

***Night Moves: Nocturnality within Religious and Humanist Poetry
in Hernando del Castillo's Cancionero general***¹

*Voor mijn lieve vriend Maxim Kerkhof,
meester van de Spaanse Humanisme*

Óscar Perea-Rodríguez
University of California, Riverside

In the Western literary canon, night has been associated with the concept of creation since the 7th century B.C., when Hesiod popularised this feature in his *Theogony* (vv. 211-32). The venerable epic poet humanised the ‘night’ throughout Nyx –in Greek, Νύξ–, daughter of Chaos and Earth,² and the actual ‘mother of the gods’ (Bell 173), as West has underscored (Hesiod 35-36). Precisely because “Hesiod’s model for the coming into being of the cosmos is not that of purposeful creation by a designing Creator, but follows instead the procreative pattern of a human family” (Clay 14), the connection of this pagan model to that of Christianity was quite easy to establish due to the family component of the Trinity (So 12-15), so that with the help of the great blend of genres and models used by Hesiod to generate his poems (Rodríguez Adrados 215-16), this family-related element rapidly facilitated nocturnality’s transit from the Classical pagan imagery towards Christian thought, proving, to paraphrase Pedrosa, “los cimientos paganos del edificio cristiano” (2012, 3).³

Hesiod’s tracks are not, however, easy to trace. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, the most distinguished scholar to study these Classical components in medieval Spanish literature, did not find any other possible influence of Hesiod besides a subtle reference to the well-known motif of the nightingale (1975, 104). Not necessarily related to this classical model though, being perhaps a case of polygenesis rather than tradition,⁴ there are actually a few examples of this symbolism of the night, according to Hesiod’s pattern, in what is considered a stunning sample of medieval Spanish

¹ This work is included in the Research Project *El Cancionero de Palacio (SA7): hechos y problemas* (2) (FFI2010-17427), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation and directed by Dr. Cleofé Tato García, from Universidade de A Coruña. I am in debt to my colleagues Raymond L. Williams, Lori Mesrobian, and Donna Southard for their valuable comments and suggestions to this paper.

² “Ἐκ Χάος δ’ Ἐρεβός τε μέλαινά τε Νύξ ἐγένοντο· ¶ Νυκτὸς δ’ αὖτ’ Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο, ¶ οὓς τέκε κυσαμένη Ἐρέβει φιλότῃτι μιγεῖσα.” (*Theogony* 123-25): “From Chaos came forth Erebus and black Nyx; ¶ but of Nyx were born Aither and Hemera, ¶ whom she conceived and bare from love union with Erebus” (Hesiod 116).

³ I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my friend and colleague José Manuel Pedrosa, not only for allowing me to read his forthcoming work on this matter, but also for his valuable suggestions and wise advice regarding some aspects of *romancero* and folk literature treated in this paper.

⁴ In the terms defined by Alonso 1985, 707-31.

poetry: the *Cancionero general*, compiled by Hernando del Castillo and first printed in Valencia, 1511 (11CG).⁵

Spanish poetry of the late Middle Ages is often called *poesía de cancionero*, an expression which can be roughly translated as ‘songbook poetry’. This particular name comes from a specific genre, the *canción*, which, as Beltrán (1989), Whetnall (1989), and Gómez Bravo (2000) have pointed out, was enormously successful during the 15th century. Without delving into further qualitative analysis, what is most surprising about Spanish *cancionero* poetry is its quantitative vigor; within the chronological boundaries established by Dutton (1990-91), that is, between 1350 and 1520, have been preserved approximately 450 *cancioneros*, either in printed or manuscript form, which contain some 7,000 poems composed by a number of troubadours that ranges between 900 and 1,000 (Gerli 1994, 11). As a result of this extraordinary number, which greatly exceeds the lyrical offspring created by any of the other Romance languages during the Middle Ages, Spanish *cancionero* poetry may be considered the abundant poetical harvest of Western medieval Europe.

On the other hand, its bulk, its conventions, its topics, its stylised vocabulary, all made *cancionero* poetry difficult to study as a purely literary movement.⁶ Even worse, this relative obscurity made it possible for this neglect to continue throughout the 20th century in favor of more popular forms, such as the *romancero* and the epic, most likely as a result of the prestige of some scholars opposed to *cancionero* poetry.⁷ But nowadays, as Beltrán has remarked, the *Cancionero general* deserves widespread recognition on at least two meritorious counts:

[El *Cancionero general*] habría ejercido de intermediario entre la lírica medieval y la de la Edad de Oro, y habría posibilitado la recuperación del octosílabo cuatrocentista por la nueva poesía de la época de Lope y Góngora [...] Le cabe a nuestro *Cancionero* el mérito de haber vehiculado la divulgación de aquel patrimonio que se juzgaba clásico. (Beltrán 2012, 3)⁸

Beltrán’s word choice, the adjective ‘classic’ and the idea of the *Cancionero general* as transmission vehicle of revered Spanish cultural heritage perhaps should be interpreted *ad pedem litterae*, since, as we shall see, the *Cancionero general* was a means of dissemination for some of the lyrical *night moves* that we have mentioned above. In this paper, I shall attempt to show how this concept of nocturnality,

⁵ I use Dutton’s ID system to locate both poems and songbooks mentioned in this paper, according to the method designed by Tato García & Perea Rodríguez 93-94. I also use the *PhiloBiblon* system, Manid and Texid, to locate both manuscripts and texts mentioned in this paper (see Faulhaber *et al.*)

⁶ Additional explanations about this in Perea Rodríguez 2007, 9-15.

⁷ For example, Menéndez Pidal’s disaffection for *cancionero* poetry is treated in Gómez Moreno 2005.

⁸ I am in debt to my friend Vicenç Beltrán, for letting me read his article cited here prior to its publication.

understood in a manner quite similar to the already mentioned Classical mold designed by Hesiod, found in Castillo's compilation its leading expositor within both Spanish medieval literature and its subsequent productions. Thus, let us examine the forms in which the Classical symbolism of the night appeared in the poetry compiled by Castillo in 1511, in order not only to calibrate its further evolution during the 16th century,⁹ but also its originality within medieval Spanish poetic canon.¹⁰

Nocturnality in Religious *Cancionero* Poetry

The first section of those in which this songbook is divided appears under the subtitle *obras de devoción y moralidad* (fols. 1r-22r).¹¹ Traditionally, scholars had considered that Hernando del Castillo was unaware of most religious poetry of his age, which could explain the absence in 11CG of notable authors of sacred poetry from the late 15th century, such as Ambrosio Montesino, Juan del Encina, or Fray Íñigo de Mendoza (Rodríguez-Moñino 1968, 41). But, it has been demonstrated recently how this traditional point of view is quite inaccurate; what the compiler almost certainly had in mind was just one and only aim: avoiding those works already printed and well known by the general public, preferring to offer a selection of original poems not yet printed and unfamiliar to readers (Beltrán 2005, 243-45; Whetnall 1995, 512-13; Chas Aguión). This fact would clarify why Castillo opened the door of this religious poetry section to more popular genres, such as *villancicos* and *cancioncillas* (Dutton 1990, 86), reflecting the evolution of Spanish poetic taste during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance (Darbord 283-85) and also in tune with the cultural atmosphere of lyrical experimentation lived in Valencia during the first decade of the 16th century (Tomassetti 11-13).

Readers could find in this 11CG section a wide variety of medieval religious stanzas, including some original mentions of the night. In fact, the very first nocturnal allusion referred to perhaps the most important night of Christianity not only in the Middle Ages, but also at the present time: Christmas Eve.¹² The author of this was a certain *mosén* Juan Tallante, a not-yet-well-known religious Spanish poet. He has been linked for a long time to the Valencian courtly milieu (Pérez Bosch 216-17), especially to the intellectual circle of Serafín de Centelles, Count of Oliva (Perea Rodríguez 2008, 247-49), to whom the *Cancionero general* was dedicated by his then

⁹ For *Cancionero general* itself, see González Cuenca. For the continuity of *cancionero* poetry within Golden Age, see Labrador Herraiz and DiFranco 1996 and 2001.

¹⁰ On the Spanish medieval canon's evolution, see Gómez Moreno 2004.

¹¹ All 11CG quotations are taken from the issue held by Biblioteca Nacional de España (henceforth, BNE), R/2092, accessible online through this URL:

<<http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/biblioteca/Canci%C3%B5ero%20general%20de%20muchos%20y%20diuersos%20autores%20qls/195736#frmCom>> [2012-02-11]

¹² On Spanish religious poetry of the 15-16th centuries related to Christmas, see Darbord 176-85.

servant, Hernando del Castillo.¹³ But this acknowledged Valencian connection of Juan Tallante notwithstanding, he was not “un Valencien, comme le comte d’Oliva” (Darbord 264-65):¹⁴ actually, he must be located in the city of Murcia, for it was there where he inherited from his father, Juan Alfonso Tallante, the public offices of city counselor and attorney during the early years of the Catholic Monarchs’ reign (Perea Rodríguez 2003, 230-31).

Tallante’s originality as a troubadour was underscored by Darbord, who commented on his style’s development “du conceptisme le plus baroque à une certain grace dans l’emploi du «villancico» populaire” (266). His most successful poem, dedicated to extol the twenty *excelencias* of the Virgin Mary (ID 1006, 11CG-1: “Enantes que culpa fuesse causada”), has been described as “méditations qui accompagnent les quinze dizaines du chapelet” (Darbord 267). In this poem of praise, probably taking into consideration that night’s symbolism “is related to the passive principle, the feminine and the unconscious” (Cirlot 218), Tallante included an appealing reference to one of the main features of nocturnality: its function of limit between light and darkness, all the more significant if a key element is involved such as the birth of Jesus Christ.¹⁵

La última noche, mediada en el hilo,
 un día del cuento vicéssimoquarto
 del mes postrimero de tu dulce parto,
 llegándose ya la luz del pavilo...
 ¡Ó, sacro misterio, que no te perfilo 5
 con orlas supremas de más gravedad,
 por quanto mi mísera fragilidad
 no sabe dar dones de tan alto estilo! (11CG, fol. 1v, vv. 65-72)

Here the night plays not only a role as a boundary between darkness and the light of lights, Jesus Christ, but also of “fertility, potentiality and germination” (Cirlot 218) represented by the Virgin Mary. However, it was the former that achieved success in Christian rhetoric, as evidenced by its presence in the Bible as the trope of light defeating darkness (John 12:35).

¹³ As can be read in Castillo’s prologue to his *Cancionero general*: “Suplico pues a Vuestra Señoría que por interesse a lo menos de los altos ingenios que en esta letura se desvelaron, reciba la dicha recopilación o cancionero, por que las claras centellas de Vuestra Señoría hagan resplandescer en ella lo que mis baxos trabajos y poco saber escurescieron, y d’este Castillo, que Vuestra Señoría de los primeros cimientos obró, siempre se acuerde.” (11CG, fol. Iv).

¹⁴ Darbord’s basis for this supposed Valencian origin was probably Tallante’s “abus des mots savants curieusement mêlés aux catalanismes et aux neologismes” (265). But this was typical of the bilingualism in which most of these Spanish *cancioneros* were composed, as Deyermond (1998), among others, has analysed.

¹⁵ Unless the contrary is indicated, I use my own edition of poems and texts throughout this paper.

We must deal now with Nicolás Núñez’s *Villancico hecho a Nuestra Señora la noche de Navidad* (ID 6074, 11CG-43: “Sois vos, reina, aquella estrella”), a poem that gravitates towards the same esthetic orbit imagined by Tallante. This is not however a significant finding in the writings of Núñez, whose genuine *cancioneriles* stanzas excelled during the 15th and 16th centuries due to his remarkable talent, underscored during the last decades by scholars such as Deyermond (1989) or Moreno (1992). As well as Tallante did, Núñez glorified the Virgin Mary by exalting her as a unique receptacle of light during Jesus Christ’s birth:¹⁶

Sois vos, reina, aquella estrella
que nuestros remedios guía,
nuestra lumbre y alegría
que parió siendo doncella.
Por cierto vos sois aquella, 5
pues que Dios
vemos que nació de vos. (11CG, fol. 20v, vv. 1-7)

This *topos* appears to be deeply rooted in the habitual consideration of the Virgin Mary as *stella maris*, of long tradition in Spanish medieval literature since Gonzalo de Berceo’s works (Lozano Renieblas 2000: 162-65). But also its anticipatory state of the night remarked by Cirlot (218) encompasses both the Classical tradition and Christian sources, being the latter most likely used by Nicolás Núñez to shape his poem.

