

*ARMAS Y LETRAS: SANTILLANA AND THE FORGING OF A NEW CHIVALRIC
IDEAL*

Sherry A. Venere

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of Romance Languages and Literatures.

Chapel Hill
2013

Approved by:

Frank Domínguez

Rosa Perelmuter

Lucia Binotti

Irene Gómez-Castellano

Josefa Lindquist

© 2013
Sherry A. Venere
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Abstract

SHERRY A. VENERE: *Armas y letras: Santillana and the Forging of a New Chivalric Ideal*
(Under the direction of Dr. Frank Domínguez)

The most popular models of behavior for medieval Castilian nobility were heroes like Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar and Fernán González, who join the company of ancient heroes like Aeneas and Alexander, in embodying the Cardinal Virtues, in particular, the ideal of Fortitude. Their narratives made use of the classical topos of *sapientia et fortitudo* to showcase their expertise as soldiers and commanders. During fifteenth-century Castile, knights were asked to possess more qualities than were comprehended by *sapientia et fortitudo* and Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398-1458), more commonly known by his title, *marqués de Santillana*, was chosen as the champion of a new heroic paradigm.

This dissertation examines how Santillana's interest in letters and learning is used by contemporaries Juan de Mena, Gómez Manrique, and Diego de Burgos to construct a new image of what constitutes an ideal knight and nobleman, the soldier-scholar, in spite of the historical separation of arms and letters. I explore how these poets' encomia of Santillana combine exemplary citations and the arms and letters topos to introduce the new paradigm of the soldier/scholar much before the likes of Garcilaso de la Vega and Cervantes praised the combination, and why it happened at this juncture in history. In Chapters 1 and 2, I consider the type of knowledge required to make these comparisons, examining the nature of arms and letters and the exemplary figure in ancient and medieval rhetoric, and our poets' knowledge

of these rhetorical theories. In Chapters 3-5, I discuss each Mena's *La Coronación*, Manrique's *El planto de las Virtudes e Poesía*, and Burgos's *El triunfo del Marques de Santillana* in light of the shifting appreciation of knightly letters in early-fifteenth century, Santillana's efforts in arms and letters, and the poets' efforts to legitimize their own positions. Despite the intentions of these poets, tensions still existed in medieval society around the figure of the knight, and we may conclude that while Santillana anticipates the new exemplary ideal through his own military and scholarly achievements, he is merely a very early example whose exemplary status is thwarted by the lukewarm reception of the Castilian nobility.

To my amazing parents, without whose extraordinary love, encouragement
and support this would not have been possible

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, whose love and support I must acknowledge before all others. You never stopped encouraging me and assuring me that this is who I am and what I'm meant for, even when I couldn't see those thousand points of light. Thank you for the laughter and the love, all that you've done to help me reach this point and all you continue to do to support me. I love you both so dearly. Thank you to my amazing sister, Sarah, who reminds me that she has the best sister in the world, and to whom I can only hope to be equally as supportive and loving.

Thank you to all of my friends for your encouragement during this long journey. To Jen and Dawn, whom I also consider part of my family, you know I could not have survived this without you both. Thank you for listening to the endless explanations and brainstorming, for making me laugh when I needed it most, and for just simply being there. I am so blessed to have you both in my life. To my ROML family, especially Kate, Sarah, Anna and all of DEY 219, thank you for your advice and support and, most importantly, your friendship over the past few years. You made my experience at Carolina one that I will treasure forever.

Thank you to all of my professors and mentors who have inspired me throughout my studies, especially Dr. Leslie Cahoon and Dr. Ronald Burgess, who recognized the college professor in me before I did myself and encouraged me to explore this path. Thank you to those who have nurtured me as a language instructor, especially Dr. Anastacia Kohl, Dr.

Elizabeth Bruno, and Dr. Darcy Lear. I have learned so much from each of you and have greatly valued your support. To Dr. Glynis Cowell, I cannot adequately express my gratitude for all that you've invested in me, your time, your support and your caring in helping me become the educator and woman I am today. To Dr. Josefa Lindquist, thank you for simply everything you've done, for your mentorship in both my research and teaching and, most importantly, for your friendship. Both of you have helped this non-native Jersey girl realize her dream of being a Spanish professor and I am indebted to you.

Thank you to the members of my dissertation committee, including Dr. Rosa Perelmuter, Dr. Carmen Hsu, Dr. Lucia Binotti, Dr. Irene Gómez-Castellano and Dr. Josefa Lindquist, for your willingness to participate in my project and for your insightful comments. To my director, Dr. Frank Domínguez, this is little more than summary, but thank you for your advice and support during my time at Carolina, especially your guidance in this project.

The above is merely a short list of all to whom I'm incredibly grateful, and to those who I have not mentioned, my sincerest thanks to you as well. A final thank you again to my family. I hope you take as much pride in this doctorate as I do.

Table of Contents

Chapter

I.	Introduction.....	1
II.	The Exemplary Comparison in Fifteenth-Century Castile.....	15
III.	The Exemplary Comparison and <i>La Coronación del Marqués de Santillana</i> of Juan de Mena.....	29
IV.	The Exemplary Comparison and <i>El planto de las Virtudes e Poesía</i> <i>por el magnífico señor don Yñigo López de Mendoça Marqués de Santillana</i> <i>e conde del Real</i> of Gómez Manrique.....	51
V.	The Exemplary Comparison and <i>El triunfo del Marques de Santillana</i> of Diego de Burgos.....	74
VI.	Conclusion.....	97
	Bibliography.....	106

Chapter 1

Introduction

When searching for models of behavior, men and women of medieval Castile look to the past. In particular, the education of nobility relies on paradigms of virtuous and heroic behavior that are easily found in medieval texts, as Isabel Beceiro explains:

Los textos más extensos y detallados sobre formas concretas de instrucción son los que se refieren, en cuanto a los primeros, a héroes literarios revestidos de especiales cualidades que los colocan por encima de los seres reales, o los que reflejan las opiniones de algunos de los escritores más destacados del momento, con un fuerte sentido didáctico, expresando directamente o a través de un personaje presentado como modelo de conducta. (125)

The most popular models of behavior are heroes like Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, more commonly referred to as El Cid, and Fernán González, who join the company of ancient heroes like Odysseus, Aeneas and Alexander. These men embodied the Cardinal Virtues, in particular, the ideal of Fortitude, and their narratives made use of the classical topos of *sapientia et fortitudo* to showcase their expertise as soldiers and commanders.

During the fifteenth century, these representations of the warriors were found wanting. Fifteenth-century knights were asked to possess more qualities than were comprehended by *sapientia et fortitudo*. The Castilian nobility was in need of a model that truly embodied a new paradigm, and it found it not in the past but among its contemporaries, in Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398-1458), more commonly known by his title, *marqués de Santillana*.

Born in 1398 to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Admiral of Castile, and Leonor de la Vega, Santillana belonged to the Mendoza family, one of the most prominent during the reign of the Trastámara dynasty and to whose destiny it was intimately tied.¹ Raised by his mother and grandmother, Santillana was a student and nephew of Pedro López de Ayala, a leading intellectual of the period and an early supporter of the *infante* Enrique IV of Aragon. Eventually, Santillana aligned himself with Juan II of Castile and fought on behalf of Castile in wars with both Aragon and Granada. Because of this service, he was bestowed the titles of *conde de Manzares del Real* and *marqués de Santillana* after the Battle of Olmedo (1445).² He died in 1458 at the age of sixty in Guadalajara, leaving behind a noteworthy military and literary legacy.

While fully engaged in the politics of his time, Santillana was also an impassioned writer and scholar, who amassed an impressive library, commissioned translations of Classical and foreign vernacular texts, and worked in multiple genres of poetry and prose. Some of his best known works include: *La Comedieta de Ponza* (1436), an allegorical vision-poem centered on the Aragonese branch of the Trastámaras; the *serranillas* (c. 1423-1440), erotic encounters between a knight and low-class maid; the *Sonetos al ytalico modo* (c. 1438-1455), which mark the first appearance of the Italian form and the endecasyllable verse in Spanish poetry; and the *Prohemio y Carta al Condestable de Portugal* (1449), Santillana's

¹ “The Mendoza recognized that their aristocratic status was no older than the Trastámara dynasty itself and that it was the product of their ancestors’ political agility in serving – with both sword and pen – that revolutionary illegitimate dynasty” (Helen Nader 3).

² This shift in loyalty is owed to Juan II’s ability to provide Santillana with what he truly wanted - restoration of his lands: “although Santillana was in fact selling his loyalty and military services to the highest bidder, only the king of Castile could offer the price Santillana wanted – confirmation of his possessions and privileges” (Nader 50).

venture into literary history.³ However, rather than explore these literary works, this dissertation will examine how his interest in letters and learning is used by contemporaries in three poems of praise that construct a new image of what constitutes an ideal knight and nobleman, the soldier-scholar. In order of appearance, they are *La Coronación del Marqués de Santillana*, or *Calamicleos* (1438), of Juan de Mena, *El planto de las Virtudes e Poesya por el magnífico señor don Yñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana e conde del Real* (1458) of Gómez Manrique, and *El triunfo del Marques de Santillana* (1458) of Diego de Burgos. These poems set Santillana apart as one of the first Castilian nobles to be extensively lauded in medieval poetry during his life and upon his death. They celebrate him as an exemplar of arms and letters, creating an image of him that persists even today.

Modern scholars consistently recall Santillana's excellence as a soldier and scholar. Rafael Lapesa considers "la feliz coyuntura de caballería y letras había de ser eje en la vida del Marqués de Santillana" (*Obra literaria* 1); Amparo Alba Cecilia places him among those who "encarnan con orgullo en sus personas los dos aspectos" (47); Joseph Pérez praises him for his ability to wield with "idéntica maestría ora la espada, ora la pluma" (413); Carlos Moreno Hernández enthusiastically declares that there was "nadie mejor que Santillana, conjunción de poeta orador y de soldado, para encarnar el ejemplo en su propia persona" (90); Julian Weiss believes that "the finest embodiment of the ideal of arms and letters was the Marqués de Santillana, whose famous library is the most important evidence for the fondness for book-collecting amongst the aristocracy" (*Poet's art* 12); and Katherine Elliot van Liere seconds Weiss's sentiment, citing his impressive library and his patronage of classical translations:

³ For further study of Santillana's biography and literary works, see José Amador de los Ríos, Rafael Lapesa (*La obra literaria*, 1957), Helen Nader, Rogelio Pérez Bustamante, and Regula Rohland de Langbehn. For an inventory and study of Santillana's library, see Mario Schiff.

The best-remembered spokesman for the pursuit of *armas y letras* in the sense of vernacular literature was Íñigo López de Mendoza, the Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458)... Santillana wrote Castilian poetry, owned one of the greatest libraries in fifteenth-century Spain, and patronized numerous translations into Castilian of such popular Latin authors as Virgil, Ovid and Seneca. He spoke for a small group of educated nobles who tried to challenge the prejudice against book-learning common to most of their class. (78)

These statements are grounded in Santillana's reputation among his own contemporaries as Castile's most effective example of the new knight. As Peter Russell says, "[Santillana] was described as the first man of that age of such high rank who had brought together learning and chivalry, the cuirass and the toga" (50). For example, Juan de Lucena's description of Santillana in his *De Vita Beata* calls him "en armas extrenuo, disertissimo en letras...ni las armas empachan sus estudios, ni los estudios empachan sus armas"⁴ and Fernando del Pulgar includes him among the *claros varones* of Castile:

Tovo en su vida dos notables ejercicios, uno en la diciplina militar, otro en el estudio de la ciencia. E ni las armas le ocupavan el estudio, ni el estudio le impedía el tiempo para platicar con los caballeros y escuderos de su casa. (97)

Although not solely focused on Santillana, the above descriptions of the marquess distinguish him as practiced in arms and letters, and confirm that one does not impede the other.

The three panegyrics dedicated to the marquess follow the practice of Classical and Medieval rhetoricians, who often employed the topos of *sapientia et fortitudo* to summarize what were thought to be the best qualities of a warrior. E.R. Curtius traces its origin to the *Iliad's* Odysseus, who combines cleverness and eloquence with impressive battle skills, and considers the action and the tragedy of the *Iliad* directly related to this polarity between courage and wisdom and the display of both soldierly virtue (courage) and heroic virtue

⁴ This citation is taken from Round (*Renaissance Culture* 209). I have not modernized the spelling of any medieval and early modern Spanish text cited herein. All citations from these periods appear as they do in the editions used.

(wisdom) (172). Virgil's *Aeneid* also describes Aeneas as an example of both courage and wisdom, but within the poem, Aeneas does not truly live up to this ideal.⁵ It is later writers like Fulgentius that make him representative of the topos, calling the *Aeneid* "a tale of arms and man, indicating manliness by arms and wisdom by man, for all perfection depends on manliness of body and wisdom of mind" (*Exposition of the Content of Virgil* 122). This is the combination to which St. Isidore alludes to in his definition of heroic meter: "a poem is called heroic (*heroicus*) because the acts and deeds of strong men are recounted in it, for celestial (*aerius*) men, as it were, worthy of the skies because of their wisdom and strength, are called heroes (*heros*)" (*Etymologies*, I.xxxix.8).

Writers also looked to Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, two of the Nine Worthies of Fame who were, by far, two of the most famous men of Antiquity.⁶ Alexander and Julius Caesar expanded the topos to include scholarship. Alexander was a master of conquest, leading Greeks and Macedonians in their victory over Persia. However, as a student of Aristotle, Alexander combined studies and wisdom with military successes. His fame became legendary shortly after his death and reached the Middle Ages through the continuously rewritten *Alexander Romance*.⁷

Alexander was greatly admired by many of the Roman Empire, including Julius Caesar, another warrior who becomes an exemplar. During his lifetime, Caesar gained fame

⁵ The accounts of Dictys and Dares, who would be influential in the medieval Trojan cycle, further separate courage and wisdom by attributing each to different characters, but not both to any particular one (Curtius 174-175).

⁶ The Nine Worthies, first popularized by the fourteenth-century Jacques de Longuyon and his *Les Vœux du Paon*, are: Hector, Caesar, and Alexander (Pagan); Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabæus (Old Testament); and Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon (Christian) (John Huizinga 72).

⁷ The studies on Alexander the Great are numerous. For further study, see Stoneman and his extensive bibliography. For Alexander's reception during the Roman Empire, see Weippert, Green and Spenser in *American Journal of Ancient History* Vol. 3.1 (1978).

as a general, statesman, and author, but the future would fashion him into a popular example of military strength and political acumen, based on his *De bello gallico* and *De bello civili*, in Lucan, Quintilian, and Plutarch.

Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which details the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, "created an image of Caesar that still captures the imagination, covering the full scale from virtue to vice, from human depravity to uncanny godlikeness" that appeals to comparisons with figures like Alexander, Achilles and Aeneas (Christine Walde 45). Quintilian praises Caesar's skills as an orator together with his military expertise:

As for Gaius Caesar, if he had had leisure to devote himself to the courts, he would have been the one orator who could have been considered a serious rival to Cicero. Such are his force, his penetration and his energy that we realise that he was as vigorous in speech as in his conduct of war. (10.1.114)

These exemplars add more learned pursuits to *sapientia*, including textual production with Julius Caesar, and are the antecedents of a shift from *sapientia et fortitudo* to arms and letters.

Heroes of medieval Castile like Fernán González and Rodrigo Ruy Díaz de Vivar display the more traditional *sapientia et fortitudo*. The Cid, in particular, was the foremost example of a military hero during the Iberian Middle Ages. Always the victor, he served as a model knight; his military acumen and strength were an inspiration to all and similar to those exemplified by ancient heroes. Their campaigns against the Moors cemented a place for Fernán González and El Cid in the mind of Castilian knights. Like Odysseus and Aeneas, they were fierce yet just Christian warriors and cunning yet prudent commanders that kept alive the tradition of *sapientia et fortitudo*.⁸

⁸ Studies on the Cid and Fernán González are numerous. See the studies of Armistead, Bailey, Deyermond, Gómez Redondo, J.P. Keller, Lawrance, Menéndez Pidal, Montgomery, Pattison, Smith, and West for an overview as well as the Cid as heroic exemplar. For *sapientia et fortitudo* in the *Poema del Mio Cid*, see

The incompatibility of learning and arms was a heavily argued in disputes that opposed the medieval knight to the medieval cleric, whose roles were thought to be divinely ordained. According to Américo Castro, writers debated “las ventajas de cada una de esas profesiones, principalmente desde el punto de vista femenino: ellas son las que juzgan de las excelencias del amor de los clérigos o de los caballeros” (216). The most common example of this opposition is the thirteenth century *El Debate entre Elena y Maria*, where each lady champions a knight or cleric, while disparaging the other. Clerics are typically favored over knights in such poems: “como es de esperar la cuestión se resuelve las más de las veces, sobre todo en los comienzos del género, a favor del clérigo, autor del poema” (Mateo 89). In these debates, which are typical of the period, “each estate adhered to its particular function and role, just as the warrior knight did not dedicate his time to learning, the man of letters did not wage war” (Anne Cruz 193).⁹

Definitions and descriptions of the medieval Castilian knight inevitably begin in the thirteenth century with Alfonso X. The *Siete Partidas* calls the knight a *defensor*, adding “le pusieron nonbre en latín *milicia*, que quiere tanto dezir commo conpañas de onbres duros e fuertes e escogidos para sofrir trabajo e mal, trabajando e lazrando por pro de todos comunalmenten” (*Ley I*; Heusch 54). It details how he should be chosen and what is expected of him. A knight, it explains, should be of noble lineage, loyal to king and country, espouse the Cardinal Virtues, and possess the intellectual capacity particular to his state. This includes a respectable intellect, astuteness and adaptability, and knowledge of military arms

Norman Schafner.

⁹ See also Alba Celicia and Tatiana Bubnova.

and horses.¹⁰

Don Juan Manuel, a nephew of Alfonso X, further connected the knight to Antiquity in multiple texts, for example, *Libro del caballero et del escudero*. Although Don Juan Manuel places the cleric above the knight, he believes the latter to be the second-most honorable estate and grounds the knight firmly in the ancient past, using writers like Vegetius in his descriptions. This reliance on Vegetius, among others, demonstrates an increase of reliance on ancient texts in educating the nobility, already seen in Alfonso X bibliophilic tendencies.¹¹

The fifteenth century, however, marks a turning point for arms and letters with the rise of the courtier and increasing support for learning on the part of the knight: “the reign of

¹⁰ What follows is merely a brief summary of the evolution of the definitions of knighthood and how letters and learning are incorporated. For a more complete study, see Carlos Heusch and Jesús Rodríguez Velasco. I use Heusch’s compendium and study for all citations and have included the bibliographical information he offers on each text.

Partida II.XXI. For Alfonso X, see pp. 54-69 in Heusch.

“E esto es que sean entendidos, ca entendimiento es la cosa del mundo que más enderessa al onbre para ser conplido en sus fechos y que más le estraña de las otras criaturas. E, por ende, los caballeros que han a defender a sí e a los otros, segund dicho avemos, deven ser entendidos. Ca si lo no fiziesen errarían en las cosas que oviesen a defender porque el desentendimiento les faría que non mostrassen su poder contra aquellos que lo oviesen de mostrar e, de la otra parte, que fiziessen mal a los que fuesen tenudos de guardar” (*Ley V*; Heusch 57).

“Arteros e mansos deven ser los caballeros, e éstas son dos cosas que les conviene mucho porque bien así commo las mañas les fazen sabidores de aquellos que han de fazer por sus manos, otrosí el artería faze buscar carreras para saber acabar mejor, e más en salvo, lo que quieren. E por dende se acuerdan muy bien estas dos cosas en uno, ca las mañas les fazen que se sepan armar bien e apuestamente e, otrosí, ayudarse e ferir con toda arma e ser bien ligeros e bien cabalgantes. E el artería les muestra cómo sepan vençer con pocos a muchos e cómo esfuerçan de los peligros quando en ellos cayeren” (*Ley VIII*; Heusch 57-58).

“Cavalleros e armaduras e armas son cosas que conviene mucho a los caballeros de las aver buenas, cada una segund su natura” (*Ley X*; Heusch 58).

¹¹ Vegetius (late 4th/early 5th CE) is the author of *De Re Militari*, a manual discussing military organization and strategies in battles and wars. He is but one of many Roman authors and figures that were brought into these texts, as Beceiro explains: “se incrementan y diversifican los modelos propuestos, con una creciente aportación de la antigüedad clásica. Se enmarca en el auge de los ‘hechos de romanos’, bien visible en la Corona de Castilla a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIV” (161).

Juan II saw a new class of landed aristocracy consolidate its political power, and, like the Mendoza clan, attempt to buttress and justify its strength by its literary pursuits” (Weiss, *Poet’s Art* 11). The knight’s intellect was no longer limited to the knowledge of hunting, arms and horses. He was encouraged to devote time to scholarly pursuits; that is, to incorporate a study of letters into his study of arms.

Santillana himself practiced and championed this combination. The 1437 collection of proverbs he prepared for the young prince, Enrique IV, claims that “la sciencia non enbota el fiero de la lança ni faze floxa la espada en la mano del caballero” (*Proverbios* 253) and gives examples of famous military leaders and kings of pagan and biblical antiquity who were also regarded as wise and learned men:

Del César se falla que todas las cosas que en el día passava que de notar fuesen las escrevía en la noche metrificadas e en tan alto elevado estilo que después de su vida apenas los muy entendidos las entendían. Pues David, Salamón, reyes de Israel, quanta fue la su excelencia e sabiduría, bien es notorio e manifiesto. (254)

These remarks, which appear just a year prior to Mena’s panegyric *La Coronación*, modify the *sapientia et fortitudo* topos and argue against the separation of military and literary pursuits. The new topos replaced wisdom with poetry and eloquence forming an “alliance between Mars and the Muses” (Curtius 176).

Santillana’s interest in letters and advocacy for the scholarship of Antiquity by the nobility is corroborated by *cancioneros*, most notably in that of Juan Alfonso de Baena. In addition to intelligence and eloquence, Baena set forth rank and nobility as characteristic of the ideal poet: “he must be a ‘noble fydalgo e cortés e mesurado e gentil e gracioso e polido e donoso” (Weiss, *Poet’s Art* 51). The addition of these characteristics favors the education of nobility in these areas and, along with Santillana’s example, demonstrates a shift in the interests of the nobility:

The portrait [Baena] sets before his readers in the final stages of the prologue is not that of a poet but of a model courtier. This distinction, though a fine one, is important. That, in the final stages of the prologue, he discusses poetry less in terms of poetics than in those of social theory is ample proof of his awareness of the changes that were taking place in his lifetime. He defines the qualities not of a professional troubadour like Villasandino, for this was a dying breed, but of the nobility, whose aspirations were to determine the future course of Castilian poetry. (Weiss, *Poet's Art* 54)

Traditionally, the poet was thought to have been divinely inspired and then this talent would be fostered through study. Baena instead considers the study of technique more essential than the innate talent.¹² The *gracia* of the poet “amounts to little more than a divine sanction, allowing the poet to practice what he has already learnt after serious and dedicated study” (Weiss, *Poet's Art* 51).

Santillana echoed Baena's prioritizing of study in his *Proemio y carta*, but emphasized the need to use well-known authors as models, as Weiss explains:

This catalogue is represented by the extensive list of European poets, from whom Don Pedro, the aspiring poet, is encouraged to select his models. Toward the end of the treatise, the young noble is urged not only to persevere with the composition of verse, but also to continue studying fine poetry. (*Poet's Art* 219)

Santillana made a historical connection between nobility and poetry as well as the latter's potential to be “both the product and hallmark of an exclusive intellectual and social elite” (Weiss 227). A distinct feature of their new contribution was allegorical poetry, drawing on Dante Alighieri's example, as it provided opportunity to both display literary artistry and educate fellow noblemen.

Santillana's enthusiasm for letters reflects the positions of select members of the military nobility later in the fifteenth century, who benefit from the creation of noble

¹² “Poetry was a natural gift which, in the course of time, was brought to perfection by studying the complex rules of the art. For Baena, on the other hand, the art precedes – indeed is a precondition of – the gift: poetry is infused into those who have mastered its technique” (Weiss, *Poet's Art* 50).

libraries, the hiring of tutors, and the late establishment of a palace school for the nobility:

El desarrollo de los modelos humanísticos, en el cuatrocientos, permite una posición intermedia, según la cual, el estudio en el caballero es algo muy importante pero como *otium honestium*, manteniendo, por lo tanto, la separación entre una cultura para profesiones, los *scholastici viri*, y otra para los *dilettanti*, esencialmente constituidos, en el caso castellano, de caballeros leídos. (Heusch132)

Knights were opposed to the *scholastici viri* or *letrados*, who were clerics and noble laymen integral in the education of noblemen as well as to expanding the education programs of the universities. Men like Santillana were considered *dilettanti*, well-read knights who endeavored to differentiate themselves at court and to expand their roles through study.

However, even those who endorse the study of letters, temper their support by encouraging the study of military texts and examples. A good example of this is Alonso de Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. Cartagena supported the scholarly aspects in the knight and grounded his support, like we shall see in the poems that follow, in past exemplars who apply themselves to study, as the author plainly asserted "si en studio de las altas ciencias se ocuparon los grandes varones, cuánto más se deven ocupar en los que pertenesçe a los actos de la caballería cuyo ofiçio tienen" (27.2; Heusch 136).¹³

Another example is the *Coplas de virtudes y vicios* of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, which includes nine stanzas on the topic of arms and letters. After recognizing both as a path to worldly glory, Pérez de Guzmán points to a series of exemplars that blend arms and letters, and that range from classical to biblical Antiquity and include Julius Caesar, Alexander the

¹³ "Los famosos cavalleros, muy noble señor conde, que en los tiempos antiguos por diversas regiones del mundo florecieron, entre los grandes cuydados e ocupaciones árduas que tenían para gobernar la república e la defender e amparar de los sus adversarios, acostumbravan interponer algundo trabajo de sciencia porque más onestamente supiesen regir a s'i e aquellos cuyo regimiento les perteneçia, así en fechos de paz como de guerra, entendiendo que la fuerças del cuerpo non pueden exerçer acto loado de fortaleza sin non son guiados por coraçón sabidor" (27.2; Heusch 136). Cartagena goes onto list Alexander the Great and Scipio as his exemplars.

Great, and Scipio Africanus, among others. Once again, the exemplars are primarily military heroes who also engaged in some sort of study.

While these texts support Santillana's more pronounced enthusiasm for the study of letters, and they show that there was a slight shift in opinions surrounding the education of knights, both Cartagena and Pérez de Gúzman, as *letrados*, cannot be considered true advocates for the combination of arms and letters. They limitedly endorsed the knight's pursuit of study and reveal the continued skepticism of the appropriateness of the arms and letters combination.

Letters were always considered secondary to the pursuit of arms, as Nicholas Round explains:

It was a normal opinion that the study of letters was shameful in a member of the nobility and detracted from the valour in arms. These attitudes were not appreciably shaken by the cultural developments of Juan II's reign, but continued to be those of many – perhaps a majority – of the nobles, for half a century after that monarch's death... The traditional Spanish attitudes – a doctrinally inspired pragmatism where learning was concerned, and a socially motivated contempt or indifference towards the practice of it – remained the most frequent, well into the sixteenth century. (*Renaissance Culture* 214)

Despite Santillana's prestige as both a competent knight and scholar, Peter Russell notes that there was "a strong body of opinion which regarded it [the pursuit of letters] as ... professionally risky and socially unbecoming for any member of the knightly class to involve himself with learning or scholarship" (47). The traditional knight was still necessary for combat in the various civil wars that beset Castile and in the re-conquest (53-54). Although men of letters were obviously needed to record their deeds, it was the doer of these deeds, the military knights, who were most highly esteemed.¹⁴ Therefore, "the few great lords who patronized [Spanish humanism], and whose patronage was vital, affronted a deeply held

¹⁴ For a complete discussion on the idea of fame in medieval Castile, see Lida de Malkiel (*La idea de la fama*).

prejudice among the knightly class,” as letters strove to be valued as equal to arms (56).

Other advocates of the soldier-scholar, like our three poets, recognized the need for a much more tangible model for this new topos of arms of arms and letters, and they needed look no further than the marquess himself. Mena, Manrique and Burgos rely on ancient and medieval rhetorical theories of exemplary comparison and on a significant amplification of the topos of arms and letters to fashion this nobleman into an exemplary hero in the hopes that the paradigm of the soldier-scholar will take root in Castile. Each is unique in his presentation of the new exemplar: Mena chooses a crowning perhaps following in the steps of Santillana’s own *Coronación de Mossén Jordi*; Manrique the more medieval lament of *El Planto*; and Burgos a triumph no doubt in emulation of Petrarch’s *Trionfi*. Nonetheless, each poem has roots in the panegyric of Antiquity and each employs exemplary comparisons in their fashioning of the image of the ideal soldier-scholar Santillana.

