

SEMANTIC MEANINGS OF *CIELO* IN SPANISH GOLDEN AGE DRAMA

In my *Etapas en el desarrollo del mito de Icaro en el Renacimiento y en el Siglo de Oro* (*Hispanófila*, II, ii, 1960, 1-34),¹⁾ I have discussed in considerable detail the extraordinary popularity in Spain of the Icarus theme which stemmed from a direct or indirect imitation of the two famous sonnets of Tansillo: *Amor m'impenna l'ale...* and *Poi che spiegat'ho l'ale...* in which the flight of the mythical Greek youth is associated with the poet's passionate desire. The initial quatrains of both of these sonnets contain an allusion to *cielo*, which, as I shall show below, has had an important bearing on the semantic history of the word during the Siglo de Oro.

Amor m'impenna l'ale e tanto in alto
le spiega l'animoso mio pensiero,
che d'ora in hora sormontando spero
a le porte del ciel far novo assalto...

(*Il Canzoniere*, ed. Percopo, Napoli, 1926, 4)

Poi che spiegat'ho l'ale al bel desio
quanto piú sotto 'l piè l'aria mi scorgo,
piú le superbe penne al vento porgo,
e spregio il mondo e verso 'l ciel m'invio.

(*loc. cit.*, 5)

It is obvious that *cielo* in these passages has a common metaphorical meaning, perfect felicity, specifically, the state of beatitude which Tansillo hoped to attain through the fulfillment of his amorous yearning. This pleasure is tantamount to being in paradise, one of the meanings regularly given to *cielo*. However, *cielo* does not denote the imparadisation of the lover alone. It is also transformed into the image of the beautiful lady that is loved, who spiritually and physically represents a heaven on earth for the lover. In fact, Tansillo himself confirms this personified interpretation in a sonnet written in a calmer mood that bears the heading *Al gigante Tifeo sotto l'isola d'Ischia che può ben gloriarsi di sostenere sulle sue spalle la piú bella donna del mondo* (*op. cit.*, 32-33). It refers to his lady's « grazie, bellezza,

virtú nuove e celesti » and ends with the line « sostiene un nuovo ciel chiuso sotterra ».

In their astronomical terms alluding to feminine attractiveness other poets, including Tansillo, had universally used the shopworn cliché *sole*, *sol*, *soleil*, frequently replacing it with another cliché, *stella*, *estrella*, *lucero*, *luz*, *étoile*. While perhaps not non-existent the identification of *cielo* with the woman loved is certainly extremely rare. At least I have failed to find it among the Petrarchistic compositions and other poems that I have examined prior to 1535 the presumptive date of the two sonnets.²⁾ It introduces a fresh note into the jaded conventionalism of the epoch.

In Spain the association begins with lyrists that imitated the Neapolitan poet — Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who in his *Endechas, Pensamiento mío...* tells us

¿qué buen fin espera
quien va sin recelo
subiendo en el *cielo*
con alas de cera?
(BAE, XXXII, 88)

and the two warmest Spanish admirers of Tansillo, Cetina and Herrera.

In a composition which like part of the doleful ditty is modelled on *Amor m'impenna l'ale* the former speaks of

El *cielo* de sus altos pensamientos,
con las alas de amor ledó subía
Vandalio.,.
(Obras, ed. Hazañas y la Rúa, Sevilla, 1895, 77)

The latter in one of the numerous *pensamiento amoroso* flights that he takes towards his *Luz*, the sonnet, *Dichoso fue el ardor, dichoso el vuelo...* employs a synonym, *olimpo*, in his second tercet:

Yo más dichoso en la alta empresa mía
que en el *olimpo* me encumbró mi suerte,
y ardí vivo en la luz de vuestros ojos.
(BAE, XXXII, 296)

To be added to the versions in my *Etapas...* is one by Góngora in *Soledad segunda* (BAE XXXII, 471) of some pertinence here because it contains *cénit*, another word for *cielo*.

Audaz mi pensamiento
el *cénit* escaló plumas vestido,
cuyo vuelo atrevido
si no ha dado su nombre a tus espumas,

de sus vestidas plumas
conservarán el desvanecimiento
los anales diáfanos del viento.

The tone and wording echo Hurtado de Mendoza's *Pensamiento mío*...

The Conde de Villamediana, on the other hand, must have had Tansillo in mind when he wrote his sonnet, *De cera son las alas*...

De cera son las alas, cuyo buelo
gobierna incautamente el alvedrío,
y llevados del propio desvarío,
con vana presunción suben al *cielo*.
No tiene ya castigo, ni el rezelo
fuerça eficaz, ni fe de que me fío,
si prometido tiene el hado mío
Hombre a la mar, como escarmiento al suelo.
Mas si a la pena Amor el gusto igualas
con aquel nunca visto atrevimiento,
que hasta acreditar lo más rendido,
Derrita el sol las atrevidas alas
que no podrá quitar al pensamiento
la gloria, con caer, de aver subido.
(*Obras*... Çaragoza, 1929, 106)

For a third version, Don García de Porras draws upon Garcilaso's Tansillian imitation *Si para refrenar*:

Celia hermosa, de tu *cielo*
las glorias conquisto oy,
ágame Amor venturoso,
pues me hace atrevido Amor.
Testigo es él, que mi intento
a tanto no se atrevió,
en fe de méritos míos
si no en los de mi atención.
Animo, pues, pensamientos,
no vence vuestro valor,
renombre que guarda el mar
çeniças que sella el Po.
Ycaro en regiones altas,
audazmente bolador,
si dió su nombre a los mares,
su nombre a la fama dió.
Muero Faetón abrazado,
pero déxanos Faetón
más envidia de su gloria
que de mi incendio temor.
Mas ¡ay! que mis pensamientos
no los raios temen, no,

con que Jove enciende aceros,
con que aceros vence el sol.

Sólo en tus enojos repara,
no en su daño no recelo
y temo tu indignación.

Para conquistar tu *cielo*
que tanto mi audacia oso,
sobervios montes construye
mi loca imaginación.

(*Cancionero de 1628*, Madrid, 1945, 510)

The dramatists of the Golden Age continued to utilize *cielo* in connection with flights or ascents to objects of their affection. El Canónigo de Tárrega, for instance, furnishes us with an early example in *El Prado de Valencia*, though in this case *cielo* is, by exception, a man not a woman and the phoenix replaces Icarus:

MARGARITA *sola*

Ardo en la esfera más alta
y pues mi fuego violento,
como rosicler, esmalta
al otro, que es su elemento,
será mi muerte sin falta.
Pero no me acaba, ¡ay triste!
que el pensamiento resiste
como fénix, en la prueba,
y entre la ceniza nueva
de nuevas plumas se viste.
Con ellas subo a mi *cielo*
con temor y con fatiga,
pues las alas con que vuelo
son cortas como de hormiga;
y así me pierdo en el vuelo...

(*BAE*, XLIII, 30)

Tárrega's thought, incidentally, is strongly reminiscent of the sonnet by Cetina: *Amor me tira...* (*op. cit.*, 16) where the Icarus-like flight is combined with the myth of the fabled bird.

