In the Western literary canon, night has been associated with the concept of creation since the 7\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., when Hesiod popularised this feature in his \textit{Theogony} (vv. 211-32). The venerable epic poet humanised the ‘night’ throughout Nyx —in Greek, Νύξ—, daughter of Chaos and Earth,\footnote{“Εξ Χάος δ’ Ἐρεβός τε μέλαινα τε Νυξ έγένοντο· ¶ Νυκτός δ’ αὖτ’ Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἐμέρα ἐξεγένοντο, ¶ οὖς τέκε κοισαμόνη Ἐρέβει φιλάττε μηγάστα.” (\textit{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 Erebos” (Hesiod 116).} 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).\footnote{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 romanero and folk literature treated in this paper.}

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,\footnote{In the terms defined by Alonso 1985, 707-31.} 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

\textit{Night Moves: Nocturnality within Religious and Humanist Poetry in Hernando del Castillo’s Cancionero general}\textsuperscript{1}

\textit{Voor mijn lieve vriend Maxim Kerkhof, meester van de Spaanse Humanisme}

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Spanish poetry of the late Middle Ages is often called poesía de canciónero, 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 canciónero 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 canciónero 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 canciónero poetry difficult to study as a purely literary movement. 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 canciónero poetry. 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)

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 canciónero 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, but also its originality within medieval Spanish poetic canon.

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). 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. 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

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9 For Cancionero general itself, see González Cuenca. For the continuity of cancionero poetry within Golden Age, see Labrador Heraiz 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/bnresearch/biblioteca/Canci%C3%B5nero%20general%20de%20muchos%20y%20diosos%20auteores%20quls/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. But this acknowledged Valencian connection of Juan Tallante notwithstanding, he was not “un Valencien, comme le comte d’Oliva” (Darbord 264-65). 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.  

La última noche, mediada en el hilo,
un día del cuento vicéssimoquarto
del mes postrimero de tu dulce parto,
llagándose ya la luz del pavilo…
¡Ó, sacro misterio, que no te perfilo
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).

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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 escuercieron, y d’este Castillo, que Vuestra Señoría de los primeros cimientos obró, siempre se acuerde.” (11CG, fol. 1v).
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 cancióneriles 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,
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 ‘Sacedo’ or ‘Sazedo’, 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 escura / 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.
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.  
(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*,

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.

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.

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

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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,\textsuperscript{23} or the Bible (Jud 11: 17),\textsuperscript{24} before 11CG it was barely used in Spanish medieval literature: we have only found it within López de Ayala’s \textit{Rimado de Palacio}.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{26} and Gómez Manrique’s poem dedicated to Diego Arias, or Diagarias, Dávila, the well known \textit{converso} accountant of John II,\textsuperscript{27} King of Castile,\textsuperscript{28} as well as the poem by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón entitled \textit{Siete gozos de amor}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{topoi} would become prominent.

\textbf{Night time in the poetry of Spanish vernacular Humanism}

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

\textsuperscript{23} \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Rimado de Palacio}, 747f: “Siempre, noches e días, en ál non comedí” (López de Ayala 124).

\textsuperscript{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 compañas 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 \textit{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 \textit{cancionero} poetry, see Dutton ID 8050.

\textsuperscript{27} For the \textit{converso} elements of \textit{cancionero} poetry, see Perea Rodríguez 2011 and Perea Rodríguez (forthcoming).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{29} ID 0192, 11CG-165: “Ante las puertas del templo”. The quote is in fol. 91r, vv. 9-4: “Amor, en cuyo servicio/noches y días contemplo.” See Rodríguez del Padrón 309.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{31} For \textit{planctus} tradition in Spanish medieval literature, see Orazi 3-17.
appreciated by the Marquis and the rest of Humanists: not in vain some years later Juan Pérez de Moya, in his *Philosofía secreta* printed in 1585, pointed out the fact that mythology “es materia muy necesaria para el entendimiento de los poetas” (Cristóbal 2000, 31). Beginning a typical medieval allegory with the common *topos* (Fletcher 333; Post 99), Santillana describes the moment in which the sun sets —*admitigada la flama apolea*, v. 4— and the moon rises —*al tiempo que salle la gentil Idea*, v. 5— as the point of the day at which he was inspired to give poetic expression to his sorrow for Villena’s death:

