Diego Dávalos y Figueroa, Serafino Aquilano, and Ovid: The Continuity of the "Alba" Theme

In Diego Dávalos y Figueroa's *Miscelanea Austral* (Lima, Peru, 1602) there appear Spanish translations or imitations of early-sixteenth-century Italian poets. Since these poets reflect the general influence of Petrarch common in the period, critics have consequently pointed to the same influence manifest in the work of Dávalos himself. He is specifically considered to be an important advocate of the Italianate style in early Hispanic American literature. Most of the Italian sources of his imitations or translations have been identified,[1] but one exception which has eluded critics is the poem in tercets, "Bien puedes dar tu luz (hermosa aurora)." This poem is a translation of Serafino Aquilano's "Capitolo dell'Aurora" ("Ben pòi tu lucidar, candida Aurora"), written before the close of the fifteenth century.

A major study concerned with the identification of Dávalos' Italian models is that of Joseph G. Fucilla who, in his *Estudios sobre el petrarquismo en España,* devotes a chapter to the Peruvian poet. Cited among those Italian poets whom Dávalos followed are (in addition to Petrarch) Vittoria Colonna, Panfilo Sasso, Tansillo, Mozzarello, Di Costanza, Ariosto, Lorenzino de' Medici, Poliziano, Alamanni, as well as Aquilano. Dávalos himself, in his prose commentary, often identifies the Italian poet whom he is translating or imitating, but with regard to the poem beginning "Bien puedes dar tu luz," found in Colloquio XLII, pages 200r, 200v, 201r, of the *Miscelanea Austral,* he says simply "Dire vnos tercetos que traduxe de vn Italiano Poeta." Concerning this poem Fucilla remarks

[1] See Joseph G. Fucilla, *Estudios sobre el petrarquismo en España, RFE,* Anejo 72 (Madrid, 1960), pp. 219-35; Fucilla, "A Peruvian Petrarchist: Diego D'Avalos y Figueroa," *PQ,* 8 (1929), 355-68; Luis Jaime Cisneros, "Notas sobre la 'Miscelanea Austral' de Diego Dávalos y Figueroa," *Revista histórica,* 19 (Lima, 1952), 286-327; Cisneros, "Sobre la poesía de Dávalos y Figueroa," *Mar del Sur,* 9, No. 26 (Lima, 1953), 38-49; Cisneros, "Estudio y edición de la 'Defensa de Damas' [considered a prolongation of *Miscelanea Austral*]," *Fenix,* 9 (Lima, 1953), 81-196; Cisneros, "Sobre literatura virreinal peruana (Asedio a Dávalos y Figueroa)," *Anuario de estudios americanos,* 12 (Sevilla, 1955), 219-52; Cisneros, "Misoginia y profeminismo (Para las fuentes de la *Defensa de las Damas*)," *Mercurio peruano,* 36, No. 340 (Lima, 1955), 503-14; Cisneros, "Dos temas renacentistas en un libro peruano colonial: *Miscelanea Austral,*" *Litterae Hispanae et Lusitanae* (Munich, 1968), pp. 125-30; Augusto Tamayo Vargas, *Literatura peruana* (Lima, 1965), I, 201-07. I wish to thank Professor Joseph G. Fucilla, Northwestern University, and Professors Luis Monguió and Dorothy Clotelle Clarke Shadi, U. of Calif., Berkeley, for their helpful suggestions while I was preparing the present paper.

" También son petrarquísticos los tercetos ' Bien puedes [etc.],' traducidos de un poeta italiano que todavía no hemos identificado " (*Estudios,* pp. 221, 234, n. 11). The unidentified poet, as I have noted, is Serafino Aquilano (1466-1500).