No study to date has examined the why or how of the fashioning of a soldier-scholar type specifically in reference to Santillana. My study will attempt to fill this need. “*Armas y letras: Santillana and the Forging of a New Chivalric Ideal*” explores how these three poems combine exemplary citations and the arms and letters topos to introduce the new paradigm of the soldier/scholar much before the likes of Garcilaso de la Vega and Cervantes praised the combination , and why it happened at this juncture in history. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 considers the type of knowledge required to make these comparisons; therefore, it examines the nature of exemplary comparison in ancient and medieval rhetoric, and our poets’ knowledge of these rhetorical theories. The dissertation next looks at each of the three contributions to this new heroic ideal. Chapter 3 studies Mena’s *Coronacion* in light of the shifting appreciation of knightly letters in early-fifteenth century and Santillana’s early

efforts in arms and letters. Chapters 4 and 5 examine how *El planto de las Virtudes e Poesya* of Gómez Manrique and *El triunfo del Marques de Santillana* of Diego de Burgos use the exemplary comparison and the topos of arms and letters to eulogize the deceased marquis as well as to legitimize the position of their authors. The conclusion considers the tensions that still existed in medieval society around the figure of the knight, the changes in exemplary fashioning then being made, and the reasons why Santillana was forgotten in early modern Spain as an example of the arms and letters in favor of Garcilaso de la Vega.

Chapter 2

The Exemplary Comparison in Fifteenth-Century Castile

Santillana and Mena are often seen as representative of the shift towards the newer, humanist texts already popularized during the Italian Renaissance. A hallmark of this shift is a renewed interest in Antiquity, especially in the study of ancient rhetoric. Ancient myth had reached the Middle Ages in euhemeristic, allegorical and cosmological interpretations. The gods of Olympus and classical heroes such as Achilles, Odysseus, and Aeneas endured as instructive models and common touchstones through a process of rationalization and moralization.¹⁵

Ancient rhetoric survived as part of the curriculum of the *trivium* and its authors remained popular throughout the Middle Ages:

The history of the arts of discourse in the Middle Ages is at least in part the history of the survival of classical works. The most important ancient author in this connection is Cicero, the acknowledged *magister eloquentiae*... Quintilian had a brief period of popularity in the twelfth century, but became widely influential only in the fifteenth. Aristotle's *Rhetorica* was distributed in numerous copies, but apparently as a work of 'moral philosophy' rather than a book on discourse. (James Murphy 132)¹⁶

Homer, Virgil et al, were kept alive through university study and their influence writers because "the *auctores* are not only sources of technical information, they are also a treasury of worldly wisdom and general philosophy" (Curtius 58).

¹⁵ See Jean Seznec's *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* for medieval and renaissance treatment of classical myth.

¹⁶ For full discussion, see of medieval rhetoric see Murphy and George Kennedy (*Classical Rhetoric*).

The early fifteenth century sees the first professor of Rhetoric appointed to Salamanca as well as the discovery of new texts of Cicero and Quintilian in Italy that were quickly brought into the academic and literary fold. Alonso de Cartagena provided a translation of Cicero's text while Enrique de Villena did translations of the *Rhetorica ad herennium* and the *Aeneid*. Numerous Latin, Italian and vernacular versions of these ancient texts were part of Santillana's own collection, including Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, the epic poets Homer, Ovid and Virgil, in addition to medieval texts like those of Alfonso X.¹⁷

Juan de Mena is the foremost example of the shifting attitudes towards poetry and of the influence of Italian learning and of the revival of Antiquity that we find in fifteenth-century Castile. He provided an adaptation of the Trojan cycle in his translation of the *Ilias latina*, and he embraced Antiquity's vast catalogue of figures in his poetry, which he typically employs as "citas simples, paralelismo estilístico y moralizaciones del mito" (María Martín Fernández 198). Drawing largely from Ovid, often by way of Alfonso X, he employed comparisons to demonstrate the moral/allegorical function of an exemplary mythological figure in his glosses (201). These comparisons reveal Mena's familiarity with mythological material and with rhetoric. His panegyric honoring Santillana uses exemplary comparisons as the primary tool to praise Santillana's achievements and urge others to imitate the marquis.

The ability of the exemplary comparison to act as both ornament and proof "is so pervasive, so routine, and at the same time so various that one might hesitate to dignify it with a theory" (Alexander Gelley 1). It is almost a lesser sibling of more attractive devices such as metaphor; nevertheless, it has played an important role in the development of

¹⁷ See various period studies of Charles Faulhaber, Juan Casas Rigall, José Aragues Aldaz and José Antonio Mayoral.

discourse.¹⁸ It is most common in panegyrics and encomia. Such poems are characteristic of the epideictic branch of the rhetoric, associated with ceremonial occasions, commemorations, and funerals. This branch relies heavily on praise (*laus*) and blame (*vituperatio*) and praises everything from heroes and emperors to cities and inanimate objects.

The structure of panegyric was often predetermined. The treatises of Menander Rhetor (4th cent. B.C.E) provided the overall framework for them, and similar structures are frequently found in books of preliminary exercises, or *progymnasmata*, used in the classroom for educational purposes. Their content focus on origins (country, family and birth); early life (nature and upbringing); accomplishments (character); and actions (war and peace). War was treated first, especially if one has shown distinction in it, and peace second, dividing the actions by the virtues they display (D.A Russell and N.G. Wilson 85). In war, the courage and wisdom of the subject should be revealed, and in peace justice, temperance and wisdom should be demonstrated.¹⁹

Modern scholars recognize the significance of the exemplary comparison for panegyric poems in Antiquity through the medieval and early modern periods. In tracing comparisons from Homer to Petrarch, Olive Sayce defines these descriptions in the following way:

An exemplary comparison is an explicit comparison or contrast with a specific

¹⁸ “The number of books and articles on metaphor, for instance, dwarfs any bibliography of example. Yet metaphor and example are both rhetorical figures that can trace their status in rhetorical theory at least back to Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*. Perhaps it would be best to call example metaphor’s forgotten sibling or at least its country cousin” (Lyons 4).

¹⁹ While Menander’s framework speaks to the encomium of emperors, it may be generally applied to the encomium in general, as future panegyrics followed his outline. The *Rhetorica ad Herenium* (III.7-8) and Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* 3.7) offer similar advice in their description of panegyric. See Russell and Wilson’s translation of Menander’s second treatise, p. 77-95. Well-known examples of praise poetry in the ancient world include Pliny’s panegyric of Trajan (1st cent. A.D.), Isocrates’s encomium of Helen (4th cent. B.C.E), and Pindar’s odes (5th cent. B.C.E.).

named or otherwise clearly identifiable figure from myth, the Bible, history or historical legend, or literary tradition, which serves as an exemplar against which another figure and its emotions, actions or appearance is measured. (2)

O.B. Hardison affirms that to “heighten” the subject the orator must employ stylistic devices such as comparison, defined as “a figure in which the subject of the oration is compared to paragons of the past... [in which] the point of which will be that the orator’s subject surpasses the paragon” (31). Similarly, John O’Malley says:

Deeds and examples, assumed to have more power to move to appreciation than abstract arguments, played a large role in epideictic oratory as that oratory developed. The impact of deeds and examples would be increased by comparison with other similar deeds and examples. (40-41)

For him, this use of deeds and examples is connected directly to history, as “the means through which the orator strove to distribute the appropriate praise and blame” (41), and Claudia Rapp notes the connection that exemplary comparison provides between the past and the present:

The exemplum (Greek: *paradeigma*) is usually a prominent person from history or mythology in whose footsteps the subject is said to follow or whose characteristic virtue he is said to imitate. The exemplum thus looks to the past in an effort to demonstrate that the subject adheres to and represents a specific tradition. (278)

Exemplary comparison, Rapp notes, would be of particular importance in poems of praise as the subject is often allowed to surpass the exemplar:

Comparatio becomes an essential part of any encomium or panegyric, in that it allows the author to demonstrate that his object of praise surpasses other great figures from history or mythology...In contrast to the use of exemplum, which emphasizes continuity with the past, *comparatio* implies that progress and improvement are made manifest in the present. (279)

The exemplar provides the basis of the quality praised, while the comparison distinguishes the current subject as more praiseworthy. Thus, exemplary comparison was a frequent and invaluable resource when composing epideictic compositions, providing both proof of

excellence and the opportunity to both equal past exemplars and set the subject apart from those who have also displayed such excellence in the past.

The exemplary comparison fulfills multiple functions within the panegyric, serving as proof, model and/or ornament to help facilitate the understanding of the audience, their acceptance of the praise, and on occasion encourage emulation of the subject. The practice of using them as a proof and a model discourse is present in the earliest philosophers of Antiquity. Returning to Curtius, he identifies the origins of exemplary comparison in ancient Greece:

Exemplum (paradeigma) is a technical term of antique rhetoric from Aristotle onwards and means “an interpolated anecdote serving as an example.” A different form of rhetorical *exemplum* was added later (ca. 100 B.C.), one which was of great importance for after times: the ‘exemplary figure’ (*eikon, imago*), i.e., “the incarnation of a quality.” (59-60)

Aristotle (4th cent. B.C.E.) employs the term *paradeigma*, or paradigm, in Book II in his definition of epideictic rhetoric in *Ars Rhetorica* (4th cent. B.C.E.) to refer to the usefulness of amplification to praise. He explains that “if you do not have material enough with the man himself, compare him with others ... one should make comparison with famous people; for the subject is amplified and made honorable if he is better than [other] worthy ones” (I.9.38). For him, therefore, the *exemplum* is inductive and either drawn from an historical or fictional source: “there are two species of paradigms; for to speak of things that have happened before is one species of paradigm and to make up [an illustration] is another” (Aristotle II.20.2)

The *Rhetorica ad herennium* (1st cent. B.C.E.) primarily treats exemplary comparison as a type of embellishment in forensic oratory:

Exemplification is the citing of something done or said in the past, along with the definite naming of the doer or author. It is used with the same motives as a comparison. It renders a thought more brilliant when used for no other purpose than beauty; clearer, when throwing more light upon what was somewhat obscure; more plausible, when giving the thought greater

verisimilitude; more vivid, when expressing everything so lucidly that the matter can, I may almost say, be touched by the hand. (IV.XLIX.62)

The text also notes that the prestige of ancients increases the desire for imitation:

And furthermore, does not the very prestige of the ancients not only lend greater authority to their doctrine but also sharpen in men the desire to imitate them? Yes, it excites the ambitions and whets the zeal of all men when the hope is implanted in them of being able by imitation to attain to the skill of a Gracchus or a Crassus. (IV.II.2)

This take on exemplification and the use of ancient models in forensic discourse may easily be applied to epideictic oratory as it relies on the comparison to affect the audience's understanding of the praise and emphasize the importance of its subject for others.

Despite the presence of Aristotle and the *Rhetorica ad herennium* during the medieval period, Cicero and Quintilian were the primary models followed, even more so in the fifteenth century with the discovery of previously lost texts. In fact, Curtius attributes theories on the exemplary figure to both Cicero and Quintilian, who “urge the orator to have at his disposal examples not only from history but from myth and heroic legend” (60).

The exemplary comparison appears in a wide variety of texts associated with *similitudo*. Cicero (1st cent. B.C.E.) primarily addresses exemplary comparison in forensic discourse. For example, in Book I of *De inventione* (1st cent. B.C.E.): “an example supports or weakens a case by appeal to precedent or experience, citing some person or historical event” (I.30.49). In *Topica* (1st century B.C.E.), he extends it by imbuing the exemplary figure with its own voice and the ability to present an almost otherworldly vision before the audience:

Under this topic of similarity orators and philosophers have license to cause dumb things to talk, to call on the dead to rise from the world below, to tell of something which could not possibly happen, in order to add force to an argument or lessen it. (X.45)

Therefore, the exemplary comparison becomes more than just a mere reference, but relates to

a real entity with a voice all its own that significantly amplifies and reinforces the poet's words when speaking through it.

Quintilian (1st cent. C.E.) applies the principles of exemplary comparison to both epideictic and deliberative discourse. He equates it with the Aristotelian *paradeigma* as the most valuable type of proof: "the most effective thing of this kind is what is properly called Example, that is to say the mention of an event which either took place or is treated as having taken place, in order to make your point convincing" (5.11). Comparison is divided by degree of similarity, noting that unequal parallels are particularly useful in epideictic texts: "however, just as Encomium employed on practical occasions needs proofs, so even the kind which is composed for display sometimes contains some semblance of proof" (3.7). The degrees of similarity include: 1) the similar, 2) the dissimilar and 3) the contrary, this last one lending itself well to the incorporation of exemplars of both virtue and vice.

Quintilian continues that examples may be either historical or fictional with the strength of the example depending on the audience's familiarity with it: "for anything that is selected for the purpose of illuminating something else must itself be clearer than that which it is designed to illustrate" (8.3.73-74). The comparative material must then be known to the audience. This need of audience familiarity forces the orator or, in our case, the poet to fall back on more well-known examples and to search for new examples among notable in lieu of obscure contemporaries.

As noted above, these texts of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian exerted significant influence throughout the Middle Ages as medieval poets absorbed and adapted their theories of discourse. In their hands, the exemplary comparison grew as a moralizing tool, yet still maintaining its importance in the panegyrics and encomia of the period.

Curtius cites two types of exemplary comparison. The first, and most visible type, is the exemplum as an anecdote that serves to illustrate a situation. In medieval hands, the exemplum is expanded into illustrative anecdotes in sermons and organized in collections where they could be read and borrowed by other the authors. Some of the most well-known of these collections are the *Disciplina clericalis* (12th century), Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones vulgares* (c. 13th century), the *Gesta Romanorum* (c. 14th century), Robert Mannyng's treatment of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (14th century), and the Spanish *Libro de los engaños* (13th century), *Calila et Dimna* (13th century), *Libro de los exenplos por a.b.c.* (15th century), and *Libro de los gatos* (15th century).²⁰

Exempla were not, however, exclusive to these collections, and various medieval works contain them within a larger narratives like *Los Milagros de nuestra señora* (Gonzalo de Berceo, 13th cent.), *El libro de buen amor* (Juan Ruiz, 14th cent.) and *El Conde Lucanor* (Don Juan Manuel, 14th cent.). Whether in standalone collections or embedded within larger narratives, scholars such as Jacques LeGoff, believe that to speak of the exemplum is to speak exclusively of the sermon, which he defines as “un récit bref donné comme véridique et destine à être inséré dans un discours (en general un sermon) pour covaincre un auditoire par une leçon salutaire” (Bremmond and LeGoff 37-38). Furthermore, he separates it from the antique exemplum by the use of the exemplary figure:

Mais l'*exemplum* medieval est en rupture avec cet *exemplum* <<héroïque>> de l'Antiquité. Le <<héros>> de l'*exemplum* medieval c'est n'importe qui, n'importe quel homme ou femme, n'importe quel chrétien, car l'exemple est fourni par l'histoire du héros, non par le héros luimême. (Bremmond and

²⁰ The exemplum in preaching has been extensively studied by various critics. See LeGoff, Aragues Aldaz, Antonio Alberte, T.F. Crane, Kristoffel Demoen, John Esten Keller, and Fritz Kemmler. For a more extensive catalog of exemplum collections, see LeGoff (57-68) as well as Crane's introduction to the exempla of Vitry and Kemmler's study of the *Handling Synne*. For Spanish exemplum collections, see the various studies by Keller.

LeGoff 45)

Although critics like LeGoff focus solely on the exemplum as anecdote, the exemplary figure did not disappear during the Middle Ages. Curtius identifies a second type of exemplum important during the medieval period: the embodiment of a quality or qualities in person. The Middle Ages continued to use heroes like Achilles, Hercules and Aeneas but added its own like Beowulf, Arthur, Charlemagne, Roland, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar and Fernán González. These heroes existed well outside their respective poems to provide evidential and inspirational models. And yet, they, along with their ancient and biblical counterparts, most often became part of the historical record, as we see in the works of Alfonso X, or served as tools of moralization, exemplifying extreme virtue or vice.

Occasionally, poets incorporated an inventory of exemplary heroes as an indication of their literary knowledge. For example, in the *Poema de Fernán González*, the titular knight recalls classical and biblical heroes as well as those of medieval France, demonstrating the poet's familiarity with the Carolingian cycle:

Non cuentan de Alexandre las noches ni los dias;
Cuentan sus buenos fechos e sus caballerías;
Cuentan del rey Davit que mató a Golías;
De Judad el Macabeo, fijo de Matabías.

Carlos e Valdobinos, Roldán e don Ogero,
Terring e Gualdabuey, Arnald e Olivero,
Torpin e don Riballos e el gascón Angelero,
Ercol e Salamon e el otro su compañero. (349-350)

The catalogue of exemplary figures was also commonly utilized in the *Ordo Commendationis Animae*, though biblical exemplars were far more common in these commendatory prayers given their religious context. However, these instances of listing only truly demonstrated acquaintance with a very general catalogue known to men of learning.

At its most superficial level, the exemplary comparison was a way for a poet to flaunt

his knowledge, and did not display any real knowledge of rhetorical techniques. It was not until the fifteenth century and the revival of Antiquity that exemplary comparison became more than a one-dimensional list. During this revival, precipitated by the Italian poets Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, poets significantly expanded their own learning. Although Mena's poetry, in particular, is sometimes accused of rhetorical excesses, nowhere is this expansion more evident than in his comparisons, which could not have been made by someone without considerable training in rhetoric and knowledge of ancient texts. Mena's education both at Salamanca and Italy no doubt contributes to his understanding of the exemplary comparison. Through his studies, Mena had access to characters drawn from myth and legend. Intellectuals and authors were added to this catalog, because they wrote about these legendary figures and instructed others on how to emulate them.

The inclusion of contemporaries is best seen first in Dante. The *Divine Comedy* (14th cent.), which includes over three hundred exemplary figures either directly named or alluded to (Allison Morgan 55). Dante not only incorporated but made them intellectual paragons of pagan and biblical antiquity. His greatest innovation, according to some critics, is the fashioning of new exemplars from his contemporary society, from prince to pauper:

The great number and variety of persons in the *Commedia* is explained by the most impressive and most fertile innovation which Dante's genius incorporated into the antique and medieval heritage: his drawing upon contemporary history. Dante summons...men and women from the nobility and the bourgeoisie, from guild and school. (Curtius 365)

The inclusion of such exemplars, however, is not Dante's only innovation. While many are fictional, Dante, as Erich Auerbach explains, they do not see them as remote and legendary, "not as an abstract or anecdotal representative of an ethical type, but man as we know him in his living historical reality, the concrete individual in his unity and wholeness" (*Dante*, 174-175). In a later study, Auerbach further elaborates on Dante's exemplary figures:

In striking contrast to earlier poets who dealt with the other world, the inhabitants of Dante's three realms have not lost the individual shape and strength of their earthly character; on the contrary, their individual character presents itself with an intensity and concreteness superior to what it was during the various stages of their earthly careers. (*Typological Symbolism* 7)

With these innovations, the exemplary figure became more than the stock character. Poets of fifteenth-century Castile like Santillana, Mena, Francisco Imperial and others, already very familiar with Dante's work, were able to appropriate them to enhance their own poetry and make them an integral part of allegorical vision poetry.²¹ While still somewhat didactic, the comparisons were particularly useful in panegyric allegorical poems as aesthetic embellishments. Through such figures, poets were able to heighten the praise of their subject, proving that he or she is worthy of the same exemplary status, and more often than not, surpass those who have come before.

The *laudandus* is either explicitly or implicitly associated with the exemplary figures in two modes of expression. Direct praise via exemplary figure often indicated the opinion of the poet. Indirect praise via the exemplary figure did the same thing but relied on the reader to recognize the subject's worthiness. As Hugh Cayless explains:

Explicit praise of the [subject] *laudandus* is a personal statement of belief in his greatness on the part of the *laudator* [poet]. If, however, the *laudator* chooses a more indirect approach, then his poem becomes less a personal statement than a general argument for the praiseworthiness of the *laudandus*, and the reader is invited to draw his own conclusions based on the proofs presented in the poems. (4)²²

²¹ The influence of Dante and the Divine Comedy in the fifteenth century Iberian Peninsula has been documented by various studies. These poets translated the Divine Comedy and promoted Dante as a literary model, championed in particular by Santillana, but also appreciated by Francisco Imperial, Juan de Mena and Diego de Burgos, who chooses Dante as his visionary guide. Studies of Dantean influence and imitation are numerous: W.H. Hutton, C.R. Post, Werner Friederich, Florence Street (*Allegory of Fortune*), David Foster (*Misunderstandings*) and Kevin Brownlee. The recent dissertation of Daniel Hartnett specifically examines Dantean imitation in 15th century poets such as Imperial, Santillana and Mena.

²² For our purposes, explicit praise shall be referred to as direct praise and the indirect approach described here shall be referred to as indirect praise.

The objectives of both are the same, the methods different; exemplary comparison, however, is present in each type.

Panegyrists often used exemplary comparison in conjunction with other rhetorical tools of amplification. Enumeration, also referred to as accumulation, was commonly used in the introduction and conclusion, and it involved the listing of qualities that may form part of a specific aspect of the general subject praised. This listing of qualities was achieved through the exemplary figure, who indicated the quality being praised and heightens the overall praise.²³

Outdoing allowed the poet to single out his subject as superior to others, whether in specific aspects or in overall excellence. If specific, it singled out “the superiority, even the uniqueness, of the person or thing to be praised is established” (Curtius 162) in contrast with others. This was ideally suited to be paired with exemplary comparison, especially in those cases where poets intended to promote their subject as a new exemplar for emulation. Inexpressibility was used when the panegyrist claimed to be unable to sufficiently praise the subject, or to maintain that his efforts are an insignificant portion of what there is to praise.²⁴

Santillana is at the very least equated with all the positive exemplars regardless of the type of praise indicated above. Exemplary comparison is therefore the foundation for the praise we find in the panegyrics of Santillana as Mena, Manrique and Burgos. Their exemplary figures will have a specific connection to either arms or letters, or both. In some cases, as we shall see, Santillana actually surpasses the exemplars.²⁵

²³ “Accumulation of words and sentences identical in meaning may also be regarded under the head of amplification. . . The heightening of effect may also be produced by making the words rise to a climax” (See (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 8.4.27). See also *Institutio Oratoria* 9.3.48.

²⁴ See Curtius, pp. 159-162.

²⁵ Mena will use a series of negative exemplars, whom Santillana obviously does not equal, but is their exact

Despite the fact that the exemplary comparisons appear in different contexts (coronation, triumph, planctus), for this analysis, the following types should be kept in mind:

1. Direct Praise by association with Classical or biblical exemplars (w/without anecdote or exemplum): This designation describes a comparison in which the poet-narrator explicitly connects Santillana to an exemplary figure who exemplifies the quality or qualities being praised. (Gómez Manrique)
2. Indirect Praise by witness with Classical or biblical exemplars (w/without anecdote or exemplum): This designation describes a comparison in which the poet-narrator adopts the voice of an exemplar and the exemplar offers a declarative praise of Santillana.²⁶ (Diego de Burgos)
3. Indirect Praise by association with Classical or biblical exemplars (w/without anecdote or exemplum): This designation describes when the poet-narrator places Santillana in the company of the exemplary figures who exemplify the quality or qualities being praised without making an explicit connection between them.²⁷ (Juan de Mena, Gómez Manrique, Diego de Burgos)

This analysis will not only highlight each poet's approach to praise, but larger concerns about the education of nobility and the separation of arms and letters shall also be uncovered and reveal what each poet hoped to achieve beyond celebrating a fellow author and what effect, if

opposite.

²⁶ "The praise itself is often quite direct, but since the voice of the laudatory is not that of the speaker, the character of that speaker determines the effect of his praise (or blame). The implicit component of such praise resides in this effect: praise by a god carries more weight than praise by a shepherd, for example, and criticism by an enemy may have the same effect as praise by a friend." (Cayless 9)

²⁷ "A laudandus may derive praise from the company in which he is placed. Inclusion in a list of mythical heroes, for example, implies that the laudandus is of the same type as the heroes and is worthy of inclusion in such a list." (Cayless 9)

any, they had among their contemporaries and the nobility at large.

Chapter 3

The Exemplary Comparison and *La Coronación del Marqués de Santillana* of Juan de Mena

La Coronación del marqués de Santillana is the first of three panegyrics that celebrates the marquis. Juan de Mena composes the poem shortly after Santillana's victory as a military commander at Huelma (1438) and praises him not only for his military skill but also integrates praise for his scholarly pursuits. Mena capitalizes on the opportunity of Huelma to promote scholarship among Castilian nobility. Though the marquis himself has already argued for the combination of arms and letters in the *Proverbios*, Mena's approach is novel. *La Coronación* is not a didactic text; it is an encomium of Santillana that indirectly praises the marquis via exemplary comparison with well-known figures of arms and letters from Antiquity. By comparing Santillana with these figures and settling him among their famous company, Mena hopes to ensure the continued scholarly enthusiasm of Santillana and inspire other noblemen, especially those of Juan II's court, to adopt similar interests. Still in the very early stages of Juan II's scholarly interests, Mena, as a man of letters, also uses the poem as an opportunity to display his own poetic skill and knowledge of Antiquity.

Juan de Mena (1411-1456) was one of the best-known poets of fifteenth-century Castile. After completing his university studies in Salamanca, he accepted various royal appointments and traveled through Italy, eventually returning to Castile to serve as secretary of Latin letters and official chronicler of Juan II (c. 1443). He is best known for his *Laberinto de Fortuna* (1444), a poem depicting his allegorical journey to the house of Fortune, where

accompanied by Divine Providence, he witnesses the wheels of Fortune populated by exemplary figures of past and present. Dedicated to Juan II, Mena lauds the monarch and his potential for future greatness. Mena's other works included minor lyrics on love, political and moral themes, the coronation of his dear friend, Santillana, his take on the Trojan cycle in the *Ilias latina* and prose commentaries to some of his own work.

Mena cultivated many friendships with his literary contemporaries including Santillana. The two exchanged multiple *preguntas y respuestas* that make Mena's admiration of the marquis clear. In them, he makes various references to Santillana's achievements as soldier and scholar. For example, in one exchange, Mena addresses the marquis as follows: "Si grand fortaleza, tenplança e saber pueden prestarvos, varón muy apuesto, si es eso bueno, qu'es más honesto, bien sé yo luego quién vos podéis ser" (Ed. Pérez Priego 88). Mena expands upon this view in *La Coronación*.

The poem consists of four preambles and fifty-one stanzas of ten octosyllabic verses each. It is accompanied by the poet's prose commentary, typically divided into three parts: 1) the fictional story (*ficción*), 2) the rationalized story (*estoria y verdad*), and 3) the moral application (*moralidad e aplicación*). Exemplary figures are referenced in the poem proper with their meaning explained in the prose commentary. The commentary displays Mena's classical erudition and his moralization is typical of the time period when interpreting mythological material, established in mythography manuals as well as previous authors (María Lida de Malkiel 105).²⁸ The format varies considerably, as Mena gives lengthy explanations for some figures, and writes nothing of others. Additionally, some myths are allegorized, bypassing the euhemeristic interpretation. From the commentary and its

²⁸ See María Amor Martín Fernández for a detailed study of mythology in Mena's minor works.

explanation of figures Mena's intentions and praise of Santillana is revealed.

In the poem, Mena undertakes a visionary journey to an otherworld, part hell and part heaven, that culminates in the coronation of Santillana on Mt. Parnassus with the combined crown of oak and laurel. The choice of coronation is apt on Mena's part because it confirms Santillana's status as a man of arms and letters. Coronation poetry is traditionally associated with the conclusion of a military campaign. The paradigm is Caesar, who becomes emperor after defeating Pompey and concluding the Gallic Wars, but it also applies to the praise of poets. The tradition of crowning poets with a laurel crown also dates back to Antiquity:

The poet's bays are more familiar to us; and they seem to have been regarded by the Roman poets as something more exalted – as the heroic and victorious leaves which enabled them to claim an undying kinship with triumphant generals, with the victors at Delphi with Pindar or with Apollo. (J.B.Trapp 234)

In addition to its traditional association with letters, the pageantry of the coronation ceremony with its procession and crown presentation naturally heightens the praise for the subject.

Influential coronation-related texts of Mena's time period include Petrarch's coronation oration and Santillana's own coronation poem in honor of Mosen Jordi St. Jordi. Petrarch's coronation is in 1341. In his coronation oration, Petrarch accepts his laurels and expounds about the revival of Antiquity that has been his life's work (Trapp 239; Francisco Bautista 55).²⁹ Santillana's poem marks the first appearance of the ideal of arms and letters in Spanish letters (Rolanda de Langbehn 239). The *Coronación de Mossén Jordi de Sant Jordi* (1434) praises the Catalan knight crowning him because "para este autor la corona se había convertido en una imagen recurrente de la excelencia literaria, a raíz de los textos que le

²⁹ For a complete study, see Ernest Wilkin's "The Coronation of Petrarch".

suministraba Villena y de la prestigiosa memoria de Petrarca” (Bautista 61).³⁰ The poem takes place within the typical *locus amoenus*, where Santillana witnesses Homer, Lucan and Virgil bestow “la corona/ de los prudentes letrados” (159-60), after which the four laureate poets join the procession of Venus as her servants. Interestingly, even though Homer, Virgil and Lucan crown St. Jordi with laurels as a man of letters (XX-XXII), he is identified as a knight in the poem (“e vi mas vn cavallero” 97). While Mena most likely draws on Santillana’s poem, he takes one step further by marrying the oak branches to the crown of laurels and removing Venus from the equation: “Santillana es coronado no como un servidor de Venus, según lo había sido Jordi de Sant Jordi, sino como un ejemplo de sabiduría versátil” (Bautista 65). Mena’s poem is not simply written out of respect for Santillana, but rather as an effort to influence learning at the court of Juan II, in which a servant of Venus has no place.