Last but not least, a reference to the night contained in *Obras de devoción y moralidad* deserves our attention. It was penned by a poet called ‘Sazedo’ or ‘Sacedo’,¹⁷ who, unfortunately, is just one more of the many unknown Spanish poets of the 15th century, for all the scholarly efforts made so far to identify him have failed (Perea Rodríguez 2007, 263). There are, however, two main candidates: first, a certain ‘Salcedo’, cantor of the musical chapel of Prince John of Trastámara, Catholic Monarchs’ son and heir (Pérez-Bustamante & Calderón Ortega 162); second, a brave banneret of identical surname, born in Madrid, whose acts during the war of Granada made him notably famous among the Castilian troops stationed there (Benito Ruano 185). The fact that all of Sacedo’s poetry, with the exceptions of a song in the *canciones* section of 11CG,¹⁸ and two brief *motes* and a gloss of one of them,¹⁹ is

¹⁶ As pointed out by Darbord (186), fray Ambrosio Montesino had used this topic prior to 11CG in his personal *cancionero* printed in 1508 (fols. 41v-43v), in his *Coplas a reverencia y devoción del santísimo parto de la Virgen* (ID 6027, 08AM-18: “No la devemos dormir”), vv. 25-35: “La luna ni dos mil soles / no lucían / como ciertos resplandores / que salían / de ti, Virgen, flor de flores, / aquel día / que a Dios pudiste parir. / La preciosa hermosura / de tu cara / de la noche muy oscura / hizo clara” (Montesino 233). In addition, Montesino also defined Jesus Christ in this poem as “Rey de luz inmensa” (v. 48). For this religious topic, see Alonso 1972, 459-60; and Gutiérrez Álvarez 84-85.

¹⁷ The usual mix of these different Spanish surnames, such as Sacedo, Sazedo, Salcedo, Salzedo, makes it even more complicated to determine the poet’s identity today.

¹⁸ ID 6246, 11CG-35: “Sin veros por vos penando”. Dutton 1991, 7: 431.

based on religious *topoi*, constitutes a relevant detail that could perhaps incline us to identify the poet to the first candidate mentioned above, especially considering his cantorial offices in Prince John's musical chapel. Nevertheless, much more research must be done to definitively establish his identity.

Despite its relative originality, Sacedo's religious poetry has been quite often overlooked in the past, as some scholars have recently pointed out (Perotti 2005). For example, in support of Sacedo's poetic creativeness is his mention of the *topos* of 'night and day' as a synecdoche for 'life', as shown in his *Coplas a la quinta angustia de Nuestra Señora* (ID 6056, 11CG-18: "Resplandor de resplandores"):

Mi tristeza y mi alegría,
mi descanso, mi tormento,
¿quién es mi noche y mi día?
Toda tu pasión es mía:
qual la sientes, tal la siento. 5
(11CG, fol. 9v, vv. 261-65)

Sacedo's usage of this rhetorical figure suggests his familiarity with the images of the Virgin Mary suffering during Jesus Christ's Passion according to the model outlined by Ludolphus of Saxony, first in his *Speculum humana salvationis*,²⁰ composed in 1324, and later in his *Vita Christi*, printed in 1474; the latter was well known by Sacedo and the rest of the Iberian poets of the period, thanks to the Spanish translation by Ambrosio de Montesino and first printed in Alcalá de Henares, 1502.²¹ But, whatever his source could be, by voicing the Virgin Mary's feelings while she was holding her dead son in her arms –that is, in fact, the motif of her fifth Angst–, Sacedo created one of the most emotive and original stanzas of the *Obras de devoción*, anticipating some of the images that Saint Juan de la Cruz and Saint Teresa de Jesús would use years later during the peak of Golden Age poetry.²² But, like these two, Sacedo was suspected of being unorthodox, which probably explains why his four poems originally included in this section were eliminated by Hernando del Castillo in the *Cancionero general* of 1514 (Rodríguez-Moñino 1968, 48), thus reducing the presence of Sacedo's religious poetry to the *editio princeps*.

Despite this elimination, this idea about 'night and day' meaning 'always' was indeed successful in poetry of the 16th century. Whether this synecdoche was extracted

¹⁹ ID 6388, 11CG-612: "Muerte, vida, osar, temor"; ID 6415, 11CG-611: "Por vuestra gran perfección"; ID 6416, 11CG-612, "Sola vos que me vencés". Dutton 1991, 7: 431.

²⁰ Especially, her image as "completely absorbed in the experience and the sharing of the Crucifixion of Christ" (Williams 474).

²¹ BETA manid 4175. On Montesino's works and translations, see Álvarez Pellitero.

²² As Álvaro Alonso has recently pointed out regarding love poetry, "los escritores del Siglo de Oro siguieron leyendo el *Cancionero general*, y aprovecharon de él motivos y artificios" (2001, 57).

from the Virgilian reference to the gates of hell,²³ or the Bible (Judit 11: 17),²⁴ before 11CG it was barely used in Spanish medieval literature: we have only found it within López de Ayala's *Rimado de Palacio*.²⁵ Besides the instance by Sacedo examined above, other uses of this synecdoche may be found in 11CG, such as the Marquis of Santillana's lamentation of Enrique de Villena's death,²⁶ and Gómez Manrique's poem dedicated to Diego Arias, or Diagarías, Dávila, the well known *converso* accountant of John II,²⁷ King of Castile;²⁸ as well as the poem by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón entitled *Siete gozos de amor*.²⁹

In summary, the first uses of nocturnality in this section of religious poetry fluctuate between the opposition light vs. darkness in the magical moment of Jesus Christ's birth and the synecdoche 'night and day' meaning 'always', the latter achieving great success after 11CG. Thus, Castillo's compilation, having inherited the classical tradition, reflected these uses and became a major vehicle for their transmission throughout the Golden Age, when these *topoi* would become prominent.

Night time in the poetry of Spanish vernacular Humanism

According to Rodríguez-Moñino (1968, 42), the transition between the *Obras de devoción* and the works of the greatest Spanish poets of the 15th century gathered by Castillo is marked by perhaps the most distinguished troubadour of Castilian vernacular Humanism:³⁰ Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana. His first composition here, a *planctus* for Enrique de Villena's death (ID 0305, 11CG-47: "Robadas avían el Austro y Borea"),³¹ began in a mythological style very much

²³ *Aeneid* 6, 127: "Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis". "The gates of hell are open night and day" (Virgil 186). On his importance in Spanish medieval and Renaissance literature, see Rubio Fernández.

²⁴ "For thy servant is religious, and serveth the God of heaven day and night." See further explanations and other examples at Gutiérrez Álvarez 63-64.

²⁵ *Rimado de Palacio*, 747f: "Sienpre, noches e días, en ál non comedí" (López de Ayala 124).

²⁶ ID 0305, 11CG-47: "Robadas avían el Austro y Borea". The quote is located in fol. 23r, vv. 125-26: "Mas bien como quando de noche y de día / se hallan compañías en el jubileo" (Santillana 291). Other use of this topic by Santillana occurred in a poem not included in 11CG, as ID 0148, SA8-67: "Que es lo que piensas Fortuna." The quote is located in vv. 1292-1293: "que todas noches e días / fazen los que corronpieron" (Santillana 515). Finally, also within 11CG is Santillana's *Doctrinal de privados* (ID 0106, 11CG-53: "Vi tesoros ayuntados"), in which he takes advantage of a very well known Spanish proverb "Canes a noche mala no ladran" (vv. 58-59; Santillana 546). For other uses of this saying in *cancionero* poetry, see Dutton ID 8050.

²⁷ For the *converso* elements of *cancionero* poetry, see Perea Rodríguez 2011 and Perea Rodríguez (forthcoming).

²⁸ ID 0094, 11CG-75: "De los más el más perfeto". The quote is in fol. 47r, vv. 310-311: "sostienen noches y días / con libranças y con guerras." See Manrique 567.

²⁹ ID 0192, 11CG-165: "Ante las puertas del templo". The quote is in fol. 91r, vv. 3-4: "Amor, en cuyo servicio / noches y días contemplo." See Rodríguez del Padrón 309.

³⁰ I both accept and use the term defined by Lawrance 78. See further considerations on this category in the works of Cortijo Ocaña 69-72 and Miguel Prendes 19-26.

³¹ For *planctus* tradition in Spanish medieval literature, see Orzi 3-17.

las tiniebras han robado
toda la claror febea...³⁶ (11CG, fol. 23v, vv. 1-7)

In this case, the night lies hidden behind the implicit reference to a well-known nocturnal and mythological moment:³⁷ when Medea visited her beloved Jason carrying an ointment to protect him from the dangers of his task –*A la hora que Medea*, v. 1.³⁸ Second, it also appears in verses 6-7 through the metaphoric allusion to the spread of darkness as stealing the clarity of the sun (Lida de Malkiel 1975, 134). It is obvious that combining both elements, Santillana provided his poem with a metaphorical varnish that was in complete harmony with the poetic taste of vernacular Humanism of the 15th century.

Juan de Mena, perhaps the most innovative author in Spanish poetry of the 15th century and greatest of Spain's medieval humanists, may be situated within similar artistic parameters.³⁹ As can be taken for granted from who was secretary for Latin letters to King John II of Castile, he was knowledgeable about all the mythological *topoi* and employed them skillfully in his compositions, even his minor poetry (Martín Fernández). Therefore, among Mena's works selected by Castillo to be printed in the *Cancionero general*, the outstanding nocturnal highlight did not occur in any of his successful mythological compositions of *arte mayor*, but rather in what is just a simple love laudation in *arte menor* style.⁴⁰ Although a regular love poem (ID 0006, 11CG-62: “Guay d'aquel ombre que mira”), Mena demonstrates here his skill as a troubadour by appropriately accentuating the beauty of the woman praised by saying that even the darkness of the night –v. 9– would not be able to harm her great beauty –*gran beldad*, v. 2–, as described in this stanza:⁴¹

Dudo que pueda pesar
vuestra gran beldad partir,
ni que vos pueda parar
menos bella el grand llorar
que hermosa el buen reír, 5

³⁶ There is another mention of the night in the next stanza of this composition, v. 11: “noturnal fiesta s'espera”, according to manuscript SA8, source followed by Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof in his edition of Santillana's poetry (Santillana 208). But *Cancionero general* offers another option, “saturnal fiesta s'espera” (11CG, fol. 23v), which, most likely, is a typo.

³⁷ Martín Fernández (135-38) suitably explains the myth of Jason and Medea through Classical sources, and its use by Mena, among other Spanish medieval poets.

³⁸ For more uses of this topic about Medea in Spanish medieval literature, see Biglieri 185-221 and Crosas López 83-84. Morse (185-236) has studied the conceptualisation of this myth in other Medieval Western literatures except that of Spain.

³⁹ Further information about Mena's innovative approaches in the works by Heusch and Matas Caballero.

⁴⁰ Mena's *arte menor* poetry has been recently examined by Beltrán 2011, 39-54.

⁴¹ See Mena 17.

ni calor más la enciende
 vuestra imagen estraña,
 ni frior más la reprende
 ni la noche la ofende
 ni la mañana la daña. (11CG, fol. 31v, vv. 21-30)

Both Santillana's and Mena's talent managing this rhetorical feature of nocturnality is quite remarkable, given that the majority of troubadours from Spanish vernacular Humanism preferred the mythological periphrasis that locates the action during dawn (Lida de Malkiel 1975, 123-24).⁴² This recourse was used by the poets just mentioned: Santillana did so very often,⁴³ as did Juan de Mena, who also situated in the first light of the morning his *Claroescuro* (ID 2235, 11CG-56: "El sol aclarava los montes Achayos"),⁴⁴ one of the most complex poems of the entire Spanish *cancionero* poetry for its blend of both *arte mayor* and *arte menor* stanzas.⁴⁵ In addition, Juan de Mena's imposter, usually known as Pseudo-Mena, also used the same sunrise periphrasis in one of his works, in which he placed the action of his verses during the first rays of light.⁴⁶ Thus, *Cancionero general* anticipates by centuries the highest lyrical peak of this mythological periphrasis in Spanish poetry, which arose when Luis de Góngora y Argote handled it as the starting point of his *Soledades*.⁴⁷

Let us deal now with a poet who has been frequently underrated in both historical and cultural terms: Gómez Manrique. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the renowned genealogist and chronicler, wrote in his *Batallas y Quinquagenas* an accurate description of our noble medieval writer:

Fue uno de los estimados caballeros de Castilla e valiente lanza por su persona [...] de los muy sabios e bien ablado [...], gentil poeta [...] y de sutil ingenio. (3: 15-18)

⁴² For the use of this periphrasis in prose, particularly in the *Libro de los pensamientos variables* (BETA manid 1426), see Perea Rodríguez 2002, 45-46.

⁴³ For example, in his *Querrela de amor* (ID 0127, 11CG-50: "Ya la gran noche passava). 11CG, fols. 24r-24v (Santillana 191-95). Also the *Coronación de Mossén Jordi de Sant Jordi* (ID 0300, 11CG-50: "La hermosa compañera") starts at dawn when "la noturna escureza" (v. 9) is over. For this latter poem and its Dante's *Divine Comedy* influence, see Santillana 215-16.

⁴⁴ 11CG, fols. 29r-30r. Cf. Mena 51-55. There is another poem by Mena that sometimes appears with the title *Claroescuro* (ID 2236, HH1-44: "El fijo muy claro de Iperión"), not collected by Hernando del Castillo within the *Cancionero general*. See Beltrán 2011, 15-16.

⁴⁵ 11CG, fols. 29r-30r. Its complexity has been explained by Crosas López (78-79), Heusch (48-51), and Pérez Priego 1983.