The skyward soaring of Cardenio's *esperanza* to the *hermoso cielo* represented by Marcela in the Cervantes' sonnet: *Vuela mi estrecha y débil esperanza...* included in his *La Entretenida*, has already been noted in my *Etapas...*, 19.

Lope de Vega in *El villano en su rincón* has Lisarda invoke the help of Fortuna to reach the *cielo* under its control, who again, as in the case of Tárrega's Margarita, is a man, namely, Otón:

De grado en grado amor va subiendo,
que también el amor tiene su escala;

donde ya mi bajeza a Otón iguala,
cuya grandeza conquistar pretendo.
Fortuna, a tus piedades me encomiendo.
Ya llevo en la derecha mano el ala
con que he llegado a ver del sol la sala,
por la región del aire discurriendo;
no me permitas humillar al suelo;
si a tu *cielo* tu mano me llevare,
hazme cristal al sol, no débil hielo.

Agora es bien que tu piedad me ampare;
que no es dicha volar hasta tu *cielo*,
sin clavo firme que tu rueda pare.

(*Obras escogidas*, I. *Teatro*, Madrid, 1952, 1203)

Cielo is twice employed in a lyrical outburst by Don Jorge in Lope's *Los comendadores de Córdoba*, once to paint the dazzling beauty of Doña Beatriz' face and again to represent his own state of bliss:

Deseando estar dentro de vos propia,
señora, por saber si soy querido,
miré este rostro, que del *cielo* ha sido
con estrellas y sol, retrato y copia.
Y siendo cosa a mi humildad impropia,
vime de luz y resplandor vestido
con vuestros ojos, cual Faetón rendido
cuando abrasa los campos de Etiopia.
Pues viéndome en el *cielo* y paraíso,
y cargado de sol, dije: Teneos,
deseos locos, que me habéis burlado.
Vos quitastéis los ojos de improviso,
y cayendo conmigo mis deseos,
fue mayor el castigo que el pecado;
pero tan obstinado
que otro Luzbel he sido
en no ver luz ni estar arrepentido.

(*Obras*, ed. Menéndez Pelayo, XI, Madrid, 1900, 272)

Deseos locos in the eleventh verse obviously echo *deseo loco* in the Garcilaso's sonnet already referred to.

In Miguel Sánchez' *La guarda cuidadosa* the motif appears in a direct confrontation with his *cielo*:

Labradora celestial
a quien dió naturaleza
como natural belleza
cortesía natural;
cielo, a quien llega el altura
de mi mal con sus remates,
tu que donde los quilates

se ven de mi desventura
ver que no te sea molesta
mi tardanza en responder.
(BAE, XLIII, 10)

In a curious adaptation of the myth in Tirso's *El mayor desengaño* the smitten Emperor Enrico uses *cielo* in speaking of his regal status and *sol* with reference to the object of his affection, Visora:

Al hermoso resplandor
de Visora, cera he sido;
Icaro soy, que he caído
del *cielo* de mi grandeza;
las plumas de la firmeza
a su sol se han derretido..

(*Obras dramáticas completas*, III, Madrid, 1952, 1206)

In *El burlador de Sevilla* the Mercedarian makes Don Juan conceive of himself as a sort of successful rather than a tragic Icarus when he comes to in the arms of Tisbea after his near death from drowning:

DON JUAN. ¿Dónde estoy?

TISBEA. Ya podéis ver:
en brazos de una mujer.

DON JUAN. Vivo en vos, si en el mar muero.
Ya perdí todo el recelo
que me pudiera anegar,
pues del infierno del mar
salgo a vuestro claro *cielo*.
Un espantoso huracán,
dió con mi nave al través
para arrojarme a esos pies
que abrigo y puerto me dan.
Y en vuestro divino Oriente
renazco, y no hay que espantar,
pues veis que hay de amar a mar
una letra solamente...

(*loc. cit.*, 643)

Calderón in *Amor, honor y poder*, the first play known to have been written by him (1623), has Teobaldo assert very bizarrely that he cannot vocalize the love yearning in his heart because its wings (like those of Icarus) have been turned to wax by exposure to the solar rays of Flérida:

Hoy, Flérida, si pudiera
hacer lengua el corazón,

mejor mi pena dijera,
si ya sus alas no son
a tantos rayos de cera;
que si al mismo sol te igualas,
casta Venus, bella Palas,
de esperanza y favor falto
forzoso es prevenir alas...

(*Obras completas*, II, Madrid, 1956, 69)

Soon thereafter it is Enrico who reverts to an indirect allusion to the son of Daedalus as he talks to the Infanta (Flérida) about his daring ascent « hasta el *cielo* », in this instance a deception:

Al sol, con vanos antojos
y con arrogancia loca,
ofrecí el alma en despojos,
que no negará la boca,
lo que confiesan los ojos.
Ambicioso de mi bien,
hasta el *cielo* me atreví,
verdad es que quiero bien...

(*loc. cit.*, 70)

In the *Astrólogo fingido* Juan's extended comparison with Icarus involves the sun (*Obras*, II, 129), while in *Hombre pobre todo es trazas* it is *cielo*. Here the jealous Leonelo, a victim of Clara's scorn, in taking part in a debate over the question ¿Cuál es la mayor pena amando? assumes the role of the unfortunate Cretan youth in his answer:

Oye que el celoso empieza.
Si no fuera aborrecido
con tanta desconfianza,
que no tuviera esperanza
de ser jamás admitido,
consuelo hubiera tenido
en ver que la pena mía,
tanta alta gloria perdía
porque al *cielo* se atrevió,
y al fin perdiéndola yo,
ninguno la merecía...

(*Obras*, II, 209)

On Cipriano's adaptation of elements in the myth in *El mágico prodigioso*, we have already made some comment in the *Etapas...*, *op. cit.*, 29. At this point we shall add only that the passage in question contains the word *cielo*.³⁾

Carlos in *El desdén con el desdén*, in aiming to arouse jealousy in Diana

through his description of Cintia, plays the part of a Golden Age Icarus. The *vuelo* and *osadía* are there, while by means of a daring baroque metaphor the *cuello de garza* replaces the customary lover:

Aquel cuello de cristal,
que por ser de garza el cuello,
el *cielo* de su hermosura
osa llegar con el vuelo.
(Act III, lines 2185-88)

So far we have been dealing with examples of highly emotional situations vividly evoked by the ardor of the *pensamiento*, *esperanza*, *deseo*, *celos* and the like, and, in the case of the Moreto quotation, with a bit of playful whimsy. But the notion of ascent can be handled on a much more realistic level by making use of a ladder which at this time was a stock piece of apparatus employed by lovers to attain their objectives.

Mira de Amescua in *El esclavo del demonio* is one of the first to utilize the appliance in connection with Diego's intention to reach his Lisarda. So that he can mount it the hidalgo instructs his servant:

Arrímala, pues Domingo,
que quiero escalar ahora
este *cielo* de Lisarda.
(Act I, lines 376-78)

As he is on the way up Don Gil appears on the scene and dissuades him from carrying out his design. He, too, like other aspiring lovers, is tormented by his *loco pensamiento* to possess Lisarda, but momentarily overcomes his scruples and seduces her while posing as Don Diego. As he is fleeing with the young woman he identifies himself directly with Icarus in answer to her question as to who he is:

LISARDA: ¿Quién es?