> Robadas avían el Austro y Borea  
> a prados y selvas sus frondas y flores,  
> venciendo los fuegos y grandes calores  
> ya admitigada la flama apolea,  
> al tiempo que salle la gentil Idea  
> y fuerça con rayos el aire noturno,  
> y los Antipodes han claro diurno,  
> según testifica la gesta magnea.33 (11CG, fol. 22r, vv. 1-8)

Obviously, this mythological periphrasis, of long tradition in the Western canon influenced by Latin literature (Curtius 275-78), is the main rhetorical tool through which the poets of Spanish Humanism allude to the night in Castillo’s *Cancionero general*. As was quite common in Santillana’s poetry (Crosa López 123-24), he made fine use of this metaphor in what has been defined as “una curiosa fusión artística del relato amoroso con el lamento fúnebre” (Pérez Priego 2003, 35): his poetical lament for the death of Margarita de Prades,34 Queen of Aragon (ID 0301, 11CG-49):

> A la hora que Medea  
> su ciencia profería  
> a Jasón, quando quería  
> assayar la rica prea;  
> y quando de grado en grado  
> 5

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32 On other allegorical uses by Santillana, especially those of love poetry, see Casas Rigall 93-94.

33 In the original text of 11CG, v. 4 appears as “y admitigada…” The option I write here, “ya admitigada”, is not followed by Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof, modern editors of Santillana’s poetry (Santillana 285).

34 Margarita de Prades married King Martin I of Aragon in 1409, but her husband died just a few months later. She remained at the Aragonese court after Fernando I’s enthronement in 1412, where the young Santillana probably met her while serving the new king (Pérez Priego 2003, 31-32). At least from 1424 the former queen had entered religion; later on, she was appointed Abbess of the Premonstratensian monastery of Saint Mary of Bonrepidós, Catalonia, when she died presumably around 1451 (Miron 264), although some other scholars dated her death no later than 1429 (Pérez Priego 2003, 34).

35 See Santillana 208.
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 topos 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 fermosa el buen reír,

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, 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 frío 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). This recourse was used by the poets just mentioned: Santillana did so very often, 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”), one of the most complex poems of the entire Spanish cancionero poetry for its blend of both arte mayor and arte menor stanzas. 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. 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.

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)

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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 Querella 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 escurze” (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 lumbrere” (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, 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, 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. 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 sospiros despertad”), 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, our poet, as a reputed Christian believer

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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).
(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 eloqüente;
> 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 Tesalïana,
> 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 parescía;
> y tal iva, yo vos digo,
> que mi mayor enemigo
> me fuera vista plazible,
> según la cuita terrible

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\(^{53}\) 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 figures mitológicas” (74).

\(^{54}\) On Dante as prototype of pilgrim, see Bloom 77.

\(^{55}\) In the terms defined by Hernández Valcárcel 333-38.
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,
aguja muy más aína
por hallar cierta posada,
iva yo quanto podía;
pero la lumbre del día
del todo me fallesció
y la tiniebra cubrió
quando menos me cumplía.

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

A Marco no se hazía
en la su prisión amarga
–quando por cama tenía
clavos sobre que durmía–
ingual la noche de larga;
aunque tanto recebava
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.

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). 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: 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.

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 empahisises 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 Ῥ. 2 ext. 1: “Transgrediemur nunc ad illa, quibus ut par dolor, ita nullus nostrae ciuitatis rubor inest. Karthaginemenses Atilium Regulum palpebris resectis machinae, in qua undique praecauti stimuli eminebant, inclusum vigilantia 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;
que pequeña mutación
al aflito corazón
faze torcer la balança…
¡quánto más una mudança
venida tan de rendón!

E vi que las noturnales
lumbreras se despedían,
mostrando por sus señales
que las banderas febales
no mucho lueñe venían.
¡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)

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 febales*, 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

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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).