The preambles of *La Coronación* reveal its secondary title to be *Calamicleos* (Trials and Glory), as well as the literary genres to which it pertains, a blend of satire and comedy. Its purpose, to offer moral instruction, is indicated by its secondary title:

E a queste nombre da a entender que en el presente tractado la voluntad del tractante fue de escribir de aquestos dos fines, es a saber de la mieseria de los malos e de la gloria de los buenos, porque un contrario puesto cabe otro más claramente es alumbrado. (71-75)

Mena intends to depict the marquess in such a way as to encourage emulation, and he refers to him first and foremost as a *caballero* in the preamble:

Entre la gloria de los que viuen por laudable recomendación, testifican las coplas siguientes hauer seydo coronado el prudentíssimo, magnánimo e

³⁰ Jordi St. Jordi died in 1424 and Santillana’s poem was originally thought to have been composed in 1430. However, more recent studies have suggested that it was composed in 1434 based on the influences of Dante, Petrarch and others seen in the poem. See Francisco Bautista Pérez p. 61-62. For further study of Santillana’s *Coronación*, see Lapesa (*Sobre La Coronación de Mossén Jordi de Sant Jordi*). For these and other influences on Santillana’s poem see Bautista, pp. 61-63.

honorable cauallero e señor Íñigo López de Mendoça. (100-103)

However, Mena also intends to laud Santillana's activities as a writer and a scholar. As such, there is a blended crown laurel leaves and oak branches:

E aqu' esta corona, de fojas e ramas de dos árboles de laurel, porque denota alabança e gloria de sabiduría, de las quales fueron coronadas Virgilio, Omero, e Ouidio e otros; Otrosí es coronado de ramas e corona de robres, que denotan ferocidad, e valentía e esperto conocimiento de la militar disciplina, de la qual corona fue coronado el gran Hércules. (103-108)

Wreaths of laurel and oak have been used as a mark of excellence dating back to Antiquity. Homer, Virgil and Ovid, among others, make references to these trees in their epics, connecting them to specific deities and highlighting their outstanding qualities. Those crowned with laurel are individuals who have shown literary or artistic wisdom, as evidenced by Mena's examples of the great classical poets, Virgil, Homer and Ovid. The laurel is traditionally connected with Apollo, a primary example of which is the episode of Apollo and Daphne in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I), where the god appropriates the leaves of the tree and the laurel is confirmed as a mark of excellence.

The oak, on the other hand, is traditionally connected with Zeus, king of the gods, and considered to be both the largest and strongest of trees in the classical world (Ferber 143), denoting both strength and prowess. The oak is also historically associated with conflict or combat and those who have shown bravery in these situations: "in Republican Rome a crown of oak leaves was given to those who had saved the life of a citizen in battle; it was called the "civic oak" (Ferber 144). Here, the oak crown denotes military excellence and not only represents ferocity and courage in battle but also the type of knowledge of military strategy shown by one of Antiquity's most legendary heroes, Hercules. Although, both facets will be shown as equal to the other, in reality, the poem favors letters at the moment that Santillana sits on his throne on Mt. Parnassus, the mountain of wisdom, welcomed into the company of

the illustrious exemplars of letters.

These exemplars of letters, the Cardinal Virtues and the Muses gather to crown the marquess as the soldier-scholar on a site sacred to Apollo and the Muses. They, along with other well-known figures of Antiquity, are Mena's tools and populate this otherworld. They are drawn largely from Ovid by way of Alfonso X (Lida de Malkiel, *La General Estoria*). Mena uses them, many of whom are exemplars of arms or letters, to fashion an image of Santillana that pays tribute to his excellence. *La Coronación* achieves its fashioning through indirect praise by association. No one speaks with their own voice in the poem. It is Mena who associates (or disassociates in the case of negative exemplars) Santillana with these figures. The indirect nature of the comparison relies on the reader to infer what lesson is to be taken from these exemplary figures and Santillana as the new exemplar.

The location of each exemplar obviously aids in the interpretation of them. The otherworld landscape is divided into two main sections as the poet-narrator passes by a river in a Hell-like valley that is populated by suffering exemplars (stanzas V-XXIII) and he then climbs through an idyllic landscape (stanzas XXVIII-L) to witness the crowning of the marquess. The reader makes an obvious, superficial positive or negative connection to Santillana based on the area where each exemplar is located. This is not enough to truly understand the lesson to be gleaned from these figures and from Mena's praise of Santillana. However, those whom Mena is trying to reach with his message more than likely would not have been overly familiar with the background of these figures. His immediate audience is Santillana and other men of letters, but he is also hoping to reach the nobility at large with his poem. The explanatory commentary aids his audience's understanding of why these exemplars are chosen and what the reader must take away from their connection with

Santillana when considering the marquess as a model for emulation.

Praise of arms provides the overall context of the poem. The Battle of Huelma, though not extremely significant in the larger Reconquest effort, displayed Santillana's excellence as both a soldier and military leader. The details of the battle are found in the *Crónica de Juan II*, where Santillana is praised at various points for his skills in arms: "yñigo lopez cobatio valientemete y la tomo poz fuerça de armas" (f. 212). Within the poem, the praise of arms occurs both in "Hell" and on Mt. Parnassus and the exemplary comparisons are steeped in Santillana's role as a Christian knight. Mena has already acknowledged Santillana's strength and military prowess in the third preamble through a comparison with Hercules. However, instead of drawing parallels to other well-known exemplars of arms, he contrasts Santillana with exemplars that have failed to exercise their responsibility in this area.

"Hell" is populated by negative exemplary sinners, figures who were commonplace in medieval allegorical visions. Here, their inclusion serves to implicitly caution others against similar behaviors, but more importantly to praise Santillana for not exhibiting these particular sins. The suffering of the negative exemplary sinners is characterized by darkness and they are guarded by the infamous fury, Tisiphone, who warns Mena to stay on the virtuous path (stanzas XIV-XVI). The classical and biblical negative exemplars in stanzas VI-XXVII (including Tereus, Acteon, Jason, and Ulysses, among others) serve as counterpoint to the virtue Santillana. As a knight, Santillana was expected to lead a virtuous life, and practice justice, prudence, faith and temperance, which these figures decidedly did not.

Mena's commentary reveals the meaning of these exemplars, why one should avoid such behavior, and implies "a serious indictment of the society of the day" (Inez MacDonald

134). The significance of each figure reveals a condemnation of “all those who shirk responsibility, whether as kings, great nobles, churchmen, heads of families or lords of estates” (133). Santillana, on the other hand, “typifies the qualities which are the exact opposites of those represented by the sinners in Hell [as a] model of knighthood, chaste, a devout Christian, a wise and cultured man, and a doughty warrior who puts all his services to the use of the State” (134). Francisco Bautista agrees with Macdonald’s analysis and confirms Mena’s use of these exemplars to contrast with Santillana:

El paso de Mena por el infierno mostraba casi exclusivamente ejemplos de vicios políticos, en la medida en que mencionaban cómo ciertos reyes y grandes hombres habían antepuesto sus propios intereses a los de su tierra, olvidando sus responsabilidades y abandonándose al lujo, la pereza o la avaricia. Santillana, en cambio, antes que trabajar para sí, lo ha hecho por su rey, por su tierra y por su fe. (66)

Although the affirmation of Santillana’s virtue is important, we are primarily concerned with those exemplars that speak directly to Santillana’s arms. These are Ninyas, Jason, Ulysses, Acteon, Hector, and Amphiarus. They represent disloyalty and negligence in arms and an overall shirking of responsibility to their king and country. They appear in the sixth through eighth stanzas interspersed among those exemplars that speak more particularly to Santillana’s virtue. The accumulation of these exemplars and their negligence of knightly duties serve as a striking contrast to Santillana as the knight on the heels of a military victory.

The sixth stanza (lines 590-910) and their commentary introduces the first set of exemplary figures, including Ninyas, Jason, and Ulysses:

Ende vieras al rey Nino
con el su cuerpo sin braços
e Atamante ser con Ino
e los nietos de Cadino
fazer sus carnes pedaços.
y arder y ser ardido
a Jasón, con el marido
de la viuda Penélope

y al fijo de Liriope
pesante por ser nascido. (590-609)

“Nino” refers to Ninyas, both son and husband to the Assyrian Queen Semiramis, who is an example of lust and incest for this marriage to his mother. Other accounts vary in their condemnation, citing his idleness and life of pleasure or his brutality in warfare, ravaging his enemies in a desire to conquer.³¹

Mena begins with Ninyas to emphasize the importance of fulfilling the responsibilities of our societal roles. Ninyas is principally an example of disloyalty and cowardice:

Por Nino podemos entender qualquiera que dexa perder el oficio que le es recomendado por miedo o por pavor o covardía de corazón... e dezía que tenía cuerpo sin braços... así son como el cuerpo sin los braços, que los braços han de ser defensores del cuerpo. (646-652)

Ninyas failed to defend his city, dropping his weapons out of fear, and here appears without arms, the defenders of one’s body. Ninyas serves as an obvious counterpoint to Santillana as a knight. Santillana has just proven his military service to the king and his fellow knights and

³¹ The Greek historian, Diodorus of Sicily, presents two accounts of Semiramis in his *Biblioteca storica* (1st B.C.E.): 1) as the Assyrian queen of legendary beginnings who conquered Babylonia; and 2) as a courtesan and murderer of her husband, King Ninus, and attempted lover of her son Ninyas (II.4-21). Ovid and the subsequent moralized text of Bersuire only briefly mention Semiramis, as historical reference in the myth of Pyramus and Thisbe. Fulgentius offers more in his *De Aetatibus Mundi et Hominis* (I.3), wherein Semiramis is condemned for her lust. Fulgentius draws largely from Orosius’s *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, who depicts the Semiramis in similar way (I.4). Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch each include her within their groups of (in)famous lovers. For an overview of Semiramis in Classical and Medieval texts, see Irene Samuel and Elizabeth Archibald.

In the second account, Diodorus expands on Ninyas to describe his life as one of idle pleasure: “he spent all his time in the palace, seen by no one but his concubines and the eunuchs who attended him, and devoted his life to luxury and idleness and the consistent avoidance of any suffering or anxiety, holding the end and aim of a happy reign to be the enjoyment of every kind of pleasure without restraint” (II.21).

Fulgentius depicts Ninus (referred to here by his father’s same name) as a brutal warrior: “Ninus as well, no different from the evil ways of his wife and deserving marriage to this debased woman, by first invading the boundaries of his neighbors became first to establish the first stages of dominion in the world...made his sword reek with foreign blood. With the hostile carnage of warfare, he wrought havoc on human affairs hitherto conducted in pure gentleness” (I.3).

other noblemen may look to him as an example of steadfastness and loyalty to the court.

Mena builds upon this idea of civic service with exemplars Jason and Ulysses. As epic heroes, they may be expected to bolster the praise of Santillana's excellence in arms. They were common examples of everyman and warrior elite in the mythological tradition. Jason's legend offered multiple ways of interpretation: as leader of the Argonauts and winner of the Golden Fleece, he is a courageous warrior and leader, at the forefront of the Trojan cycle; as the husband of Medea, he is at times a victim of the cunning and dangerous woman, and at others a consummate womanizer who betrays his wife and family in favor of more advantageous circumstances.³² Tradition also has Homeric hero, Ulysses, serving multiple exemplary uses: epic hero, cunning strategist, eloquent speaker, itinerant sailor, neglectful husband, and everyman.³³

For Mena, however, they are primarily cautionary tales against flattery and betrayal.

³² For example, Dares begins his Trojan history by referencing Jason's legendary search for the Golden Fleece and including the hero's participation with Hercules in the first destruction of Troy. Bersuire likens Jason to Christ in one incarnation. See J. Frazer. In both his *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides*, Medea is the focus, driving the story, and depicted as dangerous woman, foreigner, and sorceress. While Jason does indeed desert both Hypsipyle and Medea, he may still be heroic by placing the decision-making with Medea (Morse 135). Bersuire's interpretation divides the Jason/Medea story into multiple allegories, likening Jason to Christ in his search for the golden fleece, and to God in the death of his sons. Alfonso X includes both the epistles of Hypsipyle and Medea within the Jason/Medea story, focusing on Jason's betrayal of both women (II.457-478). Benoît de Ste-Maure focuses on betrayals through couples in his *Roman de Troie*, showing how Jason betrays Medea. Guido delle Colonne, in his adaptation of the previous text, rationalizes the story of Jason and Medea, condemning both parties: Medea for female immorality and Jason for his betrayal of Medea.

³³ Homer is the obvious beginning point of Ulysses, as his Ulysses falls into many of these categories. Ovid includes Ulysses's defeat of Ajax over Achilles' armor and his encounter with Circe in the *Metamorphoses*, demonstrating in each account his cunning and eloquence in his achieving his desired outcome. In the *Heroides*, however, we have the wandering, neglectful husband, as Penelope languishes in Ithaca, besieged by suitors. For his part, Fulgentius describes Ulysses as crafty in rejecting the allures of pleasure (II. 8). Alfonso X follows Ovid's account, given that Homer was relatively unknown in the medieval period, and includes the Ajax/Ulysses contest as well as Penelope's letter to her errant husband. Bersuire's moralization of Ovid depicts him as both sinner tempted by the devil (Circe) and the devil himself, as he arrogantly flatters and tempts his comrades (271-274). The example of Ulysses as "everyman" was used in various mythological interpretations. One of the most famous portrayals of the hero is Dante's, who in turn is drawing on an anti-Ulysean tradition of presenting the hero as a duplicitous trickster (Stanford 179) and neglectful husband and father: "Neither the sweetness of a son, nor compassion for my old father, nor the love owed to Penelope, which should have made her glad, could conquer within me the ardor that I had to gain experience of the world and of human vices and worth" (*Inferno* 26.94-99). Dante's ultimate condemnation of the hero is his wanderings (Stanford 181).

Jason is cast in his role as womanizer. He is an opportunistic philanderer, much more villain than hero, contextualized by his betrayal of Medea and other women, and for this is “arder y ser ardido”. While Mena alludes to his legendary feats as told by Ovid (755-783), the truth of this account is that Jason is known for his betrayal of women:

Este Jasón engaño antes la fija del rey Toante e después a esta Medea, fija del rey Oetes, por el qual aborresció Medea los paternos amores e se metió a venir con él a Thesalia, el qual enojado della quiso contraer con la fija de Creón, por la qual Medea asayó las dichas crueldades. (784-788)

Morally, he is equated with those who exploit others for personal gains of wealth and fame as “qualquiera que anda por la semblante manera engañando el mundo con el ardor de la luxura dando fe a muchas e non la teniendo con ninguna” (790-792).

Ulysses, Penelope’s lost husband, is treated through the stories of those he left behind and their trials rather than his legendary wanderings after the war at Troy, contextualized in Penelope’s and others’ circumstances in his absence (803-812). He is a type of charlatan who, with flattery and cunning, is able to trick those around him to agree with his purposes, is condemned as a neglectful husband. In contrast to Penelope’s exemplary fidelity, he is an “engañador e alisonjeador que con dulces palabras engañan a los que en ellos se fian” (821-823).

Clearly, Jason and Ulysses are not chosen for their heroism. Another layer exists underneath that speaks to their lack of responsibility and service to their homeland. In this, Santillana can be measured against them, as he was with Ninyas. Their deception and betrayal affect more than just their loved ones. They explicitly fail in their duties to their homelands with their absence and duplicity. Conversely, Santillana is dedicated in service of Castile and Huelma is but one example of this service. He also responsibly fulfills his other duties as a nobleman, including managing his estates. Others should turn away from the civic

irresponsibility of Jason and Ulysses, who are seduced by worldly exploits, and instead turn towards Santillana's example of service.

Acteon and Hector appear in the seventh stanza and commentary (906-1303) and bolster Santillana's excellence in arms:

Pudieras ver eso mismo
Acteón comerlo canes,
con el troyano reísmo,
y en otro más fondo abismo
al padre de Anastianes;
pudieras ver a Tereo,
a Idas, Arca Anceo
colgar de agudas escarpías
y bañarse las tres Arpias
en la sangre de Fineo.

Acteon, grandson of Cadmus, is a typical exemplar of the perils of curiosity.³⁴ Mena portrays him as a nobleman, rationalizing his grandfather Cadmus as an historical king. Here, he is a nobleman who avoids the responsibilities of knighthood in favor of leisure, in his case the hunt:

Qualquier hombre de gran estado e manera así como era este infante, el qual, en lugar de darse a aprender buenas costumbres por-que fuese apte y merecedor de administrar bien tan alto estado como el de la cauallería, dase a la caça. (957-961)

³⁴ While hunting in the forest with his dog, the youth unfortunately happened upon Diana, chaste goddess of the hunt, while she was bathing, who upon discovering his trespassing, turns him into a stag. In this new animal form, Acteon is hunted and killed by his own dogs. Ovid's account (III.140-250) focuses on Acteon's suffering in death and blames not the unfortunate hunter, but rather the goddess of the hunt for her unjustified punishment for an innocent mistake ("In the story you will find Actaeon guiltless; put the blame on luck, not crime: what crime is there in error?"). His condemnation by curiosity is brought out by Fulgentius, as "curiosity, being allied to danger, will always produce for its devotees injury rather than pleasure" (III. 3). Bersuire provides multiples options for the moralization of Acteon, including curiosity, lust, and greed (92-101). Bersuire also offers the alternative interpretation of Acteon as Christ figure destroyed by his previously faithful dogs (the Jews). Alfonso X recounts and expands the Ovidian myth, ultimately depicting Acteon as lacking the courage of a knight due to his study of hunting and pleasure, and as such, "royeron los sus canes a Acteon, que fueron los enemigos quell yuan a lo que auie, e gelo robauan e gelo destruyen; e por encrobir su couardia que se daua a studio de caça e dotras cosas, por que non uinies a armas, e que semciasse a los omnes que ell aglo fazie e de algo se trauiua" (II.XXV). Dante includes Acteon with those whose faults bring about their own demise (13: 109-129).

More so than the previous exemplars, Acteon presents a much clearer counterpoint to Santillana. By making Acteon a nobleman, Mena sets him as the equal of Santillana in terms of societal status and all the duties that come with it. Acteon fails in these duties, no doubt mirroring the behavior of many carefree contemporaries of Santillana who favor the leisure pursuits of the nobility while neglecting any professional service. Mena suggests that instead of behaving like this unfortunate hunter, they should imitate Santillana. At the poem's conclusion, the reader may also look back on this example of Acteon and the hunt to contrast it with the more desirable scholarly pursuits of Santillana as what a knight should pursue in spare time.

Hector, Trojan prince and hero, is referenced via his son, Astyanax. As a one of the Nine Worthies, he typically enjoyed a positive portrayal throughout the ancient and medieval periods.³⁵ Unlike Jason and Ulysses, Mena actually praises Hector who “de la bondad e cauallería del qual muy vulgar e clara fama lo testifica” (983-984). Nonetheless, Mena bars him from paradise:

Por Éctor que ninguno por exforçado que sea ni mucho extremo en armas, que

³⁵ Both Homer and Virgil depict Hector as one of the main Trojan heroes, describing him with various exemplary epithets (shepherd of the people, slayer of men, light of Troy, etc.). Dictys gives him his obvious due as a Trojan here, and even Dares admits he is deserving of Troy's love. Fulgentius and Bersuire do not have much cause to describe Hector with more multi-faceted and popular examples like Ulysses and Aeneas. Alfonso X superlatively praises Hector in his *General Estoria*: “Ector cabdillo mayor de todos los otros...ca segunt dize la estoria, en todo el mundo no avia Ector par de prez nin de caualleria” (II.DLIX). Guido delle Colonne emphasizes Hector's courage, military prowess, and noble character (131).

Dante is one of the first to break from this positive representation of Hector, placing in the Noble Castle of his inferno. Within this area, Dante has placed those souls who have been undeserving of a place in Purgatory and Paradise but who at the same time, do not deserve an eternity of suffering. Those who lived before Christianity are considered to be the “virtuous pagans,” having lived noble lives but lacking the faith in the Christian god. They are, however, persons who would have been worthy of paradise but for when they lived. Within this circle, these souls reside in a “noble castle” (see Foster, John Guzardo, and James Wilhelm), which contains seven gates that lead to a lush, green meadow. Its inhabitants are divided into various groups, the most prominent being the group of “virtuous pagans.” Hector belongs to this assembly, along with poets such as Homer, Ovid, etc., and other famous mythological heroes such as Aeneas: “There we drew to one side, to a place open, bright, and high, whence all of them could be seen. I saw Electra with many companions, among whom I recognized Hector and Aeneas, Caesar in armor with hawklike eyes” (IV: 118-122)

si non ha conocimiento de Dios todopoderoso que todas sus fuerças non le aprouechan nada para lo apartar de la pena perdurable... aquéllos que más fuertes son o más fermosos o más virtuosos, si no conocen a Dios que los fizo tales e lo alaban porque los crió más especiales que a los otros, estos tales mayor pena deuen hauer que los otros, pues los fizo dios mayor gracia y no la conocieron. (986-995)

Like Acteon, Hector is an obvious counterpoint to Santillana as they both enjoy noble status.

Mena, however, ties Santillana's Christian faith to his excellence in arms and allows

Santillana to surpass Hector. Huelma and Santillana's contribution to the Reconquest efforts become not only a service to the king but also a sign of Christian responsibility, of which other noblemen, especially Juan II and his advisors should take note.

Amphiarius is the final exemplar and reinforces the image of Santillana as a Christian knight. He appears as the final exemplar of the eighth stanza:

Pudieras ver a Exión
penar en muy brava rueda
e al perverso de Sinón
sin fiuza de redençion,
con los dos fijos de Leda;
y vieras a Menelao
e a las fijas de Danao,
aprés de aquestos a Citra,
y vieras arder la mitra
del obispo Anfiarao.

Amphiaraus is a seer who died in the battle of the Seven Against Thebes.³⁶ Mena calls him "Obispo," because he was a priest of Apollo, and paints him as a coward, similar to the earlier description of Ninyas (1416-1421). Mena further adapts the myth in comparing Amphiaraus to a clergyman who neither tends to his congregation nor does battle for the Christian faith:

³⁶ This battle and its participants are part of the larger Oedipus myth, and is discussed in the plays of both Aeschylus and Sophocles. Amphiaraus, a great seer, was persuaded by his wife to join the campaign, even though he knew he would not survive the battle. Their example admonishes those who obey their elders for evil purpose, knowing their actions are such. With regard to Santillana, they may generally contrast Santillana's ability to recognize evil and avoid being part of any of its schemes, even if it means disobedience.

Por el obispo Anfiarao podemos entender cualquier perlado que no vsa derechamente del cargo que tiene, antes se esconde por no vsar d'él, esto es que asconde la justicia non executando los errores de aquellas que a él son recomendadas. Dezía más la fábula que se ascondiera por no yr a la batalla, por esto podemos entender cualquier perlado que no quiere batallar por la fe e que esconde la justicia consintiendo muchas eregias e fechizerías e otras cosas peruersas, que batallan contra nuestra fe” (1427-1434).

Amphiarus simultaneously contrasts Santillana's service to Castile and his service to God.

With him, Mena reproaches those who neglect the Reconquest and indirectly praises

Santillana's for his efforts against the Moors.

In general, the exemplars found in “Hell” indirectly praise Santillana by contrast.

Ninyas, Jason, Ulysses, Acteon, Hector and Amphiarus counterpoint his excellence in arms by their placement in hell and his in heaven. It also indicates something about the relationship of arms to letters. Mena will not encounter any warriors on Mt. Parnassus. Since Mena established in the third preamble that exemplary comparison is a technique of fashioning his praise, he makes a considerable effort to choose exemplars who can speak to Santillana's arms, even if it must be through disassociating them from the marquess. These six exemplars are manipulated by Mena to contextualize the praise of arms within the idea of Christianity and service, going far beyond the initial comparison between Santillana and the warrior Hercules.

Since there are no soldierly exemplars present on Mt. Parnassus, Mena takes up the praise of Santillana's arms to justify the crown of oak. At first, he feigns shock that it could even be Santillana who receives the crown. He just left the *capitán de la frontera* at the battle of Huelma:

Yo dixé: “Nunca Dios quiera,
ca yo lo dexé bien sano
capitán de la frontera,
quando la vex prostrimera
metió Huelma a sacomano:

mas aved miedo, por Dios,
de decir tal cosa vos,
ni al presente Dios lo mande,
ca sería daño tan grande
qual no fue antes de nos. (XLII.3691-3700)

Referencing the region and city allows Mena to elaborate more fully on Santillana's military exploits in the commentary. Like the previous praise, Mena contextualizes Santillana's excellence in arms with the Reconquest efforts and his contributions to them as a Castilian knight:

Era el de la frontera de los infieles moros guerreador, e capitán de los obispados de Córdoba e Jaén, e sus términos por mandado del serenísimo, e muy alto esclarecido rey e señor don Johan de Castilla e de León, trabajando de día e velando de noche por acrecentar el seruicio de Dios e del su muy alto rey e señor... (3718-3723)

The above description reinforces all the praise Mena has made in the context of the negative exemplars. Santillana is a warrior and a leader. He has dedicated all of his time (day and night) to what is required of him as a servant of his God, his king and his country.

This is followed by a list that provides even more details on why Santillana is the consummate Castilian knight:

e por ensanchar los sus reynos, e poner allende los patrones de los sus límites, robando ganados, escalando castillos, derribando e postrando alcarias e torres, ganando lugares, talando árboles, matando e desmenbrando los sarracenos cuerpos, enbiando las animas a la boca del huerco, conuiene saber del infierno, preparando preciosas margaritas al regio ceptro e española corona.(3723-3729)

The images are based on real-life events, scaling towers and felling trees to make the scene come alive in the reader's mind, and the Moors are not just defeated and killed in battle, but their bodies are dismembered and their souls damned to Hell by his sword.

In Huelma, Santillana has fulfilled all that has been said of him and Mena knows that he does not need to provide anymore exemplary figures in support this. Instead, he describes

the city so that the reader may visualize its conquest: “es una villa de muy buen asyento e edficida en vicioso lugar, cercada de muros en fortaleza de buenas torres, la qual ganó por fuerça de armas e por feroce exercicio de la militar disciplina el capitán sus memorado” (3732-3735). Its strength validates Mena’s praise because the victory could only be possible through a brilliant and relentless display of military skill and expertise.

While praise of arms is context for the poem, praising Santillana’s letters is Mena’s true intention. The praise of letters is on Mt. Parnassus. The “Heaven” Mena reaches after his journey through the underworld is found on an idyllic mountainside and has all the characteristics of a typical *locus amoenus* (XXXIII-XXV). There he encounters a second set of exemplary figures that includes renowned ancient philosophers, poets and men of wisdom. These *sabios prudentes* “fueron colocados por sus fechos estremados e muy grandes marauillas en aquel rencle de sillas” (2893-2897) and are gathered on Mt. Parnassus to celebrate the coronation of Santillana. As Mena’s commentary explains, they are honored “por maginario pensamiento e por gloria de buena fama de los sus fechos” (2965-2966).

The praise of Santillana’s letters is Mena’s platform to encourage a new approach in the education of nobility. Mena names philosophers, rhetors and epic poets, some of whom are already being used in instruction at the universities. They are: Solomon, Aristotle, Homer, Lucan, Virgil, Seneca, Quintilian, Ovid, Vegetius and Boethius. Mena identifies them and makes reference to their literary works in his commentary to assure that the reader is aware of who they are. Santillana possessed works attributed to each of these authors in some shape or form in his own library. By attending the coronation of Santillana, these exemplars are both acknowledging Santillana’s knowledge of their works and his own talent for poetry and prose. Unlike the exemplars of vice, Mena’s commentary is not as essential

here. There is no moral application; they are simply renowned men of letters whose company Santillana may now join.

King Solomon, a typical example of wisdom, is praised as such and credited with his collection of proverbs:

Puse aquí primero a Salomón por el excellencia de la su sabiduría...pone la copla vna obra de los que Salomón fizo, por dar a entender qué dezía pro Salomón e por glorificar la su sabiduría faziendo mención de la su obra. (3290-3295)³⁷

Solomon is an exemplary teacher and Santillana imitates him with his own collection of proverbs, becoming a similar authority for others to consult, and whose advice they might follow.

Solomon is followed by Aristotle, a student of Plato, the teacher of Alexander the Great, and the father of Western philosophy: “e vi aquel por cuyo seso/ los *Metauros* floresçieron” (3285-3286). Aristotle is an obvious starting point of scholarly excellence. Despite an initial reference to his work on meteorology (*Metauros*), Mena is quick to acknowledge his literary reputation: “aqu’este fue Aristótiles, el qual fizo los *Methauros* e otras muchas excellentes obras, que serían largas de numerar, por los quales fechos meresció hauer perdurable recordación” (3324-3326).