GIL: Quién ha subido
 hasta la divina *esfera*,
 pero cual Icaro he sido
 que volé con fe de cera
 y en el infierno he caído...
 (lines 608-11)

In the same play the dramatist has Gil in his warning to Diego substitute Nimrod, the builder of the tower of Babel, and a falling stone, for Icarus while giving *cielo* a connotation that is rather different from the norm:

¿Adónde subes,
piedra arrojada a las nubes,
que sube para caer?
Bajen tus altivas plantas
movidas de torpe amor,
Nembrot que torres levantas
contra el *cielo* de honor
de aquestas doncellas santas.
(lines 403-10)

The sight of a ladder, the one used by Polineso to reach Dalina dressed as Ginebra, causes Ariodante in Guillén de Castro's *El desengaño dichoso* to employ the *cielo* metaphor:

¡Ay, *cielo*! Déjame hablar
pues no me mata el pesar,
pues no me traga la tierra.
Ginebra, Infanta, mujer,
¿es verdad o son antojos?
Quizá que mis propios ojos
me engañan, no puede ser.
Yo vi subir a tu *cielo*
un hombre idichoso vuelo!...
(*Obras I*, Madrid, 1925, 337)

Mendo's use of a ladder to penetrate Blanca's apartment is, of course, well known to the many readers of Rojas Zorrilla's *Del rey abajo ninguno*. As he is preparing to do so he soliloquizes:

Una escala previne, con intento,
Blanca, de penetrar tu *firmamento*,
y lo mismo emprendiera,
si fuera diosa en la tonante esfera,
no montañesa ruda
sin honor, sin esposo que te acuda,
que en este loco abismo
intentara lo mismo
si fuera, Blanca bella,
como naciste humana, pura estrella,
bien que a la tierra, bien que al *cielo* sumo
bajara en polvo y ascendiera en humo.
(lines 1153-64)

He had already cast himself in the role of Icarus when in an aside he exclaims:

(Blanca, esta noche he de entrar
a verte, a fe de español,

que para llegar al sol,
las nubes se han de escalar)...
(lines 1025-28)

In *El más impropio verdugo* Rojas provides his Alejandro with another ladder to attain his objective, Diana:

Por este monasterio,
adonde el *cielo* solo tiene imperio,
y despechado y loco
a nueva furia agora me provoco;
aunque es pretexto injusto
a la violencia remitir el gusto,
y gozar a Diana
por fuerza, que el amor todo lo allana,
en su propio aposento
que por una pared deste convento
tiene fácil la entrada,
empresa loca fue, pero fue honrada...
sobre aquella pared la escala arrojó,
y apenas puesta estuvo,
cuando a asaltar por ella al *cielo* subo,
sin recelar contrario;
y al tiempo que resuelto y temerario
quiero arrojarme dentro,
cuatro bultos me salen al encuentro...
Quise hacer resistencia
en mí, volviendo a la infernal violencia;
y como desde el *cielo*
bajé rodando por la escala al suelo
de camino tan agro,
quedando con la vida por milagro,
de mi valor profundo,
y presumiendo poca empresa el mundo...
(BAE, LIX, 171)

In *La industria y la suerte* by Ruiz de Alarcón there are actually two *galanes*, Jimeno and Arnesto, each with a ladder to climb to Blanca's apartment. Jimeno, surprised that Arnesto has got there first, exclaims:

Mas o me engaño o sin alas
Arnesto sube al balcón.
Ella es sin duda. ¡Ah, ladrón,
que el *cielo* atrevido escalas...
(*Teatro completo*, Mexico, 1951, 213)

The *sin alas* and *cielo* link it with the Greek myth. In a previous scene as Arnesto prepares the scaling, he betrays his treacherous character when he bids his servant to fetch the ladder in order to get to his *cielo*:

Ve, será la vez primera
que se ve engañado un ángel,
y yo el primero ladrón,
que el *cielo* por hurto alcance.
(*loc. cit.*, 211)

We are not certain just what type of ladder was used in the examples given above. Jimeno's is described as an «escala de cordeles», 212.

In Tirso de Molina's *Palabras y plumas* Tansillo's verses are pictorialized on an insignia worn by Hércules de Este at a *sortija*. It is thus described by Matilde to Don Iñigo:

Hércules de Este, Adonis en las galas
y en la milicia César, en un *cielo*
pintó una dama, y él, haciendo escalas
y picas y banderas, desde el suelo
a conquistarla sube, aunque sin alas;
que más levanta el ánimo que el vuelo.
(*Obras dramáticas completas*, I, Madrid, 1946, 1175)

Don Pedro compares Don Juan's boldness to that of the giants of Greek mythology scaling the heavens in his account of the seduction of Isabela in *El burlador*:

Halló a Isabela en los brazos
de algún hombre poderoso,
mas quien al *cielo* se atreve,
sin duda es gigante o monstruo.
(lines 292-95)

Like the example in *El esclavo del demonio* this apparently stems from Tansillo's Typhoeus sonnet as do others cited later.

We may note in passing that another colossus, Atlas, who held up the heavens, is compared by Marino in a madrigal to himself, the lover, with his lady in his arms, his *cielo*.

Celia, il tuo viso angelico sereno
può dirsi un *Ciel* terreno,
le tue guance l'aurora
de le sue rose, e de' suoi gigli s'infiora.
Ne' begli occhi lampeggia
lo splendor de le stelle, anzi del sole.
Ne la fronte biancheggia
il bel candor de la stellata via.
La celeste armonia
s'ode ne le dolcissime parole.
S'un *Ciel* reggessi di bellezze tante

fra queste braccia, o me felice Atlante.
(*La lira*, P.te seconda, Venetia, 1638, 33)⁴⁾

We know that *El pastor fido* was written by Antonio Solís y Rivadencira, Antonio Coello and Calderón. The second act, which belongs to Coello, contains a scene in which Mirtillo explains how he saved Amarili and in the course of his account repeats the giant-heaven allusion:

yo asistiendo a su arbitrio,
con justas temeridades,
cogí en mis brazos el *cielo*;
muérase de envidia Atlante!
(*BAE*, XIV, 499)

He might have got his idea from Marino in this instance.

When Aristeo in Agustín de Salazar y Torres' *Elegir al enemigo* appears with the swooned Rosimunda in his arms he surprisingly substitutes Hercules for Atlas:

Ya que de las llamas libre
saco en mis brazos el *cielo*;
muérase de envidia Alcides...
(*BAE*, XLIX, 267)

Nevertheless, the similarity of the phrases « Muérase de envidia Atlante » (Coello) and « muérase de envidia Alcides » (Salazar) leaves no doubt as to the source of the passage. Hercules, on one occasion, had sent Atlas to bring him the apples of Hesperides and during his absence supported the heavens in his stead.