Aside from some minor poems, Diego de Burgos owes his certain reputation as a poet to an astonishing piece: the Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana (ID 1710, 11CG-87: “Tornado era Febo a ver el Tesoro”), 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:

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 qué alumbrado
el orbe terreno, tanto durava
en nuestro emisperio quanto morava

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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.
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.
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 rebajada 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? 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. 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. Therefore, Diego de Burgos expresses that he is writing the poem at the beginning of the spring (Gutiérrez Carou 1999, 214), 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—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 Alete*.  

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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 hecha. 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, Tespone, Alecto et Megra, que son unas ravias 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 Moralía 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 “dixerón los paganos a las deessas crueles 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 Gaía’s daughter and not Nyx’s, the personification of the night, to whom the Castilian poet referred clearly in his circumlocution.79

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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 Γαῖ· περιπλοµένων δ´ ἐνιαυτῶν ¶ γείνατ᾽ Ὑρινής 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, 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’; that is why, according to Aeschylus’s Eumenides, 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. 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 escriven 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, 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, ‘Phoebe’ as an embodiment of the

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80 “Φοίβη δ’ αὖ Κοίου πολυάρατου ἐλήθην ἐς εὐνήν ¶ κυσαµένη δὴ ἐπειτα θεοῦ ἐν φιλότητι · ¶ Λητὼ κυανόπεπλον ἐγείνατο, µείλιχον αἰεί” (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, διδόσσ δ’ ἣ γενέθλιον δόσιν ¶ Φοίβω τῷ Φοίβης δ’ ὄνοµ’ ἔχει περownto” (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,\textsuperscript{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 él Apollos 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, \textit{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,\textsuperscript{87} the \textit{Grant Crónica de Espanya} tells us that “en aquel tiempo havié en Grecia una duenya la qual havié nombre Diana, et clamáyanla la deessa de la luna y de la caça” (Fernández de Heredia, fols. XIVr-XIVr\textsuperscript{b});\textsuperscript{88} later on, Alonso de Palencia states in his \textit{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 Appolo 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 \textit{la madre de Aleto} to whom Diego de Burgos referred in his \textit{Triunfo}. First, we must remark that all of these problems derive from a double tradition confluent within Greek mythology’s cosmogonies, as Rammoux explains:

\textbf{L’étude des cosmogonies jette sur ces faits quelque lumière: sur un fil de tradition, l’entité feminine à l’origine se dédoublé 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)}

\textsuperscript{86} We do not take into account the reference to Saint Phoebe (1st century AD), deaconess of Cenchreae, near Corinthus, 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’.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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). 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
iraque insidiaque 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 Juno his acuit verbis ac talia fatur:
“Hunc mihi da proprium, virgo sata Nocte, laborem,
hanc operam, ne noster honos infractave cedat
fama loco, ne conubiis ambire Latinum
Aeneadae possint Italosve obsidere fines…” (Aeneid 7: 377-92)

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 orrible Alectho en la silla morada de las crueles hermanas, e las infernales llamó tinniebras, a quien pertenesçen las tristes batallas, las iras, las aseçanchas e las encantaciones nozibles al coraçón. Aborrêscela aquel mesmo padre Plutón, dios del

89 “Μῶτερ ἡ μετικτες, ὁ μῶτερ Ἡ Νυξ…” “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 / griefes 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
tantas figuras se trasmuda e tan crueles gestos representa e en tantas
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 cercar itálicos (Villena 206).

Another important point based on this portrayal of Alecto, the Ferocious, 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 relicta,
tantum odiis iraeque 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.