Aristotle begins a litany of well-known authors from Antiquity, who will compliment Santillana’s excellence in letters as well as his avid study of classical authors. Epic poets and philosophers are added to the company:

Vi a Omero e Lucano
en aquellos entremeses,

³⁷ “Vi al de Urias/ que compuso los *Proverbios*” (3277-3278). Solomon is a typical exemplar of wisdom during the period, as noted by David Nogales Rincón: “La sabiduría a lo largo del siglo XV se encontró personificada preferentemente en la figura del rey Salomón, como recuerdan diversos autores. Ello fue fruto, sin duda, de su condición, según la tradición, de autor de libros *Proverbios*, *Eclesiastes* y *Sabiduría*” (312-313).

con Virgilio manutano,
Séneca vandaliano
e otros sabios cordoueses; (3327-3332)

Homer is “este Omero griego e el más excellente poeta de todos los de Grecia” (3338-3349); Lucan is from “la grand Córdoba, egregia casa de la filosofía” (3355); and Virgil “fue el más excellente poeta que entre los latinos (3361). Seneca follows these epic poets, and is praised as a grand philosopher: “sobre todos los mortales mayor filósofo” (3382-3383). Homer, Lucan and Virgil are all epic poets who sing of legendary warriors and epic battles. Their inclusion fits well in Mena’s plan to encourage an interest in letters because their heroes are already studied as exemplars and most are familiar with the general outlines of their work. A more in-depth study of these works would help facilitate an introduction to studying letters.

The final literary exemplars add another poet, a military historian and a philosopher:

Con aquellos de cosuno
que ciñen tales tropheos,
vi al romano tribuno
dictador muy oportuno
del grand *Methamorphoseos*;
vi la fama gloriosa
del arte cauallerosa
que reconpuso Vegecio,
y el consolable Boecio
con los sus metros e prosa. (3442-3451)

Mena has already repeatedly mentioned Ovid throughout the commentary, citing the Roman poet as the source of his mythological material. Here, he lists Ovid’s numerous works to lend greater authority to the poet (3454-3460). Vegetius is acknowledged as the author of *De Re Militari*, and his inclusion acknowledges that is it not only poetry that should be studied by the noblemen, but also military histories and manuals.³⁸ Boethius, author of the *De*

³⁸ “Este fue singular libro que Vegecio fizo, que es intitulado *De re militari*” (3462-3463). In reality, Vegetius was in wide circulation throughout the Middle Ages and was likely already incorporated in the preparation of knights. See Christopher Allmand’s recent study along with Bernard Bachrach and Charles Shrader.

consolatione philosophiae, is the final literary exemplar, and Mena characterizes him as “un grand filósofo, el qual fizo la traslación de las obras de Aristóteles de griego en latín” (3465-3466).

The scholarly connection between these figures and Santillana is obvious given Santillana’s zeal for the Classics; there is little need for added justification in the commentary. All are also established historical figures and thus there is also no need for any extensive moral explanation as there is with the mythological figures. Therefore, indirect praise by association is much more common.

Whereas in the third preamble the marquess is a *caballero*, here he is a scholar: “era el de Mendoça, conuiene a saber que era el magnánimo escientífico venerable señor YñigoLopes” (3685-3686). This is the first time, other than the preambles, that Santillana is actually named in the text. Therefore, this mention reinforces the poem’s leaning towards letters and Mena’s overall emphasis on the value of scholarly pursuits for the knight. The coronation of the marquess builds upon the image that Mena has fashioned through the exemplary figures. A place among these men of letters belongs to Santillana, whom they welcome into their company as a man of letters. While Mena only briefly utilizes the exemplary comparison during the ceremony, the coronation merits examination because it is the crown of laurel and oak that Mena consecrates the association arms and letters with Santillana. Eleven stanzas (XXXIX-XLIX) describe the event, which is attended by the Nine Muses, Seven Virtues and Seven Liberal Arts. As maidens, they herald the arrival of Santillana and bestow upon him his two crowns. Santillana, still alive in Huelma, shall now enjoy a *doblada vida*, honored simultaneously in the corporeal world and on the idyllic Mt.

Parnassus.³⁹

Santillana is crowned with laurel and oak wreaths to demonstrate that he unites two separate qualities. The crown of laurel is bestowed upon him by the literary exemplars, who lift their voices in praise of Santillana, because “quando veen alguno que escoge la carrera de la sabiduría, todos han con él gloria” (3798-3799). Mena explains that the laurel crown is the ideal choice to honor Santillana’s scholarship:

Esta corona de laurel se daua en otro tiempo a los espertos en las esciencias e vniuersales en ellas, porque así como las fojas del laurel siempre permanescen verdes e nunca se secan, bien así la fama del que la tal corona merescía, para siempre permanece verde e nunca se seca, antes viuiese por sempiterna recordación . (3806-3810)

This offers further justification of the laurel as a symbol of literary excellence and connects it with fame. Like the laurel, Santillana’s fame shall endure. The crowning of Santillana with laurels by the exemplars is the culmination of the praise of letters in the poem.

The crown of oak is bestowed upon him by the Cardinal Virtues, who are the constant companions of virtuous knights like Santillana: “las virtudes cercan e acompañan al hombre virtuoso e son así como preciosas vestiduras” (3916-3917). Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, and Prudence crown him with “follagería de ramos e valentía de robles ramificada” (3928-3930). Like the laurel, Mena explains how oak branches are a fitting ornament to honor the

³⁹ Dixo: “Maguera conplida
su alma consigo está,
él viue doblada viva,
e tiene silla escogida
así allá como acá;
por lo qual te concluymos
qu’el que nos sigue y seguimos
no podrá la muerte tanto
que despoje d’aquel manto
que nosotras le vestimos. (XLIII.3746-3755)

Mena explains in the commentary: “Conuiene saber tiene una silla en el mundo que es la del estado e potencia e honor e riquezas e dignidad, e otra silla acullá que es la silla de la prudencia e sabiduría e buenas virtudes, que guarnescen el ánima de perfectión, e por esso dixo así allá como acá” (3765-3769).

marquess for excellence in arms:

E aqu' esta excelencia de los robres denota ferocidad e valentía e esperto conocimiento de la militar disciplina, ca la corona de los robres a los fuertes pertenesce e a ellos es atribuida; e haun esta palabra robre bien los demuestra e denota fortaleza, ca emana e deciende de robur, que dizen los latinos por fuerça o fortaleza. (3942-3947)

Although the Cardinal Virtues bestow this crown because of the lack of soldierly exemplars on Mt. Parnassus, it designates Santillana as having exceptional military talents earned, in part, through his study of the military discipline. Therefore, Mena's encouragement to expand the study to letters is bolstered by establishing the precedent for its study by the knight. His crowning with oak branches is the culmination of the praise of arms.

La Coronación makes Santillana an exemplary soldier-scholar primarily by associating him with negative and positive exemplars of arms and letters. These associations, however, are exclusively indirect, although Mena does provide explanatory comments to assist the reader in the association. Santillana's coronation is the climax of arms and letters in an effort to encourage other knights and noblemen to emulate Santillana's study of letters. The excellence of arms, while it also should be emulated, is not the focus, but rather the excuse for his praise. This changes, however, in the poems of Burgos and Manrique, as they have to praise a lifetime of achievements upon Santillana's death. Their agendas, while similar to Mena's, are tailored to their personal and social situations and their appropriation and praise of Santillana's as the soldier-scholar reflect different interests.

Chapter 4

The Exemplary Comparison and *El planto de las Virtudes e Poesía por el magnífico señor don Yñigo López de Mendoza Marqués de Santillana e conde del Real* of Gómez Manrique

Twenty years pass between Mena's poem and Santillana's death in 1458, the next occasion for praising the marquess. *El Planto de las Virtudes e Poesía por el magnífico señor don Yñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana e Conde del Real, compuesto por Gómez Manrique, su sobrino (El Planto)* is written by Gómez Manrique, Santillana's nephew and fellow soldier-scholar. The *Planto* combines an emphatic eulogy of his uncle's achievements with Manrique's desire to validate his own career as a soldier-scholar. Addressing his fellow knights and noblemen, Manrique paints the combination of sword and toga becomes a necessary and practical skill for all knights. A more cultured knight is in the best interest of the court, especially in its desire to expand their kingdom and keep up with the cultural developments in neighboring countries, in particular Italy. Through letters, the knight acquires the abilities necessary to emulate the exemplary models that are recommended to them by Antiquity. Although Manrique could provide himself as the ideal to emulate, he always refers to his uncle, Santillana, as the optimal exemplar of the soldier-scholar and bolsters this praise with direct and indirect association with exemplary figures.

Gómez Manrique (1412-1490) was a nephew of Santillana, brother to renowned knight Rodrigo Manrique, and uncle to the poet Jorge Manrique. As a member of the Manrique clan, he was intimately involved in the political dealings of the time, first as an enemy of Álvaro de Luna and then as a faithful servant of Isabel I of Castile. He participated

in the campaigns against Álvaro de Luna and the *Infantes de Aragón*, and fought beside his brother, Rodrigo, all the time being recognized as a noted dramatist and poet. As a Manrique, he is able to use his family's name and his own status to support his argument for the combination of arms and letters.⁴⁰

Manrique's advocacy of the soldier-scholar ideal is evident in various texts. Manrique had already used the exemplary figure to praise his uncle in his *Suplicación al magnífico señor Marqués de Santillana, su tío* establishing him as Manrique's mentor in letters, which verifies his respect for his accomplishments in arms and letters.⁴¹ The poem opens by calling Santillana a fountain of wisdom and an exemplar of fortitude:

¡O fuente manante de sabiduría
por quien se nobleçen los reynos d'España,
cuya fortaleza á seydo tamaña,
que nunc fue vista en vos couardía! (*Suplicación* 1-4)

Then he compares Santillana to animate and inanimate objects to communicate his excellence in arms. To praise his letters, he is compared to Lucan, and he is said to surpass other orators and philosophers:

Vos soys fuerte muro de los aflegidos,
agudo cuchillo a los malfechores;
mostraysvos león a los vençedores
e mansa paloma contra los vençidos. (*Suplicación* 9-12)

.....

⁴⁰ Modern scholars place Gómez Manrique in the same company as his uncle when considering the developing ideal of arms and letters in fifteenth-century Castile. For example, Kenneth Scholberg believes that, besides performing the expected duties as a Castilian knight and a Manrique, his affinity for scholarship is clear based on the numerous mythological and historical references available in his poetry (7). He writes that Manrique "fue un activo guerrero, político y gobernante, pero no vio discrepancias entre tales actividades y el afán de apredner." Francisco Vidal González echoes this in his introduction to Manrique's *Cancionero*: "No podemos separar en Gómez Manrique al hombre de armas del de letras. Si la figura que se nos ofrece, nacida en el siglo XV y representativa del XVI, es el hombre de letras y de armas, o sea, el caballero renacentista, a Gómez Manrique le corresponde este apelativo por derecho propio" (41-42). For a more in-depth study of Manrique's combination of arms and letters, see Eloy Recio Ferrera.

⁴¹ "Sin duda, don Íñigo le infuyó notablemente, como lo demuestra su obra, pero, además pudo ser el *gaita* que despertase su vocación poética. Don Íñigo se percató de los valores que afloraban en su sobrino e instó al muchacho a practicar este arte" (Vidal González 16).

Vos soys de los sabios el más eçelente
e de los poetas mayor que Lucano; (*Suplicación* 17-18)

.....
Vos escreuís en prosa mejor
que él nin alguno de los oradores;
en la poesía los más sabidores
vos tiene alto para su mayor. (*Suplicación* 49-52)

The *Suplicación* shows the emulative relationship between Manrique and Santillana and a precedent for utilizing his uncle as an example when arguing in favor of the combination of arms and letters. *El Planto* continues this pattern but considerably amplifies it.

Manrique frames his praise as a lament instead of a celebration and therefore turns to the more traditional elegiac plaint, which is inherently panegyric: “la elegía, como producción encaminada a llorar una muerte o una desgracia y a ensalzar las virtudes del finado, puede asimilarse a un género retórico concreto: el demostrativo o epidíctico” (Emilia García Jiménez 7). The funeral elegy enjoys a rich tradition in Greek and Roman poetry, but the plaint owes its popularity during the Middle Ages to the medieval *planctus* and the Provençal *planh*. The funeral elegy, which is especially popular in the *cancioneros* of the fifteenth century, typically takes three forms: the *dezir*, the *defunzión* and the *planto*. The second and third types may present more personal or public laments, depending on their subject, and may employ an allegorical framework. They typically include the announcement of the death, followed by a lament of the dead and panegyric of the deceased, and finish with a consolation (Camacho Guizado 21).⁴²

Santillana’s *Defunzión de don Enrique de Villena*, for example, is an allegorical vision in which the narrator encounters the Nine Muses lamenting the death of Villena along

⁴² For the provençal *planh*, see Eduardo Camacho Guizado, pp. 1-13, and Jesús Montoyo Martínez, pp. 220-223. See Camacho Guizado pp. 66-81, Anan Krause pp. 127-138 and Pedro Salinas pp. 46-58 for the popularity of the elegy in fifteenth-century Castilian poetry. For the evolution from the *dezir* through the *planto*, see Krause pp. 127-138.

with other men of letters Death has taken from them. Santillana fills their laments with literary exemplars. Although it is not a plaint, it clear that Manrique draws on Santillana's elegy on Enrique de Villena:

In general plan and manner Gómez Manrique obviously sought to emulate the grand style newly sponsored by his uncle. Thus he introduces the elaborate invocation, the Dantesque description of time, the erudite comparisons and the Latinized diction of the classicizing mode. (Krause 136)

In both poems the narrators encounter personified maidens and contain comparisons that praise their deceased subjects.

Similar to Mena, *El Planto* is an otherworld allegory where Manrique encounters maidenly personifications of the Seven Virtues and Poetry, who reveal Santillana's death to Manrique and implore the poet-traveler to honor him. These maidens lament Santillana's loss and, in doing so, praise the marquess as a soldier-scholar and as the embodiment of the Virtues. Manrique directs his poem to the bishop of Calahorra, Pedro González de Mendoza, another of Santillana's sons, who, if he followed tradition, would have studied letters. Based on this assumption of learning, Manrique does not offer any explanatory comments, as we find in Mena, to assist in the reader's interpretation. However, Manrique's exemplars are taken from a traditional catalogue that would have been known by the nobility. To further offset any misunderstanding, Manrique incorporates contemporary examples to both properly situate Santillana among his cohorts as well as set him apart.

El Planto begins with *carta proemio* that serves as a prologue, followed by one hundred thirty-four *coplas reales*. As an elegy, it is a lamentation and the environment of the poem must reflect this. Manrique inverts the traditional *locus amoenus*. In lieu of the crystalline fountains and pleasant meadows, the poem takes place in a ghastly landscape, complete with a crumbling fortress, raging rivers, gnarled trees and shrieking harpies:

Non jasmines con sus flores
 avya ni praderyas;
 nin por sus altos alcores
 resonauan ruiseñores
 nin sus dulces melodías.
 Texos eran sus frutales
 e sus prados pedernales
 e búhos los que cantauan,
 cuyas bozes denotauan
 los aduenideros males. (XII, 111-120)

Most of the poem takes place within this crumbling fortress, where Manrique comes upon the Virtues, who “con sus manos ronpían/ sus caras que reluzían,/ e mesauan sus cabeças/ sobre las quales en pieças/ las ricas tarjas frañían” (516-520). This characterization of landscape and figures introduces the reader to a sense loss that is immediately amplified with comparisons to famous men who have embodied the arms and letters topos.

In *El Planto*, the poet-narrator allows the Seven Cardinal Virtues to speak -- Faith, Hope, Charity, Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude -- and their laments are echoed by those of Poetry and Manrique. Although Manrique adopts the voices of the Virtues, this cannot be considered indirect praise by witness because the Virtues themselves are not exemplary figures but personifications. As such, it must be considered indirect praise by association. The structure of the poem is climactic with each Virtue building upon previous praise, finally climaxing with Manrique’s lament uniting arms and letters in Santillana. Each specific Virtue is supported by both abstract and concrete comparisons and, with the exception of Hope and Charity, each speaks directly to Santillana’s skill in either arms or letters.⁴³

The choice to frame his praise within the structure provided by the Seven Virtues makes the poem naturally lean towards arms, since the Cardinal Virtues have long been

⁴³ Hope and Charity focus specifically on their own virtues in Santillana. See stanzas LVIII-LXII.

associated with the exemplary knight.⁴⁴ This is further reinforced by Manrique's own status as a *caballero*. For this reason, Manrique includes the lament of Poetry as well as his own lament to reorient the poem more towards letters. When taken together, their praise creates an image of the marquis as a soldier-scholar that is consonant with the prologue but follows a special order that features arms (laments of Justice, Temperance and Fortitude), letters (Prudence) and arms and letters (Faith and Poetry).

Manrique employs direct praise by association with the exemplar in the poem's *carta-proemio*. He does not generalize on Santillana's greatness, but rather provides an inventory of his exemplary qualities with comparisons drawn from Antiquity: "que bien se puede dezir que perdió en éste otro Fabio para sus consejos, otro Çésar para sus conquistas, otro Camilo para sus defensas, otro Libio para sus memorias" (12-15). Manrique makes connection explicit by equating Santillana via the description of *otro*. The last reference to Titus Livy seems to acknowledge Santillana's letters, but it appears in a grouping that praises Santillana's soldierly qualities.

These comparisons to exemplars of arms introduce Manrique's true objective, to praise the combination of arms and letters ("[Santillana] seyendo el primero de senblante prosapia e grandeza d'estado que en nuestros tyempos congregó la çiençia con la cauallería e la loriga con la toga," 16-18) and to criticize those who wrongly believe that a knight need only possess military knowledge:

Que yo me recuerdo aver pocos e avn verdad hablando ninguno de los tales que a las letras se diesse. E no solamente digo que las non procurauan, mas que las aborrecían, reprehendiendo a algún cauallero sy se daua al estudio, como sy el ofiçio militar solo en saber bien encontrar con la lanca o feryr con la espada consistiesse. (18-24)

For the poet-narrator such thinking is misguided both in theory and practice. He emphasizes

⁴⁴ We recall that Cardinal Virtues are chosen to bestow the crown of oak on Santillana in Mena's *Coronación*.

that the study of letters takes nothing away from the defense of one's homeland, the principal duty of the knight, pointing out that there is a clear time for both activities:

La qual errada opinión este varón magnífico arrancó de nuestra patria, reprobándola por teórica e faziéndola incierta por plática; en la paz, prosas e metros de mayor elegancia escriuiendo que ninguno de los pasados; en las guerras, mostrándose vn Marco Marçelo en el ordenar e vn Castino en el acometer, seyendo a sus caualleros como Mario por sí dezía: “aconsejador en los fechos e compañero en los peligros.” Éste de los enemigos veyesbles non se vençia nin de los inveysbles se sojuzgau. (24-32)

Manrique again employs the direct praise by association. Santillana is the reflection of these exemplars in their specific qualities. Anyone who would claim that study degrades a knight's ability should be persuaded by the fact that the military exemplars attest to Santillana's excellence.

Manrique has a general respect for the Castilian *caballero*. His brother Rodrigo is a pre-eminent knight and future master of the Order of Santiago. His nephew Garcilaso de la Vega fights and dies in battle, serving his country. Manrique clearly also respects his uncle's military service to Castile and considers him a warrior and political hero. The remainder of the prologue, besides including the usual affected modesty, stresses the personal connection Manrique feels to the marquis. It is more likely that Gómez looks to Rodrigo Manrique for inspiration and instruction in military matters. What he truly gains from his uncle is literary mentorship, and this shows in how he presents himself as an eye-witness to Santillana's literary skills:

E entre los que adotiuos me dio loores, por otro él en el conponer en metro me pregonó; no en verdat en lo tal seyendo yo digno, como dixo San Juan, de desatar la correa del su çapato; que todos los materiales que la merçed suya por familiares tenía, es a saber, biua e pronta discríçión, graçia gratis data, profunda çiençia, grandeza d'estado que lo bueno faze mejor, eran e son ajenas a mí. (54-61)

The prologue to *El Planto* is essential to understanding what is truly behind the poem.

Manrique's initial consolation message to his cousin lays out its dual purpose: *El Planto* is a eulogy of a close relative and a poem that advocates for the combination of arms with letters. A cultured knight should not only study the authors of Antiquity; he should take it one step further and emulate them. Manrique's poem praises the scholar and the poet in Santillana. More than any other panegyric discussed here, this poem advocates for the soldier-scholar ideal by stating that contemporaries should realize the excellence of the marquess and make a conscious decision to emulate him and continue his legacy of arms and letters.

Manrique continues the direct praise by association found in the prologue. It is paired with the topos of outdoing in the laments of Justice, Temperance, Fortitude and Manrique's own lament. Justice compares him to five exemplars of justice or injustice, saying first that he is "mas que Bruto justiciero/ e no cruel como Sylla" (679-680). These comparisons emphasize Santillana's willingness to take action against abuses of power and tyranny, and yet be fair and restrained in his treatment of others. Next she mentions Charondas and Zaleucus, famous as law-makers who exacted severe, yet justified punishments:

Fronfino, cuya mano
de sí mesmo fue verdugo
.....
no fue tanto syn temor
de mi nombre zelador
como este que llanteo
nin fue tal jüez, yo creo
el buen Lento, sendaor. (681-690)

Both Charondas and Zaleucus passed laws prohibiting the wearing of arms in public assembly and Senate and committed suicide by falling on their swords instead of seeking a pardon upon realizing they had violated this law. The above comparisons demonstrate direct praise by association thanks to Justice's explicit connection between Santillana and these men. Additionally, they employ the topos of outdoing to show that Santillana actually

surpasses each of these men in his display of justice.

Lastly, he is compared to Trajan, one of the most lauded figures in Roman history: “nuestro reyno castellano/ por este, que Dios dé gloria,/ podría fazer memoria/como Roma por Trajano” (693-695). This last comparison between Castile/Santillana and Rome/Trajan, more implicit than the previous ones, speaks directly to Santillana’s legacy as a military commander and public figure. Although not an example of outdoing, Santillana is at least the equal of Trajan.

Temperance’s comparisons focus on those who are bereft of praiseworthy military and political heroes. She compares Santillana to Hector: “tal sin este quedaré/ qual syn Étór los troyanos” (731-732).⁴⁵ The comparison accentuates not only the sense of loss that accompanies the death of Santillana but also the military fame of the marquess, which she amplifies with her remaining comparisons:

Alixandre nunca fue
tan tenprado, por mi fe,
en los deleytes vmanos;
nin touo Çésar Augusto
mayor tenprança en el gusto,
nin Catón, el qual beuía
vinagre de galería
como remante robusto. (733-740)

Santillana has surpassed in moderation Alexander the Great, Caesar Augustus and Cato the Elder. The concentration of the exemplars once again heightens the overall praise for Santillana’s temperance.

Fortitude is the last and perhaps most obvious Virtue associated with the military

⁴⁵ It is also important to note that this is the third instance in which Hector has been referenced in the poem. The comparison of Temperance is naturally reinforced by the characterizations of Faith and Hope as the women of Troy discussed earlier. Hector is also featured in the lament of Fortitude where Santillana is equated with his military prowess.

enterprise. Her lament utilizes the attributes of the knights and warriors who demonstrated courage, audacity and dedication to their mission. Fortitude shifts the focus to Santillana's enemies, the only ones who could possibly rejoice at his death. These enemies can now rest themselves "que ya fuelga so la tierra/ la flor de los castellanos" (779-780):

Plangan conmigo que plaño
sus verdaderos amigos,
y lloren vn mal tamaño
e tan syn medida daño,
e fuelguen sus enemigos,
pues perdieron aduersario
muy más valiente que Darío
nin que su persiguidor;
Étor nunc fue mejor,
Nin Archiles, su contrario. (781-790)

After stating that Santillana surpasses all of the above in bravery, Fortitude continues by equating his dedication and service to Castile with that of Codrus, Gaius Mucius Scaevola and Publius Decius Mus to Rome. Each of these exemplars are military warriors from Antiquity who displayed bravery through their self-sacrifice in the name of their country. Scipio, one of the most notable military commanders of Rome and already the subject of his own epic, follows:

Cypión el Alficano
no naçio en mejor punto
para el inperio romano
qu'en el reyno castellano
este noble defunto. (801-805)

Bravery and daring are the last qualities mentioned by Fortitude, but Santillana simply outshines all the rest:

En sus fechos me refiero
a las gestas castellanas,
que si el escritor es vero,
d'este fuerte cauallero
fartas puede fenchir planas;
pues el tiempo que biuió

en guerras lo despendió,
mostrándose tan osado,
que bien pudo ser sobrado
mas nunca vencido, no. (811-820)

Although a large amount of the praise is made directly, indirect praise by association also appears in the poem. Manrique first indirectly praises Santillana by the Virtues' (unclear) association with suffering women from Antiquity. Six allegorical virtues, with the exception of Faith, are compared to one or more women who experience great suffering because of the absence of a hero-protector which is responsible in part for their distraught state. The first maiden makes a general comparison of their anguish to the sorrow of all the women of Troy:

Luego todas consiguieron
su planto, más dolorido
que las troyanas fizieron
la triste noche que vieron
su gran pueblo destruydo. (511-515)

These Trojan women have had to watch their city burn before their eyes. They know with certainty that their future is grim, because there are no heroes left to defend them. The poet's grief over the loss of Santillana is equated with their grief. The comparison is then echoed in the description of Hope. Hope is equated with Andromache, wife of the slain Prince Hector:

Con gesto más dolorido
que la viuda troyana
al punto que su marido
por las espaldas ferido
vido por lança greciana. (571-575)⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Hope herself repeats the association by characterizing herself as both Andromache and Hecuba, mother of Hector:

Yo soy the desesperada
Esperança que me llamo,
e quedo más tribulada

In the remaining descriptions, we see Charity as a Helen (“no menos triste que quando/ salió del templo gritando/ la reyna griega robada” 593-595);⁴⁷ Prudence as Philomela (“mas amarga se mostrando/ la quarta que Fylomena/ quando no pudo fablando/ e notificó labrando/ se desigualada pena” 621-625);⁴⁸ Justice as Lucretia (“más triste que se mostró/ la forçada por Tarquino” 661-662);⁴⁹ Temperance as Cornelia (“más que Cornelia sabiendo/ la muerte de su marido,/ atajó la fabla d’ esta” 714-716);⁵⁰ Fortitude as Deinaira (“nin tanto fuera de seso/ la gentil rezién casada/ quando ser temió forçada/ por el gran çentauro Neso” 762-765);⁵¹ and Poetry as Verginea (“non menos que Virginea,/ quando por sentençia fea/

que la mugger desdichada,
nin la fija de Priamo. (581-585)

This heightens both the grief and the idea of Santillana as hero by bringing his mother who is also the queen of Troy. The parallel between Hector and Santillana will appear again in the lament of Fortitude.

⁴⁷ By characterizing Helen as *robada*, Manrique implies that she was unwillingly kidnapped in her husband’s absence. Santillana is therefore paralleled with Menelaus, her hero-protector.

⁴⁸ Philomela, en route to visit her newly-married sister, Procne, is raped and mutilated by her brother-in-the-law, King Tereus. She is frequently used as an example of a raped honorable woman and her vengeance. Her absent hero is her father as well as her brother-in-law, who did not honor Philomela as he should have. Prudence goes forth without her protector, Santillana, and now continues through this world uncertain of her fate.

⁴⁹ Lucretia’s rape by Sextus Tarquinnus and subsequent suicide inspired her ancient Roman countrymen to take up the mantle of justice. Manrique employs her to emphasize those who gained justice for the crimes inflicted on them. Examples may be found in St. Augustine, Chaucer and Dante. Just as Lucretia, so too has Justice called upon Santillana to be her instrument, a duty which he fulfilled as the just warriors of the ancient past. She is also without her husband, or protector, at the time of the attack, as Justice as well now feels bereft of her stalwart defender.

⁵⁰ This context of heroic absence is especially strong in the description of Temperance. Temperance is compared with Cornelia, wife of Pompey the Great. The correlation of a grieving widow is the most obvious connection, but Manrique takes the comparison further to equate Santillana’s death with that of Pompey the Great’s assassination. As a triumphant hero of Rome, Pompey won many military victories and was an impressive commander, the same of which can be said of Santillana. Both are considered heroes and defenders of their homelands, but now have left them without their protection.