The Atlante figure re-appears in Alarcón's *La verdad sospechosa* when García on seeing Jacinta alighting from her carriage comes forward to help her descend:

JACINTA: ¡Válgame Dios!
D. GARCÍA: Esta mano
os servid de que os levante
si merezco ser Atlante
de un *cielo* tan soberano.
D. GARCÍA: Atlante devéys de ser
pues lo llegáys a tocar.
JACINTA: Una cosa es alcançar
y otra cosa merecer.
¿Qué vitoria es la beldad

alcançar, por quien me abraso,
si es favor que devo al caso,
y no a vuestra voluntad?
Con mi propria mano así
el *cielo*; mas ¿qué importó,
si ha sido porque él cayó
y no porque yo subí?
(lines 436-50)

In having his *galanes* hold their *damas* in their arms Calderón twice links the act with Atlas—in *Lances de amor y fortuna* (*Obras*, II, 186) and in *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira* (*Obras*, I, 1113). Without the mention of the giant the *cielo-en-brazos* concept occurs in *Judas Macabeo* (*Obras*, I, 25). We find it again in the *Jardin de Falerina* (II, 1895), in a duet between Rugero and Música in the magic scene during which the enchantress shows Bradamante and Rugero together at the court of Charlemagne. The words of the song are:

Tener el *cielo* en mis brazos
después que fuísteis mi *cielo*.

These are virtually repeated in *Mujer, llora y vencerás* when Inés, on stumbling in the course of a dance, falls into the arms of Enrique, whereupon he exclaims:

Felice
yo pues tanta dicha alcanzo
que puedo decir, señora,
que tuve el *cielo* en mis brazos
después que fuisteis mi *cielo*.
(*Obras*, II, 1434)

In *Guárdate del agua mansa* the description which Eugenia gives of a procession in which the queen (a *cielo*) takes part, the horse on which she is mounted is grotesquely transformed into a sort of Atlas:

En un bruto que parece
que sabía que llevaba
todo un *cielo* sobre sí,
según la noble arrogancia
con que obedecía soberbio
el impulso que le manda
llegó nuestra invicta reina
a las puertas de su alcázar.
(*Obras*, II, 1324)

Since the notion of *cielo* = lady-love (and occasionally, royalty) became fixed in poems and plays connected with the theme of flight or ascent or the

Atlas motif such as the above, it was an easy step to detach it and to use it in other contexts. In Spain we should expect that Herrera would be among those making an attempt in this direction. He, in fact, does so in his « Canción »: *Desciende de la lumbre de Parnaso...* in speaking of a certain Francisca:

¡Oh glorioso *cielo* en nuestro suelo!
¡Oh suelo glorioso con tal *cielo*!
¿Quién podrá celebrar vuestra nobleza?
¿Quién osará alabar vuestra belleza?
(BAE, XXXII, 275-76)

and in the sonnet: *No espero mas...*

Porque los dulces rayos de la frente
que el *cielo* de la Estrella ilustran mía,
son mi Apolo y mi Delia, cierta guía
en la oscura tiniebla y luz presente.
(BAE, XXXII, 298)

However, writers in the second half of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century preferred the stereotyped *sol* to *cielo* as an expression of supreme beauty. There are, of course, exceptions and one of them is Cervantes. Among the examples we might cite is Lope's song in *La ilustre fregona* structured around the concept of *cielo empíreo* (also *nuevo hermoso firmamento*):

¿Dónde estás que no pareces
esfera de la hermosura,
belleza a la vida humana
de divina compostura?
Cielo empíreo, donde amor
tiene su estancia segura;
primer mueble, que arrebató
tras sí todas las venturas:
lugar cristalino donde
transparentes aguas puras
enfrian de amor las llamas,
las acrescientan y apuran;
nuevo hermoso *firmamento*,
donde dos estrellas juntas,
sin tomar la luz prestada,
al *cielo* y al suelo alumbran...
(Obras completas, Madrid, 1949, 934)

Of greater relevance because of their occurrence in a masterpiece are three examples in *Don Quijote*, e.g., the words of Sancho in his soliloquy as he sets out to find the unfindable Dulcinea in Toboso: « Voy a buscar,

como quien no dice nada, a una princesa, y en ella al sol de la hermosura y a *todo el cielo* junto» (ch. 1, part II); la Dolorida's description of Princesa Antonomasia: «De esta hermosura y no como se debe encarecida de mi torpe lengua, se enamoró un número infinito de príncipes, así naturales como extranjeros, entre los cuales osó levantar los pensamientos al *cielo* de tanta belleza un caballero particular que en la corte estaba» (ch. 38, part II), and Montesinos' apologetic correction of a previous statement on Dulcinea during his meeting with Don Quijote in the cave: «Señor Don Quijote, perdóneme vuestra merced que yo confieso que anduve mal, y no dije bien en decir que apenas igualara la señora Dulcinea e la señora Belerma, pues me bastaba a mí haber entendido, por no sé qué barruntos, que vuesa merced es su caballero, para que me mordiera la lengua antes de compararla sino con el mismo *cielo*». ⁵⁾

The dramatists of the Golden Age were extremely fond of the *cielo* = supreme beauty concept—Lope, Mira, Tirso, Ruiz de Alarcón, Guillén de Castro, Vélez de Guevara, Calderón, Moreto. It is safe to say that no one can be counted out. In most instances *cielo* is left unmodified, but it often appears with qualifying words in the form of *cielo hermoso*, *cielo humano*, *cielo soberano*, *cielo divino*. In these cases it is apt to be closely synonymous with *sol*. Cf. Tirso's *Dama del Olivar*:

Guillén: Laurencia es un sol, un *cielo*...
(*Obras dramáticas completas*, I, Madrid, 1946, 1058)

But when we encounter designations like *todo un (el) cielo* — *Estrella de Sevilla*; Vélez de Guevara, *Reinar después de morir*; Rojas, *Entre bobos anda el juego*; Moreto's, *Lo que puede la aprensión*; Calderón, *Castillo de Linabridis* and *No hay cosa como callar* and *Cielo entero* in Calderón, *Ni amor se libra de amor* — it becomes clear that we are dealing with a more sublimated term than *sol*, as we have already observed in the case of Sancho's use in *Don Quijote*, to which these examples seem to be related. We shall forgo the listing of further illustrations. Some idea of the widespread vogue that the *cielo* = beauty concept had acquired at the time (c. 1625) can be gained through the satirical remarks that Lope de Vega has Laura make in *Los Tellos de Meneses: Primera parte*:

y hay mujer,
perro, que tiene los pies
como bonete doblado.
Pues si alabar el calzado
hoy escucharas, Inés,
medias, zapatillo y liga,
a Venus imaginaras.
Todas tienen lindas caras;
no hay mujer de quien no diga

que es un serafín, un *cielo*,
como de la corte sea:
infierno llama a la aldea.

(*Obras escogidas*, I. *Teatro*, Madrid, 1952, 413)

Because of its connection with a famous play, *La vida es sueño*, it may be of interest to discuss separately the poetic linking of this type of imagery to the Pythagorean doctrine of microcosm — *breve mundo*, which is contrasted to *breve cielo*. It occurs in Act II, lines 1565 and 1567 when Segismundo after seeing Rosaura again, this time dressed as a woman, says:

Leía

una vez yo en los libros que tenía
que lo que a Dios mayor estudio debe
era el hombre por ser un *mundo breve*,
mas ya que lo es recelo
la mujer, pues ha sido un *breve cielo*,
y más beldad encierra
que el hombre cuanto va de cielo a tierra
y más si es lo que miro...

