Sanctum Hispanorum regum, virtus et potestas unica*” and “*Officium Sanctum pro parte regia defendendum est Philippo, aliter regna non permanebunt.*”

²⁸ In a marginal note, the poet refers to the presence of Philip II as the only powerful monarch of the West in the Council of Trent: “*Ut actibus fidei interfuit idem Philippus cum consilio regio.*”

²⁹ Latinus, *De Augusta*, fol. 4v.

³⁰ See Latinus, *Austrias Carmen*, I.403-404: “*Quos cautus ductor verbis terrere superbis / incipit et gladio fulgenti magna minatur.*”

³¹ Latinus, *De Augusta*, fol. 4v.

the volume, in which the devout female citizens (*devotus sexus femineus*) interrogate Mother Granada about the dynastic transfers, asking specifically about the road and the person in charge.³² In an imaginary dialogue, Mother Granada answers their questions. Interestingly, Latino recalls the original setting of the poem, which formed a part of the third tomb that was erected by a city magistrate. This first epitaph, thus, offers a good example of how personification was used in the holy procession of the dynastic transfer during the winter of 1573-74. The personification of Mother Granada was a perfect tool for conveying messages to the audience.

The most striking example of Mother Granada, however, is to be found in the first of two elegies directed to Latino's former master Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba. The extensive direct speech of Mother Granada occupies the lion's share of the poem (vv. 105-346), just as Charles' monologue to Philip does in the first poem of the volume. A marginal note indicates the rhetorical device used in the first description of Granada: "*Prosopopoeia, id est, personae descriptio*". Through a highly visual image, the poet shows how Mother Granada approached him to deliver her speech:

Cum subito canos laniata in vertice crines,
Tunc Matrona potens pergere visa mihi.
Praesidis incedens vultum convertit, et urbem
In se, pontifices, agmina sancta movet.
Dumque ea suspirat, vocesque ad sidera iactat,
Talia dicentem regia turba notat.³³

I saw appearing a mighty Matron with grey hairs thrown out. On her march she draws attention of the president [of the Royal Chancery of Granada, that is, Pedro de Deza] and the city to herself. She stirs the priests and the holy procession. While she moans and spreads words to the stars, the royal crowd observes her speaking such a thing.

Granada appears on the stage and is first witnessed the author (*pergere visa mihi*). In this way, Juan Latino clearly distances himself from the unfavourable criticism of the direct speech that is about to follow. Throughout the volume, Granada is presented as a real matron who has for years faithfully carried out her duty of guarding the royal corpses. In the quotation above, she is introduced as a strong matron who has desperately torn out (*laniata*) her white hairs (*canos crines*). This powerful image of a female figure destroying a part of her body is very epic in nature.³⁴ The effects of her presence clearly move (*movet*) the people who observe her. As is obvious in her bodily performance, Mother Granada's speech to king Philip is the complaint (*expostulatio*) of a desperate woman. Indeed, some citizens could have interpreted the royal remains

³² Latino, *De Augusta*, fol. 21r. I quote the last part of the extensive title of this epitaph to show the close link with the ephemeral structures that were built in the city as an important part of the processions: "[...] docebat epitaphium in tumulo tertio a Magistratu Granatensi in calle Illiberio erectum Auguste ad divum Iacobum, quod omnibus fuit gratissimum."

³³ Latino, *De Augusta*, fol. 27v.