⁵¹ Fortitude is paired with Deinaira, the wife of Hercules, who in this instance is kidnapped by the centaur Nessus, while her husband is away. Embedded in this comparison is an implicit parallel between Santillana and Hercules, arguably the strongest hero of Antiquity and a typical exemplar of man and the knight during the Middle Ages. For example, see Enrique de Villena’s *Los doce trabajos de Hércules*. So, within this simple parallel between two distraught women, the reader not only sees Santillana as Hercules but also the consequences of his absence as this hero figure to Fortitude.

fue por Claudio condenada” 848-850).⁵²

These are the first instances of indirect praise by association in the poem proper and since they precede the laments of each Virtue, they set the tone for Santillana’s depiction. Prudence, Faith and Poetry also demonstrate indirect praise by association in their placing Santillana at the end of a list of exemplars. Prudence explicitly praises the letters of Santillana. She calls to mind past exemplars of scholarly and literary talent to lead up to an eventual praise of Santillana as a writer:

Yo perdí a Salamón,
el más sabio de los reyes,
Aristótiles, Zenón,
otros de gran perfección
que justas fizieron leyes;
e perdí a Quinto Fabio,⁵³
al rey don Alfonso el Sabio,
dexando los estrangeros,
el qual fizo nuestros fueros,
gouernando sin resabio. (641-650)

While there is an emphasis on the legal contributions of the above exemplars, for Manrique’s purposes the reader must interpret them as wise scholars from whom Santillana has drawn his expertise. The comparison with Alfonso X, for example, does not refer to his chronicles but to his wisdom in ruling, for which he earned the moniker “El Sabio.” No monarch has since achieved such recognition in letters. Prudence halts her references to others so that she may mourn her current loss (“Otros perdí çiertamente/ que, por fuyr dilaçión,/ callaré por el presente,/ mas ondre tanto prudente/ no perdí desde’ Estilbón” (651-655), before speaking

⁵² This final comparison makes Santillana the protector-hero via the father figure, as Verginia is assaulted and captured only while her father, Verginius is away from the city. See Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*: III.44-58.

⁵³ Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus is a curious inclusion here, as he is a typical example of arms, as opposed to letters. He was a five-time consul of Rome and hero of the Samnite Wars. As such, he will not be discussed above.

directly to Enrique IV and the court to renew their commitment to letters.⁵⁴

The same indirect praise is used in Faith's lament. She has already identified Santillana as a military hero with her characterization of the women of Troy. The switch is then made to letters as she compares him to other prominent authors and contemporaries of Santillana: Alonso Fernández de Madrigal, El Tostado (531-540), Alfonso de Cartagena (541-550), and Santo Tomás: "En él perdí sabidor/ y equal de Santo Tomás" (561-562).

Similar to Faith, Poetry praises both arms and letters, although obviously emphasizing the latter. Poetry's lament is, perhaps, the most expressive, owed in large part to her use of apostrophe. She immediately launches into her *planto*, calling upon all of Castile, its men and cities to mourn the loss with her ("¡O Castilla! llora, llora/ vna pérdida tamaña" 871-872), and makes an implicit comparison of equality between Santillana and those she calls to mourn:

Lloren los onbres valientes
por tan valiente guerrero
e plangan los eloquentes,
e los varones prudentes
loren por tal compañero.
E lindos cortesanos
lloren más que los tebanos
por su pueblo destroydo
pues an el mejor perdido
de todos los palançianos. (881-890)

The call for all *los lindos cortesanos* to mourn acknowledges his significance to the court, an implicit endorsement of his service in both areas. Though praise of arms is mentioned first, it should not be interpreted as being placed above letters, given that a praise of his eloquence, i.e. letters, immediately follows it. The call to the courtier poets, in fact, actually reinforces

⁵⁴ Estilbón refers to Stiplo (4th century B.C.E), early teacher of Zeno of Citium, who would eventually go on to found the Stoic school of thought.

the letters and leads into Poetry's explicit praise of this facet.

To praise his letters, Faith focuses on Santillana's wisdom, specifically his religious side. Poetry, on the other hand, refers to *los eloquentes*, rhetoricians and orators. She mentions two contemporaries of Santillana, Juan de Mena and Juan Fernández de Ixar. Both died two years prior to Santillana and thus are ideally suited to frame Poetry's complaint against Death for robbing her so soon of another excellent man of letters: (say something about the fact that this is not the poet)

Esta muerte que condena
a buecos e comunales
me leuó a Juan de Mena,
cuya pluma fue tan buena
que ví pocas sus yguales.
E por más me lastimar,
leuome syn lo tardar
aquel de gran perfeçión
don Juan d'Ixar d'Aragón,
orador muy singular. (901-910)

The reader clearly makes an association between her praise of Juan de Mena and Fernández de Ixar, and that of Santillana, given the placement of these verses between Poetry's exclamatory opening remarks and the more detailed eulogy of the marquis that follows it. Santillana is thus equated to two lauded contemporaries of letters, before she eulogizes the cause of her most recent bereavement.

In addition to the praise by association, Santillana is also compared to inanimate objects that become the tools of the Virtues. He is identified as Justice's sword, mentioned first in the description of Justice ("la quinta, con fuerte llanto,/ sacó debaxo del manto/ syn espada la vaýna," 666-668) and later in her self-characterization once she begins her *planto*: "pues vedes a mí, Justiçia,/ cómo finco sin espada" (674-675). This attribute identifies Santillana as a man of arms and as a *caballero* (678). Temperance associates him with the

oars of ship, saying: “soy quedada/ como en la mar alterada/ queda la fusta sin remos,/ a quien la mar faze guerra” (723-725).⁵⁵ Fortitude calls him the source of her strength, and she is too weak even to mourn him: “Yo, la triste Fortaleza,/ ya no quedo nada fuerte/ para conportar tristeza” (771-773). Prudence compares Santillana to the columns of her temple and refers to him as its decoration: “pues remediarme no puedo/ venga ya por mí, que quedo/ como templo sin coluna” (633-635); “sin el qual queda mi nonbre como yelmo syn çimera” (639-640). Her reference to Santillana as the ornament on her helmet might lead one to anticipate a military comparison; however, as indicated above, she quickly shows the reader that this is not the case nor should the reader expect a description of his exemplary prudence. Instead, she praises his letters as does Faith, who calls Santillana her foundation as she praises his arms and letters:

Mas ya, cuytada, biuía
 contenta con el terçero,
 cuya gran sabiduría
 por çiençia me sostenía,
 e más como cauallero; (551-555)

He either sustained her more by his arms than his letters; or, he sustained her by arms in addition to his letters. I choose to interpret it as “in addition to,” because the lament’s previous stanza offers letters, followed by this transition to the next stanza about arms. Like Santillana’s wisdom, Faith’s praise is connected to his religious faith: “pues con la lança en la mano/ por defenderme muriera” (559-560). He did not sacrifice himself on the battlefield, as she implies, but supported the reconquest efforts.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ This marks the second instance of nautical imagery in Manrique’s text. Hillary Landwehr’s dissertation on the figurative imagery in Manrique’s poetry considers these types of images to be some of the most prominent in *El Planto*. According to Hillary Landwehr, “the repeated mention of ships and supporting columns helps equate the loss felt by the world, by the virtues and by Manrique” (268).

⁵⁶ We can recall Mena’s description of Santillana as an exemplar of arms and his “dispatching” of the Moors to the mouth of Hell. See p. 44 above.

Poetry's self-characterization, like the other maidens before her, is entrenched in comparisons of absence, equating Santillana with abstract figures that represent guidance and fulfillment: a ship's captain or a city's populace.

Syn el qual yo soy quedada
qual la noa syn patrón,
o como çibdat poblada
quando finca despoblada
de toda su población. (921-925)

Poetry has entered uncertain times following the death of Santillana. He was her *patrón*, a word that also carries with it the sense of protector, and she compares herself to a city depopulated of arms and letters alike.

The laments of the Seven Virtues and Poetry are at the core of Manrique's praise of Santillana and serve to introduce the final fourth of the poem, during which he spends the majority of his time rejecting Poetry's request that he eulogize Santillana.⁵⁷ Manrique as poet-narrator follows the pattern set by the maidens to directly and indirectly praise the marquess. This is his opportunity to argue for the soldier-scholar ideal, offering Santillana as the ultimate proof.

Manrique's lament builds upon Poetry's personification of Castile and the plea for it to collectively mourn the marquess:

Con justa causa Castilla
fará llantos inçesantes;
pues pierde su real silla
el mejor de su quadrilla... (1031-1034)

.....
Por todos en general
de plañir causa tenés,
pero más en especial
por aqueste sin ygal
discreto, sabio Marqués (1051-1055)

⁵⁷ This is an obvious use of the false modesty topos, given that we are reading the requested eulogy of the marquess.

The comparison recalls Fortitude's identification of him as the support or foundation of Castile and calls him *discreto* and *sabio*, continuing Poetry's assessment that "del saber e discrición/ buenos pregoneros son/ sus memorable tratados," 1081-1085). It is also an example of the outdoing topos as no one is the true equal of Santillana.

Manrique draws on three renowned men of letters: Boethius, Leonardo Bruni and Dante Alighieri. All three were very well-respected by Santillana, whose own admiration for them guarantees their legitimacy as exemplars of letters, yet the marquess surpasses them all:

Por cierto, no fue Boeçio
nin Leonardo de Areçio
en prosa tan elegante
pues en los metros el Dante
ant'él se mostrara neçio. (1086-1090)

These three are specifically chosen to indicate that there is no doubt of Santillana's excellence, for he surpasses the elegance of the language of Boethius and Bruni, and has gone beyond Dante by making the Italian poet seem a fool. Their inclusion is especially important given Santillana's emulation of the Italian models. Manrique is suggesting that with more men like Santillana, Spain has a chance to equal Italy's literary achievements.⁵⁸

Santillana has served as a model for Gómez himself, as well as countless others; as Manrique makes clear to the reader, the key to his success is his balance of both arms and letters:

pues en las armas espejo,
mientras moço e quando viejo
era de los más valientes.
Él los días despendía
en toda cauallería;
las noches estudiãua,
trabajando procurãua
onrras e sabiduría. (1093-1100)

⁵⁸ This will be especially important in Burgos's poem and the concept of *translatio studii*.

He divided his day between the daytime duties of a knight and the nighttime duties of a scholar and author, as he married the sword and the toga.⁵⁹ Manrique echoes Santillana's own words on the matter:

Ca no afloxa la çiençia
las fuerças del cauallero
nin le faze la prudençia
e la gential eloquençia
menos que sabio guerrero. (1101-1105)

Like Santillana in his *Proverbios*, Manrique indicates that arms and letters need not be at odds with each other, and that neither diminishes the excellence of the other. Moreover, Manrique uses his uncle, a *sabio guerrero*, to point out the positive result of the combination:

Para no dubdar en esto,
a este varón modesto
el saber no le turbó
quando Huelma combatió
e la tomó mucho presto. (1106-1110)

Santillana's victory at Huelma (1438), the immediate occasion for Mena's poem, then becomes a concrete example of how Santillana's scholarly activities in no way impede his achievements as a knight.

Before concluding, Manrique makes one final comparison of his dual excellence in relation to his king and country:

Nuestra naçión castellana
con más causa viste luto
por este que la troyana
por Étor, nin la romana
por Çésar que mató Bruto; (1211-1215)

Castile is like the ancient kingdoms of Troy and Rome Santillana, however, surpasses both Hector and Julius Caesar and as such, the country has greater cause to mourn. Hector, who

⁵⁹ Mena treats this in much the same way when he notes Santillana "trabajando día y noche...". See p. 44 above.

has appeared before in the lament of Fortitude, reinforces Santillana's excellence as a soldier. It is the first appearance, however, of Caesar, an accomplished exemplar of arms and letters in his own right. His inclusion reintroduces the combination to the reader, making it a key feature of why Santillana is worthy of the eulogy.

There is one additional comparison and a final acknowledgement of Santillana's excellence in arms and letters:

pues otro pierde Catón
en virtud e disciçión:
leal sieruo de su rey,
defensor de nuestra ley,
con armas e por razón. (1216-1220)

He is equated with Cato, as a defender of Castile and reminds the reader of his service to king and country. This service is both through his arms and letters and thus Manrique makes a final point that he served in both areas, not one more than the other.

Gómez Manrique's main goal is to advocate for the soldier-scholar ideal in Castile and to refute the criticism that letters diminishes the study of arms. In *El Planto*, Manrique employs both direct and indirect praise by association. Additionally, he draws on other comparative techniques, specifically the comparison to inanimate objects, to support his praise via the exemplars. Santillana's comparisons with inanimate objects may be considered direct praise as the Virtues make the explicit connections between Santillana and the objects. Within each type, the comparison is consistently characterized by the absence of something.

As a man of arms himself, Manrique naturally highlights the most important features of Santillana's military vocation. The predominant praise revolves around Santillana's role as a defender of Castile. The virtues of Justice, Temperance and Fortitude are essential to depicting the marquess in this role, especially Fortitude, which requires him to be brave, strategic and daring. He is consistently identified with past exemplars of arms, most

frequently with Hector, who cements the image of the marquess as a stalwart leader and soldier who supports the causes of his kingdom. Manrique also utilizes Prudence to praise Santillana's letters, with a specific focus on his scholarship in comparison to that of other renowned noble scholars. His praise of letters is noticeably faint when compared to the other poems, but it is somewhat understandable given the criticism of nobles pursuing a life of letters. Although Manrique acknowledges that both arms and letters appear in the same man, they are still separate.

The faint praise for Santillana's letters is finally resolved in the laments of Faith, Poetry and Manrique. Faith's lament does not contain any reference to an exemplar of arms, but it is clear by her use of the outdoing topos that Santillana is not only her strongest and firmest defender, but she declares him the best to have ever been. Her pairing of arms and letters confirms her support of the combination. The same is true of Poetry's and Manrique's own lament.

With *El Planto*, Manrique has the perfect platform upon which to advocate for the soldier-scholar. He wants to both legitimize his own choice as well as disprove those who criticize the combination. The poem makes its strongest argument when explicitly praising the union of arms and letters, and offers the best proof then available, Santillana. Manrique wants the nobility and court to commit itself to the pursuit of letters. He appeals to Enrique IV to encourage not just scholarship but also literary production, the next logical step. The task is made easier by providing an exemplary model in Santillana, whom others have already praised.

Whether Manrique succeeds or not in his fashioning may be seen in his later prose *carta-proemio* to his own *Cancionero* poetry collection. This *carta-proemio*, addressed to his

patron, Rodrigo Alonso de Pimentel, in 1476 is an adamant defense of this ideal:

Que commo quiera que algunos haragnes digan ser cosa sobrada el leer y saber a los caualleros, commo si la cauallería fuera perpetua rudeza condepnada, yo soy de muy contraria opinión...que las sçiençias no hacen perder el filo a las espadas, ni enflaquecen los braços nin los coraçones de los caualleros. (*Carta-proemio* 25-28, 53-55)

Gómez Manrique paraphrases Santillana's argument from the *Proverbios* and acknowledges that there are those who criticize the ideal confirms but arms and letters is a topos that reflects a reality that is still very much developing in fifteenth-century Castile. He realizes that one person is not enough to justify a case and brings others to prove his case, although he knows that there are still few better to truly exemplify the ideal than his uncle:

El muy magnífico y sabio y fuerte varón don Yñigo López de Mendoça, primero marqués de Santillana, de loable memoria, mi señor e mi tío, puedo bien aprouar esta mi opinión commo vuestra merçed bien sabe, pues lo conosció y vio sus altas obras en que manifestaua su gran prudencia y sabiduría, non syn grandes vigalias adquerida, e oyó sus grandes fazañas, algunas d'ellas más de esfuerço que de ventura aconpañadas, en las quales se conoce la verdadera fortaleza y se afina commo el oro en el crisol. (*Carta-proemio* 94-105)

The image of the marquess allows Manrique to once again argue it is proper for knights to pursue study, adding:

A todos los caualleros, y más a los grandes de estado, es cosa muy neçesaria el saber a los menos lo que conuiene a la orden de la cauallería; que asý commo sería cosa vergonçosa a vn platero yr a preguntar a otro cómo avía de bruñir vn plato, asý lo deue ser al cauallero yr a preguntar vn letrado cómo ha de responder a vna requesta o de requestar a otro o cómo ha de partir vna caualgada o de entregar vna fortaleza, sy la tiene por su rey o por su señor, y otros casos senblantes de que ay muchos ordenanças y leyes lonbaldas y españolas. (*Carta-proemio* 109-119)

These skills, Manrique implies, are essential to the knight if he does not want to appear ignorant and be dependent on others like *letrados*. Thus, it is to the knight's advantage to pursue a study of letters.

By personifying the seven Virtues and Poetry, and making them his mouthpiece for

the majority of the panegyric, Manrique converts Santillana into the supreme exemplar of a new ideal Manrique has set forth in the *carta-proemio*. While not every maiden praises his arms and letters, each implicitly makes Santillana their hero in their laments. Most importantly, the comparisons with past exemplars are the backbone of Manrique's praise of arms and letters. They place Santillana directly in the context of these already famous soldiers and scholars, and thus he is praised by their association with him or he is placed above the exemplars, creating a new level of excellence. This excellence, Manrique argues, is owed to his incomparable union of arms and letters and can inspire others to accept the soldier-scholar as a worthy new ideal of excellence.

Manrique's advocacy for the combination of arms and letters is obviously a self-promoting attempt to legitimize his own efforts as a poet. Nevertheless, he makes salient points as to why the soldier-scholar ideal is worthy of the imitation of others. The final panegyric of Diego de Burgos is also a project of self-promotion, but from the opposite point of view: that of a man seeking another soldier-scholar, not unlike Manrique, to serve as his patron.

Chapter 5

The Exemplary Comparison and *El triunfo del Marques de Santillana* of Diego de Burgos

El Triunfo del Marqués de Santillan (El Triunfo) is the final panegyric in honor of Santillana. Diego de Burgos, Santillana's retainer, is commissioned by his son to compose the eulogy shortly after his death. Like the previous poems, Burgos considers the marquess to be an exemplary knight who also cultivated an interest in letters. He brings together over one hundred twenty-five exemplars of arms and letters and uses their voices to praise Santillana's combination of pen and sword.

Diego de Burgos (?-1515), a man of relatively obscure, probably *converso* origins, capitalizes on this opportunity to showcase his own skills as a man of letters to attract a new patron. He was the son of Fernán Martínez de Burgos, *cancionero* compiler and nephew of Juan Martínez de Burgos and served as Santillana's secretary. Scant biographical information exists about him. The following is taken from Ricardo Gullón's biographical entry on Burgos:

Perteneció a una familia vinculada al gobierno de Burgos y afecta también al cultivo de las letras. Era nieto de Juan Martínez de Burgos, del que conservamos algunas obras en prosa y verso, e hijo de Fernán Martínez de Burgos, émulo de Juan Alfonso de Baena en la compilación de los poetas de su tiempo. Sirvió como secretario al Marqués de Santillana, y continuó a la muerte de éste vinculado a la casa del Infantado (Javier Guittierez Carou 209).⁶⁰

Although he was credited in *Baena* with composing a few additional poems, including one

⁶⁰ Gullón as cited in Javier Gutiérrez Carou, p. 209, note 1.

entitled *Querrela de la Fé*, he is primarily known for *El Triunfo*, which personalizes his emotional attachment to him and talks of the privilege of working for him:

el ardiente amor e afición sin medida que yo tuve a la virtud del señor de gloriosa recordación, mi señor el marqués, vuestro noble progenitor, en cuyo servicio los años que yo despendí tove por bien enpleados. (15-17)⁶¹

In praising the marquess, Burgos has various goals. First, he is honoring his renowned patron upon his death, an exercise common among poets employed by the nobility and well-earned by Santillana in his life.⁶² Second, he draws on the topos of arms and letters to encourage others to follow the soldier-scholar ideal, while talking mostly about arms in keeping with the general disfavor of letters among the nobility. Burgos never suggests that Santillana places his learning over his duties as a knight. Therefore, the praise of letters is essential only promote the ideal in a two-fold strategy. The praise of letters makes Castile's future more grandiose through the topos of *translatio studii et imperii*, and it acknowledges Italy's influence in the Iberian Peninsula. The works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, among others, are very much present in the Iberian Peninsula by this point, due in no small part to Santillana's own promotion of them. Burgos is appealing to the knights and noblemen who already have an interest in letters, but who heretofore have only focused on the scholarship.

Lastly, Burgos praises Santillana and the cultivation of letters among the nobility to secure his continued employment. As a *converso*-poet, Burgos is reliant on the patronage of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the new marquess, or of another noble with an interest in letters:

⁶¹ I have added my own line numbering to both the prologue and poem, respectively, given the lack of line numbering in Moreno's edition.

⁶² "Así, durante el siglo XV, los nuevos letrados al servicio de estos nobles que intentan recuperar la unión clásica entre *sapientia et fortitudo*, proveen de los textos clásicos necesarios para esa legitimación, cuando no se sirven ellos mismos de esos u otros textos como panegiristas" (Carlos Moreno 90).

Por su parte, Diego sería un letrado de origen converso con un futuro incierto tras la muerte de su señor, necesitado de conservar su puesto de secretario en la casa de su heredero, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. (Carlos Moreno 15)

Unlike Mena, who is an accomplished poet and courtier of Juan II, and Manrique, who is also an accomplished soldier-scholar and member of one of the most well-known Castilian families, Burgos neither enjoys such prestige or significance at court. He makes a considerable effort to display his own poetic abilities along with his classical erudition to attract other potential patrons. Burgos may work for those who need the full services of a *letrado* to provide translations and commentaries. Therefore he carefully structure his praise of the soldier-scholar ideal to encourage others to emulate Santillana, while not completely alienating those who may be more skeptical of this pursuit.

The poem is as much to show his respect for his former patron as it is an encouragement of the combination of arms and letters in an effort to ensure his continued employment. Unlike Manrique, Burgos appropriates Santillana to serve his own self-interest. Thus, while *El Triunfo* serves as a monument to Santillana's exemplary status as the soldier-scholar, its praise is somewhat blunted by Burgos's more opportunistic aims:

El propósito de Diego de Burgos al escribir el *Triunfo del marqués* es, ante todo, defender la superioridad de la figura del caballero letrado que ha sido Santillana sobre cualesquiera otra pasada y presente, por su doble utilidad para el futuro de la monarquía; después, defender su propio status, doble también, en cuanto peligro su continuidad en la casa del difunto y la de su papel social de letrado de origen converso. (Moreno 34)

Burgos, therefore, serves more than one master in *El Triunfo*: his deceased patron, his new patron, advocates the soldier-scholar ideal, and himself. Each goal is anticipated poem's prologue and is achieved through exemplary comparison that employs the topos of arms and letters.

El Triunfo begins with a *carta-proemio* addressed to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza,

Santillana's son, followed by two hundred thirty-six asymmetrical verses in *arte mayor* that describe an otherworld journey undertaken by Burgos to the heavenly summit of a mountain. The use of *arte mayor* and the choice of an allegorical vision poem reflect Santillana's own influence on Burgos.⁶³ The poet is guided in his travels by Dante Alighieri, who takes up the same role that Virgil provided for him in the *Divina Commedia* and serves as an intermediary between Santillana and the exemplars of the vision. The travelers go past the mouth of hell and valley of purgatory and into the presence of Nine Muses, the Seven Virtues, the Seven Liberal Arts, and exemplars drawn from Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages, who praise the marquis in a triumphant celebration. After receiving their praise, Santillana thanks God for his fame and glory and asks that Burgos not mourn his death, after which he ascends to Heaven and Burgos ends his vision/poem.

Burgos is undoubtedly influenced by Petrarch's *Trionfi* and Santillana's own interpretation, the *Triunfo de amor*. The triumph comes from the ancient Roman custom of celebrating significant military victories with a procession that gathered all citizens to honor its success and praise its military leader. The triumph "was to the Roman citizen the highest mark of honour that could be conferred upon him...the great sacrifices generals were prepared to make in order to attain this distinction, and the strict requirements victor and victory had to meet, testify to the honorific character of this ceremony" (H.S. Versnel 2). The triumphator processed in a horse-drawn chariot, surrounded by the Senate and accompanied by his soldiers, captured slaves, and trophies of war with an attendant holding a crown above his head that alluded to the immortality of his deeds. As Anthony Miller explains, the Roman

⁶³ "Santillana uses this feature [*arte mayor*] with utmost regularity. His *arte mayor* verse flows with a slow majesty, but its grace also stems in part from the unusual and evocative images and the learned metaphors, concepts, and vocabulary he tends to employ" (de Langbehn 241). Examples of Santillana's allegorical visions include *La Comedieta de Ponza*, *El Sueño*, *El Infierno de los enamorados*, among others.

triumph “prized emulation, the act of outdoing, both by overcoming enemies and by surpassing the glory of previous triumphators” (9).⁶⁴

In literature, however, the triumph was adapted to suit different needs. For example, Virgil depicts Augustus as a conciliator, moving his conquests to the background; Ovid radically shifts the focus of the triumph away from the military in his *Ars amatoria*, “converting the triumph into a celebration of the sexual battlefield” (Miller 28-29); and Lucan contrasts Pompey’s and Julius Caesar’s triumphs as warning of Rome’s decline (Miller 33). The Italian Renaissance continued the literary adaptation of the triumph and added to it a catalog of exemplary figures:

The triumph form attracted imitators because it allowed a dazzling display of knowledge of the past while celebrating some cause or person in a epic key. It served as a pretext for parading the greatest figures of mythology, antiquity, scripture, and even contemporary times in a series of tableaux usually reflecting a moral structure within an allegorical context. (A.S. Bernardo 33)

The triumph was also employed as “a poetic device used to illustrate a variety of ambiguous and intangible ideals ranging from the victory of Christian virtue to the baser human desires for fame and fortune” (Margaret Zaho 31). Dante includes a triumphal procession in his *Purgatorio* to celebrate the glory of the Church; Boccaccio, in his *Amorosa Visione*, incorporates representatives of Wisdom, Glory, Wealth, Love, and Fortune; and Petrarch combines both people and ideals, as evident in Scipio’s triumph in *Africa*, and in *Trionfi*, where he provides the poet with “a model of what man should strive to be” (Zaho 31-32). These three poets, Petrarch in particular, are responsible for the spread of the triumph to the Iberian Peninsula.

The Petrarcan triumph, in particular, offers the best view of Burgos’s exemplary

⁶⁴ An example of this is found in Pliny’s description of Pompey the Great’s triumph in his *Parallel Lives*. For further study of the roman triumph, see Versnel, Beard, Anthony Miller, and Margaret Zaho.

figure. He includes triumphs of both people and ideals, as evident in Scipio's triumph in *Africa*, as well as his *Trionfi* (1352-1374). Scipio's triumph provides the poet with an opportunity to present a military victor and model of virtue (Zaho 31-32). The *Trionfi*, on the other hand, present an allegory of man's life and contains the triumphs of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity. Each allegory triumphs over its predecessor, illustrating the stages of man's life.⁶⁵

The Petrarchan triumph is characterized by the poet experiencing a dream-vision in a *locus amoenus*, where, accompanied by a guide, he witnesses a grand parade of exemplary figures (Recio, *Petrarca en la península ibérica* 8). These triumphal processions are flanked by a diverse cast of characters who were past triumphators of each ideal. These figures are a vast catalogue that allows the poet to show his erudition and engage the audience's familiarity with such figures:

The poetic function of the catalogue is not merely to provide a display of the poet's virtuosity, but to engage the emotions of the audience in the reality he represents to their minds... The effect of a catalogue upon an audience is based entirely on the familiarity of its contents and constitutes, therefore, a direct bond between the author and the reader. (Gabrielle Erasmi 170)

The influence of Petrarch and the *Trionfi* in the Iberian Peninsula has been documented by Roxana Recio.⁶⁶ The *Trionfo della Amore* especially is popular and is both

⁶⁵ "Petrarca desea hacer una exposición de los diferentes estados por los que pasa el ser humano durante la vida: primero, en la juventud, está gobernado por el amor; con la madurez llega la castidad y, como consecuencia de ella misma, surge la idea de la muerte que, vista cristianamente, es un paso hacia otra vida mejor y hay que aceptarla sin miedo. La idea de la muerte conlleva la concepción de los superfluo de la vida terrena, unida a la fugacidad del tiempo. Es entonces cuando el hombre se da cuenta de que debe tener un único deseo: el deseo de los imperecedero, que es Dios y la vida eterna" (Roxana Recio, *Petrarca en la península ibérica* 6).

⁶⁶ "Paradójicamente, frente a la atención y aceptación dada al *Cancionero*, los *Triunfos* es la obra vulgar de Petrarca que más ha influido en los poetas y escritores de aquella época" (Recio, *Los Triunfos de Petrarca en los Cancioneros* 349). Roxana Recio has written extensively on this triumph as well as the overall significance of the *Trionfi* in Spain. See also the studies of Giovanni Caravaggi and Ann Cruz in Eisenbichler and Ianucci and Navarrete's study of Petrarch in the Spanish Renaissance.

translated and adapted by authors like Santillana, Alonso de Madrigal, Enrique de Villena. The influence of the *Trionfo della Fama*, on the other hand, is seen very clearly in Burgos's poem.⁶⁷ In Fame's triumph over Death, Petrarch provides Burgos with a ready-made catalog of exemplary figures of arms and letters that he can then embellish with exemplars taken from Iberian history and literature:

Como fuentes italianas directas del poema cabe citar, por un lado, los *Triunfos* de Petrarca, sobre todo el *Triunfo de la Fama*, en cuyo cortejo figuran los grandes personajes del pasado, tanto en las armas como en las letras, acompañados de algunos medievales... la lista se amplía en Diego de Burgos para incluir personajes españoles medievales que le interesan. (Moreno 107)

Petrarch includes impressive list that totals one hundred twenty-five martial exemplars, including Diomedes, Scipio, Julius Caesar, Hannibal, King Arthur and Charlemagne. They are followed by fifty-five exemplars of letters that include Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero, Homer, Virgil, and Quintilian. However, Burgos chooses Santillana over an abstract ideal like Fame, much like Virgil's Augustus or Petrarch's Scipio. In Burgos's text, a triumphant Santillana is guided by the Muses, Virtues, and Liberal Arts and the triumph is witnessed by a community of past military heroes drawn from Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and serve as Burgos's principal means of praise.