The earliest instance of the *mundo-cielo* antithesis occurs in *Amor, honor y poder* (1623), *Obras*, II, 59. It was repeated in 1628 in the first scene of Act I of *Hombre pobre todo es trazas* (II, 202). It re-appears twice in an auto composed in 1634 — *No hay más fortuna que Dios*, in the *letra* sung by Música on the occasion of the meeting of Poder and Hermosura in the garden. *Breve cielo, cielo breve, abreviado cielo, cielo abreviado, reducido cielo, breve esfera* show up in a number of comedias composed between 1629 and 1637 — *Amigo, amante y leal; Peor está que estaba; No hay burlas con el amor; A secreto agravio secreta venganza; Argenis y Poliarco* and *Los tres mayores prodigios*. This leaves three other occurrences, two of them with the antithesis — *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira*, composed around 1659 according to Hilborn in *A Chronology of the Plays of D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Toronto, 1938, 51, and *El gran teatro del mundo* dated 1648-50 by Hilborn, p. 84, and one play with only *abreviado cielo* — *Los hijos de la fortuna: Teágenes y Clariclea* to which Hilborn assigns the date 1651-53, p. 61. Nevertheless, in view of the very heavy concentration of the microcosmic figure up to 1637, this raises the question as to whether all three comedias should not be retrodated to the period before 1638. In the case of *El gran teatro del mundo* there is some supporting evidence in Valbuena Prat's edition in the Clásicos Ebro series, p. 15. On the basis of similarities between the auto and Quevedo's *El Epiceto y Focilides en español con consonantes* (1635), the editor believes that its composition must have taken place about 1637. If this kind of argumentation is valid, it might also be maintained that Calderón could have been stimulated to write his *Los hijos de la fortuna...* resulting from the

publication or staging of Montalván's *Teágenes y Clariclea* printed in 1638, the year of his death, but because of insanity at the end of his life, probably composed some years earlier. As for *En esta vida...* Hilborn himself concedes (*op. cit.*, 51-52) that composition in 1635 or 1636 is a possibility.

The *pequeño mundo-pequeño cielo* motif had been in circulation before Calderón who very likely borrowed it from an anonymous poem in redondillas, *Señora, vuestra hermosura...* which he must have read in Espinosa's *Flores de poetas ilustres de España*, Valladolid, 1605.

Si un *mundo abreviado* es
cualquier hombre que hay criado,
vois sois un *cielo abreviado*,
que el mundo está a vuestros pies.
(*BAE*, XLII, 9)

With the exception of Vélez de Guevara in *Reinar después de morir*, he seems to have been the only of the Golden Age playwrights to employ it. Vélez puts it in Brito's report to the Principe on Inés at her quinta. In part he states that she is an

aurora en carne humana,
tiriciado abril con la mañana,
todo un cielo abreviado
y al sol de dos luceros abrazado. (i.e. their two sons).
(lines 184-87)

There is a curious series of *cielo* mentions that involve a kneeling dama pleading for compassion, pardon or favor which, of course, she obtains immediately. Among the Golden Age playwrights we have found the motif only in Calderón. It makes its appearance in his first comedia, *Amor, honor y fortuna*, when Estela on kneeling before the king to kiss his hand expresses her shame to be seen by him in a peasant garb:

Vuestra majestad, señor,
disculpando la ignorancia
que me permite este traje,
me da sus manos.

whereupon the monarch, combining his words of pardon with the *breve mundo* and *cielo* concept, says to her:

Levanta:
no me cause la soberbia
que tuve un *cielo* a mis plantas,
porque si a otras hermosuras

un *mundo pequeño* llaman,
tu eres un *cielo pequeño*.
(*Obras*, II, 59)

In one of his better plays, *La gran Cenobia* (1625), the dramatist employs it when he has Queen Cenobia kneel in feigned humility before her captor, Aureliano. He is at once smitten by her and bids her to rise exclaiming:

Alza, Cenobia, del suelo
que grande prodigio encierra
cuando humilde en la tierra
se ven las luces del *cielo*.⁶
(*Obras*, I, 96)

Through the process of synecdoche the figure was soon transferred to the face, the most attractive part of the human frame. Whenever this happens the pattern that is followed usually includes mention of the stereotyped astral metaphors that had been employed during the Petrarchistic vogue. Pedro de Padilla is one of the first to illustrate this type of imagery in the second stanza of *Oyó a Silvano...*, one of the eclogues in *Eglogas pastoriles*:

En cielo y tierra no vi
cosa vella que tuuiesse
perfección, que no estuuiesse
con mil ventajas en tí;
mas tus ojos, discrecion
no ay que sepa encarescellos,
que la luz que sale dellos
es fuego del corazón.

Llamar esse rostro *cielo*
(por la belleza que encierra)
no sé yo cosa en la tierra
que la venga más a pelo,
y su mayor perfección
con esos luzeros bellos,
y la luz que sale dellos.
(Sevilla, 1582, 167)

Luis Martín in *Flores de poetas ilustres* gives us the line:

y abrió los soles del sereno *cielo*...
(*BAE*, XLII, 19)

Andrés in Cervantes' *La gitanilla* describes Preciosa's visage to Clemente as follows:

Mira, Clemente, el estrellado velo
con que estra noche fría

compite con el día,
de luces bellas adornando el *cielo*;
y en esta semejanza,
si tanto tu divino ingenio alcanza,
aquel rostro figura
donde asiste el extremo de hermosura.
(*Obras completas*, Madrid, 1949, 798)

There are several less stereotyped variations. In Lope's *Los bandos de Sena* Teodora's blush enhances her heavenly attractions for Pompeyo when she reveals that she is a woman and not a man as he had been led to believe:

No adornes más de colores
el *cielo* de aquesa cara,
que menos rojas bastara
para engendrar mil amores;
pues si tu persona fue
siendo hombre causa de amarte,
siendo mujer o ¿en qué parte
del alma no te pondré?
(*Obras*, Cotarelo ed., III, Madrid, 1917, 549)

In *Los melindres de Belisa* the sight of the brand of slavery on Belisa causes Juan to badly mix his metaphors:

Cielo rosado que adoro
¿qué cometas negras son
las que con tal sinrazón
eclipsan tus rayos de oro?...
¿Quién en tan blanco papel
tales letras escribió
no imaginaba que yo
tengo de poner en él
el alma para que dé
salga aquel hierro estampado?
(*Obras escogidas*, I. *Teatro*, Madrid, 1952)

Marsilio in Vélez de Guevara's *Los hijos de la Barbuda* bombastically plays upon the antithesis *mundo-cielo* as he looks upon a portrait of Doña Urraca:

Esa es la infanta de Navarra, y esa
ha de ser o mi muerte o mi ventura;
mirad si mi valor poco interesa,
que si Alejandro conquistar procura
al mundo por hacerse sin segundo.
No vale más que el mundo esta hermosura
porque si es *cielo* su rostro, en razón fundo
que vengo a ser si gano su belleza
mayor que si ganase todo el mundo.
(*BAE*, XLIII, 135)

The many *tapadas* in Golden Age plays were bound to arouse the desire of the *galanes* to have them remove their veils or *mantos* which are imagined as *nieblas*, *nubes* and *noches*. Cf. two examples from Calderón:

CÉSAR to *Lisarda*:

Quitad ese oscuro velo,
quitad esa niebla oscura,
y si es *cielo* la hermosura
haya gloria en ese *cielo*...