³⁴ Consider, for example, the personification of Rome in Lucan, *Pharsalia*, I.186-192, who is also featured with grey hairs (*canos crines*). In the work of Claudian, the goddess Roma regularly returns as an agent delivering a speech. In the epic *De bello Gildonico* I.17-212, a personified Roma clearly seeks to arouse emotions of sorrow and pity in the audience. Another possible influence is the appearance of Philosophy in the allegorical work of Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae*.

as personal property. In her speech, Granada calls the royal bodies her proper relics (*reliquias*).³⁵

Nevertheless, Granada's opening words are used to represent her as a city that is and has always been very loyal to the Spanish king. The removal of the royal bodies from the city is regarded as unfair. Despite the injustice (*iniuriam*) done to her, she faithfully complies with Philip's demands. Proceeding along the streets, she touches the hearts of Pedro de Deza – the president of the Royal Chancellery and dedicatee of the epic *Austrias Carmen* of the first volume, – the citizens of Granada and the other attendants of the holy procession. Everyone looks amazed but ready to hear her royal speech attentively (*auribus arrectis*). The self-fashioning of Mother Granada in her character speech can be considered as the rhetorical construction and expression of a civic identity. The ritual performances celebrated in Granada were the perfect occasion to negotiate the public image of the city. According to Carlos Eire, Philip II was obsessed with the dynastic transfer: "He asked for accounts of their translations, gave instructions, and passed comments on the details." (260-1) Latino's volume of poetry in commemoration of the transfers in Granada would thus have been of enormous interest to the king. In personifying Mother Granada, the poet constructs a representative image of his city, although he still is able to distance himself from the criticism of Philip's neglect of his mother country.

The performance of the ceremonies related to the transfer of the royal bodies is a clear example of the Habsburg theatre state, a concept that is often applied to ritual and other performances in the cities of the Low Countries.³⁶ The funeral processions during the winter of 1573-74 offered Granada the ideal opportunity to communicate her wishes and concerns. In her study *From Muslim to Christian Granada* Katie Harris observes the various attempts by city magistrates to obscure the Muslim past by pointing to a long and remote Christian past. Juan Latino's construction of the city as '*urbs antiqua*' functions in a similar way but in this instance, Granada does not obscure the recent civil war and the subsequent efforts of Muslims to defame the city but rather stresses her endless loyalty to the Spanish kings and the Roman Catholic Church. She piously partakes in the funeral festivities and seeks to have this pious event remembered. The ceremonies are thus a form of dynastic propaganda but they are also a good example of how both the city and its citizens could gain from this unusual spectacle.

We catch a glimpse of this negotiation of a civic identity in the defence of Mother Granada. The direct speech starts with a reflection on the recent rebellion of the Moriscos in the Second War of the Alpujarras (1568-71).³⁷ Exhausted by the treacherous warfare (*perfida bella*), Granada recalls her previous role as the guardian

³⁵ See Guy Lazure's book *Possessing the Sacred* about Philip II's desire for collecting relics in El Escorial and the resistance that the king sometimes experienced from cities or individuals.

³⁶ See, for example, the book chapter of Anne-Laure Van Bruaene on the performance of identity in the Low Countries. Van Bruaene argues that "the Habsburg court in the Low Countries deliberately used devotion both in its effort to make subjects identify with the dynasty and to forge some sort of supraregional identity for their lands." (137) In my opinion, a similar effort was done in the city of Granada. As such, the epitaphs of Juan Latino can be considered as a medium of propaganda to reach the royal officials who were in Granada during the ceremonies and later also the king through the publication of his funeral poetry.

³⁷ For more information on the Second War of the Alpujarras, I refer to Matthew Carr (especially part II, chapters 8-13) and David Coleman (180-85).

(*custos*) of the royal corpses.³⁸ In a very assertive way, she poses a series of rhetorical questions to the absent king to stress her loyalty and irreproachable Catholic identity:

Quid feci infelix? In te quae foedera iunxi?
 Haereticis unquam num sociata fui?
 Non ego cum Mauris tunc Christi excindere nomen
 Impia iuravi, heu bella cruenta tulli.³⁹

What did unhappy I do? Did I ever conspire against you? Or was I ever an ally of the heretics? No, I have never sworn impiously with the Moriscos to extinguish the name of Christ, but alas, I have suffered bloody wars.