The catalogue appears in forty-six stanzas (LXII-CVII), meaning that over one-fifth of the poem is devoted to identify and describe who is present at the celebration of Santillana. It employs two types of indirect praise in the triumph: indirect praise by association and indirect praise by witness. There is no direct praise, but as in the previous poems, enumeration and the topos of outdoing reinforce the indirect praise by association in three distinct sets of figures that embody vice, arms, and letters, with the majority belonging

⁶⁷ For studies specifically focusing on the Triumph of Fame see Ernest Wilkins, Mark Jarzombek, and Joseph Vinci.

to the last. Santillana is placed in their company, but not explicitly connected to them. Instead, he devotes a stanza a piece to identify each exemplar through metonymy and antonomasia, prior to their declarations in honor of Santillana (LXII-CVIII).⁶⁸

The first set of exemplars is relatively small (XLIV-XLIX, 345-392). Burgos briefly describes them as suffering in “hell” for their immoral behavior as he journeys to the mountain’s summit. They represent pride, lust, envy and greed, and show the consequences of sinful actions while providing contrast for the examples to come. Many of these figures also appear in Dante, Santillana and Mena, including Tereus, Tantalus, Geryon, Scylla, Ninus and the Daughters of Danaus. The list begins by blending the Theban cycle with the House of Atreus (345-352), pairing Eteocles/Polynices with Atreus/Thyestes, and showing their violation of the bonds of family. He next looks at the Centaurs and the Assyrians in order to highlight the savageness and arrogance of both groups (353-360), as well as the enemies of Hercules and the infamous Titans, who sought to challenge Jupiter’s reign (369-376). At the end of the section, Burgos returns to familial betrayal as well as those who violate the bonds of matrimony, including Tereus, Paisphae, Myrrah, and the Daughters of Danaus (377-384).

These exemplars of vice have a similar function to their counterparts in Mena. They are included as an implicit contrast to Santillana’s virtuous behavior; in truth, no exemplar of vice goes beyond their tacit support of the marquess. However, Burgos does not need them too because he has over one hundred exemplars specific to these areas to accomplish this

⁶⁸ Metonymy, as well as synecdoche, involves substituting a figure in place of a concept or other person to which they are directly related. Heinrich Lausberg defines these techniques as follows: “Metonymy employs a word in the meaning of another word which stands in a real semantic relationship to the word employed....The real relationships which exist between words used metonymically and their intended meanings are qualitative in nature” (257). Similarly, “metonymy of the quantitative relationship between the word used and the meaning intended is called synecdoche,” which is typically seen in the form of part-whole (260). Antonomasia, more specifically, vossian antonomasia, Lausberg describes as “a synecdoche for a proper name...[and] the replacement of an appellative by a proper name: the bearer of the proper name is a person or thing which in history or mythology eminently exemplified the quality described by the appellative” (265).

task.

With the second and third sets of exemplary figures, we transition from “Hell” to the heavenly summit and Santillana’s glorification. The second set includes the men of arms, warriors and knights, emperors and kings of the ancient and medieval past, while the third set includes men of letters, philosophers, poets, orators and sages of the same time periods. The exemplars are first identified and described by Dante. Select members of each group then testify to Santillana’s excellence in their respective arenas. Their declarations may be considered miniature eulogies contained within the larger panegyric that directly praise Santillana, amplifying and expanding upon the qualities that Burgos has already revealed in the prologue.

Such a lengthy and at times obscure catalogue is inherently repetitious and in part, becomes more of an attempt to show off Burgos’s knowledge of such figures than a tribute or advocacy for a new ideal.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, these exemplars, as embodiments of arms and letters, are the foundation for Burgos’s praise:

Diego de Burgos, como poeta orador, si tiene éxito con su poema encomiástico de Santillana, si éste es útil, es porque transporta en su viaje, a quien le escucha o le lee, a ese más allá de figuras ejemplares cuya vida y obra resultan familiares, pues todos ellos, como poetas, filósofos o historiadores, o como protagonistas de los libros que éstos han escrito, han convivido con los oyentes o lectores, a través de la educación gramatical y retórica, y son revividos de nuevo en cada ocasión en que sirven como ejemplos para la imitación o la emulación. (Moreno 84)

This indirect praise by association with exemplary figures facilitates Burgos’s more compelling indirect praise by witness.

The indirect praise by witness is found in the declarations of the exemplars. Burgos

⁶⁹ “Cuando el poeta es de menor talla que un Dante...el listado de personajes resulta más obvio y rígido, tal como ocurre con Diego de Burgos” (Moreno 31).

adopts their voice to substantiate Santillana as the new exemplar. The use of testimonials as proof is frequently employed by Burgos's more famous contemporaries, and can be traced back to Dante as well. With this type of praise, Burgos sets his poem apart from those of Mena and Manrique. In turn, the exemplars rely on an overabundance of declarative statements and the outdoing topos to praise of the marquess. Given the length of Burgos's catalogue, we will first deal with the praise of arms. The focus, however, will be on the praise of letters since that is where Burgos is more nuanced.

Diego de Burgos is conscious of the lukewarm reception of knights who pursue letters among the nobility. The *carta proemio* establishes this:

Ni bastó esto al glorioso marqués que aun muy mayor quexa e sentimiento dio causa a lo que, en la militar diçiplina e bellicoso exerçio, alcançan famoso renombre e grandes preçes e títulos por las armas han aquistado. (79-81)

The titles Santillana has acquired through his military feats to certify that the marquess has been recognized by the public, and more importantly, by Juan II for his military service. No one among his contemporaries has garnered as much acclaim and success in arms as Santillana : “así que en los fechos de armas ninguno en nuestros tienpos es visto que tanto alcançase” (90-91). Burgos lists nine different qualities in which he has excelled, each building upon the previous one to magnify praise:

Maduro e bien sano consejo para bien ordenar e disponer las cosas, muy presto proveimiento a los casos de la fortuna e a las insidias de los enemigos, esfuerço muy grande para atender los peligros e ardidez del ánimo, mayor que a gran señor convenía para osar cometer donde el tiempo los demandava, manifiçençia e umanidad con los caballeros liberalidad en los dones e razón en la distribuición de las presas, gran çelaridad e presteza en las cosas que había de fazer, conocimiento muy cierto del tiempo e de los lugares e da las personas con quien había de contender e, lo que no es de olvidar, una firme constancia en los fechos ya començados. Dexo el sustimi e gran coleraçión suya en los corporales trabajos quando en las guerras andovo, los quales non sólo a hombre humano fueran grandes de conportar según él los tomava, mas aun a una persona férrea debieran cansar. (93-103)

The list shows that Santillana is a dedicated and daring knight, of considerable military expertise and inherent bravery. Though not explicitly stated, the four Cardinal virtues of Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice are all present in the above description: he is an intelligent and prudent commander, with ample knowledge of the enemy and his surroundings; a compassionate, fair, and generous leader of his men; and a man of action, intent on finishing what he starts, and meeting danger head on with an iron will.

The poem contains approximately seventy-five exemplars of arms, beginning with heroes and emperors of Antiquity and ending with their medieval counterparts. They are introduced by Dante (LXII-XCIII) and then they eulogize Santillana (CLXII-CCVI). This structure praises his exemplarity as a knight and makes the poem weigh heavier on the side of arms, as forty heroes proclaim Santillana's virtue and excellence in arms.⁷⁰

Hector's eulogy sets the tone for all subsequent declarations. Simply put, Santillana is superior to all other knights:

La bélica gloria del marqués,
sus fechos famoso en caballería,
son así grandes que todos sabés,
que toda loança parece vazía. (1329-1332)
.....
mas porque el callar más yerro sería,
digo tan sólo que si yo toviera
en Troya tal braço, jamás no cayera,
mas trono de reyes aún duraría. (1333-1336)

His immense military skill is such that it would have ensured the survival of the Trojan throne, high praise from the man responsible for the fall of Troy. Obviously hyperbolic, the declaration, nevertheless, is echoed by subsequent exemplars, which alternate between

⁷⁰ The declarations that follow provide a snapshot of the praise offered by Burgos. The exemplars have been chosen by what they praise and their authority as an exemplar. Hector and Garcilaso de la Vega are chosen because they open and close the praise. It is by no means an exhaustive list of the praise in Burgos, nor the most superlative praise offered by the exemplars.

praising Santillana for his skill as a soldier and his tenacious service to the king and Christianity.

Burgos calls to mind Santillana's many victories as a knight in numerous declarations. For example, Trajan, native of Hispania and Roman emperor, considers Santillana's military excellence to be his shining achievement, which is evidenced by his victories:

Pues más fue la obra del justo marqués
en su regimiento, que fue su corona
.....
ésta en las armas le dio la salud
de muchas victorias, que el mundo pregoná. (1379-1384)

The Carthaginian commander Hannibal, who was known for his keen understanding of his enemy, praises the marquis as a knowledgeable strategist.⁷¹

A gentes diversas, unidas y mistas,
con muy pocos suyos osó acometer
y sopo vencerlas y dar que fazer
por tiempos muy luengos a los coronistas. (1405-1408)

Belisarius, Byzantine general instrumental in Justinian's reconquest of the Western Roman Empire, adds concrete details about sieges:

¡De quanta sabieza usó en los asedios,
castillos, y villas, teniendo çercados!
¡Con cuánto cuidado pensó los remedios
por donde mas presto fuesen tomados!
Barreras ni torres, ni grandes fosados,
ni otras defensas al fin no bastaban. (1537-1542)

⁷¹ This declaration falls between that of Pyrrhus and Hercules. The Greek general praises the marquis as "sabio caudillo, ardid caballero" (1397). Hercules, mythical founder of Spain, builds upon Hannibal's reference to Santillana's daring, claiming that it was this audacity coupled with dedication that led to his many victories:

A tiempos siguió las fieras salvajes
y muchas domó con gran osadía,
las selvas espesas, los fuertes boscajes,
con duro trabavo andando vençia. (1408-1411)

These details help the reader, especially fellow knights, form a clear picture of Santillana in battle and inspire them to want such descriptions made of them.

Bravery and fortitude are the qualities most often praised by the exemplars of arms. This occurs most often by speaking of the marquess in the context of his enemies. Scipio, hero of Petrarch's *Africa*, attributes Santillana's victories to his hardiness as a warrior: "domó los contrarios de su propia tierra/ vertiendo su sangre muy muchas vegadas" (1357-1358). This bravery is firmly rooted in religious devotion, as Fernán González, the epic hero of the *Poema de Fernán González*, says:

Por cierto su mano osada feroçe,
por muchas maneras loar se devría.
Ardid batallante, constante porfía
en nunca dar paz a los infieles:
rompió de los moros muy grandes tropeles
sirviendo al gran fijo de santa María. (1611-1616)

Santillana does not merely fight the Moors, but does battle against great crowds of them with unwavering dedication. This echoes Mena's depiction of Santillana within the Reconquest efforts and the importance of Christianity for the Castilian knight.

Garcilaso de la Vega, Santillana's great-nephew and Castilian knight, is the final exemplar of arms to praise Santillana. Like Hector, he places the marquess above others in military glory, and concludes by saying that he is nothing less than the ideal Castilian and Christian knight:

Si fize algún bien en mi juventud
a ti den las gracias, de ti lo aprendí.
¡O cuántas vegadas, señor, yo te vi
en tierras de moros sirviendo a tu rey,
dispuesto, sin duda, morir por la ley!
Pues tomen enxemplo los grandes en ti. (1645-1648)

Though not a man of letters, Garcilaso de la Vega was an exemplar of arms in his own right about who Gómez Manrique wrote the *Defunzión del noble cauallero Garci Laso dela Vega*.

This Garci Laso, not to be confused with the later soldier-poet, died in battle in 1458, shortly after the death of Santillana, and his declaration has the added pathos of admitting that he modeled himself as a knight on Santillana.

Even in the praise of arms, however, Burgos incorporates praise for Santillana's letters by having Julius Caesar, one of the first exemplars of this combination, praise the union of arms and letters in Santillana:

Con ánimo excelso, de gloria no saçio,
se fizo inmortal por muchas maneras;
no tovo de noche la pluma despaçio
ni el día la espada de lides muy fieras.
Cubiertas de sangre dexó las carreras
doquier que emprendió la cruda batalla. (1345-1350)

In keeping with the attitudes of the time period, however, Burgos gives more emphasis to arms and makes this Santillana's principal achievement. Letters are relegated to his evenings, once his duties as a knight conclude for the day. The declaration of Julius Caesar therefore just reminds the reader that Santillana is not just a simple soldier, but a cultured knight. In general, Burgos praises Santillana's letters as part of his general encomiastic intentions, but despite this focus he recognizes his literary excellence.

The time was characterized by an appropriation of Italy's humanism and revival of Antiquity, but its rich literary and cultural advances had not yet truly taken root in Spain. The praise of letters therefore contains another topos, the *translatio studii et imperii*, that sees to torch of learning pass from Italy to Spain. Men like Santillana and others had begun to emulate their Italian counterparts.⁷² Burgos takes this further by saying that Santillana has in reality already surpassed his Italian counterparts. Therefore, he puts forth Santillana as an

⁷² The Aragonese branch of the Trastámaras is already in Italy with Alfonso V in Naples. The Castilian branch, however, has yet to make any inroads, too preoccupied with the in-fighting between the branches and their sporadic commitment to the reconquest.

innovative, Castilian exemplar and claims that there is no longer a need to look beyond the borders of the country for a model.

Burgos, however, does not presume to suggest that Castile may truly displace Italy in this scenario, but rather that it is its natural heir:

El Triunfo del marqués nos muestra, justamente, en su propia estructura la necesaria complementariedad de armas y letras en ese momento y ocasión, encarnadas en la misma persona, de la misma forma que luego, en el imperio católico, esta complementariedad se hará patente entre Italia y España, sin que quepa hablar de una como conquistada ni de otra como conquistadora sin tergiversar la historia o la idea de nación...salvo en el sentido clásico, precisamente, de la confluencia, renovada en otro tiempo, entre Grecia y Roma vistas como ámbitos culturales próximos. (Moreno 88)

The topos of *translatio studii* provides the framework for Burgos's praise of Santillana's letters. He reveals this comparative framework in the *carta-proemio* where his literary exemplars fall into two distinct sets: Greek and Roman, Italian and Spanish. Santillana appears as part of this process and becomes a model for others: "en cuanto que la *translatio studii et imperii* ha venido a encarnarse en Santillana y su hijo debe ser el encargado de asegurarla" (Moreno 84).

Before revealing his grander purpose, Burgos talks about Santillana's scholarly and literary endeavors, focusing on the same qualities already praised by Mena and Manrique: Santillana as an erudite scholar of Antiquity and as an eloquent and accomplished poet. Returning to the poem's *carta-proemio*, he begins by celebrating Santillana as the first scholar to bring wisdom and knowledge to the people of Spain:

Ca éste es el que nuestra Españas a librado de la çiega inorançia ilustrándolas por lumbre de caridad verdadera e trayendo a noticia de todos el conoçimiento del mayor bien que en la vida mortal se puede buscar por los onbres, éste es la çiençia, en la qual quanta parte alcançó no solo los nuestros en esra rigión de oçidente, mas los muy remotes e estraños. (34-38)

He states that Santillana did not pursue scholarship only for his own benefit, but for the

benefit its wisdom brought to his countrymen, liberating them from ignorance. He specifically notes Santillana's study of Classical Antiquity, especially the Iberian philosophers like Lucan, Seneca, and Quintilian:

Mas como el varon de alto ingenio viese por discursos de tienpos desde Lucano a Séneca e Quintiliano e otros antiguos sabios robada e desierta su patria de tanta riqueza doliéndose dello trabajó con gran diligencia por sus propios estudios e destreza. E con muchas e muy claras obras conpuestas dél mesmo igualarla e compararla con la gloria de los famosos hombres de Atenas o de Academia e también de romanos, trayendo a ella gran copia de libros de todo género de filosofía en estas partes fasta entonce(s) non conoçidos, enseñando él por sí a muchos e teniendo hombres muy sabios que a la lectura de otros aprovechasen. (49-53)

This passionate interest in authors of Classical Antiquity identifies Santillana as their precursor, and associates him with poets like Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. As an avid student of these authors, Santillana is able to perfect his literary art to such a degree that he surpasses them.

Burgos amplifies this praise with a summary of Santillana's talents:

Después desto mostrando e declarando el seso e las moralidades que las poéticas fiçiones en sus fablas tienen veladas, dando a conoçer el fruto que de la sabia eloquencia se puede seguir, argumentado la delectación que se toma de las grandes e peregrinas estorias por las quales los ánimos generosos a grandes fazañas e virtudes son inçitados...e dando en toda dotrina orden de documentos a todo estado de hombres para fazerse muy enseñados. (53-59)

His emphasis is in keeping with medieval didacticism, as he stresses Santillana's ability to impart wisdom to others both eloquently and in a pleasurable fashion, but all of the previous praise for Santillana's letters is now firmly contextualized by comparing him to the Italians:

Así que ya por su causa nuestra España resplandece de çiençia, tanto que muy bien le podrían decir los eloquentes hombres de Italia si en algún grave negoçio le oyeran lo que Apolonio orador dixo en alabança de Tulio...Pues si Apolonio asi se dolía que de los griegos por industria de Tulio la eloquencia fuese a los romanos levada, quanto más con razón hoy los de Italia se deven doler e quejar que por lumbr e injenio deste señor a ellos sea quitada e traída a nuestra Castilla e ya en ella a tanta gloria floresca que notoriamente se conozcan sobrados. (60-62, 74-78)

Italy, he says, envies Santillana's claim to fame, and other Spanish men of letters can follow his model and reach the level of the Italians. The topos of outdoing, then, implicitly grounds his praise of letters and, although it will be more explicit in some declarations than others, it is always present just below the surface.

There are approximately forty-four exemplars of letters, of which forty praise Santillana by lauding his virtue and his study of letters. Their descriptions appear in stanzas XCIV-CVIII and are immediately followed by their declarations (CXX-CLXIV). All of the exemplars of letters gathered by Burgos are paired with Santillana on the basis of scholarly and literary talent through indirect praise by association.⁷³

Sixteen of these literary exemplars explicitly praise Santillana's excellence in letters; only now the praise is much more focused. Santillana is praised for his scholarship and emulation of Antiquity and Italy and his talent as a poet and prose writer.⁷⁴ Plato begins by calling Santillana a cultured knight, but shows how he has gone beyond this in his writing:

Prinçipio nos ponen las armas y çiençia
mas vaya delante el alto entender
el qual da materia do puedan correr
sin fin ni reposo saber y eloquençia.
Este es aquel, felices varones,
a quien la divina sabiduría,
arte y natura complieron de dones
del fruto más alto de filosofía. (981-988)

Plato also calls on the nobility to pursue letters by showing how fame will follow, and he makes the pursuit of letters and arms intertwined. Homer, who merges the roles of scholar

⁷³ "Mientras que entre los héroes y caballeros se cuenta los de cualquier porcedencia, sean antiguos, medievales o modernos, históricos o fabulosos, los sabios quedan limitados al mundo clásico y al hispano-italiano: es significativo que no se encuentre ningún ejemplo de autor medieval o cristiano, latino o vernáculo, hasta Dante" (Moreno 69).

⁷⁴ As with the praise of arms, the exemplars repeat themselves in their declarations. As such, what follows are select examples of how Burgos praises Santillana's excellence in letters, specifically in writing, through the exemplars of letters.

and author, speaks of him exclusively as a poet and author, and bases his talent on divine inspiration and on his scholarship:

Bebió de la fuente del santo Elicona⁷⁵
gusto la medulla del dulce saber,
ganó por studio tan alta corona
qual raros poetas mereçen haber. (1145-1148)

Although the mentioning of the Muses at this point is important because it adds veracity to Santillana's literary talent, Homer equates Santillana with his own excellence, but acknowledges that in arms, he is superior to the rest and a model for others:

Sopo cantando tan bien disponer
los géneros todos de la poesía
que yo, si viviese, a gloria ternía
su pluma imitando de él aprender. (1149-1152)

Homer's declaration encourages those interested in poetry to imitate him. His assertion marks the first instance of an author to whom Santillana would have emulated deferring to the marquess.

Virgil picks up this thread in next declaration, which primarily gives Burgos the opportunity to acknowledge some of Santillana's literary works:

Cantó los efetos del lento Saturno,
del rutilo Febo los cursos dorados,
la fría Luçina su gesto noturno
los fechos de Mares, horribles, osados;
los fieros de oro y los emplomados
de la dulce Venus con que faze guerra.
Dexó para siempre por toda la tierra
de sus claras obras los siglos pintados. (1153-1160)

Virgil touches on many of Santillana's themes including love and political/war-related texts.

Saturn and Phoebus (Apollo) refer to his poetry in general, as well as to texts that praise other warriors (Saturn) and writers (Phoebus Apollo). Mars, god of war, may refer to his more

⁷⁵ This is Mt. Helicon, sacred to the Nine Muses.

political texts about Álvaro de Luna and the *Comediata de ponza*. Venus recalls his myriad of texts on the subject of love, including the *serranillas*, *sonetos*, the *Infierno de los enamorados*, and the *Triumphete del Amor*. These allusions emphasize the variety and talent shown in Santillana's literary works.

Cicero picks up where Virgil leaves off, by referring to Santillana's eloquence:

Pues, ¿quál pudo ser mayor exçelencia
que aquella que el sabio marqués alcanço,
que quanto a los brutos por fabla sobró
tanto a los hombres en alta eloquencia? (1165-1168)

As an exemplar of eloquence himself, Cicero's praise carries significant weight. His declaration not only foretells of Santillana's surpassing of the Italians, its framing as a rhetorical question supports Burgos's overall depiction of Santillana as a man who earned his literary reputation instead of being merely blessed with talent.⁷⁶

Livy and Sallust reveal that Santillana has already exceeded Greece and Rome. "Por ti la clareza del nombre romano/ respecto a la suya es flaca y senzilla," say Livy (1199-1200). Sallust is more specific: "Pasó los romanos en toda proeza,/ los griegos sin falla en toda dotrina" (1201-1202). These two declarations are examples of the outdoing topos in the poem. They introduce the declarations of the Italians and Spanish contemporaries, who also maintain that Santillana has surpassed the literary production of Italy.⁷⁷

The praise of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio weighs heavier. Dante focuses on Santillana as a patron of classical and contemporary translations, including Santillana's

⁷⁶ Burgos uses a similar series of praise with the declarations of Ovid, Lucan and Quintilian. Although the order is slightly altered, we see an explication of Santillana's literary works, praise for his talents as a poet via the Muses and praise for his eloquent style. See stanzas CLIII-CLV. As they are repetitions of the previous series studied, their declarations shall not be examined in full here.

⁷⁷ "Salustio y Tito Livio, los dos historiadores romanos, son los encargados de enunciar en el poema el tópico del sobrepujamiento o superación de los modelos grecolatinos que Cicerón había adelantado en la estrofa CXLVI con el 'sobró', o superó a todos en elocuencia" (Moreno 187, note 209).

translations of Dante's his own works, and say that he owes all of his own fame to the marquess:

que tanto le debo, según lo sabés,
que no se podría por lengua pagar.
Sólo este mote no quiero callar
por no parecer desagradecido:
que si tengo fama, si soy conocido,
es porque él quiso mis obras mirar. (1261-1264)

Dante speaks of Santillana both as an admirer and emulator of his texts, reinforcing the connection between literary studies and style, because through him, Dante's own texts and style will live on. However, he leaves it up to Petrarch and Boccaccio to show how Santillana has actually gone beyond their own talents.

Petrarch, like other exemplars before him, calls Santillana a rare talent, specifically for his eloquent style: "la dulce facundia, su fabla eloquente,/ que a pocos el çielo largo destina" (1267-1268). Like Cicero, Petrarch is himself an exemplar of eloquence, and his praise indicates that he is surpassed by the marquess. Boccaccio, who counted Petrarch as a master, also acknowledges the mastery of Santillana: "Por nueva manera, polida, graciosa,/ compuso el marqués qualquier su tratado;/ maestro del metro, señor de la prosa" (1273-1275). He sets Santillana apart by marking his style as new and cites his excellence as both a poet and a prose author. The adoption of these voices supports the praise of previous exemplars and acknowledges Santillana's talent as surpassing that of their own.

The final exemplars to praise Santillana's letters are his contemporaries, Enrique de Villena, Alonso de Cartagena, Alonso Fernández de Madrigal and Juan de Mena. The two *clérigo letrados* praise Santillana's faith, leaving Villena and Mena to solidify Santillana's literary talent. Villena, a famous Castilian scholar who Santillana eulogized with his own encomium, is an eyewitness to Santillana's superlative embodiment of the soldier-scholar:

Pues yo del marqués aquesto que digo
por çierta noticia, por vista, lo sé.
En todas las çiençias yo pienso que fue
mas sabio, mas misto y aun más entero,
poeta, orador, marqués, caballero,
luzero de quantos yo vi ni pensé. (1281-1288)

Villena places the marquess above himself in scholarship. By calling him a *luzero*, he confirms Santillana as a model to guide others in their pursuit of the soldier-scholar ideal.

Burgos employs Mena as the last exemplar to secure the future emulation of Santillana as author:

El antigüedad las [obras] fará más bellas,
puesto que todas las formas desdora,
asientos y sillas ternán desde agora
eternos y fixos, según las estrellas. (1309-1312)

Mena amplifies the previous praise of Santillana's literary works, provided by Virgil and Ovid. In doing so, he places Santillana among the authors of Antiquity and the Italians as men of letters who will be emulated by future generations.

Burgos praises Santillana as a scholar, but goes furthest with his praise of his literary talent. He shows him to be an exemplar, which in his study and emulation of ancient and contemporary Italian authors, surpassed the original exemplars. With Santillana, Burgos is able to promote a uniquely Castilian model of literary excellence for the nobility to emulate. They no longer have to look beyond their own country for a guide.

Burgos has written a eulogy worthy of Santillana's achievements as a man of arms and letters. He has also made Santillana an instrument of *translatio studii* in Spain's effort to attain the cultural and literary status of Italy and continue in its progress. This promotion of Santillana and the soldier-scholar ideal also serves Burgos's goal of securing his position:

El propósito de Diego de Burgos al escribir el *Triunfo del marqués* es, ante todo, defender la superiudad de la figura del caballero letrado que ha sido Santillana sobre cualesquiera otra pasada y presente, por su doble utilidad para

el futuro de la monarquía; después, defender su propio status, doble también, en cuanto peligro su continuidad en la casa del difunto y la de su papel social de letrado de origen converso” (Moreno 34).

As a *converso*-poet, Burgos is completely reliant on the patronage of nobility. His support for letters helps his cause at the court of Enrique IV; nevertheless, his options are still severely limited given the skepticism of much of nobility.

Burgos's own need for a secure position is significant, because it not only governs the poem's themes, but manner in which it frames his praise of arms and letters. It expends considerable effort to show Burgos's own classical erudition and poetic abilities, which results in the poem being an overlong, almost interminable, encomium that continuously repeats itself. In Mena and Manrique, the advocacy for the study of letters by the nobility clearly shines through the text and is supported through apt comparisons and persuasive arguments. In Burgos, however, the combination of indirect praise by association and witness by its frequency weighs down the poem with exemplars that continuously repeat one another, most often in simple declarative praise. Such repetition blunts the message of Burgos and his promotion of the soldier-scholar ideal.

Furthermore, if one looks closely at the introduction and poem, one would see that he comes heavier on the side of arms. There are more exemplars of arms than letters, and their praise is more diverse and all-encompassing. This leaning favoring of arms is indicative of the general opinion of a knight's pursuit of letters during the fifteenth century. Burgos, though seemingly wanting to argue for an increased pursuit of letters, admits that Santillana's feats as a knight are not only more well-known, but they also have been publicly recognized with the titles and land holdings bestowed upon him by Juan II. The path to fame is still very much entrenched in military and knightly excellence. As such, Burgos recognizes that while it is absolutely possible and appropriate to praise Santillana as a soldier-scholar, he must not

alienate himself from those may employ him. Therefore, he must also think practically. This leaning towards arms, unfortunately, also blunts the promotion of the soldier-scholar, as promotion of letters inherently takes a backseat to the praise of arms.

Despite the general unsympathetic climate towards the cultured knight and Burgos's self-promotion and lack of literary talent, the poet does succeed in his exemplary fashioning. Thanks to the topos of arms and letters and its connection to *translatio studii et imperii*, Burgos is able to tap into a desire to emulate Italy. He lays bare Santillana's extraordinary achievements as a virtuous soldier-scholar and acknowledges his claim to fame. Indeed, Santillana appears to be the ideal candidate to emulate, as testified by the models Santillana himself has imitated and has surpassed.