Serafino's poetry was enormously popular and was widely imitated. After his death more than fifty editions of his *Opere* were published in Italy between 1502 and 1568.[2] Included in his works are some twenty *capitoli,* and the " Capitolo dell'Aurora " may have been one of the earliest of his compositions in this interlocked tercet form. It is, at any rate, the only one which is known to have appeared in print before 1500. Mario Menghini, who published an edition of Aquilano's *Rime* in 1894, wrote that "Alcune sue poche rime uscirono nondimeno a luce lui vivente; ma spesso vagavano anonime e si diffondevano in quegli opuscoletti di due o quattro carte offerti al popolo sui muricciuoli." In one of these *opuscoletti* is found the " Capitolo dell'Aurora," and Aquilano is named as the author.[3] While many of Serafino's *strambotti* are found with their music, it is interesting to note that, according to Walter Rubsamen, *Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500),* ". . . only one specimen of his more cultivated poetry was set to music by the frottolists, the *capitolo* ' Ben ti puoi lucidar, candida aurora,' This was harmonized by E. Romanus and printed in . . . Antico's *Frottole libro quarto,* Venice, 1520." [4]

The " Capitolo dell'Aurora " is an apostrophe to the dawn protesting the advent of day since it brings to an end the poet's nocturnal dreams of his beloved. Following are the introductory tercets, as printed in the Philippo di Giunta Florence, 1516, edition (*Opere dello elegantissimo poeta . . .*):

Ben pòi tu lucidar, candida Aurora,
Con la tua uista el mondo e 'l ciel intorno,
Ché le tenebre mie cominciano hora,

Rompendo a me col tuo crudel ritorno
Spesse uolte un tal sogno e sí süaue,
Che a meza nocte a me fa lieto giorno.

[2] See Barbara Bauer-Formicone, *Die Strambotti des Serafino dall'Aquila,* Freiburger Schriften zur romanischen Philologie, 10 (Munich, 1967), pp. 390-93.

[3] See Mario Menghini, *Le rime di Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila,* Collezione di opere inedite o rare, 77 (Bologna, 1894), pp. ix, xxii-xxiii.

[4] U. of Calif. Pubs. in Music, 1, No. 1 (1943), 15. Claudio Gallico, *Un libro di poesie per musica dell'epoca d'Isabella d'Este,* Quaderno 4, Bollettino storico mantovano (Mantua, 1961), pp. 107-08, lists, however, 8 *capitoli* which were placed in a musical setting ca. 1500, one of which is another of Aquilano's *capitoli,* " Quel dolce nodo che me strinse il cor."

Ché doue Amor di me pietá non haue,
Hauea sognando in braccio el mio bel sole
Al suo dispecto & di soe uoglie praue.

Ah, quanto ogni mortal di te si dole!
Onde el tuo corso e 'l tuo poter maldico
Con puro cor, con gesti & con parole.

Dávalos y Figueroa's translation of these tercets in his *Miscelanea Austral* follows:

Bien puedes dar tu luz (hermosa aurora)
Al cielo, y a la tierra obscurecida,
Mas en mi la tiniebla viene agora:

Pues quebraste mi bien, con tu venida,
De vn sueño para el alma tan gustoso,
Que en el solo hallaua, luz y vida.

Pues donde Amor cõmigo es riguroso,
Soñaua yo a mi sol entre los braços,
A su pessar en acto deleitoso.

O quantos daños, quantos embaraços,
Causan tus passos! a quien yo maldigo
En este coraçon hecho pedaços.

The text of both poems continues with a long enumeration of those who must rise at daybreak and with reluctance take up again their daily chores. In the main Dávalos' translation follows Aquilano's *capitolo* very closely, although his version shortens the poem from 103 lines to 85 lines. Dávalos revises one tercet and omits two in the body of the poem; he condenses the three final tercets into one and supplies a new line to close the rhyme, creating thus a new concluding quatrain. The question arises, then, as to whether he was translating a version of the "Capitolo dell'Aurora" that differed from the one appearing in the Giunta 1516 edition.