⁴⁶ ID 4672, 11CG-56: "Como el que duerme con la pesada". The reference is in v. 7: "huyó la tiniebra, venida la lumbre" (11CG, fol. 28r).

⁴⁷ See the explanatory footnotes on this topic written by Beverley in his edition of *Soledades* (Góngora 75-76).

Probably following this opinion, centuries later Menéndez y Pelayo assessed that, in terms of poetical weight,⁴⁸ he had been “el primer poeta de su siglo, a excepción del Marqués de Santillana y de Juan de Mena” (2: 340); but indirectly, as a result of Menéndez y Pelayo’s prestige as scholar, his estimation has overshadowed Gómez Manrique despite the fact that he is a troubadour of immense lyrical stature and a very valuable political figure amidst the Spanish turmoil of the 15th century. Henceforth, in regard to chivalric and political values, Gómez Manrique’s mission as Queen Isabella’s ambassador negotiating her marriage with King Ferdinand, together with his rectitude in his role as Toledo’s chief magistrate –*corregidor*–, are both well known and recognised (Manrique 18-42); but these political virtues pale in the frequent comparison with those of his brother Rodrigo, head of the lineage, Count of Paredes and Grand Master of Santiago, an essential figure to understand Castile’s political evolution during the 1400’s. In addition, regarding purely his literacy background, Gómez Manrique’s notable works of poetry have been routinely –even nowadays– overshadowed by those written by his nephew Jorge Manrique, Rodrigo’s son. Converted by critics into the stale Spanish prototypical medieval poet,⁴⁹ Jorge Manrique himself, by composing his everlasting *Coplas a la muerte de su padre* (ID 0277), unwittingly contributed the most to hide the routinely labeled ‘third Manrique’ right behind his father and himself.⁵⁰ Ultimately, Gómez Manrique’s modesty in regard to his own cultural preparation (Scholberg 7-8) –he emphasised, for example, his lack of literary studies (Russell 1978a, 215)–, perhaps deprived him of achieving a more prominent place in the canon of Spanish medieval literature despite his unquestionable merit.

The poem to be examined, sometimes entitled *Planto de las Virtudes e Poesía* (ID 1708, 11CG-71: “Mis suspiros despertad”),⁵¹ was composed shortly after Santillana’s death, in parallel to some other comparable works conceived as a poetic homage to the recently deceased Marquis Don Íñigo (Russell 1978a, 214-15; Infantes 35). Although Gómez Manrique was a poet totally imbued with the spirit of vernacular Humanism, his poetry did not display what, regarding other contemporary vernacular poetries, has been defined as “uneasiness following the high style” (Burrow 44-46; 128-29). According to this simplicity, and aside from the poetic form selected, the frequent double *quintilla* of octosyllabic verses,⁵² our poet, as a reputed Christian believer

⁴⁸ Scholberg underscored that Menéndez y Pelayo “le dedicó casi cincuenta páginas elogiosas en su *Antología*” (1).

⁴⁹ See further information in Domínguez XIII-XV.

⁵⁰ Aside from other well-known editions, the poetry of these three members of Manrique’s family has been recently edited by Beltrán 2009.

⁵¹ See further comments on this poem by Scholberg 26-30 and Vidal González’s prologue to Manrique’s poetry (Manrique 54-56).

⁵² See Arce 1970, 29-30.

(Scholberg 9), avoided invoking the Muses or any other member of the classical pantheon of gods, preferring instead to summon Jesus Christ.⁵³

No invoco los poetas
que me hagan eloquente;
no las Cirras, mucho netas,
ni las hermanas discretas
que moran cabo la fuente;
ni quiero ser socorrido
de la madre de Cupido
ni de la Tesaliana,
mas del nieto de Sant' Ana
con su saber infinido. (11CG, fol. 37r, vv. 21-30)

Following the same pattern, in the next stanzas Gómez Manrique situates the action of his poem during the spring, but avoiding complex mythological circumlocution like those we have seen before. In its place, he selects a few typical allusions to springtime, such as nightingales and other birds singing, fruits on trees, warm weather, and, above all, green fields filled with flowers in bloom. These refreshing and springlike *topoi* are rare in Gómez Manrique's poetry: Scholberg has described the stanza as "uno de los pocos pasajes en que Manrique habla de la naturaleza" (26). But just a few verses later, Gómez Manrique's Dantean pilgrimage through valleys and mountains,⁵⁴ making use of the medieval archetype of *locus amoenus*,⁵⁵ takes on to what looks like a diametrically opposed scenario, becoming a dreadfully harsh *locus horribilis* in which the nocturnal component appears accentuated by its association with evil (Cirlot 73; Gutiérrez Álvarez 69-70):

Con angustia no pequeña
de la noche que venía,
metime por una breña
contra la más alta peña
que cercana parecía;
y tal iva, yo vos digo,
que mi mayor enemigo
me fuera vista plazible,
según la cuita terrible

⁵³ On Jesus Christ substituting pagan invocations during the Middle Ages, see Curtius 239-40 and Manrique 367. Scholberg also underscored that Gómez Manrique "siempre invoca al Dios cristiano, rechazando con intención las deidades o figuras mitológicas" (74).

⁵⁴ On Dante as prototype of pilgrim, see Bloom 77.

⁵⁵ In the terms defined by Hernández Valcárcel 333-38.

que caminava conmigo. (11CG, fol. 38r, vv. 201-210)⁵⁶

In the following verses, Gómez Manrique keeps emphasising the night as the connection between the darkness and the fear provoked by the principle of evil. Thus, although he first neglects any invocation of classical figures, now he clearly demonstrates his insightful nature as a Humanist by interspersing a couple of classical references in his poetic discourse:

E bien como quien camina
 por ventas en invernada,
 quando la tarde declina,
 aguija muy más aína
 por hallar cierta posada, 5
 iva yo quanto podía;
 pero la lumbre del día
 del todo me falleció
 y la tiniebra cubrió
 quando menos me cumplía. 10

Allí fueron mis temores
 con la noche redoblados:
 los espantables cantores
 ressonavan sus clamores
 en somo de los collados; 15
 las serpientes baladravan
 y las ondas se quebravan
 del río, con más rebate
 que la noche que Amiclate
 y el César navegavan [...] 20

A Marco no se hazía
 en la su prisión amarga
 –quando por cama tenía
 clavos sobre que durmía–
 igual la noche de larga; 25
 aunque tanto recelava
 la fiesta que s’esperava
 tras los tales aparentes,
 que, con los males presentes,
 en algo me conformava. (11CG, fol. 38r, vv. 211-30; 250-60)⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Manrique 375.

⁵⁷ Manrique 375-77.

Thus, as described in the first stanza above, the nearing darkness induces the poet to speed up his search for shelter, but finally the advent of the menacing gloom makes him subject to all the fears traditionally associated with the night, summarised in “the principle of evil and with the base, unsublimated forces” (Cirlot 73). Gómez Manrique’s apprehensiveness is remarked first by references based on Nature, such as nighttime sounds of animals –vv. 13-15–, but also through the presence of imaginary creatures, especially the whistling serpents of v. 16 –*las serpientes baladravan*.⁵⁸

Aside from these inspired and naturalistic verses, our poet also exhibits his acquaintance with vernacular Humanism by mentioning two classical scenes with prominent nocturnal components: first, in vv. 19-20, the stormy night when a mariner called Amyclas transported Julius Caesar in his boat to Italy during the Roman Civil Wars (Quint 1992, 137-40), a well-known and canonical episode transmitted during the Middle Ages throughout Lucanus’s *Pharsalia* (5: 476-667).⁵⁹ Second, just a little later, in vv. 21-25, Manrique hyperbolised his own sleepless and terrifying night by recurring to a classical prototype for forced insomnia:⁶⁰ the case of the Roman consul Marcus Atillius Regulus, tortured by his Carthaginian captors who spitefully cut off his eyelids and obliged him to look directly at the sun until he died because it was impossible for him to close his eyes, a cruelty that was transmitted during the Middle Ages by Valerius Maximus’s *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, among others.⁶¹

As a final summit of his poem, Manrique devises the way in which daylight defeats darkness through a chain of popular references not only related to the *topos*, but biographically quite accurate:

⁵⁸ Scholberg also empashises in this poem “el uso de un escenario desierto y salvaje, de noche, con fieras espantosas” (28).

⁵⁹ It is likely that Manrique read the Spanish translation of this work by Lucanus in the manuscript BNE Ms/10805 (BETA manid 2821), held in Santillana’s library (see Almeida). On Lucanus’s importance within medieval canon, see Curtius 264-77.

⁶⁰ Curiously, it seems that Manrique liked this nocturnal topic related to insomnia very much, for he incorporated it into this poem once more, this time with a positive connotation. Hence, in his praise of the Marquis of Santillana, Manrique remarks that Don Íñigo used to spend his days involved in chivalric activities, but that he also stay awake all night studying in order to acquire wisdom: “Él los días despendía / en toda caballería / y las noches estudiava: / trabajando procurava / honras y sabiduría” (11CG, fol. 41v, vv. 1096-1100). In addition, Manrique referred to this one more time in his *Regimiento de príncipes* (ID 1872, 11CG-74: “Príncipe de cuyo nombre”), a poem dedicated to the Catholic Monarchs in which our poet advised them against laziness by writing “Voluntad quiere holgança, / quiere vicios, alegrías / y hazer noches los días” (11CG, fol. 45v, vv. 631-33). See Manrique 654.

⁶¹ 9, 2 ext. 1: “Transgrediemur nunc ad illa, quibus ut par dolor, ita nullus nostrae ciuitatis rubor inest. Karthaginienses Atilium Regulum palpebris resectis machinae, in qua undique praeacuti stimuli eminebant, inclusum uigilantia pariter et continuo tractu doloris necauerunt, tormenti genus haud dignum passo”. “We shall turn to stories that are equally sad but cause no embarrassment to our state. The Carthaginians cut off the eyelids of Atilius Regulus and locked him into a contraption that had sharpened spikes sticking inward from its sides. Lack of sleep and the prolonged and continuous agony killed him” (Valerius Maximus 316).

Como alcaide sospechoso
 –si callan los veladores
 pospone todo reposo–,
 yo me levanté quexoso,
 cercado de mil terrores; 5
 que pequeña mutación
 al aflito corazón
 faze torçer la balança...
 ¡quánto más una mudança
 venida tan de rendón! 10

E vi que las noturnales
 lumbreras se despedían,
 mostrando por sus señales
 que las banderas febles
 no mucho lueñe venían. 15
 ¡Creo que no desseavan
 los qu'en tiniebras estavan
 con mayor ansia la luz
 que les vino por la cruz
 del Mexías qu'esperavan! (11CG, fol. 38r-38v, vv. 281-300)⁶²

Thus, the indication of the silence of the night watchmen –*si callan los veladores*, v. 2–, here acting as a premonition of the coming of daylight, can be considered a reflection of his experience in the art of war, a reference very much appropriate to the chivalric taste, characterised by its blend of arms and letters (Russell 1978a, 211-12). Second, *noturnales lumbreras* –vv. 11-12–, that is, the stars, are substituted for rays of light –*banderas febles*, v. 14. The latter adjective is, in the classical symbolism of Western culture, a sign of the god of the Sun (Ferber 135): throughout the Spanish Middle Ages, it was often mentioned as Febus rather than Apollo, according to some traditions from the Late Roman Empire (Falcón Martínez 1: 63). At last, as a coda, Gómez Manrique makes good his firm Christian reputation utilising a comparison that we have seen before in the religious poetry of the *Cancionero general*: Jesus Christ depicted as light of lights during his birth, as our poet underscored in the last five verses cited above.⁶³ By blending these mythological hints with nocturnal references and,⁶⁴ of course, elements from the collective Christian heritage,⁶⁵ Gómez Manrique

⁶² Manrique 378-79.

⁶³ Scholberg remarked that Manrique's "anhelo por el amanecer, cuando se halla en el valle tenebroso, en el 'Planto', es igual al de los que esperaban al Mesías" (78).

⁶⁴ "Aunque Gómez Manrique es un poeta muy dado a referencias clásicas y menciones de figuras mitológicas, bíblicas e históricas, también emplea bastantes dichos y refranes de sabor popular" (Scholberg 78).

contributed enormously to the peculiar character of Spanish vernacular Humanism of the Middle Ages, although his role in this cultural movement, as explained before, has been often diminished.