(*Peor está que estaba*, Obras, II, 320)

DIEGO to *Violante*:

No es bien que *cielo* tanto
tenga oculto la noche dese manto,
aunque en luces tan bellas
suplió un ojo, que es sol, por las estrellas,
no sé cuál de las mías levantarme
pudo a tanto favor...

(*Astrólogo fingido*, II, 146)

García in *La verdad sospechosa* refers to the faces of the two *tapadas*, Lucrecia and Jacinta, as «esse assombro de los cielos... esse cielo de los hombres» (lines 2474-75).

But the most attractive of the examples of a *cielo tapado* is furnished by Rojas Zorrilla in *Obligados y ofendidos* in Don Pedro's enjoiner to Casandra:

No deis en tibios desmayos
rayos,
ni en dudosas arreboles
soles,
si a vuestro *cielo* ocultado
nublado;
mas para qué mi cuidado
siente mortal desvelo
si es fuerza que hay en el *cielo*
rayos, soles, y nublado?
Descubrid...

(*BAE*, LIX, 79)

In Calderón's *El pintor de su deshonra* it is Serafina's hand shielding her face that leads the Príncipe to compare it to a *nube*:

Quitad la mano
del rostro, que es poca nube
para esconder *cielo* tanto...

(*Obras*, I, 880)

Lope in *El animal de Hungría* fancifully compares Queen Teodosia

to a harpy with a *cielo*-face when she, *vestida de pieles*, exposes her countenance to him:

Cuando con alas te viera
pensara que eras arpía:
cielo en rostro, en cuerpo fiera,
y en las armas y osadía
con Hércules compitiera;
y si te viera en la mar
pensara que eras sirena
para cantar y encantar...
(Cotarelo ed., III, Madrid, 1917, 422)

It might be said that the vogue of the *rostro-cielo* figure was moderate. It, too, lent itself to parody, which is what Moreto appears to convey through his gracioso, Colmillo, in *Lo que puede la aprensión*:

Una mañana ameneció tan bella,
que una estrella a su lado, ¿qué es estrella?
la luna, ni aun la luna en su azul velo,
ni los rayos de sol, ni *todo el cielo*
como ella puede ser, pues si quisiera
competir todo el cielo, le venciera;
porque la luna ya se ve en su frente,
en sus ojos el sol resplandeciente,
estrellas en las luces que desata,
en su tez el záfir tocado en plata...
(BAE, XXXIX, 170)

The dimensions of the *cielo*-trope were at times still further reduced to the lady's eyes. Particularly should they be blue, they might conceivably be regarded as miniature *cielos*. Such must have been the color of Marcela's eyes in Grisóstomo's « Canción desesperada » in *Don Quijote*:

Si por dicha conoces que merezco
que el *cielo* claro de tus bellos ojos
en mi muerte se turbe no lo hagas...
(Ch. XIV, Part I)

The sextet of a Lope sonnet: *Marcio, yo amé...* leaves no doubt on this score:

Marcio, ausentéme, y en ausencia un día
miráronme unos ojos, y mirélos:
no sé si fue su estrella, o fue la mía.
Azules son, sin duda son dos *cielos*,
que ha hecho lo que un cielo no podía;
vida me da su luz, su color celos.
(*Obras sueltas*, IV, Madrid, 1776, 214)

While ridiculing the old cliché *ojos=estrellas* Lope in *Lo cierto por lo dudoso* through the criado, Ramiro, shows a preference for the new cliché *ojos=cielos* descriptive of the eyes of doña Juana:

Los ojos... no quiero estrellas
que es cosa baja, ofenden
tantos ojos estrellados,
sino decir que parecen
dos breves *cielos* de amor
adonde gloriosamente
penan las almas...
(BAE, XXIX, 466)

In *Los bandos de Sena* Leonardo pleads with the Captain (Theodora in disguise) not to deprive him of the favorable glance of his *dama*:

que no me matéis de celos
que no me eclipséis los *cielos*
de esta adorada mujer...
(Cotarelo ed., III, Madrid, 1917, 548)

Mira in *El esclavo del demonio* combines the Petrarchistic commonplace *perlas=tears* with *cielos=ojos* in Gil's reaction to the tears of Leonora:

Aquellos ojos se deben
mil victorias y trofeos,
cielos son que perlas llueven,
y mis sedientos deseos
dentro del alma los (las) beben...
(lines 1245-49)

There is a touch of poetic beauty in Antonia's words to Teodora in the same author's *El ejemplo mayor de la desdicha* as they both watch the approach of Belisario:

Señora, si a esos balcones
hacen oriente los *cielos*
de tus ojos, hallarás
el mayor triunfo que vieran
los romanos.
(Teatro, II, *Clásicos castellanos*, Madrid, 1929, 172)

Vélez de Guevara in *Reinar después de morir* devotes a long passage to the same motif in one of Brito's reports to the Príncipe on Inés, but ends in quaintly turning the *perlas* into *mariposas*:

En esto despertaron
Dionís y Alonso, y juntos preguntaron

a una voz por su padre;
 enterneci6se, oy6ndol6s, la madre,
 o fuese amor o celos,
 toc6 a anegar en l6grimas dos *cielos*:
 y en lluvias tan extra6as,
 sartas de perlas hizo las pesta6as,
 que en sus luces hermosas,
 de perlas se volv6an mariposas:
 y abras6ndose en ellas,
 granizaron los p6rpados estrellas;
 y viendo contra el d6a,
 que abajo tanto *cielo* se ven6a,
 calmando sus recelos,
 dile tu carta y seren6 sus *cielos*.
 (Act I, lines 252-67)

There is a faint echo of Cetina's famous madrigal, *Ojos claros, serenos...* in the words of C6sar to Margarita in Calder6n's *Para vencer amor, querer vencerle*:

¿Sin responderme volvéis
 la espalda? ¿Aun no me miráis?
 ¿Suspiros al aire dais?
 ¿Llanto a la tierra ofrecéis?
 Ya que de mí os ausentéis
 turbados *cielos* serenos,
 de tantos rigores llenos
 decid algo en mi pasi6n...⁷⁾
 (*Obras*, II, 553)

Contraction could extend to the lady's mouth as implied in Mac6as' description of Clara in Lope's *Porfiar hasta morir*:

En este centro celestial dichoso,
 de mi bien o mi mal ciertas sospechas,
 par6 mi alma, y se cubri6 de olvido
 con otro nuevo ser cuanto hab6a sido,
 d6jome, abriendo un *cielo* por dos rosas,
 que se llamaba Clara, y claro estaba
 que si el nombre conviene con las cosas,
 en 6l su claridad significaba.
 (*Obras escogidas*, I. *Teatro*, Madrid, 1952, 695)