Dávalos y Figueroa was born in Spain, in Ecija, ca. 1550-1555. The Peruvian critic Luis Cisneros suggests 1555 and sets 1574 as the year of his arrival in the New World.[5] Fucilla remarks simply that "en 1596 ya estaba en el Nuevo Mundo" and adds "De un pasaje autobiográfico . . . aprendemos que había viajado en Francia e Italia" (*Estudios,* p. 219). So little is known of Dávalos' biography one hesitates to hazard conclusions from the meager information at hand. Given the proliferation of Aquilano editions, however, and Dávalos' particular chronological position

[5] Cisneros, "Notas sobre la 'Miscelanea Austral,'" 305, 308.

in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-centuries, I find it likely that he probably saw a later edition of Aquilano than the 1516 Philippo di Giunta edition.

While the text of a Venice, 1548, edition published by Bernardi di Guinta is almost identical to the 1516 text (variations in orthography only), an edition by Bartolomeo detto l'Imperador, published in Venice, 1544, is defective in that thirty lines from Capitolo VII (the "Capitolo dell'Aurora") have been transposed with an equivalent number of lines from Capitolo VI, therefore producing botched versions of both *capitoli.* Precisely the same tercet switch between the "Aurora" *capitolo* and Capitolo VI is found in a Venice, 1550, edition by Agostino Bindoni.

I have been able to examine only four reproductions of the "Capitolo dell'Aurora;" those of 1516 and 1548 are very likely close to Aquilano's original, while the 1544 and 1550 editions contain the defective versions noted above. The answer remains to be found, then, to the problem of how to account for the divergencies in Dávalos' translation of the "Aurora" *capitolo.* It may very well be that he changed or omitted six tercets for reasons of his own; that is, the divergencies do not necessarily indicate that he was using an Italian text which differed from that of 1516 or 1548. On the other hand it is intriguing to note that one of the tercets he omits is precisely that crucial tercet where both the 1544 and 1550 editions begin to stray as far as Capitolo VI and Capitolo VII are concerned.

Fucilla mentioned the Dávalos translation in his *Estudios sobre el petrarquismo en España* because he considered it to be yet another example of the Petrarchan influence on Spanish poetry of the Golden Age. Aquilano's "Capitolo dell'Aurora" (and hence Dávalos' translation) does show a certain resemblance to Petrarch's Canzone 50 ("Ne la stagion che 'l ciel rapido inchina") in that Petrarch uses the device of enumeration, mentioning in succession a "vecchiarella," a "zappador," a "pastor," "naviganti," and "buoi," but in each case he describes their activities at the close of day, not at dawn. Each prepares for a night of rest whereas Petrarch laments that "crudo Amor" does not allow him a similar repose since he is tormented with longing for Laura. Petrarch's Sonetto 33 ("Già fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella"), on the other hand, does deal with the coming of dawn, but the sonnet is not a personal protest to the dawn for its inopportune arrival (in the same sense that Aquilano finds the dawn inopportune) since for the bard of Avignon night and day were equally miserable without Laura.[6]

[6] Petrarch's Canzone 50 describing activities at eventide was much imitated. See Aquilano's *strambotti* Nos. 351, 352, 354, 355, in Bauer-Formicone, pp. 298-300; the *strambotto* attributed to both Aquilano and to Vincenzo Calmeta, Bauer-Formicone, p. 328, No. 9; a *strambotto* by Panfilo Sasso, found in Severino

While Aquilano's *capitolo,* and consequently Dávalos' translation, may be "petrarquísticos" in style, Barbara Bauer-Formicone has pointed out that the actual source of the Italian *capitolo* is Ovid's *Amores,* I, 13.[7] The latter poem has been described as "the only surviving classical Latin poem wholly devoted to the lover's complaint to dawn."[8] The dawn theme is ancient and virtually universal; the familiar Provençal *alba* (or *aube*) represented an historical "crystallization" of the genre. The term "alba" is now used generally to identify almost any poem whose principal theme is the lovers' lament at parting at dawn,[9] and I shall employ it in that sense in this paper. Ovid's dawn song reprimands Aurora because she interrupts the pleasure of the poet and his lady. The Latin poet then proceeds to list those who must bestir themselves at daybreak; he mentions mariners, wayfarers, soldiers, farmers, oxen, schoolboys, lawyers, plaintiffs, women who must return to their toilsome spinning and weaving, and young maidens who must arise betimes. While Aquilano augments Ovid's list, a comparison of the two poems reveals that the *Capitolo,* taken as a whole, was obviously modeled either directly on Ovid's poem or on some unknown but equally close imitation of it.