Diego de Burgos and Alecto's Mother: the Magic Equilibrium Day / Night

Among some of the other appealing elements in the *Cancionero general* which, still connected to vernacular Humanism, present an original approach to this *topos*, let us include a very peculiar case: that of Diego de Burgos, the Marquis of Santillana's most recognised follower. Once again, we must deal at this time with a troubadour whose biography is still an enigma: basically we know nothing about this poet, except that he served for years as secretary and scribe for the Mendoza lineage, first for Santillana himself (Arce 1976, 357-58); then, for his son and inheritor, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Duke of Infantado (Perea Rodríguez 2007, 248); and finally, for another of Santillana's sons, Pedro González de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain and Archbishop of Toledo (Schiff LX-LXI).⁶⁶

Aside from some minor poems,⁶⁷ Diego de Burgos owes his certain reputation as a poet to an astonishing piece:⁶⁸ the *Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana* (ID 1710, 11CG-87: "Tornado era Febo a ver el Tesoro"),⁶⁹ an elegant elegy written in the intricate but fashionable medieval Spanish style called *arte mayor castellano* (Le Gentil 2: 362-96). Similar to the Gómez Manrique composition we have just seen, it was composed in 1458, shortly after Santillana's death. Though a masterpiece of Spanish Humanism, this poem has been "escasamente apreciado, si no mal comprendido, como suele ocurrir con buena parte de los textos cuatrocentistas" (Moreno Hernández 105). Thus, the complexities of Diego de Burgos' *Triunfo* begin with an obscure mythological periphrasis –almost a riddle– in the first verses of the opening stanza:⁷⁰

Tornado era Febo a ver el tesoro
que ovo Jasón en Colcas ganado.
Su carro fulgente, de fuego y de oro,
al dulce equinocio ya era llegado.
La luz radiante, de qu'es alumbrado 5
el orbe terreno, tanto durava
en nuestro emisperio quanto morava

⁶⁵ For Manrique's religious poetry, see Scholberg 37-43 and Vidal González (Manrique 51-52).

⁶⁶ This information is implicit in a *cancionero* poem written by a certain Peña, who dedicated it to "Diego de Burgos, criado del Cardenal de España." The poem is ID 1840, SA10b-180: "Vos que las gracias de Orfeo." About this poetic interchange, see Dutton 1991, 7: 95-96.

⁶⁷ See Dutton 1991, 7: 343; and Gutiérrez Carou 1999, 209.

⁶⁸ As Arce pointed out, "sorprende y contrasta la dignidad de un poema, como el del fiel secretario, con la ausencia de datos que permitan reconstruir su figura histórica." (1970, 27).

⁶⁹ 11CG, fols. 52r-63v. See the edition by Moreno Hernández.

⁷⁰ According to Arce: "La técnica cuatrocentista del acertijo en forma perifrástica." (1970, 31).

la madre de Aletto por punto y por grado. (11CG, fol. 52r, vv. 1-8)

At first glance, the allusion to the god of the Sun, Apollo Phoebus –*Febo*, v. 1–, driving his shiny golden chariot –v. 3– may lead us to think that the scene takes place during the early morning lights. Moreno Hernández, however, considers otherwise:

El poema comienza con una rebuscada perífrasis mitológica que designa la llegada de la noche. Febo, el sol, se vuelve hacia el este, es decir, hacia la región de Colcos, o Cólquide, el extremo oriental del mar Negro, hasta donde llegó Jasón en busca del vellocino de oro (140).

But if, as Moreno Hernández affirms, the sun turns towards the East, to Colchis, how can this occur at night if the sun rises precisely in the East?⁷¹ Let us analyze this stanza in depth in order to clarify what Diego de Burgos wanted to express. It seems that vv. 1-2 do not refer the time of day at all, but rather allude to the astrological time of year when the poet wrote these verses (Castillo 2004, 1: 652). Thus, the poet is not saying that the sun is *turned toward* Colchis: he says indeed that Apollo Phoebus, personification of the Sun, is *turned to see the treasure* found in Colchis by Jason. That treasure is, of course, the Golden Fleece, the wool of the unique golden-haired winged ram native of Colchis and protagonist of the popular legend of Jason and the Argonauts.⁷² As it is commonly known, the ram stands for the sign of Aries in the Zodiac, which, in astrological terms, corresponds to the period March 20th to April 19th.⁷³ Therefore, Diego de Burgos expresses that he is writing the poem at the beginning of the spring (Gutiérrez Carou 1999, 214),⁷⁴ specifically during the vernal equinox –v. 4–, one of the two times a year when the length of day and night is approximately equal and when Febo, the ‘Sun’, is actually in Aries, the ‘Ram’ from which Jason acquired the Golden Fleece. To crown it all, Diego de Burgos adds an original touch to his astronomical circumlocution by describing the duration of the daylight –v. 5– as equal –*tanto durava*, v. 6– to what, initially, seems to be the darkness of the night, personified in v. 8 by *la madre de Aletto*.⁷⁵

⁷¹ On East and West symbolism, see Ferber 67-69.

⁷² The classical myth of Jason and the Golden Fleece was popularized in Spain by Alphonse X the Wise, among others: “Et fueron estos dos Infantes con aquel Jasón en la primera nave que en todo Europa fue fecha. Et pasaron a la isla de Colcos a robar el vellocino dorado, que era y encantado” (*General Estoria. Segunda parte*, fol. 202v; see also Fernández de Heredia 1964, 182). For further information on this myth in Spanish literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see García Gual 63-83, and Sanz Julián 1039-44.

⁷³ As Gutiérrez Carou pointed out, this is not an accidental reference, because “la primavera y su equinoccio remiten aproximadamente a la fecha de la muerte del marqués, que falleció el 25 de marzo de 1458” (214).

⁷⁴ Later on, Diego de Burgos will emphasize other typical features of springtime in the stanza entitled *Discripción del tiempo*: “El sabio maestro de todas las cosas / el mundo pintaba de nuevas colores: / los campos cubría de yerbas y rosas, / vestía las plantas de frondas y flores” (vv. 17-20).

⁷⁵ Sometimes it appears also as ‘Electo’, as Crosas López explains (154).

Here we run into the main obstacle for the correct interpretation of the periphrasis: who is *Aleto's* mother? Some scholars have identified this mythological character as Alecto, –Ἀληκτώ– (Castillo 2004, 1: 653), who, together with her two sisters, Tisiphone and Megaera, formed the frightful group called Erinyes, or Eumenides. In Western culture, the Eumenides have been characterised as being avenger goddesses of the netherworld since Aeschylus immortalised them as such in his acclaimed comedy of the 5th century B.C. (Rose 155-60). Based on this classical role, Eumenides were famed indeed by several authors of the Spanish Middle Ages, who mentioned them habitually in their writings.⁷⁶

The first reference to these three fierce sisters came around the last quarter of the 13th century, when King Alphonse X the Wise described “los lagos del infierno et el río del fuego, con el suenno que él faze; et veriedes las Euménidas, Tesphone, Alecto et Megra, que son unas ravidas del infierno” (*General Estoria. Quinta Parte*, fol. 85r). Approximately one century later, the Plutarchian *Parallel Lives'* Aragonese translation ordered by Juan Fernández de Heredia, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller, also remarked that wrath was the specific feature of “la dea Alecto, qui quiere dezir la «dea de las sanyas»” (Fernández de Heredia 2002, 1: fol. 134r). Furthermore, Alfonso Gómez de Zamora, who translated Ovid's *Moralia* to Spanish in the middle of the 15th century,⁷⁷ also recognised “las furias, tres orribles viejas, aladas serpientes con su cerviz, e a los omnes saña fazían, las quales Aleto, Teshiphone e Megaria se dezían” (Gómez de Zamora, fol. 30v). Finally, the supreme Spanish Humanist Alonso de Palencia defined the Latin word *vltrices* as an expression through which “dixeron los paganos a las deessas cruels Aleto, Thesiphone e Megera; de *vlciscor* por ‘vengar’” (Palencia 2: fol. 532v, s.v. ‘Vltrices’).

As we have seen so far, characterization of the three Eumenides in Spanish medieval literature was consistent with the descriptions provided by Hesiod, that is, emphasising ferociousness as their main attribute, which is why the Romans called them *Furiae*, the Furies (Van Aken 50-51). But there is one important matter to be noted: according to Hesiod, Alecto's mother was Gaia, goddess of the Earth. Hesiod's *Theogony* narrated clearly how Gaia was fertilised by Uranus, god of the Sky, when some drops of his blood fell upon the Earth after being castrated by his own son, Cronus.⁷⁸ Thus, the mythological character hidden behind *la madre de Aleto* could not be Alecto, because she was Gaia's daughter and not Nyx's, the personification of the night, to whom the Castilian poet referred clearly in his circumlocution.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ All the examples we are about to mention have been providing by CORDE, *Corpus diacrónico del español*: <<http://www.rae.es>>

⁷⁷ Actually, he translated the French version by Pierre Bersuire. See *PhiloBiblon*, BETA manid 2798.

⁷⁸ “πάσας δέξατο Γαῖα περιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν ¶ γείνατ' Ἐρινῶς τε κρατερὰς μεγάλους τε Γίγαντας”. (*Theogony* vv. 184-85): “For all the drops of blood that poured forth Earth received ¶ then she bare the strong Erinyes and the great Giants” (Hesiod 119).

⁷⁹ This contradiction is noted and specified by Moreno Hernández 140, n. 47.

Attempting perhaps to resolve this difficulty, Moreno Hernández determined this identity to be that of another legendary character: Leto –Λητώ. She was Zeus’ consort during a brief stint before the god of gods married Hera, who, because of that, from then on persecuted unmercifully the preceding occupant of Zeus’ marital bed (Van Aken 82). In consonance with Hesiod’s *Theogony*, Leto was the daughter of Coeus and Phoebe, two of the Titans,⁸⁰ so that Phoebe should be Alecto’s mother in accordance to Moreno Hernández’s hypothesis. Most importantly for our purposes, her name in Greek, ‘Φοίβη’, means ‘radiant’, or ‘radiant light’;⁸¹ that is why, according to Aeschylus’s *Eumenides*,⁸² Phoebe’s grandson, Apollo, was also ‘Apollo Phoebus’, the form of his name used in most of the Spanish verses to which we have referred to throughout this paper.⁸³ Besides, Alonso de Palencia demonstrates in his *Universal vocabulario* that this figure was used during the Spanish Middle Ages as an epithet for the Moon: “Febus e Febe, por sol e luna, se escríven con ‘ph’, Phoebus e Phoebe” (Palencia 1: fol. 156v, s.v. ‘Febus’).

Hence, if Phoebe, identified with the moon, is actually the mother of *Alecto* mentioned by Diego de Burgos in v. 8 of his *Triunfo*, we do have here a nocturnal interpretation of this mythological periphrasis: the poem is being written at the beginning of springtime, during the night of the vernal equinox, when the only light on Earth is that of the moon, personified by Phoebe, Alecto’s mother. But if this explanation, which diverges from the one proposed by Moreno Hernández,⁸⁴ were to be accepted, it would undeniably be a very rare use of this mythological character, because the Phoebe-Moon pairing, as far as we know, lacks literary tradition in Spain.

In other European literatures after the Middle Ages, ‘Phoebe’ as a personification of the moon was often employed (Rose 21). That was the case, among others, of the eminent British poet Michael Drayton in his *Endimion and Phoebe* (Spring 11-18), a masterwork of Elizabethan poetry first printed in 1595, whose ulterior influence would be seen in the even more prestigious John Keats (Finney 809-12). But in Spain, aside from the aforementioned Alonso de Palencia,⁸⁵ ‘Phoebe’ as an embodiment of the

⁸⁰ “Φοίβη δ’ αὖ Κοίου πολυήρατον ἦλθεν ἐς εὐνήν ¶ κυσαμένη δὴ ἔπειτα θεὰ θεοῦ ἐν φιλότῃ: ¶ Λητώ κυανόπεπλον ἐγείνατο, μείλιχον αἰεΐ”. (*Theogony*, vv. 404-06): “Phoebe came to the desired embrace of Coeus, ¶ so that the goddess conceived and brought forth dark-gowned Leto through the love of the god, ¶ mild but kind to men and to the deathless gods” (Hesiod 127).

⁸¹ As noted in the *Universal vocabulario*: “Dízese de ‘fos’, que quiere decir ‘claridad’ o ‘luz’” (Palencia 1: fol. 156v, s.v. ‘Febus’).

⁸² “Φοίβη, δίδωσι δ’ ἢ γενέθλιον δόσιν ¶ Φοίβω τὸ Φοίβης δ’ ὄνομα ἔχει παρώνυμον” (*Eumenides*, vv. 7-8). “Phoebe by name, who then gave it as a birthday-gift ¶ to Phoebus, who thus has Phoebe’s name besides his own” (Aeschylus 63).

⁸³ Moreno Hernández also underscores this meaning of the Greek ‘Φοίβη’ (140, n. 47).

⁸⁴ Since Moreno Hernández did not note any reference to the identification of Phoebe as the moon, it is difficult to understand why, recognising Phoebe as “la luz radiante”, he interprets the entire periphrasis as “la llegada de la noche” (140, n. 46).