Granada sees the transfer of the four royal bodies as a punishment for the civil wars. But then she reminds Philip of the 1492 Reconquista of Granada by Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabel I of Castile, as well as of her everlasting love (*semper fida*) for the king's father Charles and his grandparents Philip I and Joanna I of Castile. After these new claims of loyalty, she makes a highly provocative apostrophic utterance to Philip II:

Si Maiestatem conspirans iura, Philippe,
 Laesissem, nobis an graviora dares?⁴⁰

If I had conspired against your Majesty and offended your laws, Philip, would you have put us to even greater trouble?

Mother Granada mourns excessively for the loss of the bodies of Empress Isabel and Princess Maria Manuela of Portugal, which she considers her single glory (*corpora gloria sola mihi*). In hyperbolic language, Granada declares that she would allow Philip II to destroy the entire city, if only the royal corpses had been left untouched (*regia ni raperes*). Latino compares this idea with the destruction of Alba Longa by the legendary third king of Rome Tullus Hostilius and the subsequent migration of its citizens to Rome.⁴¹

Granada goes on to accuse Philip of visiting Cordoba and Seville but of ignoring only Granada (*sola relictæ tibi*), the third prominent city of the Roman province Hispania Baetica. The prosopopoeic discourse serves to move the Spanish king to pay a visit to her city and legitimizes the claims of Granada to be honoured with such a royal recognition. The memory of Philip's conception in the Alhambra complex during the summer of 1526 is craftily evoked to underscore that Charles V once honoured the city with such a visit and that Philip's '*patria*' is actually Granada. Latino subsequently describes the king as a lenient monarch who wishes to convert the heretics instead of killing them and, thus, questions Philip's incomprehensible disregard for the pious citizens of Granada (vv. 169-76). Finally, Granada is seriously worried about the fate of the four corpses during the procession to El Escorial. She receives visions of the cortege in her dreams, which are explained in the margins as a sign of her love for the

³⁸ Compare Silius Italicus *Punica*, XV.816, for the characterization of the wars of Hannibal against Rome as '*perfidæ bella*'.

³⁹ Latino, *De Augusta*, fol. 19v.

⁴⁰ Latino, *idem*.

⁴¹ The marginal note refers to the passage in Livy, *De urbe condita*, I.22-30.

Habsburg family (vv. 193-200).⁴² The unhappy visions bring Mother Granada to a new series of rhetorical questions, which seek to create pathos. The last one is particularly poignant: “*Me locus in terris dignior esse potest?*” (v. 214: Could there be a place on earth that is worthier than I?)

Granada continues imagining the removal of the four corpses from the Royal Chapel. In a lengthy episode, we observe how she wakes with a start (*excitior somno subito*) from her daydreaming and immediately verifies the presence of the royal remains of the Catholic kings. Full of worries, she grabs hold of her children, just as a real mother would do (vv. 225-28). In another cry of desperation, she calls the people fortunate (*felices populi*) for they never know the sorrows of organizing funeral festivities or taking care of the royal remains. More pathos follows in the form of rhetorical questions to the deceased royal corpses. Granada abandons all hope (*ite spes omnes*) when she realizes she cannot avoid handing over the sacred bodies.⁴³ In spite of all the luxury in El Escorial, a building that is admired by everyone (*Christicolae, Turcae, barbara gens*), it is only the presence of the royal remains of his family that makes Philip II take such an emotional interest in it.

This does not dissuade Mother Granada from praising her own inferior Royal Chapel in a provocative manner. The personified Traveller (*Viator*), for example, hearing the names of the Catholic Monarchs will immediately forget all the stones and gold of El Escorial. The temple is of no importance – *Quid templum miror?* – because material things do not survive. The memory of the Catholic Monarchs, on the contrary, is eternal.⁴⁴ They rescued her from the Moorish people in 1492. She feels safe (*secura*) in their presence. Indeed, in the final lines of her speech, Granada speaks with renewed courage. She acknowledges that the king has to be obeyed (vv. 291-2) and the coming of Joanna is considered a real solace (vv. 293-4). The reunification of Joanna with her husband Philip in her Royal Chapel will resuscitate Granada as well. The lamentation serves in the first place to stress her role as the city where the origins of the Habsburg family are buried:

Hisque triumphasse, his gestis memorata videbor,
Inque malis vivens ambitiosa meis.⁴⁵

I will be seen to have triumphed in these [tombs], remembered in these deeds
and in my wrongs I will live in ambition.