Aquilano's enumeration of those who must rise at dawn lists the "artefice," the "zappator," the "cultor di cose alme & diuine," the "uecchia" the "fanciul," the "boui," the "caualli," the "peregrin," the "donzella," the "soldato," the "pouero," the "uictural," the "seluaggie fier," the "cor-

Ferrari, *Biblioteca di letteratura popolare italiana,* (Florence, 1882), p. 278, No. 4. Fucilla, *Estudios,* pp. 24, 89, 139, 186, cites imitations of Petrarch's Canzone 50 in the works of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan de la Cueva, Francisco de la Torre, and Lupercio L. de Argensola. There seems often to be a blending between the "close of day" theme from Canzone 50 and the "arrival of dawn" theme from Petrarch's Sonetto 33 ("Già fiammeggiava"). The two themes, and the enumeration pattern, are neatly exemplified in two sonnets by Panfilo Sasso ("Gionge la sera e vien la notte oscura" and "Surge l'aurora e 'l buon pastor se parte") which were translated by Manuel Faria y Sousa, the first into Portuguese ("Quando se vem caindo a noite escura") and the second into Spanish ("Sale la aurora y el pastor contento"). See Fucilla, "Manuel Faria y Sousa's Imitations from Italian Poets," *PQ,* 8 (1929), 134-49, rpt. in Fucilla, *Studies and Notes (Literary and Historical),* (Naples, 1953), see esp. pp. 323-24, No. 22; pp. 327-28, No. 27.

[7] *Die Strambotti,* p. 358. Bauer-Formicone discusses the influence of Aquilano in Spanish literature, mentions Dávalos y Figueroa, and cites, among others, Fucilla's studies on Dávalos' debt to Italian poetry, but she was apparently not aware that Dávalos translated Aquilano's "Capitolo dell'Aurora," as no mention is made of the fact in her otherwise very thorough footnotes. See pp. 129-34; esp. p. 132.

[8] See *Eos: An Inquiry into the Themes of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry,* ed. Arthur T. Hatto (The Hague, 1965), pp. 272-74, in ch. by John Lockwood, "Classical, Later, and Mediaeval Latin," pp. 271-81.

[9] *Eos,* pp. 47-48, 75-82, and ch. by B. Woledge, "Old Provençal and Old French," pp. 344-89.

rier," the "seruo," the "prigioner," and the 'marinar." Dávalos in his version picks up the "oficial," the "cauador," the "cultor," the "infante," the "buey," the "cavallo," the "peregrino," the "dama," the "soldado," the "pobre," the "fiera,' the 'correo," the "sieruo," the "prisionero," and the "remero." Whether Dávalos was aware of the source of Aquilano's *capitolo* is unknown, but it is clear that the Peruvian poet was not attempting to imitate Ovid's original. Ovid names ten occupations or activities, for example, while Aquilano gives seventeen and Dávalos selects fifteen from those cited in the Italian poem.

Ovid's poem seems to have been the first to introduce the conceit that Aurora is not at all reluctant to leave the bed of her elderly husband Tithonus,[10] an idea repeated by the many poets who drew inspiration from Ovid's poem. It is found incorporated into Aquilano's *capitolo* and appears in Dávalos' translation. An important divergency from Ovid is found, however, in Aquilano's *capitolo.* Ovid speaks of "the sweet pleasure to lie in the tender arms of my lady; if ever, well now she lies at my side," whereas Aquilano's and Dávalos' ladies come to them in their dreams. The implication of immorality is thus removed from Aquilano's and Dávalos' poems since neither poet speaks of an actual rendezvous. This spiritualized expression of the conventional *alba* theme reflects, I believe, the influence of Petrarch.