⁸⁵ See also Palencia 1: fol. 61r, s.v. ‘carmen’; and Palencia 2: fol. 348r, s.v. ‘peacon’.

moon was scarcely used by medieval authors,⁸⁶ perhaps because one of the most reputed sources of vernacular Humanism introduced another personification significantly more popular during the Spanish Middle Ages:

Et con este fijo ovo Júppiter en Latona una fija a que llamaron Phebe, et aun sobr'este nombre le dixieron Diana, ca otrossí llamaron a Apollo, sin este nombre, este otro que dizimos, Phebo, onde dixieron a éll Apollo et Phebo, et a la hermana Diana et Phebe. Et fue esta Diana duenna muy sabia et de muy santa vida, assí que esta es la que los sos gentiles llamaron so deessa de castidat. (Alfonso X, *General Estoria. Segunda parte*, fol. 76r)

In this notable Alphonsine model the moon is identified with the Latin goddess Diana instead her Greek counterpart, Phoebe (Van Aken 44). As well as other Western medieval traditions, this was often the case in Spain. To note a just three examples,⁸⁷ the *Grant Crónica de Espanya* tells us that “en aquel tiempo havié en Grecia una duenya la qual havié nonbre Diana, et clamávanla la deessa de la luna y de la caça” (Fernández de Heredia, fols. XIVr^a-XIVr^b);⁸⁸ later on, Alonso de Palencia states in his *Universal vocabulario* that “Diana, que también quiere dezir Luna e Proserpina” (Palencia 1: fol. 189r, s.v. ‘hecate’); finally, Alfonso Gómez de Zamora, in his already mentioned Ovidian translation, confirms how often was used “el Sol por Appollo e la Luna por Diana” (fol. 3r). Due to this fact, which underscores the deficient tradition in Spain of identifying Phoebe as the moon, Moreno Hernández’s interpretation of Alecto’s mother, although eventually might be borne out, at the present time it is difficult to accept.

Nevertheless, it is Ovid precisely who gives us the clue to solve the conundrum of who is *la madre de Alecto* to whom Diego de Burgos referred in his *Triunfo*. First, we must remark that all of these problems derive from a double tradition confluent within Greek mythology’s cosmogonies, as Ramnoux explains:

L’étude des cosmogonies jette sur ces faits quelque lumière: sur un fil de tradition, l’entité féminine à l’origine se dédouble entre *Terre-Mere* et *Nuit* principe du mal. Sur un autre, l’entité maternelle à l’origine est unique, et porte le nom de *la Nuit*. La mantique ténébreuse, et principalement l’oniromancie, fait le lien entre la Terre et la Nuit. (20)

⁸⁶ We do not take into account the reference to Saint Phoebe (1st century AD), deaconess of Cenchreae, near Corinth, mentioned in the Bible by Saint Paul (Romans 16:1). Her story was related during the Spanish Late Middle Ages by Fernández de Santaella, s.v. ‘Cenchris’.

⁸⁷ Unlike the few mentions of ‘Phoebe’ we have seen before, a simple search of ‘Diana’ using CORDE within the habitual medieval chronology produces 210 cases from 33 different sources, demonstrating its popularity. See also Crosas López 202-03.

⁸⁸ Fernández de Heredia 1964, 168.

Henceforth, stepping aside from Hesiod's scheme, it was Aeschylus who quite often made the Erinyes claim themselves as daughters of the Night (*Eumenides* 311-12).⁸⁹ Later on, Aeschylus's baton was picked up by the magnificent Latin poet Virgil, who related how Aeneas sacrificed a lamb to Nyx, the mother of the *Furiae* (*Aeneid* 6: 313-14). But it is in Book 7, while Juno is planning her vengeance against Aeneas, when Virgil made Alecto appear in all her splendor as a ferocious goddess, as an obscurity's offspring, as a "virgin daughter of the Night" –*virgo sata Nocte*, v. 385:

Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petivit:
 luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede sororum
 infernisque ciet tenebris, cui tristia bella
 iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi.
 Odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores
 Tartareae monstrum: tot sese vertit in ora,
 tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris.
 Quam Iuno his acuit verbis ac talia fatur:
 "Hunc mihi da proprium, virgo sata Nocte, laborem,
 hanc operam, ne noster honos infractave cedat
 fama loco, neu conubiis ambire Latinum
 Aeneadae possint Italosve obsidere fines..." (*Aeneid* 7: 377-92)⁹⁰

Aeneid's medieval Spanish translation by Enrique de Villena is quite faithful to the original source, integrated in the exegetical context of vernacular Humanism (Miguel Prendes 34-36). Thus, the following paragraph certainly summarises both the cruelty of the Eumenides and their progeny:

Desque así ovo Juno entre sí cogitado, siquiere pensado, lo antepuesto dicho, por las tierras fue a buscar la llanteante e horrible Alectho en la silla morada de las crueles hermanas, e las infernales llamó tiniebras, a quien pertenesçen las tristes batallas, las iras, las asechanças e las encantaciones nozibles al coraçón. Aborréçela aquel mesmo padre Plutón, dios del

⁸⁹ "Μῆτερ ᾗ μ' ἔτικτες, ὦ μῆτερ ¶ Νύξ..." "Mother of the Erinyes, oh mother / Night..." (Aeschylus 82). See also other similar references in *Eumenides* 415-16, 745-47, 844-46, and 961-62 (Aeschylus 88, 108, 114, and 120, respectively).

⁹⁰ "That said, / the terrible goddess swooped down to the earth and / stirred Allecto, mother of sorrows, up from her den / where nightmare Furies lurk in hellish darkness. / Allecto –a joy to her heart, the grieves of war, / rage, and murderous plots, and grisly crimes. / Even her father, Pluto, loathes the monster, / even her own infernal sisters loathe her since / she shifts into so many forms, their shapes so fierce; / the black snakes of her hair that coil so thickly. / Juno whips her on with a challenge like a lash: / Do me this service, virgin daughter of Night, / a labor just for me! Do not let my honor, my fame / be torn from its high place, or the sons of Aeneas / bring Latinus round with their lures of marriage / besieging Italian soil..." (Virgil 224).

Infierno; aborrésçenla las Furias, sus hermanas: aquel tartáreo monstro en tanctas figuras se trasmuda e tan crueles gestos representa e en tanctas habonda la negra culebras. La cual Juno con tales aguzava palabras, así le diciendo: “Este toma trabajo, ó virgen engendrada de la noche, e dalo a mí, siquiere otorga, en esta obra, por que nuestra honra no se parta del logar de la no quebrantada fama, e por que no abraçar pueda las bodas de Lathino Eneas e los fines çercar itálicos (Villena 206).

Another important point based on this portrayal of Alecto, the Ferocious,⁹¹ is the fact that Ovid made use of the same tradition in his *Metamorphoses* (4: 447-52), noting also her nocturnal origins:

Sustinet ire illuc caelesti sede relictæ,
tantum odiis iræque dabat, Saturnia Iuno,
quo simul intrauit sacroque a corpore pressum
ingemuit limen, tria Cerberus extulit ora
et tres latratus semel edidit, illa sorores,
Nocte uocat genitas, graue et inplacabile numen.⁹²

Little is known about Diego de Burgos’s language skills,⁹³ but he might have read the stories he used in his poem directly from a Latin source, from Ovid or Virgil, in any of their medieval translations to Spanish. We should remember that both, Gómez de Zamora’s translation of Ovid (BETA manid 2798), and Books 4 to 12 of Virgil’s *Aeneid* translated by Enrique de Villena (BETA manid 1630), were two of the manuscripts held in the Marquis of Santillana’s library (Schiff 84-91). But, as Crosas

⁹¹ This *topos* is also present in a remarkable follower of the Virgilian allegoresis, as defined by Curtius (73-74): Saint Augustine, who wrote “Talibus nuptiis populum Romanum non Venus, sed Bellona donauit; aut fortassis Allecto illa inferna furia iam eis fauente Iunone plus in illos habuit licentiae, quam cum eius precibus contra Aenean fuerat excitata.” ¶ “It was not Venus, but Bellona, who gave the Romans marriages of this kind. Or it may be that Allecto, that fury from hell, was allowed greater scope against them than when she had been aroused against Aeneas at Juno’s entreaty- in spite of the fact that Juno by now was on their side” (*De Ciuitate Dei* III, 13; Augustine 103). On Saint Augustine’s importance for the theoretical construction of Humanist *topoi*, see Cortijo Ocaña, 67-69.

⁹² “Juno, daughter of Saturn, forced herself to leave her home in heaven and travel here, willing to go that far to gratify her hatred and her wrath. As the goddess crossed the threshold, which groaned beneath her divine tread, Cerberus raised his three heads and barked once from all three mouths. Juno called out the three sisters, born from the Night, punishing and implacable divinities” (Ovid 70). Part of this discourse was embraced by the Alphonsine *General Estoria*, but curiously avoiding any mention to the Erinyes: “La Reyna Juno [...] et pues que llegó y, et puso los pies en el umbral de la entrada del infierno, estremcióse el unbral, et el gran Cerbero, que era portero del Infierno, viola luego et alçó las tres cabeças que ha, et dio tan grandes tres ladridos que todos los Infiernos atronó” (Alfonso X, *General Estoria. Segunda parte*, fol. 170v). For further information, see Brancaforte 132.

⁹³ On Burgos’s alleged knowledge of Italian because he used the Italianism ‘playa’ as ‘piaggia’, see Gutiérrez Carou 1999, 211-13.

López has shown (147), the first Spanish source in which we can find the Night as mother of the Furies is, once again, the second part of the *General Estoria*. Among other examples we can find in the Alphonsine chronicle, this paragraph clearly explains how the goddess Juno made her entrance in Hell clamouring for the three cruel sisters:

Llamó a las tres Euménides, que son Allecto, Thesiphone et Megera, ravidas infernales, de quien avemos departido ya en esta *Estoria*. Segunt cuenta en el Libro de los linnages de los nobles gentiles de sos dioses, que (*sic*) fueron fijas de Demorgergón e de la Noche; deessas muy grieves e muy malas de amansar; e diz el autor que seyen ante las puertas de la cárcel del infierno, que estavan cerradas de puertas de piedra de adamant, et seyen estas tres hermanas allí, peynnando culuebras prietas que les cayen de los cabellos e de las cabeças. (Alfonso X, *General Estoria*. *Segunda parte*, fol. 172v)⁹⁴

Probably both Diego de Burgos and Santillana used the *General Estoria* as a source for the literary tradition that, coming from Aeschylus through Ovid and Virgil, considered the Furies or Eumenides daughters of the Night goddess. Indeed, it is almost certain that Diego de Burgos read it in Santillana's *Comedieta de Ponça* (ID 0053, SA8-19: "O vos dubitantes creed las estorias"), one of the Spanish medieval works in which Dante's influence is more prevalent (Arce 1976, 357). Here Santillana describes, using the identical circumlocution, the moment of the day in which the goddess Fortune made her appearance in the Aragonese court before Queen María and her daughter to comfort them after King Alphonse V's imprisonment (Santillana 337-38):

La madre de Alecto las nuestras regiones dexara ya claras al alva lumbrosa, assí que patentes eran las visiones;	675
e non era alguna que fuesse dubdosa, quando en presençia la muy ponderosa deessa rodante me fue demostrada con grand compañía, ricamente ornada, en forma de dueña benigna e piadosa.	680

It should be clear by now that our poet is following his mentor Santillana in referring to the Night as Alecto's mother; but, if needed further justification, the fourth stanza of Burgos's *Triunfo*, introduced by the illustrative heading *Describe la ora de la vision*, provides evidence for the meaning of the astronomical circumlocution. Here

⁹⁴ Ed. Solalinde-Kasten-Oelschläger 1: 227-28.

the author insists on a basic element of the night's symbolism: the moment in which darkness covers the Earth –vv. 25-26–, and when human beings rest from their daily toil –vv. 27-28. Simultaneously, v. 29, *al tiempo que Aurora mostrarse quería*, emphasises what has been described as the magical moment of the night, for it “though not yet day, it is the promise of daylight” (Cirlot 218). Thus, Diego de Burgos's vision begins precisely at this moment:

El velo nocturno de grande escureza	25
el bulo terrestre cubierto tenía:	
descanso tomava la humana flaqueza	
d'aquellos trabajos que passa en el día.	
Al tiempo que Aurora mostrarse quería,	
vi, como fantasma, o propia visión,	30
un ombre lloroso, en más triste son	
que Éctor la noche que Troya se ardía. (11CG, fol. 52v, vv. 25-32)	

Avoiding further account of the well-known nocturnal allusion to Ector and the War of Troy in v. 32, here we find the influence of another fundamental work of Spanish vernacular Humanism *zeitgeist*: Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*. In fact, Diego de Burgos's *Triunfo* has been normally labeled “poesía alegórico-dantesca” (Gutiérrez Carou 1996; 1999, 214), as have other works of Spanish *cancionero* poetry in which Dante's influence is evident.⁹⁵ It is well-known that the opening *terza rima* of *Hell*'s first Chant, in which we find allusions –not mythological though– to both the early rays of light and the spring time, underlie the mythological periphrasis used by the Castilian troubadour.⁹⁶ Hence, one may be tempted to think that Diego de Burgos's source for his reference to Alecto's mother might be Dante's *Inferno*, perhaps the ninth Chant, one of the most well-supplied with epic and mythological ingredients,⁹⁷ including the Erinyes (Quint 2004, 37-43). But a close examination of the verses that refer to the moment when Virgil, travelling companion of Dante through Hell, alerted

⁹⁵ In chronological order, the first was the *Dezir de las Siete Virtudes* (ID 0532, PN1-226: “En dos setecientos e más dos e tres”), by Francisco Imperial, preserved in the *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* (Baena 255-65). Imperial has been considered by some scholars as an early link to allegoric poetry and Dante's influence in medieval Spain (Arce 1970, 28), although some others have diminished his importance in this matter (see Place 457-73). After that, Arce pointed out (1976, 359) that there is another poem constructed in similar Dantescan style: the *Loor del reverendísimo señor don Alonso Carillo* (ID 2394, 09GP-3: “Yo escrivio temiendo la clara memoria”), by Diego Guillén de Ávila, printed in 1509 but composed in 1483 (Dutton 1990-91, 5: 110).