Though as in the case of mouth it was extremely rare, *cielo* might even be used to describe the *dama*'s hand as it in Calder6n's *Lances de amor y fortuna* in the question Lotario asks Aurora when he gives her a ring:

¿Es esta la piedra bella
 que en el *cielo* soberano

de tu bellísima mano
fue, señora, errante estrella? ⁸⁾
(*Obras*, II, 192)

Since *cielo* no matter in what figurative sense it was used almost always retains an affective connotation, it was inevitable that it should be employed separately as a term of endearment. However, with the exception of Calderón, who utilizes it in a score of comedias, other playwrights of the time show little attraction for it. As a rule, it appears vocatively and normally as an element in a pluri-membered group:

mi bien, mi *cielo*...
(*Apolo y Climene*, *Obras*, I, 1847)
mi bien, mi gloria, mi *cielo*...
(*id.*, 1858)
mi bien, mi esposa, *cielo*, gloria mía...
(*El médico de su honra*, *Obras*, I, 338)
mi esposa, mi *cielo*, mi gloria,
mi dueño, mi bien...
(*Celos aun del aire matan*, *Obras*, I, 1804)

In view of the divinization of the *damas* in the literary and courtly circles of the Renaissance and Golden Age, it comes as no surprise to see them situated in an earthly *cielo*. Most often it was their rooms. Cf. García's account of his faked marriage in *La verdad sospechosa*:

Fuy acrescendando fineza
y ella aumentando favores,
hasta ponerme en el *cielo*
de su aposento una noche.
(lines 1567-70)

or it might be their home as, for example, Jacinta's, in the same play:

D. GARCÍA: ¿Dónde vive?
CAMINO: A la Vitoria.
D. GARCÍA: Cierto es mi bien. — Que seréys,
dize aquí (i.e. the letter he is reading)
quien me guiéys
al *cielo* de tanta gloria.
(lines 1144-48)

or a garden like the one in which the duke of Florence finds himself in Calderón's *La banda y la flor*:

CLORI: Aquí podrá vuestra alteza
gozar del fresco mejor.

DUQUE: No tiene elección mi amor
ni albredrío mi tristeza
y como yo tu belleza
mire siempre, no sabré
si jardín o estrado fue
donde estuve, pues recelo
que cualquiera esfera es *cielo*
donde tanto sol se ve.
(*Obras*, II, 433)

a city. Cf. Tristán's statement in *La verdad sospechosa*:

Resplandecen damas bellas
en el cortesano suelo (i.e. Madrid)
de la suerte que en el *cielo*,
brillan luzientes estrellas.
(lines 293-95)

a province or nation, as indicated in Calderón's *Argenis y Poliarco*:

ARCOMBROTO: Llegué a Sicilia, y llegué
por mejor decir al *cielo*,
que es dosel y que es esfera
de un sol que causar pudiera,
diluvios de luz al suelo.
(*Obras*, II, 1944)

It could be shrunk to the smallest imaginable compass, a chair or a throne. Cf. a passage in Calderón's *Manos blancas no ofenden*:

FED.: Aquí entre la gente envuelto
más común, llegué al salón,
donde ví en un trono excelso
a Serafina. Esta vez
el nombre trajo el concepto,
no yo, y así permitidme
decir, o vulgar o necio,
que era un *cielo*, y Serafina
el Serafín de su *cielo*.

Indeed, as the Duque in *La banda y la flor* had hinted, it could refer to any space occupied by her human frame. Cf., for example, the Conde's words to the kneeling Ana who had asked for his protection in Ruiz de Alarcón's play *El tejedor de Segovia, parte primera*:

Alzad, que envidio al suelo,
porque le dais autoridad de *cielo*,
y en recíprocos lazos
sea fénix amor en nuestros brazos.
(*Teatro completo*, Mexico, 1951, 1195)

We have concentrated our discussion on a considerable portion of the repertoire of the major Golden Age playwrights. A more exhaustive coverage including secondary writers would have yielded numerous other examples which would, if collected, merely serve to re-enforce the evidence that has already been adduced. Even if the Tansillo sonnets should not be the first to identify *cielo* with the lady-love, it is certain that the amorous flight theme that they brought to Spanish lyric and dramatic poetry was the primary source for the connotative developments that took place in the term.

Whereas in his adaptation of the Icarus story Tansillo makes a martyr out of himself and glories in his self-sacrifice, which is his way of resolving his passionate crisis, on the other hand, starting with Garcilaso the majority of the Spaniards who have adapted the Italian version view their crisis as an insoluble experience which ends or is likely to end in tragedy, *desengaño*. It is the infusion of this new mood into the theme, transforming it into a characteristic manifestation of Spanish baroque psychology that accounts for the powerful appeal it continued to exert for more than a century. The polarity between the lover's aspiration and its attainment, the *dama*, is given a high degree of poignancy by identifying him with Icarus and her with *sol* or *cielo*. There are about as many adaptations of the myth that use either term, but the context makes it clear that both of them are usually synonymous. Moreover, the substitution was justified by the currency of the word *heaven* referring to the planets that formed part of the Ptolomeic system, one of which was the sun. The frenzy of the Spanish personifiers of the son of Daedalus to destroy or negate their illusions or desires is, incidentally, not too far removed from what is taking place in the writings of the modern existentialists.

Sol was, of course, a very common Petrarchistic epithet applicable to the lady's physical or moral virtues as a whole, to her face and to her eyes. As soon as its synonymity with *cielo* became fixed, thanks to the adaptations of the ancient tale, *cielo* could and did replace *sol* in the treatment of these motifs. In essence both terms function as a kind of baroque super-ornamentation intended to convey the sensation of something unique, divine, overpowering, passionately lovable. Once the mutual substitution was effected it became possible to further extend and intensify the meaning of *cielo* within the limits of description and affectivity, which is precisely what happened as we have seen in a number of our examples. The greater indeterminateness of *cielo* as compared with *sol* endowed it with a sentimental and emotional quality which was stronger than could be imparted by its more concrete rival, and while attempts to express them are often extravagant and rhetorical, we are at times rewarded with snatches of genuine lyric poetry.

Coverage of only part of the repertoire of the post-Calderonian dramatists of the *período de la fórmula* (volume XLIX of the *Biblioteca de autores*

españoles) leads to the provisional conclusion that the metaphor was sparsely utilized. Among the writers of this group Cañizares employs it at least twice, once in *El picarillo en España*:

REY. Hermosa Leonor divina,
 ¿Qué nuevo sol por la tarde
 quiere a esta esfera florida
 amanecer que las luces
 de vuestro *cielo* anticipa?
 (BAE, XLIX, 538)

and again in *Dómine Lucas* when D. Enrique appears with Doña Leonor in his arms following a coach accident, the familiar *Atlante-cielo* motif:

ENRIQUE. No Atlante se desvanezca
 de que en sus hombros el cielo,
 divina Leonor, mantenga,
 cuando yo a *cielo* mejor
 logro con débiles fuerzas
 sostener.
 (*id.* 507)

Those who re-acted with Luzán against Góngora, Lope and Calderón could hardly be expected to be attracted. But García de la Huerta, despite his formal acceptance of the neo-classical rules, shows in *Raquel* that he is a disciple of the Golden Age dramatists in other respects, a small proof of which are the words of Alfonso to the kneeling Jewess:

Alza, Raquel, del suelo de tu llanto
suspende los raudales, no abatido
tenga el *cielo* de quien eres copia.
(lines 1269-71)

For Juan de Arolas, a Romantic, the eyes of his beloved have a transcendental quality in his *El encanto*:

Ellos serán su gloria de contino,
su presente ilusión, su amado *cielo*,
su esperanza, su mágico destino,
su plegaría en las lágrimas del suelo,
su canto matutino.
(*Poesías, Clásicos castellanos*, Madrid, 1928, 50)

The then current revival of Calderón, the poet of *cielo* par excellence, may explain it and other specimens that might turn up during this period.