Little is known about Diego de Burgos’s language skills, 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 topis is also present in a remarkable follower of the Virgilian allegoresis, as defined by Curtius
(73-74): Saint Augustine, who wrote “Talibus nuptii populum Romanum non Venus, sed Bellona
donauit; aut fortassis Allecto illa inferna furia i am eius precibus contra Aeneas at Juno’s entreaty- in spite of the fact that
Juno by now was on their side” (De Civitate Dei III, 13; Augustine 103). On Saint Augustine’s
importance for the theoretical construction of Humanist topi, 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 pusó los pies en el umbral de la entrada del
infierno, estremecióse el unbral, et el gran Cerbero, que era portero del Infierno, viola luego et alcó las
tres cabeças que ha, et dio tan grandes tres ladríos 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
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, raviñas infernales, de quien avemos departido ya en esta Estoria. Según cuenta en el Libro de los linajes de los nobles gentiles de sos dioses, que (sic) fueron fijas de Demorgergón e de la Noche; deessa 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 adaman, et seyen estas tres hermanas allí, peynnando culuebras prietas que les cayen de los cabellos e de las cabeza. (Alfonso X, *General Estoria. Segunda parte*, fol. 172v)

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 Aragones 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;  
e non era alguna que fuesse dubdosa,  
when en presencia la muy ponderosa deessa rodante me fue demostrada con grand compañía, ricamente ornada,  
en forma de dueña benigna e piadosa.

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

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
el bulto terrestre cubierto tenía:
descanso tomava la humana flaqueza
d’aquello trabajos que passa en el día.
Al tiempo que Aurora mostrarse quería,
vi, como fantasma, o propia visión,
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-dantescia” (Gutiérrez Carou 1996; 1999, 214), as have other works of Spanish *cancionero* poetry in which Dante’s influence is evident. It is well-known that the opening terza rimas 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. 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, 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

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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 escrivo temiendo la clara me moría”), 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’erano con lui quando l’amor divino / mosse di prima quelle cose belle; / sì ch’era 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 fendeva ciascuna il petto;
battien si a palme e gridavan si 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; / Trisiphone 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 conoció las mesquinas (sic) / de la reina del eterno pianto, / «¡Guarda!», me dijo, / «las fieras Erines! / 16) Aesta es Megera, del / sinistro canto, / e aquella que llora de la diestra parte es Alecto; / Thesifón, 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 estrení al poeta por sospecha.” (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.
Spanish humanists like Santillana (Arce 1970, 28; Moreno Hernández 60).\(^{101}\) Diego de Burgos praised his venerated master, but not in an exaggerated way as Gómez Manrique did,\(^{102}\) for the latter, in order to flatter Santillana, even affirmed that the Spanish poet had surpassed his Italian model (“pues en los metros el Dante / ant’él se mostrara necio”).\(^{103}\)

Returning to our nocturnal concerns, a few verses later Diego de Burgos mentions that he and Dante –el dulce poeta, v. 5– have spent a whole day walking together, introducing once again the presence of the night –v. 4–, acting here as a mere chronological reference.\(^{104}\) In the following stanza, the poet invokes Apollo –v. 9–, asking the Sun god for help to metaphorically illuminate both his mind and his pen –v. 13:

Assí, caminando todo aquel día
por esta tal selva de pocos usada,
el breve camino me fue luenga vía:
la noche dio fin a nuestra jornada.
El dulce poeta, veyendo cansada
mi flaca persona, mostróme lugar
debaxo d’un árbol para reposar
hasta qu’el alva nos fue demostrada.

INVOCACIÓN
¡Flamígero Apolo, que alumbras el mundo!
El tiempo es llegado que tu favor pida
en estos desiertos del orbe profundo,
do cosa ninguna me es conocida.

\(^{101}\) On the contrary, Gutiérrez Carou thinks that “el Dante del Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana no posee ningún valor simbólico, ha sido escogido como guía simplemente por ser el autor de una de las obras extranjeras por las que el marqués había demostrado un mayor interés [...]; un personaje simbólicamente plano, incapaz de proyectar la riqueza significativa de otros similares” (219-20). However, in any given literary context, it seems strange to accept that a character chosen to be a guide would be totally lacking in symbolic value. While this Dante may lack allegorical nuances, his prestige as guide is precisely what enhanced Santillana’s portrait of the finest Spanish Humanist ever penned by Diego de Burgos. This symbolism would have been clear to any medieval reader of Diego de Burgos’s poem.