⁹⁶ *Inferno* I, 37-43: “Temp' era del principio del mattino, / e 'l sol montava 'n sù con quelle stelle / ch' eran con lui quando l'amor divino / mosse di prima quelle cose belle; / sì ch' a bene sperar m'era cagione / di quella fiera a la gaetta pelle / l'ora del tempo e la dolce stagione.” ¶ “The time was the beginning of the morning, / and the sun was mounting up with those stars / that where with it when God's love / first set those lovely things in motion; / so that I took reason to have good hope of that beast with its gaily painted hide / from the hour of the morning and the sweet season.” (Dante 1: 28-29)

⁹⁷ On this Chant's influence on Santillana, see Arce 1970, 26.

the Italian poet that they were before the Enrinyes, reveals that he makes no mention of the three sisters' progenitors:

E quei, che ben conobbe le meschine
de la regina de l'eterno pianto,
“Guarda”, mi disse, “le feroci Erine!
Quest' è Megera dal sinistro canto;
quella che piange dal destro è Aletto;
Tesifón è nel mezzo”; e tacque a tanto.
Con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto;
battensi a palme e gridavan sì alto
ch'i' mi strinsi al poeta per sospetto. (*Inferno IX*, 43-51)⁹⁸

As some scholars have pointed out, Dante's imprint, more than Petrarch or any other Italian writer, is fairly strong in these stanzas, as a result of Dante's predominating influence during the first steps of Spanish vernacular Humanism (Arce 1984, 186-87; Moreno Hernández 13-14; Russell 1978a, 230-31). Nevertheless, Gutiérrez Carou differs somewhat in his assessment, arguing that “a diferencia de otros sueños visionarios [...], el *Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana* ofrece muy pocos elementos alegóricos” (214). However, Diego de Burgos's significance in this regard does not have to do with the allegorical components of his poem, whose lack has already been noted, but rather with his inventive imitation of the *Divine Comedy*,⁹⁹ in which he included himself as a character acting in the poem as traveler (Arce 1970, 35).

Thus, just as Dante included Virgil as a character in the *Divine Comedy* (*Hell* 1: 48-78),¹⁰⁰ Santillana's former secretary wrote Dante into his own narrative as a travel companion, for he is the crying man who appears as a ghost before Burgos's poetic ‘I’ –vv. 30-31. The Dante-Virgil pairing in the *Divine Comedy* is not only imitated here by Diego de Burgos, but, in addition, he metaphorically shaped the renowned Florentine troubadour's presence by attributing to him the role of master and guide of

⁹⁸ “And he, who well knew the maid-servants of the / queen of eternal weeping, / «Look», he told me, «at the ferocious Enrinyes. / This is Megaera on the left; she who weeps on the right there is Allecto; / Tisiphone is in the middle»; and he fell silent. / With her nails each was tearing at her breast; / they beat themselves with their palms and shrieked so loudly / that for fear I drew closer to the poet” (Dante 1: 143). Spanish medieval translation by Villena is: “15) E aquel que bien conosçió las mesquinas (*sic*) / de la reina del eternal planto, / «¡Guarda!», me dixo, «¡las fieras Erines! / 16) Aquesta es Megera, del siniestro canto, / e aquella que llora de la diestra parte es Alecto; / Thesífone, que en el medio, calló tanto.» 17) Con las uñas se fendía cada una el pecho, / batíanse a palmas e gridavan así alto, / que yo me estreñí al poeta por sospecho.” (Text quoted from Bargetto-Andrés 166; I disagree however with her reading of verse 15c, “crines”; I rather prefer “Erines”, as I have written in this paragraph).

⁹⁹ “Diego de Burgos ha querido manifestar explícitamente su reconocimiento de admiración por Dante [...] al fundir la línea bien perceptible que une a Imperial y Santillana con la actitud más independiente que demostró Mena.” (Arce 1970, 28).

¹⁰⁰ On this topic, see Baquero Goyanes 9-26.

Discussing this concept in terms of literary criticism, Pedrosa has underscored both the presence of “suturas solsticiales y equinocciales del tiempo” (2012: 2) and the reflection of magical beliefs and pseudo-pagan festivities that took place during March in European literatures (1995).¹⁰⁷ Focusing the analysis on medieval Spain, we rapidly cast our eyes to the popular *Romance del Conde Arnaldos* and its well-known reference to “la mañana de San Juan” (Di Stefano 145), studied in depth by Pedrosa (2007). Nonetheless, as far as we know, the way in which Diego de Burgos referred to the magical suture of night and day, to these thrilling seconds between the end of the darkness and the beginning of the daylight, is absolutely original in medieval Spanish poetry.

The fortune of this rhetorical use, however, seems difficult to measure. It is paradoxical that the magical moment of transit between night and day has acquired its medieval flavour thanks to a contemporary fictional narrative enshrined in the Middle Ages: *Ladyhawke*, by Joan D. Vinge, first published in 1985 (Tigard). Furthermore, the *topos* owes much more of its popularity to the movie directed the same year by Richard Donner, starring Rutger Hauer and Michelle Pfeiffer as cursed lovers condemned to the eternal frustration of never see each other, because Captain Navarre converts into a black wolf at night while Lady Isabeau changes into a hawk during the day. Thus, the magical moment of suture between day and night, as used by Diego de Burgos, is the only time the couple can be together –obviously not enough–, so during the whole story they search for a way to break this spell. Nevertheless, any sort of direct relationship between Burgos’s *Triunfo* and this iconic film of 1980’s pop culture seems highly unlikely, polygenesis being a more plausible explanation.

Aside from these considerations, the *topos* was hardly used after its initial popularization in Hernando del Castillo’s *Cancionero general*. It is true that this outstanding collection of Spanish poetry was constantly edited throughout the 16th century since its first edition in 1511; nonetheless, Diego de Burgos’s poem does not seem to achieve great success, as we shall see.

Russell believes that Spanish admiration of Dante “persistió durante todo el siglo XV. Su apogeo fue la publicación, en 1515, de la traducción del *Inferno* en verso de arte mayor” (1978a, 231). This edition was translated into Spanish by Pedro Fernández de Villegas, archdeacon of Burgos, with the participation of Diego de Burgos, who began writing a poem for it. This piece, however, was unfinished due to his death and then poorly completed by the already mentioned Fernández de Villegas (Dutton 1990-91, 7: 343). Thus, if Dante was still held in high regard in 1515 and Burgos’s *Triunfo* was first printed four years earlier, perhaps this might be taken as a sign for the success of this particular rhetoric of Spanish vernacular Humanism quite beyond its chronological boundaries.

¹⁰⁷ For the night’s role within popular celebrations during the Renaissance, see the classic study by Ginzburg.

However, as other scholars have argued, during the early 16th century mythological characters and references were gradually losing their predominance as principal elements of literary discourse, for they began to be used with new rhetorical functions: irony, burlesque, and parody (Lida de Malkiel 1975, 342-44; Rojas 225). This is actually what happens in perhaps the most famous reference to the goddess Alecto in Spanish medieval literature, to which we have reserved this last –but not least– place in our paper: Celestina’s invocation of the three fierce sisters and their parents as she casts the *philocaptio* spell meant to capture Melibea’s love.¹⁰⁸

Conjúrote, triste Plutón, señor de la profundidad infernal, emperador de la corte dañada, capitán sobervio de los condenados ángeles, señor de los sulfuros fuegos que los hervientes étnicos montes manan, gobernador y veedor de los tormentos y atormentadores de las pecadoras animas, regidor de las tres furias, Tesífone, Megera y Aleto. (Rojas 151)

This well-known passage from Rojas’s masterpiece may help us to understand how the already mentioned concept of ‘uneasiness’ with the high lyrical style, together with the “change in conception of poetry and the role of the poet”, in the terms described by Ebin (263), seem to have radically changed at the turn of the 15th century. Thus, the ferocious Eumenides were no longer invoked by popular characters or by the poetic inspiration of cultivated Humanists like Diego de Burgos, but rather by an aged go-between of questionable reputation from the lower class in a superstitious ceremony unlikely to achieve its aim. Moreover, once again in *La Celestina*, when Calisto promises not to eat “aunque primero sean los caballos de Febo apacentados en aquellos verdes prados que suelen quando han dado fin a su jornada”, Rojas portrayed him as a petulant snob, adding insult to injury by devising a harsh reprimand of the noble by his servant Sempronio, who considers the old-fashioned mythological periphrasis ridiculous:

Dexa, señor, esos rodeos, dexa essas poesías, que no es habla conveniente la que a todos no es común, la que todos no participan, la que pocos entienden. Di «aunque se ponga el sol», y sabrán todos lo que dizes. (Rojas 225)

On an identical wavelength appears to be construed the last stanza of *La Celestina*’s 1507 edition, added by Alonso de Proaza. It also contains a parody in the same vein of burlesque *contrafactum* of what Diego de Burgos and the other Spanish vernacular Humanists would have considered earlier as the pinnacle of their high style:

¹⁰⁸ See the works by Botta, Gómez Moreno & Jiménez Calvente, Russell 1978b, Sánchez, and Escudero for further information on magic in *La Celestina*.

DESCRIBE EL TIEMPO EN QUE LA OBRA SE IMPRIMIÓ

El carro de Phebo después de aver dado
 mil quinientas y siete bueltas en rueda,
 ambos entonces los hijos de Leda
 a Phebo en su casa tenién posentado,
 quando este muy dulce y breve tratado, 5
 después de revisto y bien corregido,
 con gran vigilancia puntado y leído,
 fue en Çaragoça impresso acabado. (Rojas 350)

Thus, Diego de Burgos's presence in the *Cancionero general* should be considered in accordance with the Virgilian *topos*, that is, as *vetera vestigia flammae*. His lengthy, complex, and alluring poem, although a magnum opus of vernacular Humanism, was perceived as absolutely antiquated when it was first printed. As a matter of fact, it can only be found in 11CG, for it was dropped in 14CG by Castillo; this elimination was due most likely to the same reason that Cossutta called it ironically 'il poemetto' (274): its vast extension,¹⁰⁹ 1,858 verses,¹¹⁰ together with its overwhelming prolixity and its already, in the first decades of the 16th century, obsolete vernacular Humanist rhetoric, as the Celestinesque passages just examined clearly demonstrate. Thus, it is not by coincidence that the next Spanish poet after Diego de Burgos who seriously took up mythological matters again, writing verses such as "Cítara áurea de Apolo, a quien los dioses", "Musa que en el monte Helicón venera", or "No se miró Jasón tan fieramente / en Colcos embestido" (Polt 133-35), was Nicolás Fernández de Moratín in his *Oda a Pedro Romero*, written in the 18th century but not published until 1821 (Cossío 236), according to the recovery of the classical Spanish tradition made by Neoclassical poets during the Age of the Enlightenment (Alonso Moreno 255-56).¹¹¹ But in spite of his obsolescence, Diego de Burgos's unique use of the magical equilibrium between night and day points to the need for further research to find out if this is a blend of different traditional *topoi* or a genuine creation by a little-known author who also penned the fascinating *Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana*. Diego de Burgos, unjustly excluded from the canon of 15th century Spanish poetry, is worthy of more attention, according to Arce:

¹⁰⁹ "Es cuatro veces más extenso que el *Infierno de los enamorados* y que *El Sueño*, los más largos poemas de Santillana en octosílabos, y diez veces mayor que la *Defunción*, en dodecasílabos [...] Sólo cede, en número de estrofas, al *Laberinto de Fortuna*" (Arce 1970, 29-30).

¹¹⁰ Arce referred to only 1,824 verses (1970, 29), instead of 1,858, because most of the sources transmitted fragmentary versions of this poem. See Moreno Hernández 120.

¹¹¹ Nicolás Fernández de Moratín also used the pairing Phoebus-Sun in his *Oda a los ojos de Dorisa*: "Una mañana / cuando ilumina / Febo los prados / que abril matiza" (Aribau 5, vv. 21-24).