In his collection of the *Cantos populares españoles* Rodríguez Marín includes a version that once more reminds us of Cetina's madrigal:

Del *cielo* de tus ojos,⁹⁾
di una caída:
levantarme no puedo
si no me miras.
Me he levantado;
es señal que tus ojos
me habrán mirado.
(Tomo II, Sevilla, 1882, 20)

The *requiebro* demonstrates that the *cielo*-figure after being virtually discarded in bookish literature was incorporated into oral or popular tradition as has often happened in the case of so many themes and motifs. An eloquent witness of this is the wide diffusion of the *cielitos*, one of the types of *payado* sung by the gauchos of the pampas.¹⁰⁾

Twice it appears among the poems written in a popular vein by the Andalusian poet, Juan Rodríguez Mateo—in his *Mujer de Avila*:

El palio de la toca
¡Cómo ilumina al *cielo* de tu cara!
(*Espigas*, Sevilla, 1959, 253)

and in *La mujer de Soria*:

Dones del suelo
esenciaron tu gracia para hacerte
en el Amor, inmovible fuerte,
en la Ternura, jubiloso *Cielo*.
(*id.* 254)

The employment of the word in the great song-hit *De la Sierra Morena, Cielito lindo...* reveals the final and dominating phase of *cielo*, namely, as a vocative expression of endearment. It would be difficult to measure its impact, but in combining with the strong oral tradition from which it has sprung it has helped to make the metaphorical *cielo* a universal term co-extensive with the entire Spanish-speaking world, a term used by young lovers, by almost all parents in addressing their children, and with reference to household pets. It has now re-entered the bookish domain in the form of the realistic portrayal of family life in contemporary prose fiction. Cf., for example, the words of Adela to her infant daughter in Carmen Laforet's *La Insolación: Ahora comerás tú, cielo. Ahora te da mamá unas patatas aplastaditas y un biberón* (Barcelona ed., 1963, 198). Its enormous diffusion will without question keep the metaphor perennially alive even as the millions who continue to use it will remain completely oblivious of the name of Luigi Tansillo, the genial poet, who has been responsible for its vogue.

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¹⁾ Reproduced in my *Superbi colli ed altri saggi*, Roma, 1963. (Esclusività di vendita, Florence, Olschki).

²⁾ See Fiorentino's discussion in *Liriche di Luigi Tansillo*, Napoli, 1882, LIII-V and Percopo's observations in the *Canzoniere*, op. cit., CIX sq.

Our two sonnets are much more complex than appears on the surface in view of the various cultural influences that helped to mould them. Several have been indicated in my «*Etapas...*», op. cit., 4-5. Not noted in the study is what must have been the most important of the influences, Platonism, especially a sentence in Ficino's *Comento al Simposio di Platone*: «*Verus enim amor nihil est aliud quam nexus quidam ad divinam pulchritudinem evolandi ad aspectu corporalis in pulchritudinis excitatus*» Ch. IV. I quote from the only edition available to me— S. J. JAYNE's *Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's Symposium: The Text and Translation with an Introduction*, «*University of Missouri Studies*», XIX (1944), 117. In ch. XIV Ficino brings out that Plato in *Phaedrus* attributes wings to the soul by which it may be borne to the sublime, a reminder of the wings of the Icarian lover.

³⁾ Another Icarus reference but naming *sol* not *cielo* is in ROJAS ZORRILLA's *La hermosura y la desdicha* (BAE, LIV, 453). However, the sun, Laura, is soon thereafter called an *esfera*.

⁴⁾ The collection had, of course, appeared many years before, in 1608. In this edition the dedication to Melchior Crescentio preceding the first part is dated «*A dí 10 di Febbraio 1602*».

⁵⁾ See also a part of Cardenio's description of Luscinda in *Don Quijote*, XXIX, part I, and the reference to Zoraida's beauty, *id.* ch. XLIII, part I.

⁶⁾ Other examples can be found in *Peor está que estaba, Para vencer amor querer vencerle, La hija del aire, Exaltacion de la Cruz, Los hijos de la fortuna*. See also VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA, *La luna en la sierra* (BAE, XLIII, 179).

⁷⁾ See also ROJAS ZORRILLA's *Progne y Filomena* (BAE, LIX, 64) and his *Obligados y ofendidos* (*id.* 62 and 75).

⁸⁾ A rather far-fetched equation of *cielo frente* may be found in GÓNGORA's *Fabula de Polifemo y Galatea* in the stanza:

Marítimo Alción, roca eminente
sobre sus huevos coronaba el día
que espejo de zafiro fue luciente
la playa azul de la persona mía;
miréme, y lucir vi un sol en mi frente
cuando en el *cielo* un ojo se veía;
neutra el agua dudaba a cuál fe preste
o al *cielo* humano o al cíclope celeste.

ROMERA NAVARRO, in his *Antología de la literatura española*, Boston, note 4, 227, interprets: «*Polifemo, el mayor de los cíclopes, tenía un ojo en medio de la frente, un ojo, ie. el Sol; neutra el agua... el mar (que reflejaba justamente el Sol, y el ojo de Polifemo) dudada a cuál de los dos daría mayor credito, si al sol que lucía en la frente del cíclope (el cielo humano) o al Sol (el cíclope celeste)*».

It might be that *frente-cielo* here is an echo of Petrarch's *Di quella fronte piú che il ciel sereno*, l. 8 of *Onde tolse amor...*

⁹⁾ I am substituting for line one: *Del balcón de tus ojos...* the variant which Rodríguez Marín gives on p. 104.

¹⁰⁾ The best known cultivator of the *cielitos* among the poets of the *mester de gaucheria* is the Uruguayan Bartolomé Hidalgo (1788-1822). An example of one of his rimes in this genre can be read in Vol. I of *Poesía gauchesca*, ed. Borges and Bioy Casares, México-Buenos Aires, 1955, 3-7. It is entitled *Cielito del gaucho de la Guardia del Monte contestando al manifiesto de Fernando VII*. The set phrase, which functions at times as a kind of invocation and at times as an asseveration in the debate is *Cielito, cielo que sí...* which is frequently repeated as the initial line of a quatrain. Hidalgo adds variations: *Allí va cielo y más cielo* and *Cielito y otra vez cielo*.