\(^{102}\) “Gómez Manrique, por ejemplo, dijo que era Santillana el primer hombre de aquella época que había conseguido reunir en sí la erudición y la milicia, la loriga y la toga” (Russell 1978a, 215); “Gómez Manrique también alaba a Santillana como estudioso de Dante” (Russell 1978a, 231). See also Arce 1970, 32-33.

\(^{103}\) ID 1708, 11CG-71, fol. 41v, vv. 1089-90 (Manrique 409). Despite this adulation, we must remember how the Florentine librarian Vespasiano da Bisticci, a key figure to understand the Italian connection of 15th-century-Castilian-Humanism (Gómez Moreno 1997-98), argued that the Marquis of Santillana “non era litterato, ma intendeva benissimo la lingua toscana” (Schiff LXVII).

\(^{104}\) On the chronological references in Spanish medieval literature, see Pérez Álvarez 494-502.
¡Alumbra mi seso! ¡Mi pluma combida,
por tal que explicar algún poco pueda
de lo que flaqueza de ingenio devieda!
¡Esfuerçe tu gracia mi mano vencida! (11CG, fol. 54r, vv. 305-20)

Although influenced by both Santillana and Dante, Diego de Burgos’s inventiveness lies both in his adoption of the *Divine Comedy* as a model and his creation of a Dante Alighieri character for his own poem, a mirror in which Santillana would see himself reflected. Furthermore, the parallel between the first stanzas of Burgos’s *Triunfo* and both Santillana’s lament for Villena’s death and *Comedieta de Ponça*—exceptionally noteworthy, as mentioned above—is not mere an imitation of his master’s style or the Italian sources in which it was inspired. Diego de Burgos’s use of the mythological periphrasis was absolutely original, for he preferred to situate the beginning of his poem neither at dawn, as maintained by Gutiérrez Carou (1999, 214) and Arce (1970, 30), nor at night, as Moreno Hernández wrote (140), but rather at a charming moment of the vernal equinox revealed by the circumlocution in vv. 5-9: in the fleeting moments between darkness and light, the magical seconds in which both luminosity and obscurity possess identical value.

**Antiqvitas vs. Modernitas in Diego de Burgos poetry**

It is obvious that this sense of total equilibrium created by Diego de Burgos can be connected with the long medieval tradition of *Coincidentia Oppositorum*, that is, the Neo-platonic union of opposites, in the symbolic terms of Christian thought described by Nicholas of Cusa in his *De Docta Ignorantia*, written in the first half of the 15th century (Freeman 86-94). The union of opposites is a well-known fundament of medieval alchemy (Eliade 142-68), which has formed part of Human cosmogonies since the origins of mankind, as Carl Gustav Jung and his followers pointed out in the 20th century (Bilsker 52-78). Henceforth, we may say that Diego de Burgos located his poem in what the philosopher Ortiz-Osés has defined as the “hole in reality”:

La hendidura de lo real –esa flexión que flexiona la realidad hasta genufactarla en su implicación (ciega, aciaga, limital). La hendidura de la realidad es la que posibilita precisamente el pasaje de dioses y démones, la abertura y la clausura, la implicación y conjunción de los contrarios mutuamente coatrapados. El mutuo abatimiento de los contrarios es su complicidad final-inicial: medial. La hendidura de la realidad posibilita a la vez lo positivo –la comunicación y salida– y lo negativo –su incomunicación y atrapamiento (49).

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105 On negative opinions about Diego de Burgos’s originality, see the summary collected by Arce 1970, 27-28.
106 For Diego de Burgos’s Petrarchism, see Compagno 117-21.
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).

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.

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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 súlfuros fuegos que los fervientes étnicos montes manan, gobernador y veedor de los tormentos y atormentadores de las pecadoras animas, regidor de las tres furias, Tesifone, Megera y Alecto. (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, essos 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 tenían posentado,
quando este muy dulce y breve tratado,
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, 1,858 verses, 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 “Citara 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).

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 Defunció, 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)
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