Though *El Triunfo del Marqués* is often only examined to determine the influence that poets like Santillana and Mena exerted on their contemporaries, it has much to offer on the characterization of Santillana and the topos of arms and letters in fifteenth-century Castile. It is true that Burgos does not possess the skill of Mena or Manrique, and that, at first glance, his two hundred thirty-six stanzas appear to be an unnecessarily long catalogue of figures in the guise of a eulogy. However, if we examine those figures more closely and consider how they reflect Santillana's own excellence, their inclusion becomes essential. As Santillana is praised and welcomed by these figures into their esteemed company, Burgos secures Santillana's place in the pantheon of Iberian exemplars, as the ideal soldier-scholar for future generations.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The main objective of the dissertation has been to examine the Marqués de Santillana as an exemplar of arms and letters in mid-15th century Castile. Modern scholars have consistently pointed to Santillana as the embodiment of the topos. They cite his military success, his scholarship of Antiquity as evidenced by his library and his innovative textual production. Scholars like Nicholas Round, Peter Russell and others are quick to note that it is not only we who see Santillana as an exemplar, but that some of Santillana's contemporaries also saw him this way. They point to the three panegyrics of Juan de Mena, Gómez Manrique and Diego de Burgos studied in this project, as evidence to Santillana's reputation as a soldier-scholar during the period. In doing so, these modern scholars typically provide summaries of the poems that praise Santillana as an exemplar of both arms and letters.

And yet, while we recognize the significance of Santillana to the development of arms and letters in Castile, no one has yet examined all three of these poems to explore how they fashion a new heroic paradigm of the soldier-scholar through their use of exemplary comparisons and the topos of arms and letters, or why they choose to do so. This dissertation has explored the introduction of an ideal that combines both arms and letters to Castile around the life and reputation of Santillana, and how it is used in these three poems to advocate for the the need for more education on the part of the nobility. And yet, we do not identify Santillana with the topic but Garcilaso de la Vega, who is really the figure most people regard as the fusing arms and letters in the Peninsula. The examination of these three

poems has also allowed us to speculate on why this is so.

Fifteenth-century Castile affords us a unique opportunity to examine the transition between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and to assess where authors fall. Historically, the division of arms and letters reflected the make up of society by its *tres estados*, articulated by Alfonso X as *defensores*, *oradores* and *laboradores*. Although Alfonso X and Don Juan Manuel are exceptions, by and large, the nobility concentrates on *caballero* and the study of arms. The study of letters is left to clerics and men of *converso*-origins who were employed by the court to translate Classical texts, compose letters, etc. This begins to change in the fifteenth century thanks to the filtering in of humanist ideas, like the revival of Antiquity and the desire for more culture in the nobility.

The courts of Juan II and Enrique IV attempt to cultivate this interest in letters. Santillana is direct evidence of this change and he advocates for it through his words and his actions. The 1434 *Proverbios* testify to this advice to Prince Enrique IV that the study of letters or *ciencia* does not diminish the study of arms. Santillana's opinions are borne out by Huelma and Olmedo, as well as by his vast library and substantial literary production. In Santillana, we truly see a marriage of the two ideals. What is unique about Santillana is that most noblemen of the period would not have been interested in such things.

Our authors, Mena, Manrique and Burgos are able to latch on to this advocacy for letters and to the hope that through Santillana they will be able to encourage others to emulate him. Despite their different occasions and different forms, each of the poems we studied relies on exemplary figures of arms and letters to create the new exemplar. Their discourse is epideictic and the function of the exemplary comparison is to both persuade and to serve as proof.

Exemplary stories were a traditional method to educate the nobility, whether as anecdotes (*El conde Lucanor*) or as figures to emulate or avoid. In these three poems about Santillana, we are presented with a catalogue of exemplary men of arms and letters that are brought together to highlight Santillana's excellence and show how he has surpassed them to become a new model of the soldier-scholar. The exemplars primarily function as a way to indirectly praise Santillana, making the acclaim more general and therefore imply that it is not merely a particular opinion but the accepted opinion. The deeds and reputation of Santillana are not enough without the poets' embellishing and amplifying their praise to affect the reader. These exemplars are there to measure Santillana and bear witnesses to his excellence. Without them the poems would not exist.

Even though the union of arms and letters is the focus of each poem, it is clear that each actually leans towards one or the other side and that this is related to the role of the poet. Nicholas Round says that the: "continuous civil war and the continued existence of the kingdom of Granada served to support the notion that the role of the knight in Castilian society was justifiably paramount" (53). These authors use that service as an avenue for the praise of letters. The *Coronacion*, the earliest poem, is the best example of this use, because Mena chooses the excuse of a military victory to argue in support of the study of Antiquity on the part of the court. He is trying to encourage Juan II to continue commissioning translations and employing letrados. Mena negates any exemplar of arms that could be used to positively praise Santillana and focuses on the Classical men of learning.

The death of Santillana is the next occasion for a panegyric that treats the significance of Santillana. Once again, this is seen as an opportunity to carry out a different agenda. Gómez Manrique wants to stem criticism of his pursuit of letters, and he wants to legitimize

himself. Manrique appropriates his uncle's original argument; what better proof is there that the study of letters does not blunt the sword than Santillana himself. Despite his considerable effort to create a balanced poem, he comes down on the side of arms, likely in an effort to affirm that excellence in Santillana.

Burgos, Santillana's vassal and retainer, is mindful of his own precarious position as a *converso*. He needs to secure his employment and uses Santillana's death and his patron's commission to write a eulogy that displays his skills a *letrado* figure. His poem falls on the side of arms, despite his effort to show a union between the two. There is more space dedicated to the praise of arms than letters and the praise is more diverse. The praise of letters, however, prevails. Unlike the other poems, however, Burgos is trying to encourage Castile to live up to Italy's prestige in terms of poetry and we see this in the parallel he draws between Greece/Rome and Italy/Castile.

The question remains: how successful is each of these authors in persuading the court and nobility to commit themselves to the new ideal he advocates? We have seen that, although the Castilian courts of Juan II and Enrique IV cultivate an interest in both theological and secular learning, this increased concern with letters is not generally shared by the Castilian aristocracy. Nicholas Round explains that "the enthusiasm of the king and the erudition of several contemporaries did not succeed in creating a class of nobles either literate in Latin or favorably disposed to learning even when it was profitable morally and enlightening spiritually" (205). The literature of the period is still heavily entrenched in medieval didacticism and its utility for moral and spiritual benefit (Round 204). An interest in learning therefore is not believed to a necessary complement for knights of the time. Most do not learn Latin, read Aristotle or try their own hand at writing poetry. Their main role is to

serve in the Reconquest as knights and to effectively manage their vassals and lands. The cultivation of more scholarly interests, to be sure, could exist, but it should never detract from their principal roles or never replace their objectives as “defensores” of society.⁷⁸ Peter Russell agrees with Round that “the few great lords who patronized it [Spanish humanism], and whose patronage was vital, affronted a deeply held prejudice among the knightly class” (56).

Santillana, while demonstrating that the opposition between arms and letters still existed at the court of Juan II, was a significant challenge as the soldier-scholar incarnate. Juan de Mena clearly enjoys some success with *La Coronación*. His argument does not seem too radical, and he prudently advocates for the new ideal within the framework of the Reconquest.

Mena’s success, however, is belied by the other two poets and their passionate argument for the incorporation of letters. The court of Enrique IV continued to surround itself with men of letters, though its commitment to an ideal of study was at times half-hearted. Gómez Manrique must have seen an opportunity in the death of Santillana to further advocate for the arms and letters ideal to legitimize the interests of writers like himself. His later *carta-proemio* to his *Cancionero*, however, shows that criticism of the ideal is still prevalent. *El Triunfo*, although it urges Castile commit itself to the idea of *translatio studii et*

⁷⁸ Round points to this opinion in the *Generaciones y Semblanzas* of Pérez de Guzmán and his characterization of the Chancellor of Ayala: “Even for his scholarly nephew, it is despite his aptitude for war and practical affairs, that Ayala spends time reading, and it is worthy of note, for Fernán Pérez, that this reading went beyond legal works. These, it appears, were what a nobleman with estates to manage and a high office of state would be expected to read when he did take up a book” (206). This assessment of Pérez de Guzmán’s treatment of learning is reinforced by Isabel Beciero: “Y en ellos adquiere una valoración positiva si se une a estas cualidades tradicionales, y negativa si la labor intelectual ocupa el tiempo del biografiado de manera preferente y casi exclusiva” (114). Consider Alonso de Cartagena’s, man of letters, opinion as cited by Round (208): “non que diga que todos sean letrados ca la gouernaçon de la cosa pública non lo padesçe por que muchos son nesçesarios para labrar la tierra, e otros para defender.”

imperii between Italy and Spain, anticipates events that happened decades later. Additionally, the new marquess does not adopt the same path as his father, demonstrating that not all relatives of the marquess seem inclined to continue in his illustrious literary footsteps.

Two additional panegyrics about military men, one written shortly after Santillana's death and the other about twenty years afterwards, further attests to the limited success of the soldier-scholar ideal during the time period. Curiously, both are by Manriques. Gómez Manrique writes a second panegyric recalling the excellence of a nephew, *La Defunzi3n del noble cauallero Garci Laso de la Vega*, who died in battle fighting the Moors in service of Enrique IV:

Este, muriendo, al rey fizo pago,
pues que delante sus ojos fue muerto,
su orden muy bien guardando por cierto
de nuestro patr3n se3or Santiago. (73-76)
.....
Aquel cauallero que m3s denodado
Otro no fue de nuestras Espa3as;
Aquel fazedor de nobles faza3as
Sabe que lo vi ayer sepultado. (181-184)
.....
Pues, a 3l siruiendo delante su rey,
muri3 peleando seg3n nuestra ley. (190-191)⁷⁹

The death Garcilaso is intensely mourned not because of the person's youth, but because of Enrique IV's indifference to his suffering and his failure to compensate his descendants. Garcilaso's excellence is purely military. The poem compares him to past military exemplars as well as to his uncles, Santillana and Rodrigo Manrique. This purely military picture drawn so soon after the panegyric dedicated to Santillana demonstrates that the old *fortitudo* exemplar holds firm as the main ideal of the class.

⁷⁹ For studies on *La Defunzi3n*, see Alan Deyermond (*La defunzi3n*), Harry Sieber, Scholberg, and Vidal Gonz3lez.

Nearly twenty years later, Jorge Manrique writes his celebrated eulogy of his father, Rodrigo Manrique. The *Coplas a la muerte de su padre* likewise firmly promotes a man of arms.⁸⁰ The *Coplas* are akin to Mena's *Coronación* in that multiple bad examples are provided to contrast with the one good exemplar, but Jorge Manrique does not need to look to Antiquity for his exemplary figures. Instead, he is openly critical of Castile's recent past, especially of the court of Juan II ("¿Qué se hizo el rey don Juan?/ Los infantes de Aragón,/ ¿qué se hizieron?" 181-183) and Enrique IV:

Pues el otro, su heredero,
don Enrique, ¡qué poderes
alacanzaua!
¡Quánd blando, quánd halaguero,
el mundo con sus plazer
se la daua!
Mas verás quánd enemigo, quánd contrario,
quánd cruel
se le mostró;
auiéndole seydo amigo,
¡quánd poco duró con él
lo que le dio! (205-216)

The enmity between the Manriques and Enrique IV has its roots in the latter's desire to curb the nobility, and in the Manriques' own preference for having a different king on the throne of Castile. Jorge's open criticism of Enrique demonstrates the tense relations between the Manrique clan and the court, and their dislike for Enrique's fickle behavior. In contrast, Rodrigo Manrique serves as an example of the perfect knight, and is compared to a series of military and political exemplars to show how he surpasses all of them (313-336). Although a virtuous and superb *caballero*, Rodrigo is not a man of letters.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Studies on the *Coplas* are numerous. See Nancy Marino's recent study on the poem and its legacy for a comprehensive bibliography.

⁸¹ "The Romans provided models for emulation, but in the *Coplas* they are simply symbols of qualities represented in don Rodrigo. Reference to their symbolic meaning is emphasized by the zeugma." (Domínguez,

The Manriques' portrayal of knights creates for their readers monumental figures that embody military excellence, but none pursue letters despite the fact that at least don Rodrigo was a poet himself. The *Coplas* demonstrates even more strongly than *La Defunzi3n* that the man of arms is still the ideal to follow. It would therefore seem that the efforts of Juan de Mena, G3mez Manrique and Diego de Burgos do not effect a substantial change in the attitudes of the nobility of mid-fifteenth century Castile. Although our three authors speak of Santillana's excellence in arms and letters and advocate for the newer ideal, it does not take root.

Santillana is, in fact, stripped of his status as the first figure to incarnate the new ideal. When *La Coronaci3n* is again re-printed in Toledo in 1521 there is no comment about the scholarly and literary achievements of the marquess. The attention of readers then shifts to Santillana's contrast with the negative exemplars encountered by the narrator on his way to the crowning, and who symbolize "el castigo que han de sufrir los reyes que olvidan su deber, que faltan a 3l, que no se comportaban como debieran" (Jouve 4). Its republication is intended as a look to past exemplars, under a purely political and military light:

Su publicaci3n en 1521 supon3a el destronamiento simb3lico del nuevo Rey, del nuevo Carlos que deseaba asemejarse a los h3roes de la Antigüedad, la "coronaci3n" del perfecto caballero. El Marqu3s de Santillana, h3roe de la obra, se transformaba, as3, en un referente po3tico y pol3tico en el imaginario literario de las Comundades. (Jouve 5)

The exemplar of the warrior who combines excellence in arms and letters finally establishes itself in Spain thanks in part to Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528). His book finally reconciles the soldier and the scholar by championing the study of arms and letters as essential to the courtier: "I maintain myself that it is more fitting for a warrior to be educated than for anyone else; and I would have these two accomplishments,

Love and Remembrance 120).

the one helping the other, as is most fitting, joined together in our courtier” (93). *Il Cortegiano* enjoyed widespread popularity in the Iberian Peninsula, where the author had worked as a diplomat, and where it was translated into Castilian by Juan Boscán in 1534. This translation was read by such famous soldier-writers as Garcilaso de la Vega and Miguel Cervantes.⁸² By early-sixteenth century, these authors become exemplary soldier-scholars themselves, and there is little thought spared for Santillana’s innovations or for the panegyrics of Mena, Manrique and Burgos.

However, these three poems have revealed that they embody the arms and letters topos and ground it on exemplary comparisons. Without these comparisons, the praise would not have any real weight. They advocate for a new exemplar to encourage the nobility to pursue both arms and letters and allow Castile to compete with Italy and others. The use of the exemplary comparison also gives us insight to the survival and revival of Antiquity, in particular the appropriation of mythological and historical figures.

There is little doubt, however, that Santillana’s fame in arms and letters is recognized by his contemporaries, and that he served an exemplary function for those that wanted to pursue the sword and the toga. But these poems also testify to the resistance with which the views they advocate were met. Their efforts do not have a lasting effect on the Castilian nobility. Therefore, we may conclude that while Santillana anticipates the new exemplary ideal through his own military and scholarly achievements, he is merely a very early example whose exemplary status is thwarted by the lukewarm reception of the Castilian nobility.

⁸² See Peter Burke’s *Fortunes of the Courtier* for concise study of the text and its European reception.

Bibliography

- Ad C. Herennium de ratione dicendi*. Harry Caplan, trans. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1954.
- Aerts, W. J. and M. Gosman. *Exemplum et similitudo: Alexander the Great and Other Heroes as Points of Reference in Medieval Literature*. Groningen: E. Forsten, 1988.
- Ahearn, Marie L. "David, the Military Exemplum" In *The David Myth in Western Literature*. Eds. Raymond-Jean Frontain and Jan Wojcik. Indiana: Purdue UP, 1980. 106-119.
- Alba Cecilia, A. *Espada vs. cálamo: debate hispánicos medievales*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1997.
- Alberte, Antonio. "Relevancia de los recursos plásticos en las artes medievales de predicación." *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 29.2 (2011): 119-150.
- Alfonso X. *General estoria*. 1280. 2 vols. Ed. Antonio G. Solalinde. Madrid: J. Molina, 1930.
- Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno*. Ed. Robert M. Durling. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.
- Almand, Christopher. *The De Re Militari of Flavius Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: UP, 2011.
- Alvar, Carlos, Fernando Gómez Redondo and Georges Martin. *El Cid: De la materia épica a las crónicas caballerescas : Actas del Congreso Internacional "IX Centenario de la Muerte del Cid", celebrado en la Univ. de Alcalá de Henares : los días 19 y 20 de noviembre de 1999*. Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 2002.
- Alvar, Jaime y José María Blázquez, eds. *Héroes y antihéroes en la antigüedad clásica*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1997.
- Amador de los Ríos, José. *Vida del marqués de Santillana*. Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1947.
- Antelo Iglesias, A. "Caballeros centroeuropeos en España y Portugal durante el siglo XV." *Revista de la Facultad de Geografía e Historia* 4 (1989): 41-58.
- Aragüés Aldaz, José. *Deus concionator : mundo predicado y retórica del exemplum en los Siglos de oro*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999.
- Archibald, Elizabeth. "Sex and Power in Thebes and Babylon: Oedipus and Semiramis in Classical and Medieval Texts" *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11 (2001): 27-49.
- Aristotle. *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*. Trans. George A. Kennedy. New York:

- Oxford UP, 2007.
- Armistead, Samuel G. *La tradición épica en las Mocedades de Rodrigo*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2000.
- Armstrong, Adrian. "Semiramis in *Grand Rhétoriqueur* Writing." In *Schooling and Society: The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages*. Eds. Alasdair A. MacDonald and Michael W. Twomey. Paris: Peeters, 2004. 157-171.
- Auerbach, Erich. *Dante, Poet of the Secular World*. Trans. Ralph Manheim. New York: New York Review of Books, 2007.
- Auerbach, Erich. "Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature." *Yale French Studies* 9 (1952): 3-10.
- Bachrach, Bernard. "The Practical Use of Vegetius' *De Re Militari* During the Early Middle Ages." *Historian* 47.2 (1985): 239-255.
- Barrigón Fuentes, María C. and E. Domínguez de Paz. "La leyenda de Aquiles en España: una simbiosis pictórico-literaria." *Actas del VII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*. Vol. 3. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1989.
- Basabe, E. "La conservación de los clásicos." *Helmantica* 3 (1952): 381-419.
- Bautista Pérez, Franciso. "Santillana Mena y la coronación de los poetas." *From the Cancionero de Vaticana to the Cancionero General: Studies in honour of Jane Whitehall*. Eds. Alan Deyermond and Barry Taylor. Coruña: Universida de Coruña, 2008.
- Beard, Mary. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 2007.
- Beceiro Pita, Isabel. *Libros, lectores y bibliotecas en la España medieval*. Murcia: Nausícaä, 2007.
- Beltrán, Luis. "The Poet, the King and the Cardinal Virtues in Juan de Mena's *Laberinto*." *Speculum* 46.2 (1971): 318-332.
- Bernardo, A.S. *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs*. Albany: State U of New York P, 1974.
- Bernardo, A.S. "Triumphal Poetry: Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio." In *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle*. Eds. Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci. Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1990. 33-46
- Bernardo, A.S. and Saul Levin. *The Classics in the Middle Ages*. Binghamton: SUNY Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1990.

- Bersuire, Pierre. *Text and Concordance of Morales de Ovidio: A Fifteenth-century Castilian Translation of the Ovidius moralizatus*. 1340. Ed. Derek C. Carr. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992.
- Binotti, Lucia. "La Epístola exhortatoria a las letras de Juan de Lucena: Humanismo y educación en la Castilla del siglo XV." *La corónica* 28.2 (2000): 51-80.
- Bloomfield, Morton W. *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Reference to Medieval English Literature*. East Lansing: Michigan State College P, 1952.
- Bloomfield, Morton, ed. *Allegory, Myth and Symbol*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1981.
- Borgia, Carl R. "Notes on Dante in the Spanish Allegorical Poetry of Imperial, Santillana and Mena." *Hispanófila* 27.3.81 (1984): 1-10.
- Brancaforte, Benito. *Las metamorfoses y las Heroidas de Ovidio en La general estoria de Alfonso el Sabio*. Madrid: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990.
- Bravo García, A. "Aspectos de la cultura griega en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media." *Euphrosyne* 17 (1989): 361-372.
- Bremond, Claude and Jacques Le Goff. *L'Exemplum*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982.
- Brommer, Frank. *Heracles: the Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature*. Trans. Shirley J. Schwartz. New Rochelle: A.D. Caratzas, 1986.
- Brownlee, Kevin. "Dante and Narcissus (Purg. XXX, 76-99)." *Dante Studies* 96 (1978): 201-206.
- Bubnova, Tatiana. "El debate del clérigo y del caballero. Evolución del tema." *Voces de la Edad Media*. Eds. Concepcion Company et al. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1993. 93-105.
- Burgos, Diego de. "El Triunfo del marques de Santillana." In *Retórica y humanismo: El Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana (1458)*. Ed. Carlos Moreno Hernández. Valencia: Colección Lemir, 2008. 131-214.
- Burgess, Thomas C. *Epideictic Literature*. Whitefish: Kessinger, 2008.
- Burke, Peter. *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*. State College: Pennsylvania State UP, 1995.
- Burns, Norman T. and Christopher J. Reagan. *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Albany: State U of New York P, 1975.

- Burrow, J. A. *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought*. Oxford: Claredon, 1986.
- Burrow, J. A. *The Poetry of Praise*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008.
- Camacho Guizado, Eduardo. *La elegía funeral en la poesía española*. Madrid: Gredos, 1969.
- Campell, Joseph. *A Hero With a Thousand Faces*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004.
- Cardenas, A.J. "The Myth of Hercules in the Works of Alfonso X. Narration in the *Estoria de España* and in the *General Estoria*." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 74 (1997): 5-20.
- Casas Rigall, Juan. *Agudeza y retórica en la poesía amorosa de cancionero*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1995.
- Castiglione, Baldassare. *El Cortesano*. Trans. Juan Boscán. Ed. Mario Pozzi. Madrid: Cátedra, 1994.
- Castiglione, Baldassare. *The Courtier*. Trans. George Bull. London: Penguin, 1976.
- Castillo Cáceres, Fernando. "La caballería y la idea de la guerra en el siglo XV: el marqués de Santillana y la batalla de Torote." *Medievalismo* 8 (1998): 79-108.
- Castro, Américo. *El Pensamiento de Cervantes*. Barcelona: Editorial Noguer, 1972.
- Cayless, Hugh A. *The Rhetoric of Praise Poetry from Theocritus to Ovid*. Diss. U of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 1999.
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de La Mancha*. Ed. Luis Andrés Murillo. 2 Vols. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1978.
- Chaffee, Diane. "Ekphrasis in Juan de Mena and the Marqués de Santillana." *Romance Philology* 35.4 (1982): 609-616.
- Chance, Jane. *Medieval Mythography*. 2 vols. Gainesville: U of Florida P, 1994.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *De inventione; De optimo genere oratorum; Topica*. Trans. H.M. Hubbell. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *De Oratore*. Trans. E.W. Sutton. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1942.
- Clark, James G., Frank T. Coulson, and Kathryn L. McKinley, eds. *Ovid in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011.
- Clarke, Dorothy Clotelle. *Juan de Mena's Laberinto de Fortuna: Classic Epic and Mester de clerecía*. Mississippi: Romance Monographs, 1973.

- Colonne, Guido delle. *La coronica troyana: a Medieval Spanish Translation of Historia destructionis Troiae*. 1443. Ed. Frank Pelletier Norris. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1970.
- Conde López, Juan Carlos. "El siglo XV castellano a la luz del *Diálogo de Vita Beata* de Juan de Lucena." *Dicenda* 4 (1985): 11-34.
- Corbett, Theodore G. "The Cult of Lipsius: A Leading Source of Early Modern Statecraft." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36.1 (1975): 139-152.
- Cossío, José María. *Fábulas mitológicas en España*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1952.
- Cowell, Andrew. *The Medieval Warrior Aristocracy: Gifts, Violence, Performance and the Sacred*. Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007.
- Crane, Thomas Fredrick. *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*. New York: B. Franklin, 1971.
- Cristóbal, Vicente. "Mitología clásica en la literatura española: consideraciones generales y bibliografía." *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos* 18 (2000): 29-76.
- Cristóbal, Vicente. "Ovid in Medieval Spain." In *Ovid in the Middle Ages*. Eds. James G. Clark et al. New York: Cambridge UP, 2011. 231-256.
- Crosas López, Francisco. *La materia clásica en la poesía de cancionero*. Kassel: Reichenberger, 1995.
- Cruz, Anne J. "Arms versus Letters: The Poetics of War and the Career of the Poet in Early Modern Spain." In *European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance*. Ed. Patrick Cheney and Frederick A. de Armas. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2002. 186-205.
- Cubitt, Geoffrey and Allen Warren, eds. *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000.
- Cull, John T. "'Más no lo saben todo los letrados/ ni todos son ydiotas los soldados.' Francisco's Guzmán's *Digresión de las armas y letras*." *Cervantes* 29.2 (2009): 5-31.
- Cummins, John G. Introduction. *Laberinto de Fortuna*. By Juan de Mena. Ed. John G. Cummins. Madrid: Catédra, 1996.
- Curtius, Ernst. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Trans. William R. Trask. New York: Pantheon, 1953.
- Damon, Phillip W. "Dante's Ulysses and the Mythic Tradition." In *Medieval Secular Literature: Four Essays*. Ed. W. Matthews. Berkeley: U of California P, 1967. 25-45.

- De Langbehn, Regula Rohland. "Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458)" In *Castillian Writers 1400-1500*. Eds. Frank A. Domínguez and George D. Greenia. Detroit: Gale, 2004. 233-254.
- Demoen, Kristoffel. *Pagan and Biblical Exempla in Gregory Nazianzen: A Study in Rhetoric and Hermeneutics*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996.
- Deyermond, A.D. *The Middle Ages*. London: Barnes and Noble, 1971.
- Deyermond, Alan D. *A Literary History of Spain: The Middle Ages*. London: Ernst Benn Ltd., 1971.
- Deyermond, Alan, David G. Pattison, and Eric Southworth, eds. *Mio Cid Studies: 'Some Problems of Diplomatic' Fifty Years On*. London: U of London P, 2002.
- Deyermond, Alan, ed. *Santillana: A Symposium*. London: Queen Mary and Westfield, 2000.
- Deyermond, Alan. "La Defunción del noble cavallero Garcilaso de la Vega de Gómez Manrique." *Dicenda* 6 (1987): 93-112.
- Di Camillo, Ottavio. *El humanismo castellano del siglo XV*. Trans. Manuel Lloris. Valencia: F. Torres, 1976.
- Di Franco, Ralph. *A Review of Concepts and Methodologies in Scholarship on Juan de Mena*. Ann Arbor: Applied Literary P, 1981.
- Diodorus, Siculus. *Diodorus of Sicily*. Trans. C.H. Oldfather. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967.
- Domínguez, Frank A. *Love and Remembrance: the Poetry of Jorge Manrique*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1988.
- Domínguez, Frank A. *The Medieval Argonautica*. Potomac: J. Porrúa Turanza, 1979.
- Doob, Penelope R. *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity Through the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990.
- Dronke, Peter. *Dante and Medieval Latin Traditions*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986.
- Eisenberg, D. "The *General Estoria*: Sources and Source Treatment." *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 89 (1973): 206-277.
- Eisenbichler, Konrad and Amilcare A. Iannucci, eds. *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle*. Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1990.
- Elliot van Liere, Katherine. "Humanism and Scholasticism in Sixteenth-Century Academe: Five Student Orations from the University of Salamanca." *Renaissance Quarterly*

- 53.1 (2000): 57-107.
- Entwistle, William J. *The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula*. New York: Phaeton, 1975.
- Erasmí, Gabriele. "Petrarch's *Trionfi*: The Poetics of Humanism." In *Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle*. Eds. Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci. Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1990. 161-176.
- Estévez Molinero, Ángel. "La corona de los sabios prudentes letrados: canonizaciones en el siglo XV." *Bulletin Hispanique* 109.2 (2007): 401-419.
- Faulhaber, Charles. *Latin Rhetorical Theory in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Castile*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1972.
- Ferber, Michael. *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols*. Cambridge: UP, 2007.
- Foster, David W. "Misunderstandings of Dante in Fifteenth Century Spanish Poetry." *Comparative Literature* 16.4 (1964): 338-347.
- Foster, David W. *The Marqués de Santillana*. New York: Twayne, 1971.
- Foxhall, Lin and John Salmon. *Thinking Men: Masculinity and its Self-representation in the Classical Tradition*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Franke, William. "Dante's *Inferno* as Poetic Revelation of Prophetic Truth." *Philosophy and Literature* 33.2 (2009): 252-266.
- Frazer Jr., R. M. *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966.
- Friederich, Werner P. *Dante's Fame Abroad, 1350-1850: The Influence of Dante Alighiere on the scholars of Spain, France, England, Germany, Switzerland and the United States*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1950.
- Frontain, Raymond-Jean and Jan Wojcik, eds. *The David Myth in Western Literature*. Indiana: Purdue UP, 1980.
- Fulgentius. *Fulgentius the Mythographer*. 49-533. Trans. Leslie G. Whitebread. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1971.
- Galinsky, G.K. *The Herakles Theme: the Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1972.
- García Jiménez, Emilia. "La poesía elegíaca medieval: un discurso epidíctico." *Cuadernos de Investigación Filológica* 23-24 (1993-1994): 7-26.