Luis Jaime Cisneros writes, in his article "Sobre la poesía de Dávalos y Figueroa," that the *Miscelanea Austral* "es en verdad la primera obra que, con miras a continuar el aliento italianizante de Garcés, logra introducir en el Perú la influencia italiana y nos pone en contacto con la rica tradición grecolatina." He notes Dávalos' predilection for Garcilaso and points out in addition the influence of Herrera, Francisco de Figueroa, and Cervantes on Dávalos' work, but, Cisneros continues, "De otro lado, será útil comenzar . . . anunciando un divorcio con la tradición que pudiéramos entender por castellana y un entronque con la tradición grecolatina, venida de Virgilio y Ovidio a través del ya mentado Garcilaso, por la vía de España, Camoens y Petrarca, por las de Italia y Portugal. Sin olvidar a Balbuena, responsable de la introducción de Ovidio" (pp. 38-40).

Dávalos' translation of Aquilano's *capitolo* established a link, through Ovid, to Greco-Roman tradition, as we have seen, but his translation also bears witness to the durability of the *alba* tradition. B. Woledge writes in regard to the *alba,* "Can we assume an unbroken line of singers handing on this poetic idea . . . or is it simply a case of similar situations provoking a similar poetic reaction in imaginative minds of different ages? We cannot be sure which it is, but it is a touching example of permanency." [11]

[10] *Eos,* p. 272.
[11] *Eos,* p. 357.

We have shown the link between Ovid's erotic dawn song and Aquilano's and Dávalos' poems. While the Italian and Spanish versions are imitations of the pagan poet's original, filtered through Petrarchism, they are, in fact, examples of the permanency of a poetic idea whose origins lie hidden in antiquity.

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Allegory in *El escándalo*

El escándalo is considered Alarcón's finest and most interesting full-length novel [1] for three reasons: first, it reveals Alarcón's extraordinary narrative ability; second, it is perhaps semi-autobiographical; [2] and lastly, when it appeared in 1875 its pro-Jesuit sentiment stirred great controversy in Spain. These three ideas point to a central, unifying characteristic of the work: the allegorical significance of the action and the characters. By elucidating this allegory, we propose to show that Alarcón had a higher purpose than merely to tell a story, recount his own conversion or apologize for the Jesuits.

The author explicitly described his use of allegory when the protagonist begins his confession as follows:

> En suma: por dramáticos que le parezcan a usted los *hechos* que paso a referirle, no crea que reside en ellos el verdadero interés de la tragedia que aquí me trae. . . . Esta tragedia es de un orden íntimo, personal, subjetivo (que se dice ahora), y los sucesos y los personajes que voy a presentar ante los ojos de usted son como un andamio de que me valgo para levantar mi edificio; andamio que retiraré luego, dejando sólo en pie el problema moral con que batalla mi conciencia (p. 500).[3]

[1] Because Alarcón himself considered this his best work, he had it read to him immediately prior to his death. Mariano Catalina, "Biografía" in *Obras completas* (Madrid: Ediciones Fax, 1954), p. 1913. See also: José Balseiro, *Novelistas espanoles modernos* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1948), pp. 130, 132.

[2] Monroe Z. Hafter, "Alarcón in *El escándalo*" (MLN 83, #2, March 1968): "I believe that the choice he [Alarcón] makes and the inclusion of these apparently extraneous details are clarified by studying the novel as a fictional version of the author's own life." (p. 213); "I believe the reason why Alarcón made that choice for the earlier novel [*El escándalo*] lies in understanding it as a projection of his own life." (pp. 219-220).

[3] All page references are to the second edition of the *Obras completas* mentioned above.