En un siglo de tanta indigesta y hermética poesía se le reconozca el lugar debido y se le aprecien unas cualidades formales de organización, un sentido estructural compacto, no obstante la elevada pretensión temática y estilística. (1970, 27)

Works cited

- Aeschylus. *Eumenides*. Ed. & transl. Anthony J. Podlecki. Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd, 1989.
- Alfonso X, el Sabio. *General Estoria. Segunda parte*. Ed. Antonio G. Solalinde & Lloyd A. Kasten & Victor R. B. Oelschläger. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957 (vol. 1) & 1961 (vol. 2).
- . *General Estoria*. Ed. Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2002-03.
- Almeida, Belén. “La *Farsalia* castellana de la Biblioteca de Osuna (BNE 10805) y la obra del marqués de Santillana.” *Revista de Literatura Medieval* 18 (2006): 71-86.
- Alonso, Dámaso. “Poesía de navidad: de Fray Ambrosio Montesino a Lope de Vega.” Ed. Dámaso Alonso. *Obras completas. Estudios y ensayos sobre literatura. Primera parte, desde los orígenes románicos hasta finales del siglo XVI*. Madrid: Gredos, 1972. 455-60.
- . “Tradición y poligénesis.” *Obras completas. VIII. Comentarios de textos*. Madrid: Gredos, 1985. 707-31.
- Alonso, Álvaro. *Poesía amorosa y realidad cotidiana: del Cancionero general a la lírica italianista*. London: Queen Mary University of London – Department of Hispanic Studies, 2001.
- Alonso Moreno, Guillermo. “Ecos de los libros I y II de la *Eneida* en la *Homersinda* de Don Nicolás Fernández de Moratín.” *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios latinos*. 22.1 (2002): 255-65.
- Álvarez Pellitero, Ana María. *La obra lingüística y literaria de Fray Ambrosio Montesino*. Valladolid: Universidad, 1971.
- Arce, Joaquín. “El ‘Triunfo del Marqués’ de Diego de Burgos y la irradiación dantesca en torno a Santillana.” *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* 74 (1970): 25-39.
- . “Fortuna di Dante in Spagna.” *Enciclopedia dantesca*. Dir. Umberto Bosco. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1976. 5: 355-62.
- . “Dante y el humanismo español.” *Cuadernos para Investigación de la Literatura Hispánica* 6 (1984): 184-94.
- Aribau, Buenaventura Carlos, ed. *Obras de don Nicolás y de don Leandro Fernández de Moratín*. Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1944 (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 2).
- Augustine, Saint. Bishop of Hippo. *De civitate Dei. Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans*. Transl. Henry Bettenson. Introd. G. R. Evans. London: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Baena, Juan Alfonso de. *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*. Ed. Brian Dutton & Joaquín González Cuenca. Madrid: Visor Libros, 1993.

- Baquero Goyanes, Mariano. "Virgilio, personaje literario." *Simposio Virgiliano conmemorativo del Bimilenario de la muerte de Virgilio*. Murcia: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad, Sección de Filología Clásica, 1984. 9-26.
- Bargetto-Andrés, Teresa M. *Dante's Divina Comedia: Linguistic Study and Critical Edition of a Fifteenth-Century Spanish Translation Attributed to Enrique de Villena*. Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2010.
- Bell, Robert E. *Dictionary of Classical Mythology. Symbols, Attributes & Associations*. Oxford-Santa Barbara: ACB Clio, 1982.
- Beltrán, Vicenç. *La canción de amor en el otoño de la Edad Media*. Barcelona: PPU, 1989.
- . "Ordenado y corregido por la mejor manera y diligencia. Hernando del Castillo, editor." Ed. Patrizia Botta. *Filologia dei testi a stampa (area ibérica)*. Modena: Mucchi Editore, 2005. 241-56.
- . *Poesía cortesana (siglo XV). Rodrigo Manrique. Gómez Manrique. Jorge Manrique*. Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2009.
- . *Para una historia del vocabulario poético español. De Mena al Renacimiento*. A Coruña: Universidade da Coruña – Servizo de Publicacións, 2011.
- . "Quinientos años de *Cancionero general*." *Actas del Congreso Internacional V Centenario del "Cancionero general" de Hernando del Castillo*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2012 (forthcoming).
- Benito Ruano, Eloy. *Ciclo de conferencias «Isabel la Católica y Madrid»*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños-CSIC, 2006.
- Biglieri, Aníbal A. *Medea en la literatura española medieval*. La Plata: Fundación Decus, 2005.
- Bilsker, Richard. *On Jung*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2002.
- Bloom, Harold. *The Western Canon. The Books and School of the Ages*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1994.
- , ed. *Dante Alighieri*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004.
- Botta, Patrizia. "La magia en *La Celestina*." *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica* 12 (1994): 37-67.
- Brancaforte, Benito. *Las «Metamorfosis» y Las «Heroidas» de Ovidio en La «General Estoria» de Alfonso el Sabio*. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1990.
- Burrow, John. *Ricardian Poetry: Chaucer, Gower, Langland, and the Gawain Poet*. London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1971.
- Casas Rigall, Juan. *Agudeza y retórica en la poesía amorosa de cancionero*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade, 1995.
- Castillo, Hernando del, ed. *Cancionero general (11CG)*. Valencia: Cristóbal Cofman, 1511. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/2092.
- . *Cancionero general (14CG)*. Valencia: Jorge Costilla, 1514. Barcelona, Biblioteca Pública Episcopal, 860 Cas.
- . *Cancionero general*. Ed. Joaquín González Cuenca. 5 vols. Madrid: Castalia, 2004.

- Cirlot, Juan Eduardo. *A Dictionary of Symbols*. Transl. Jack Sage. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962.
- Chas Aguión, Antonio. "La sección de preguntas y respuestas en el *Cancionero general* de 1511." *Atalaya* 7 (1996): 153-72.
- Clay, Jenny Strauss. *Hesiod's Cosmos*. Cambridge: University Press, 2003.
- Compagno, Filomena. "El nombre de Petrarca en algunos textos del *Cancionero general* de 1511." *Revista de poética medieval* 18 (2007): 113-21.
- CORDE: Real Academia Española: *Banco de datos (CORDE) [online]*. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <<http://www.rae.es>> [2012-03-07]
- Cortijo Ocaña, Antonio. "Notas sobre El Tostado *De amore*." *La Corónica* 33.1 (2004): 67-83.
- Cossío, José María de. "Don Nicolás Fernández de Moratín. La fiesta de toros en Madrid. Oda a Pedro Romero." *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo* 8 (1926): 234-42.
- Cossutta, Ana Maria. "Il *Triunfo del Marqués* di Diego de Burgos secondo la redazione del *Cancionero de Oñate-Castañeda*." *Studi Ispanici* 4 (1980): 273-84.
- Cristóbal, Vicente. "Mitología clásica en la literatura española: consideraciones generales y bibliografía." *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios latinos* 18 (2000): 29-76.
- . "La *Eneida* del Marqués de Santillana." *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios latinos* 22.1 (2002): 177-92.
- Crosas López, Francisco. *La materia clásica en la poesía de cancionero*. Kassel: Reichenberger, 1995.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Transl. Willard R. Trask. New York: Pantheon Books, 1948.
- Dante Alighieri. *The Divine Comedy*. Ed. & transl. Robert M. Durling. Introd. & notes Ronald L. Martínez and Robert M. Durling. Illustr. Robert Turner. 3 vols. Oxford: University Press, 1996.
- Darbord, Michel M. *La poésie religieuse espagnole des Rois Catholiques à Philippe II*. Paris: Centre de Recherches de l'Institut d'Études Hispaniques, 1965.
- Deyermond, Alan D. "The Poetry of Nicolás Núñez." Ed. Alan Deyermond & Ian Macpherson. *The Age of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1516. Literary Studies in Memory of Keith Whinnom*. Liverpool: University Press, 1989. 25-36.
- . "Bilingualism in the *Cancioneros* and Its Implications." Ed. E. Michael Gerli & Julian Weiss. *Poetry at Court in Trastamara Spain. From the Cancionero de Baena to the Cancionero general*. Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998. 137-70.
- Di Stefano, Giuseppe. *El romancero*. Madrid: Narcea, 1973.
- Domínguez, Frank A. *Love and Remembrance. The Poetry of Jorge Manrique*. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1988.

- Dutton, Brian, “El desarrollo del *Cancionero general* de 1511.” Ed. Enrique Rodríguez Cepeda. *Actas del Congreso Romancero-Cancionero UCLA 1984*. Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1990. 1: 81-96.
- . *El Cancionero castellano del siglo XV (c. 1360-1520)*. 7 vols. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad, 1990-91.
- Ebin, Lois. “Poetics and Style in Late Medieval Literature.” Ed. Lois Ebin. *Vernacular Poetics in the Middle Ages*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications - Western Michigan University, 1984. 263-93.
- Eliade, Mircea. *The Forge and the Crucible. The Origins and Structures of Alchemy*. Transl. Stephen Corrin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Escudero, Juan Manuel. “La ambigüedad del elemento mágico en *La Celestina*.” Ed. Ignacio Arellano & Jesús M. Usunáriz. *El mundo social y cultural de La Celestina*. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2009. 109-27.
- Falcón Martínez, Constantino, et al. *Diccionario de mitología clásica*. 2 vols. Madrid: Alianza, 1980.
- Faulhaber, Charles B. & Ángel Gómez Moreno & Antonio Cortijo Ocaña & Óscar Perea Rodríguez (ed.) *PhiloBiblon – Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts (BETA: Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos)*. Free Access Online: <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/beta_en.html> [2012-03-03]
- Ferber, Michael. *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols*. Cambridge: University Press, 1999.
- Fernández de Heredia, Juan. *La Grant Crónica de Espanya*. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss/10133. Online Access through Biblioteca Digital Hispánica: <http://bibliotecadigitalhispanica.bne.es:80/webclient/DeliveryManager?pid=2682934&custom_att_2=simple_viewer>
- . *La Grant Crónica de Espanya, Libros I-II*. Ed. Regina Af Geijerstam. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1964.
- . *La traducción las “Vidas paralelas” de Plutarco*. Ed. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua. CORDE: Madrid, Real Academia Española, 2002.
- Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo. *Batallas y Quinquagenas*. Transcr. José Amador de los Ríos. Ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela y Bueso. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia 1983 (v. 1), 2000 (v. 2), 2002 (v. 3-4).
- Fernández de Santaella, Rodrigo. *Vocabulario eclesiástico*. Transcr. Gracia Lozano. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992.
- Finney, Claude L. “Drayton’s *Endimion and Phoebe* and Keats’s *Endymion*.” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 39.4 (1924): 805-13.
- Fletcher, Angus. *Allegory: the Theory of a Symbolic Mode*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Freeman, Cameron. *Post-Metaphysics and the Paradoxical Teachings of Jesus. The Structure of the Real*. New York: Peter Lang, 2010.

- García Gual, Carlos. *La mitología. Interpretaciones del pensamiento mítico*. Barcelona: Montesinos, 1997.
- Gerli, E. Michael. *Poesía cancioneril castellana*. Madrid: Akal, 1994.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- Gómez Bravo, Ana María. “*Dezir canciones: The Question of Genre in Fifteenth-Century Castilian Cancionero Poetry*.” Ed. William D. Paden. *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*. Chicago: University of Illinois, 2000. 158-89.
- Gómez Moreno, Ángel. “Los intelectuales europeos y españoles a ojos de un librero florentino: las *Vite* de Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-1498).” *Studi Ispanici* 22-23 (1997-98): 33-47.
- . “Historia y canon de la literatura española medieval: 20 años de evolución y cambios.” Ed. Leonardo Romero Tovar. *Historia literaria y canon*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2004. 161-75.
- . “Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968).” Ed. Jaume Aurell & Francisco Crosas López. *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the 20th century*. Turnout: Brepols, 2005. 68-85.
- , y Teresa Jiménez Calvente. “A vueltas con la Celestina-bruja y el cordón de Melibea.” *Revista de Filología Española* 85 (1995): 85-104.
- Gómez de Zamora, Alfonso. *Morales de Ovidio. BNE, Ms/10144*. Ed. Derek C. Carr. Corr. Spurgeon W. Baldwin. Madrid: Micronet-ADMYTE, 1994. Consulted through CORDE [2012-03-03]
- Góngora, Luis de. *Soledades*. Ed. John Beverley. Barcelona: Altaya, 1995.
- González Cuenca, Joaquín. “Incitación al estudio de la recepción del *Cancionero general* en el Siglo de Oro.” Ed. Jesús L. Serrano Reyes. *Cancioneros en Baena. Actas del II Congreso Internacional “Cancionero de Baena”*. In memoriam Manuel Alvar. Baena: Ayuntamiento de Baena, 2003. 1: 387-413.
- Gutiérrez Álvarez, Virginia. “Tres visiones de la noche medieval: cotidiana, diabólica y espiritual.” *Estudios Medievales Hispánicos* 1 (2012): 59-86.
- Gutiérrez Carou, Javier. *La influencia de la Divina Commedia en la poesía castellana del siglo XV*. Ph.D. dissertation. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade, 1996.
- . “Dante en la poesía de Diego de Burgos.” Ed. Santiago Fortuño Llorens & Tomàs Martínez Romero. *Actes del VII Congrès de la Associació Hispànica de Literatura Medieval*. Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 1999. 2: 209-21.
- Hernández Valcárcel, María del Carmen. “El *locus amoenus* en la Edad Media española.” *Simposio Virgiliano conmemorativo del Bimilenario de la muerte de Virgilio*. Murcia: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad, Sección de Filología Clásica, 1984. 321-40.
- Hesiod. *Theogony*. Ed. M. L. West. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1966.
- Heusch, Carlos. “La poesía moderna abusiva: la tensión poética en Juan de Mena.” *Cancionero general* 5 (2007): 41-58.