- García Jiménez, María Emilia. *La poesía elegíaca medieval en lengua castellana*. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1994.
- García, Luis Rubio. *Documentos sobre el marqués de Santillana*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1983.
- García-Gómez, Miguel. "La tradición clásica en las ideas y el estilo del Marqués de Santillana." *Dissertation abstracts international. A. The Humanities and Social Sciences*. 31.12 (1971): 6603-6761.
- Gardiner, Eileen. *Visions of Heaven and Hell Before Dante*. New York: Italica, 1989.
- García, Luis Rubio. *Documentos sobre el marqués de Santillana*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1983.
- Gelley, Alexander, ed. *Unruly Examples: On the Rhetoric of Exemplarity*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1995.
- Gericke, Phillip O. "Juan de Mena 1411-1456." In *Castilian Writers, 1400-1500*. Eds. Frank A. Domínguez and George D. Greenia. Detroit: Gale, 2004. 109-126.
- Gerli, E. Michael and Julian Weiss, eds. *Poetry at Court in Trastamaran Spain: From the Cancionero de Baena to the Cancionero general*. Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Text and Studies, 1998.
- Gerritsen, Willem P. and Anthony G. van Melle eds. *A Dictionary of Medieval Heroes*. Rochester: Boydell Press, 1998.
- Goldberg, Harriet. "The Dream Report as a Literary Device in Medieval Hispanic Literature." *Hispania* 66.1 (1983): 21-31.
- Goldberg, Harriet. "The Marqués de Santillana: Master Dreamer" In *The Dream and the Text: Essays on Literature and Language*. Ed. Carol Schreier Rupprecht. Albany: State U of New York P, 1993. 245-264.
- Gómez Moreno, Ángel. "La militia clásica y la caballería medieval: las lecturas 'de re militari' entre Medievo y Renacimiento." *Eurphrosyne* 23 (1995): 83-97.
- Gómez Redondo, Fernando. "El Cid humanístico: la configuración del paradigma caballeresco" *Olvidar* 10 (2007): 327-345.
- González Rolán, T. and María F. Del Barrio Vega. "Juan de Mena, *Sumas de la Yliada de Omero*." *Revista de Filología Románica* 6 (1989): 147-228.
- Goodman, Anthony and Angus MacKay, eds. *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*. London: Longman, 1990.

- Green, Otis H. *Spain and the Western Tradition: the Castilian Mind in Literature from El Cid to Calderón*. 4 Vols. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1966.
- Green, Otis H. *The Literary Mind of Medieval and Renaissance Spain*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1970.
- Grimal, Pierre. *The Penguin Dictionary of Classical Mythology*. Ed. Stephen Kershaw. Trans. A.R. Maxwell-Hyslop. London: Penguin Group, 1991.
- Gurevich, Aron. *Categories of Medieval Culture*. Trans. George Campbell. London: Routledge, 1985.
- Gutiérrez Carou, Javier. "Dante en la poesía de Diego de Burgos." In *Actes del VII Congrès de l'associació hispànica de literatura medieval*. Vol. 2. Eds. Santiago Fortuño Llorens and Tomàs Martínez Romero. Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume, 1999. 209-221.
- Guzzardo, John. "The Noble Castle and the Eighth Gate." *MLN* 94.1 (1979): 137-145.
- Hall, John. "Él fizo e un art e non lo detardava: the hero as tactician in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, with Some Thoughts on the Question of Latin Literary Sources." *Neophilologus* 91.4 (2007): 611-623.
- Hampton, Timothy. *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990.
- Hardison, O.B. *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1962.
- Hartnett, Daniel. "Political and Social Uses of Dante in Fifteenth-Century Iberian Court Culture." *Dissertation Abstracts International. A. The Humanities and Social Sciences* 70.6 (2009).
- Haywood, Eric. "A Curious Renaissance Dispute on Arms and Letters: Agostino Nifo and Luca Prassicio." *Italian Studies* 41 (1986): 62-81.
- Heusch, Carlos. *La caballería castellana en la baja edad media: textos y contextos*. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier III, 2000.
- Herrero Prado, José Luis. "Pero Díaz de Toledo, Señor de Olmedilla." *Revista de Literatura Medieval* 10 (1998): 101-115.
- Hight, Gilbert. *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*. New York: Oxford UP, 1985.
- Hill, Thomas D. "The Crowning of Alfred and the Topos of *Sapientia et Fortitudo* in Asser's

- Life of King Alfred.*” *Neophilologus* 86.3 (2002): 471-476.
- Hobbs, Angela. *Plato and the Hero: Courage, Manliness, and the Impersonal Good*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.
- Holländer, Robert. *Allegory in Dante’s Commedia*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969.
- Huizinga, John. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. New York: Doubleday, 1954.
- Hutton, W.H. “The Influence of Dante in Spanish Literature.” *The Modern Language Review* 3.2 (1908): 105-125.
- Isidore, Saint. *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. c. 615-630. Trans. Stephen Barney et al. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Jacoff, Rachel and William A. Stephany, eds. *The Poetry of Allusion: Virgil and Ovid in Dante’s “Comedy.”* Stanford: Stanford UP, 1991.
- Jarzombek, Mark. “The (Trans)Formations of Fame.” *Perspecta* 37 (2005): 10-17.
- Jouve, J.R. “El canon poético y la política imperial: poesía y rebelión durante las comunidades de Castilla (1520-1521).” *Hispanofilia* 136 (2002): 1-13.
- Kallendorf, Craig. *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance*. Hanover: UP of New England, 1989.
- Kaske, R.E. “*Sapientia et Fortitudo* as the Controlling Theme in *Beowulf*.” In *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*. Ed. Lewis E. Nicholson. Notre Dame: Notre Dame UP, 1963. 269-310.
- Katzenellenbogen, Adolf. *Allegoris of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*. Trans. Alan J.P. Crick. New York: W.W. Norton, 1964.
- Keller, John Esten. *Motif-index of Mediaeval Spanish exempla*. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1949.
- Kemmler, Fritz. “Exempla” in context: a Historical and Critical study of Robert Mannyng of Burnne’s “Handlyng synne.” Tübingen: G. Narr, 1984.
- Kennedy, George A. *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1999.
- Kennedy, George A., trans. *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.

- King, Katherine C. *Achilles: Paradigms of the War Hero from Homer Through the Middle Ages*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1987.
- Krause, Anna. *Jorge Manrique and the Cult of Death in the Cuatrocientos*. Berkley. U of California P, 1937.
- Kristeller, Paul O. *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning: Three Essays*. Ed. Edward P. Mahoney. Durham: Duke UP, 1974.
- Landwehr, Hillary. *Thematic Structure and the Use of Imagery in the Didactic Poetry of Gómez Manrique*. Diss. U of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 1986.
- Lapesa, Rafael. "El elemento moral en el *Laberinto de Mena*: su influjo en la disposición de la obra." *Hispanic Review* 27 (1959): 257-266.
- Lapesa, Rafael. *La obra literaria del marqués de Santillana*. Madrid: Insula, 1957.
- Lapesa, Rafeal. "Sobre la " Coronación de Mossén Jordi de Sant Jordi": Venus i los elefantes." *Estudis Romànics* (1998): 273-281.
- Lausberg, Heinrich. *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*. Trans. Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, and David E. Orton. Ed. David E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson Leiden. Netherlands: Brill, 1998.
- Lawrance, Jeremy N. "On Fifteenth-Century Spanish Vernacular Humanism." In *Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honour of Robert Brian Tate*. Eds. Ian Michael and Richard A. Cardwell. Oxford: Dolphin, 1986. 63-79.
- Leal de Martínez, María Teresa. *Gómez Manrique, su tiempo y su obra*. Recife: Universidad de Recife, 1959.
- Lianeri, Alexandra, ed. *The Western Time of Ancient History: Historiographical Encounters with the Greek and Roman Pasts*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011.
- Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. *Juan de Mena: poeta del Prerenacimiento español*. México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950.
- Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. *La idea de la fama en la edad media castellana*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952.
- Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. *La tradición clásica en España*. Esplugues de Lobregat: Ariel, 1975.
- López Bascuñana, Maria Isabel. "El mundo y la cultura grecorromana en la obra del Marqués de Santillana." *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 80.2 (1977): 271-320.

- López Bascuñana, Maria Isabel. "La mitología en la obra del Marqués de Santillana." *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo* 54. 1-4 (1978): 271-320
- López de Mendoza, Íñigo. *Poesías completas*. Ed. Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego. Madrid: Alhambra: 1983.
- López Férez, J.A. *La épica griega y su influencia en la literatura española: aspectos literarios, sociales y educativos*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1994.
- López Fonseca, Antonio, Pilar Saquero Suárez-Somonte, and Tomás Rolán González, eds. *La tradición clásica en España: siglos XIII-XV: Bases conceptuales y bibliográficas*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2002.
- López Torrijos, Rosa. *La mitología en la pintura española del Siglo de Oro*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1985.
- Loroux, Nicole. *The Invention of Athens: the Funeral Oration in the Classical City*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986.
- Lorenzo, Javier. "Traducción y cortesanía: la construcción de la identidad cortesana en los prólogos al libro de *El Cortesano* de Juan Boscán." *MLN* 120 (2005): 249-261.
- Lumiansky, Robert. "Dares' *Historia* and Dictys' *Ephemeris*: A Critical Comment." In *Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*. Ed. E. Bagby Atwood. Austin: U of Texas at Austin, 1969. 200-209.
- Lyons, John D. *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989.
- Macdonald, Inez. "The *Coronación* of Juan de Mena: Poem and Commentary." *Hispanic Review* 7.2 (1939): 125-144.
- Manrique, Gómez. "El planto de las Virtudes e Poesía por el magnífico señor don Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana e conde del Real." In *Cancionero*. Ed. Francisco Vidal González. Madrid: Cátedra, 2003. 362-418.
- Manrique, Jorge. *Coplas que hizo Jorge Manrique a la muerte de su padre*. Ed. Vicente Beltrán. Barcelona: PPU, 1991.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español. I: Edad Media*. Madrid: Ediciones Culturas Hispánica, 1983.
- Maravall, José Antonio. *Antiguos y modernos; la idea de progreso en el desarrollo inicial de una sociedad*. Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1966.
- Marcos Casquero, Manuel-Antonio. *Estudios de tradición clásica y humanística*. León:

- Universidad de León, 1993.
- Marino, Nancy F. *Jorge Manrique's Coplas por la muerte de su padre: A History of the Poem and its Reception*. Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2011.
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. *Investigaciones sobre Juan Álvarez Gato: contribución al conocimiento de la literatura castellana del siglo XV*. Madrid: S. Aguirre Torre, 1960.
- Martín Fernández, María Amor. *Juan de Mena y el Renacimiento: estudio de la mitología en su obra menor*. Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1985.
- Martín Fernández, María Amor. "La estructura mitológica del *Laberinto de Fortuna*." *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes* 60.116 (1989): 191-208.
- Martín Fernández, María Amor. *La mitología en la literatura del siglo XV (Poesía)*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1987.
- Mateo, Ramón Mateo. "Sobre el tema de las armas y las letras en la poesía narrativa de Hernando de Acuña." *Castilla: Estudios de literatura* 6 (1983): 73-100.
- Matjasic, Sister M. Appolonia. *The History of the Criticism of Las Coplas de Jorge Manrique*. Madrid: Coleccion Rocana, 1979.
- Mayoral, José Antonio. *Estructuras retóricas en el discurso poético de los siglos XVI y XVII*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, 2002.
- McCall Jr., Marsh H. *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1969.
- McManamon, John M. *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1989.
- McNamee, Maurice. *Honor and the Epic Hero: A Study of the Shifting Concept of Magnanimity in Philosophy and Epic Poetry*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.
- Mena, Juan de. *La Coronación de Juan de Mena*. Ed. Feliciano Delgado León. Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1978.
- Mena, Juan de. *La Coronación de Juan de Mena*. Ed. Maria Corral Checa. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2004.
- Mena, Juan de. *Obras completas*. Ed. Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego. Barcelona: Planeta, 1989.

- Menander. *Menander Rhetor*. Trans. D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1979.
- Mendoza Negrillo, Juan de Dios. *Fortuna y providencia en la literatura castellana del siglo XV*. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1973.
- Menjot, Denis, et al. *Saber y conocimiento en la Edad Media*. La Laguna: Cuadernos del CEMYR 5, 1997.
- Michael, Ian. *The Treatment of Classical Material in the Libro de Alixandre*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1970.
- Miller, Anthony. *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture*. Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001.
- Miller, Clarence H. "Hercules and His Labors as Allegories of Christ and His Victory over Sin in Dante's *Inferno*." *Quaderni d'italianistica* 5 (1984): 1-17.
- Miller, Dean A. *The Epic Hero*. Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 2000.
- Montgomery, Thomas. *Medieval Spanish Epic: Mythic Roots and Ritual Language*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1998.
- Montoya Martínez, Jesús. "Elogios fúnebres y plantos en la *Estoria de España*. Planto por el rey Don Alfonso IX de Castilla, el Noble." *Estudios Románicos*. 12 (2000). 221-232.
- Moore, Edward. *Studies in Dante. First Series. Scripture and Classical Authors in Dante*. New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1968.
- Moreno Hernández, Carlos. *Retórica y humanismo: El Triunfo del Marqués de Santillana (1458)*. Valencia: Colección Lemir, 2008.
- Morgan, Alison. *Dante and the Medieval Other World*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.
- Morreale, Margherita. "Los catálogos de virtudes y vicio en las Biblias romanceadas en la Edad Media." *Revista de Filología Hispánica* 12.2 (1958) 149-159.
- Morreale, Margherita. *Castiglione y Boscán: el ideal cortesano en el renacimiento español*. Madrid: Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academia Española, 1959.
- Morse, Ruth. *The Medieval Medea*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996.
- Murphy, James. *Rhetoric of the Middle Ages: a History of the Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*. Arizona: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001.

- Nader, Helen. *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450-1650*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2004.
- Nader, Helen. *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1979.
- Nagy, Gregory. *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry*. Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1999.
- Newhauser, Richard. *Sin: Essays on the Moral Tradition in the Western Middle Ages*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007.
- Nieto, María Dolores. *Estructura y función de los relatos medievales*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993.
- Nogales Rincón, David. "En torno a la sabiduría en el cuatrocientos castellano: el prólogo a la traducción castellana del *Del regno ad regem Cypri* de Tomás de Aquino dirigida a Fernando el Católico." *Memorabilia* 12 (2009-2010): 289-350.
- O'Brien, Emily. "Arms and Letters: Julius Caesar, the commentaries of Pope Pius II, and the Politicization of Papal Imagery." *Renaissance Quarterly* 62 (2009): 1057-1097.
- O'Malley, John W. *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521*. Durham: Duke UP, 1979.
- O'Reilly, Jennifer. *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages*. New York: Garland, 1988.
- Ochs, Donovan J. *Consolatory Rhetoric: Grief, Symbol, and Ritual in the Greco-Roman Era*. Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1993.
- Oldfather, C.H. Trans. *Diodorus of Sicily*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1968.
- Osgood, Josiah. "The Pen and the Sword: Writing and Conquest in Caesar's Gaul." *Classical Antiquity* 28.2 (2009): 328-358.
- Oumont, Charles. *La poésie française du moyen-âge, XIe-XVe siècles: Recueil de textes, accompagné de traductions, de notices, et précédé d'une étude littéraire*. Paris: Mercvire de France, 1913.
- Orosius, Paulus. *Orosius: Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*. Trans. A.T. Fear. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2010.
- Ovid. *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*. Trans. Rolfe Humphries. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1983.
- Owen, D. D. R. *The Vision of Hell: Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature*.

- Edinburgh: Scottish Academic P, 1970.
- Parker, Margaret A. "Juan de Mena's Ovidian Material: an Alfonsine influence?" *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 55.1 (1978): 5-17.
- Pascual, José Antonio. "Los doce trabajos de Hércules, fuente de algunas glosas a *La coronación* de Juan de Mena." *Filología Moderna* 47 (1973): 89-103.
- Patch, Howard. *El otro mundo en la literatura medieval. Seguido de un apéndice: La visión de trasmundo en las literaturas hispánicas por María Rosa Lida de Malkiel*. Trans. Jorge Hernández Campos. México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983.
- Patch, Howard. *The Other Literature, According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1950.
- Pattison, David G. *Textos épicos castellanos: problemas de edición y crítica*. London: U of London P, 2000.
- Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Comiença la Cronica del serenissimo rey don Juan el segundo deste nombre*. Sevilla: Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1543.
- Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Generaciones y semblanzas*. Ed. R. B. Tate. London: Tamesis, 1965.
- Pérez Priego, M. Á. "De Dante a Juan de Mena: sobre el género literario de 'comedia'." In *1616: Anuario de la Sociedad Española de Literatura General y Comparada*, 1 (1978): 151-158.
- Pérez, Joseph. "Las armas y las letras." *Fundación para la historia de España* VI (2002-2003): 413-424.
- Pérez-Bustamante, Rogelio. *El marqués de Santillana: biografía y documentación*. Santillana del Mar: Taurus, 1983.
- Pertile, Lino. "Dante." In *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*. Ed. Peter Brand and Lino Pertile. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996. 39-69.
- Petrarch, Francesco. *The Triumphs of Petrarch*. Trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1962.
- Piehler, Paul. *The Visionary Landscape: a Study in Medieval Allegory*. Montreal: Queen's UP, 1971.
- Piñero Ramírez, Pedro M. *Descensus ad inferos: la aventura de ultratumba de los heroes, de Homero a Goethe*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1995.

- Post, C.R. "The Sources of Juan de Mena." *Romance Review* 3 (1912): 233-279.
- Post, C.R. *Medieval Allegory*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1915.
- Price, Bennett. *Paradeigma and Exemplum in Ancient Rhetorical Theory*. Diss. U of California, Berkley. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 1975.
- Puertas Moya, F.E. "La enseñanza de la retórica en las escuelas medievales". In *La enseñanza en la edad media. X semana de estudios medievales*. Eds. J.A. García de Cortázar and F-J. García Turza. Logroño: Instituto de estudios riojanos, 2000. 383-402.
- Pulgar, Fernando del. *Claros varones de Castilla*. Ed. Robert B. Tate. Madrid: Taurus, 1985. 96-102.
- Quint, David. "The Debate Between Arms and Letters in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*." In *Phaethon's Children: The Este Court and Its Culture in Early Modern Ferrara*. Eds. Dennis Looney and Deanna Shemek. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005. 363-387.
- Quintilian. *Institutiio oratoria*. Trans. H.E. Butler. 4 Vols. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1921.
- Rapp, Claudia. "Comparison, Paradigm and the Case of Moses in Panegyric and Hagiography." In *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*. Ed. Mary Whitby. London: Brill, 1998. 277-298.
- Recio, Roxana. *Los Trionfi de Petrarca comentados en catalán: una edición de los manuscritos 534 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Paris y del Ateneu de Barcelona*. Chapel Hill: NC Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, 2009.
- Recio, Roxana. *Petrarca y Alvar Gómez: la traducción del Triunfo de amor*. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.
- Recio, Roxana. "Ilustraciones en algunas ediciones de *Los Triunfos* de Petrarca: su importancia en la Península Ibérica." *eHumanista* 2 (2002): 63-104.
- Recio, Roxana. "La poética petrarquista en los cancioneros: las composiciones atribuidas a Alvar Gómez." In *Medieval Hispanic Studies in Honour of Alan Deyermond*. Ed. Andrew M. Beresford. London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1997. 309-318.
- Recio, Roxana. "Imitación, adaptación y asimilación: la transmission de la poética petrarquista de *I Trionfi*." *Revista de poética medieval* 8 (2007): 197-210.
- Recio Ferreras, Eloy. *Gómez Manrique : hombre de armas y de letras (siglo XV)*. Hato Rey, P.R.: Publicaciones Puertorriqueñas, 2005.

- Reichenberger, A.G. "Classical Antiquity in Some poems of J. de Mena." In *Studia Hispanica in Honorem Rafael Lapesa*. Vol. 3. Madrid: Gredos, 1975. 405-418.
- Reichenberger, A.G. "The Marqués de Santillana and the classical tradition" *Ibero-Romania* 1 (1969): 5-34.
- Rico, Francisco. "Aristoteles Hispanus: en torno a Gil de Zamora, Petrarca y Juan de Mena." *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 10 (1967): 143-64.
- Rigo, Paola. *Memoria classica e memoria biblica in Dante*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1994.
- Robertson, D.W. *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962.
- Roche, Paul, ed. *Pliny's Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011.
- Rodríguez Velasco, Jesús D. *El debate sobre la caballería en el siglo XV: la tratadística caballeresca castellana en su marco europeo*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1996.
- Round, Nicholas. "Lovers in Hell: *Inferno V* and Íñigo López de Mendoza." In *Dante Metamorphoses: Episodes in a Literary Afterlife*. Ed. Eric G. Haywood. Dublin: Four Courts P, 2003. 11-42.
- Round, Nicholas. "Renaissance Culture and its Opponents in Fifteenth-Century Castile." *Modern Language Review* 57.2 (1962): 204-215.
- Russell, Donald. "The Panegyrists and their Teachers." In *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*. Ed. Mary Whitby. London: Brill, 1998. 17-52.
- Russell, Peter. "Arms versus Letters: Towards a Definition of Spanish Fifteenth-Century Humanism." In *Aspects of the Renaissance*. Ed. Archibald R. Lewis. Austin: U of Texas P, 1964. 47-58.
- Ruth, Jeffrey S. *Urban Honor in Spain: the Laus urbis from Antiquity through Humanism*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen P, 2011.
- Ryding, William W. *Structure in Medieval Narrative*. The Hague: Mouton, 1971.
- Salinas, Pedro. *Jorge Manrique, o tradición y originalidad*. Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 2003.
- Samuel, Irene. "Semiramis in the Middle Ages: The History of a Legend." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 2 (1943): 32-44.

- Santibañez Escobar, Julia. "El Laberinto, de mito a símbolo en la Castilla del siglo XV. La visión de Juan de Mena." In *Discursos y representaciones en la Edad Media*. Ed. Concepción Company Company, et al. México: Colegio de México, 1999. 289-299.
- Sayce, Olive. *Exemplary Comparison from Homer to Petrarch*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008.
- Scaglione, Aldo. *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry, and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1991.
- Scanlon, Larry. *Narrative, Authority, and Power: Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Schafler, Norman. "Sapientia et Fortitudo in Poema de Mio Cid." *Hispania* 60.1 (1977): 44-50.
- Schenck, Celeste Marguerite. *Mourning and the Panegyric: The Poetics of Pastoral Ceremony*.
- Schevill, Rudolph. *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1913.
- Scholberg, Kenneth R. *Introducción a la poesía de Gómez Manrique*. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1984.
- Scott, John A. "Inferno XXVI: Dante's Ulysses." *Lettere italiane* 23 (1970): 145-186.
- Serés, Guillermo. "La autoridad literaria: círculos intelectuales y géneros en la Castilla del siglo XV." *Bulletin Hispanique* 109.2 (2007): 335-383.
- Serés, Guillermo. "La Iliada y Juan de Mena: de la 'breve suma' a la 'plenaria interpretación.'" *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 37.1 (1989): 119-141.
- Seznec, Jean-Alan. *Survival of the Pagan Gods: the Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*. Trans. Barbara F. Sessions. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995.
- Shecktor, Nina. *The Achillean Hero in the Plays of Tirso de Molina*. New York: P. Lang, 2009.
- Shepard, Alan and Stephen D. Powell, eds. *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004.
- Shrader, Charles P. "A Handlist of Extant Manuscripts Containing the *De Re Militari* of Flavius Vegetius Renatus" *Scriptorium* 33 (1979): 280-305.

- Sieber, Harry. "Narrative Elegiac Structure in Gómez Marnique's *Defunción del noble caballero Garci Laso de la Vega*" In Dian Fox, Harry Sieber, et al. *Studies in honor of Bruce Wardropper*. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1989: 279-290.
- Singleton, Charles. "Dante and Myth." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 10.4 (1949): 482-502.
- Smith, Colin. *The Making of the Poema de Mio Cid*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983.
- Sowell, Madison U. *Dante and Ovid: Essays in Intertextuality*. Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991.
- Stanford, W.B. *The Ulysses Theme*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1968.
- Starn, Randolph. *Varieties of Cultural History*. Goldbach: Keip Verlag, 2002.
- Street, Florence. "La vida de Juan de Mena." *Bulletin Hispanique* 55 (1953): 149-73.
- Street, Florence. "The Allegory of Fortune and the Imitation of Dante in the Laberinto and Coronación of Juan de Mena." *Hispanic Review* 23.1 (1955): 1-11.
- Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Nobleza y monarquía: entendimiento y rivalidad. El proceso de construcción de la corona española*. Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros, 2003.
- Tate, Brian. "El humanismo en Andalucía en el siglo XV." In *Andalucía 1492: razones de un protagonismo*. Eds. C. de Terán Sánchez. Sevilla: Algaida, 1992. 215-241.
- Thompson, Diane P. *The Trojan War: Literature and Legends From the Bronze Age to the Present*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Inc., 2004.
- Trapp, J.B. "The Owl's Ivy and the Poet's Bays. An Enquiry into Poetic Garlands." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institutes* 21.3 (1958): 227-255
- Traversi, Derek. "Why is Ulysses in Hell?" In *The Literary Imagination: Studies in Dante, Chaucer and Shakespeare*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1982. 47-86.
- Valdeón Baroque, Julio. *El reino de Castilla en la Edad Media*. Bilbao: Ediciones Moreton, 1968.
- Valdeón Baroque, Julio. *Historia general de la Edad Media: siglos XI al XV*. Madrid: Editorial Mayfe, 1973.
- Valdeón Baroque, Julio. *La baja Edad Media: crisis y renovaciones del los siglos XIV-XV*. Madrid: Historia 16, 1981.
- Valdeón Baroque, Julio. *Los conflictos sociales en el Reino de Castilla en los siglos XIV y XV*. Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1975.

- Velasco, Emilia. "Fortitudo et sapientia: Marte y Minerva en las *Coplas y Loores* de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán." In *Actas del III Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*. Ed. María Isabel Toro Pascua. Vol. 2. Salamanca: Biblioteca Española del Siglo XV, 1994. 1127-1140.
- Versnel, H. S. *Triumphus: an Inquiry into the Origin, Development, and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.
- Vidal González, Francisco. Introduction. *Cancionero*. By Gómez Manrique. Madrid: Catédra, 2003. 9-74.
- Vinci, Joseph. "The Petrarchan Source of Jorge Manrique's *Las Coplas*." *Italica* 45.3 (1968): 314-328.
- Virgil. *Aeneid*. Trans. Allen Mandelbaum. New York: Bantam, 2004.
- Vitz, Evelyn Birge. *Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire*. New York: New York UP, 1989.
- Walde, Christine. "Caesar, Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, and their Reception." In *Julius Caesar in Western Culture*. Ed. Maria Wyke. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006. 45-61.
- Wardropper, Bruce W., ed. *Poesía elegíaca española*. Salamanca: Anaya, 1967.
- Weiss, Julian. "Juan de Mena's Coronación: satire or sátira." *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 6.2 (1982): 113-138.
- Weiss, Julian. *The Poet's Art: Literary Theory in Castile c. 1400-1460*. Oxford: Society for Mediaeval Languages and Literatures, 1990.
- Whitby, Mary, ed. *The Propaganda of Power: the Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*. London: Brill, 1998.
- Whitman, Jon. *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1987.
- Wilhelm, James J. "Dante's Two Families: Christian Judgment and the Pagan Past." *Italica* 47.1 (1970): 28-36.
- Wilkins, Ernest H. "The Separate Fifteenth-Century Editions of the Triumphs of Petrarch." *The Library Quarterly* 12 (1942): 748-751.
- Wilkins, Ernest H. "On Petrarch's Rewriting the Triumph of Fame." *Speculum* 39.3 (1964): 440-443.
- Wilkins, Ernest H. "The Coronation of Petrarch." *Speculum* 18.2 (1943): 155-197.

Ynduráin, Domingo. *Humanismo y renacimiento en España*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1994.

Zaho, Margaret Ann. *Imago triumphalis: The Function and Significance of Triumphal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers*. New York: Peter Lang, 2004.

Zaleski, C. *Otherworld Journeys: Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Modern Times*. New York: Oxford UP, 1986.

Zink, Michael. "The Allegorical Poem as Interior Memoir." In *Images of Power: Medieval History/ Discourse/Literature*. Eds. Kevin Brownlee and Stephen G. Nichols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1986. 100-126.