Despite a series of setbacks, that is, the transfer of four royal bodies (Isabel of Portugal, Maria Manuela of Portugal, John of Austria, Ferdinand of Austria) buried once in her Royal Chapel, her ambition will not diminish. Indeed, the presence of Philip I of Castile brings to mind the living king Philip II of Spain. The many Masses in the Royal Chapel celebrated in honour of Philip I of Castile glorify the name of Philip resounding time and again. At the end of her speech, Mother Granada asks Philip II to compensate the city by remembering it regularly. The monologue ends with Granada

⁴² The marginal note (*qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt*) is a clear reference to Virgil, *Eclogues*, VIII.108.

⁴³ The apostrophic sentence to the abstract idea of hope reminds us of Virgil, *Eclogues*, I.64-78, especially v. 74: “*ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae.*”

⁴⁴ The marginal note formulates this explicitly: “*Templa, quae condidit Philippus, habeat, nobis nostra placent, ubi regalia corpora catholica.*” (May Philip possess the temples he founded, since our temples with the Catholic royal bodies please us)

⁴⁵ Latinus, *De Augusta*, fol. 31r.

wishing Philip II and his family all the best and urging the king and his wife Anna to continue to be the ultimate defenders of the Catholic faith. Latino ends the prosopopoeic discourse by returning to the original context of the elegy, that is, his poetic praise of the memorials of the kings (*regum monumenta*) for his beloved former master Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba.

4. Conclusions

Juan Latino carefully shapes the cultural memory of the dynastic transfer of the royal corpses from Granada to El Escorial with the publication of his second volume of poetry in 1576. The public performances offer Latino and his city the ideal opportunity to create a civic identity that strengthens and challenges the city's position vis-à-vis the Habsburg family of Philip II. Interestingly, the epitaphs were first part of ephemeral public constructions that were used to guide the processions of the royal bodies. Later, Latino published the occasional epitaphs in a composition that was enlarged with other poems. These longer poems of the volume provide the epitaphs with a narrative framework, which leaves a deep impression on the reader. As we have seen, *prosopopoeia* is the rhetorical figure that is used to create this effect. In this paper, we have seen how this trope is used to shape the mythical image of Charles V and to embody the emotions of the citizens of Granada. The prosopopoeic effect of presence serves not only as a mnemonic but also as an instructive device of communication: 'memorare' then becomes 'docere'. The primary function of exemplary reading in the funeral poetry has been related to the idea of the Habsburg theatre state.

This article has analysed the two figures who are personified in the second volume of Latino: Philip's father Charles V and Mother Granada. The Emperor's monologue to his son recalls the political testament he wrote in Augsburg in 1548. The literary staging of Charles who appears to Philip in a moment of prayer in order to teach him the secrets of government (*arcana docebo*) is a potent image that includes the reader as an eyewitness in this moment of intimacy. The prosopopoeic discourse conveys the reasons for Philip's decision to transfer the royal corpses of his deceased family members in the winter of 1573. Similarly, the speech of Mother Granada is very powerful and seeks to arouse indignation and pity in the reader, in the first place the addressee king Philip II, by use of rhetorical questions and other devices. Using the personification of Granada, the poetic voice delivers a long speech that challenges Philip II's disregard for the citizens and negotiates a new civic identity for Granada. *Prosopopoeia* is thus a very efficacious communicate device in the poetry of Juan Latino. It does not merely instruct the reader who observes the epitaphs of the ephemeral constructions, be it in reality or before his inner eye, it also moves him or her to devotion and reflection.

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