- Infantes, Víctor. "Espejos poéticos y fama literaria. Las nóminas de autoridades líricas (siglos XV-XVII)." *Bulletin Hispanique* 106.1 (2004): 23-44.
- Labrador Herraiz, José J. & Ralph A. DiFranco. "Del XV al XVII: doscientos poemas." Ed. Ana Menéndez Collera & Victoriano Roncero López. *Nunca fue pena mayor. Estudios de literatura española en homenaje a Brian Dutton*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1996. 321-33.
- . "Continuidad de la poesía del XV en cancioneros del XVI." Ed. Jesús L. Serrano Reyes & Juan Fernández Jiménez. *Juan Alfonso de Baena y su cancionero. Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre el Cancionero de Baena*. Baena: Ayuntamiento de Baena, 2001. 201-13.
- Lawrance, Jeremy N. H. "On Fifteenth Century Spanish Vernacular Humanism." Ed. Ian Michael & Richard A. Cardwell. *Medieval and Renaissance Spanish Studies in Honour of Robert Brian Tate*. Oxford: The Dolphin Book, 1986. 63-79.
- Le Gentil, Pierre. *La poésie lyrique espagnole et portugaise à la fin du Moyen Âge*. 2 vols. Rennes: Philon, 1949-52.
- León, Fray Luis de. *Poesía*. Ed. Juan Alcina. Madrid: Altaya, 1995.
- Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. *La originalidad artística de «La Celestina»*. Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1970.
- . *La tradición clásica en España*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1975.
- . "El amanecer mitológico en la poesía narrativa española." *Revista de Filología Española* 8 (1946): 77-110. Also in *La tradición clásica en España*, 119-64.
- López de Ayala, Pero. *Rimado de Palacio*. Ed. H. Salvador Martínez. New York: Peter Lang, 2000.
- Lozano Renieblas, Isabel. "El encuentro entre aventura y hagiografía en la literatura medieval." Ed. Florencio Sevilla & Carlos Alvar. *Actas del XIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*. Madrid: Castalia, 2000. 1: 161-67.
- Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus. *Pharsalia*. Transl. S. Edward Ridley. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896. Online edition by Douglas B. Killings, 1996: <<http://omacl.org/Pharsalia/>>
- Manrique, Gómez. *Cancionero*. Ed. Francisco Vidal González. Madrid: Cátedra, 2003.
- Martín Fernández, María Amor. *Juan de Mena y el Renacimiento (Estudio de la mitología en su obra menor)*. Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1985.
- Matas Caballero, Juan. "La pervivencia de los modelos retóricos. Juan de Mena y la evolución poética del Siglo de Oro." Ed. Pedro Ruiz Pérez. *Gramática y Humanismo. Perspectivas del Renacimiento español*. Córdoba: Ediciones Libertarias-Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 1993. 163-83.
- Mena, Juan de. *Obras completas*. Ed. Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego. Barcelona: Planeta, 1989.

- Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino. *Antología de los poetas líricos castellanos*. 5 vols. Santander: Aldus, 1941-45. Online access through Fundación Ignacio Larramendi's website: <<http://www.larramendi.es/i18n/bvmpelayo/inicio.cmd>>
- Miguel Prendes, Sol. *El espejo y el piélagos. La «Eneida» castellana de Enrique de Villena*. Kassel: Reichenberger, 1998.
- Miron, E. L. *The Queens of Aragon: Their Lives and Times*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1913.
- Montesino, Fray Ambrosio de. *Cancionero*. Ed. Julio Rodríguez Puértolas. Cuenca: Diputación Provincial, 1987.
- Moreno, Manuel. *La obra poética de Nicolás Núñez*. Ph.D. dissertation. Durham: University of Durham, 1992.
- . "La autoría como problema en la edición de la obra poética de Nicolás Núñez, poeta del *Cancionero general* (Valencia, 1511)." Ed. Carmen Parrilla *et al.* *Edición y anotación de textos. Actas del I Congreso de Jóvenes Filólogos*. A Coruña: Universidade, 1999. 1: 436-78.
- Moreno Hernández, Carlos. *Retórica y humanismo: El Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana (1458)*. Valencia: Publicaciones del LEMIR-Universitat de Valencia, 2008.
- Morse, Ruth. *The Medieval Medea*. Brewer: Boydell, 1996.
- Orazi, Veronica. "Il reimpiego del *planctus* nella letteratura spagnola medievale." *Rassegna iberistica* 92 (2010): 3-17.
- Ortiz-Osés, Andrés. *Cuestiones fronterizas: una filosofía simbólica*. Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial, 1999.
- Ovid. *The Metamorphoses*. Transl. Michael Simpson. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.
- Palencia, Alfonso de. *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance. Reproducción facsimilar de la edición de Sevilla, 1490*. 2 vols. Madrid: Comisión Permanente de la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, 1967.
- Pedrosa, José Manuel. "Si marzo tuerce el rabo, ni pastores ni ganados: ecología, superstición, cuento popular, mito pagano y culto católico del mes de marzo." *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares* 50 (1995): 267-93.
- . "Cervantes, Ruiz de Alarcón, Shakespeare y la noche de San Juan: *Pedro de Urdemalas, Las paredes oyen, A Midsummer Night's Dream*." Ed. Héctor Brioso Santos. *Cervantes y el mundo del teatro*. Kassel: Reichenberger, 2007. 73-117.
- . "Las brujas de Nochebuena y los diablos de San Juan: calendario pagano, calendario cristiano y ritos de paso." 2012 (forthcoming).
- Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "La utopía política en la literatura castellana del siglo XV: el *Libro de los pensamientos variables* (BNM, ms/6642)." *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies* 2 (2002): 23-62.
- . "Valencia en el *Cancionero general* de Hernando del Castillo: los poetas y los poemas." *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica* 21 (2003): 227-51.

- . *Estudio biográfico de los poetas del Cancionero general*. Madrid: CSIC, 2007.
- . “El Humanismo áulico valenciano del temprano Quinientos, en los límites canónicos del Humanismo hispano.” *La Corónica* 37.1 (2008): 245-72.
- . “*Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos*: los conversos en los cancioneros castellanos del tardío medieval (1454-1504).” *La Corónica*, 40.1 (2011): 183-225.
- . “*Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos*: los conversos en los primeros cancioneros castellanos medievales (1369-1454).” Ed. Ruth Fine *et al.* *La literatura de conversos después de 1492*. Madrid-Frankfurt: Iberoamericana-Vervuert (forthcoming).
- Pérez Álvarez, Víctor. “El reloj y el tiempo en la Castilla bajomedieval a través de la literatura.” Ed. María Isabel del Val Valdivieso *et al.* *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al Profesor Julio Valdeón*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León – Universidad de Valladolid, 2009. 3: 494-502.
- Pérez Bosch, Estela. *Los valencianos del Cancionero general: estudio de sus poesías*. Valencia: Publicacions Universitat de Valencia, 2009.
- Pérez-Bustamante, Rogelio, and José Manuel Calderón Ortega. *Don Juan, Príncipe de las Españas (1478-1497). Colección diplomática*. Madrid: Dykinson, 1999.
- Pérez Priego, Miguel Ángel. “El *Claro oscuro* de Juan de Mena.” Ed. Manuel Alvar *et al.* *El comentario de textos. 4. La poesía medieval*. Madrid: Castalia, 1983. 427-49.
- . “El Marqués de Santillana y la Corona de Aragón en el marco del Humanismo peninsular.” *Revista de lenguas y literaturas catalana, gallega y vasca* 9 (2003): 29-40.
- Perotti, Olga. “La poesía religiosa en el *Cancionero general* de 1511.” Ed. Andrea Baldissera & Giuseppe Mazzocchi. *I canzonieri di Lucrezia. Los cancioneros de Lucrecia. Atti del convegno internazionale sulle raccolte poetiche iberiche dei secoli XV-XVII*. Padova: Unipress, 2005. 246-62.
- Place, Edwin B. “The Exaggerated Reputation of Francisco Imperial.” *Speculum* 21.4 (1946): 457-73.
- Polt, John H. R. *Poesía del siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Castalia, 1987.
- Post, Chandler Rathfon. *Medieval Spanish Allegory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915.
- Quint, David. *Epic and Empire. Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- . “Epic Tradition and *Inferno IX*.” Ed. Harold Bloom. *Dante Alighieri*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2004. 37-43.
- Ramnoux, Clémence. *La nuit et les enfants de la nuit dans le tradition grecque*. Paris: Flammarion, 1959.
- Rodríguez Adrados, Francisco. “La composición de los poemas hesiódicos.” *Emerita. Revista de Lingüística y Filología Clásica* 69.2 (2001): 197-223.
- Rodríguez del Padrón, Juan. *Obras completas*. Ed. César Hernández Alonso. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1982.

- Rodríguez-Moñino, Antonio. *Poesía y cancioneros (siglo XVI)*. Madrid: Gráficas Soler, 1968.
- Rojas, Fernando de. *La Celestina*. Ed. Dorothy S. Severin. Madrid: Cátedra, 2008.
- Rose, Herbert Jennings. *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*. Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 1996.
- Rubio Fernández, Lisardo. "Virgilio en el medievo y el Renacimiento español." *Simposio Virgiliano conmemorativo del Bimilenario de la muerte de Virgilio*. Murcia: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad, Sección de Filología Clásica, 1984. 27-57.
- Russell, Peter E. "Las armas contra las letras: para una definición del Humanismo español del siglo XV." Ed. Peter E. Russell. *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios. Del Cid al Quijote*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1978a. 209-39.
- . "La magia como tema integral de la *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*." Ed. Peter E. Russell. *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios. Del Cid al Quijote*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1978b. 243-76.
- Sánchez, Elizabeth. "Magic in *Celestina*." *Hispanic Review* 46 (1978): 481-94.
- Santillana, Marqués de. Íñigo López de Mendoza. *Poesías completas*. Ed. Maxim P.A.M. Kerkhof & Ángel Gómez Moreno. Madrid: Castalia, 2003.
- Sanz Julián, María. "Las aventuras de Jasón en la *Crónica Troyana* de Juan de Burgos." Ed. Armando López Castro & Luzdivina Cuesta Torre. *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (León, 20-24 de septiembre de 2005)*. León: Universidad de León, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2007. 2: 1037-45.
- Schiff, Mario. *La bibliothèque du marquis de Santillane*. Paris: E. Bouillon, 1905.
- Scholberg, Kenneth R. *Introducción a la poesía de Gómez Manrique*. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1984.
- So, Damon W. K. *Jesus' Revelation of His Father: A Narrative-Conceptual Study of the Trinity with Special Reference to Karl Barth*. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006.
- Spring, Nancy Lynn. *Drayton's Moon-goddess in Endimion and Phoebe*. Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 1990.
- Tato García, Cleofé, & Óscar Perea Rodríguez. "De Castillo a Dutton: cinco siglos de cancioneros." *La Corónica* 40.1 (2011): 89-102.
- Tigard, Conan. *Review of LadyHawke, by Joan D. Vinge*. Reading Review, 10/20/1999, Online Access: <<http://www.readingreview.com/fantasy/ladyhawke.html>>
- Tomassetti, Isabella. "Sperimentazione poetica e rinnovamento letterario nella Valencia del conde de Oliva: l'esempio della 'glosa'." *Rivista di filologia e letterature ispaniche* 13 (2010): 9-36.
- Valerius Maximus. *Memorable Deeds and Sayings. One Thousand Tales from Ancient Rome*. Ed. & transl. Henry John Walker. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2004.

- Van Aken, Andreas R. A. *The Encyclopedia of Classical Mythology*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1965.
- Villena, Enrique de. *Obras completas, III. Traducción y glosas de la «Eneida», libros IV-XII. Traducción de la «Divina Commedia»*. Ed. Pedro M. Cátedra. Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2000.
- Virgil. *Aeneid*. Transl. Robert Fagles. Introd. Bernard Knox. New York: Penguin Books, 2006.
- Vinge, Joan D. *Ladyhawke*. New York: New American Library, 1985.
- Weiss, Julian. "Álvaro de Luna, Juan de Mena and the Power of Courtly Love." *Modern Language Notes. Hispanic Issue* 106 (1991): 241-56.
- Whetnall, Jane. "Songs and *Canciones* in the *Cancionero general de 1511*." Ed. Alan Deyermond & Ian Macpherson. *The Age of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1516: Literary Studies in Memory of Keith Whinnom*. Liverpool: University Press, 1989. 197-207.
- . "El *Cancionero general de 1511*: textos únicos y textos omitidos." Ed. Juan Paredes Núñez. *Medioevo y Literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995. 4: 505-15.
- Williams, Richard Hays. *The Expression of Common Value Attitudes Toward Suffering in the Symbolism of Medieval Art*. New York & London: Garland, 1990.