

Poetry at Court in Trastamaran Spain:

From the *Cancionero de Baena*

to the

*Cancionero General*







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MEDIEVAL & RENAISSANCE  
TEXTS & STUDIES

VOLUME 181



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*Cancionero General*

*edited by*

E. MICHAEL GERLI & JULIAN WEISS

MEDIEVAL & RENAISSANCE TEXTS & STUDIES

Tempe, Arizona

1998

A generous grant from The Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States' Universities has assisted in meeting the publication costs of this volume.

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#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Poetry at court in Trastamaran Spain : from the Cancionero de Baena to the Cancionero general / edited by E. Michael Gerli & Julian Weiss.

p. cm. — (Medieval & Renaissance texts & studies ; v. 181)

Papers from a conference held at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 11–14 Feb. 1993.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-86698-223-X (alk. paper)

1. Spanish poetry—To 1500—History and criticism—Congresses.  
2. Love poetry, Spanish—History and criticism—Congresses. 3. Civilization, Medieval, in literature—Congresses. 4. Courtly love in literature—Congresses. I. Gerli, E. Michael. II. Weiss, Julian, 1954– . III. Series. PQ6096.C3P64 1998

861'.2093543—dc21

98-8302

CIP



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Printed in the United States of America



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## *Acknowledgements*

The editors wish to thank the following institutions for sponsoring the conference: the Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States' Universities, The Embassy of Spain in Washington, D.C., the Folger Institute of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and Georgetown University. Final revisions to the majority of the essays were completed during 1995; since then, it has been possible to update the bibliography only in a couple of instances. The editors are therefore deeply grateful for the forbearance of the contributors during the long editorial process.

*JW and EMG*



*In memoriam Brian Dutton*



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## Introduction

JULIAN WEISS

### Beginnings

The essays that make up this collection were originally presented at an international research conference held at Georgetown University, Washington D.C., under the title "Poetry at Court in Trastamaran Spain: From the *Cancionero de Baena* to the *Cancionero general*" (February 11–14, 1993). The conference, which now provides the title for this book, was, we believe, the first of its kind devoted exclusively to the late medieval Castilian poetry now commonly known as *cancionero* verse.

What kind of priority is claimed by this statement? "A beginning," according to Edward Said, "immediately establishes relationships with works already existing, relationships of either continuity or antagonism or some mixture of both" (1975, 3). For reasons that will become evident in the course of this introduction and the essays themselves, the relationships this book establishes with the past are complex and various. However, Said goes on to add that a beginning "generally involves also the designation of a consequent *intention*" (1975, 5). In organizing the conference, Michael Gerli and I did not ask the participants to prepare specific topics according to a preconceived scheme; neither the collection nor, *a fortiori*, the conference were intended to be narrowly programmatic. Hence, ours is not a beginning that leads to a specific set of clearly defined conclusions. Our intentions are more general and answer a more fundamental need: to create a forum in which readers can take stock of some of the major current approaches to *cancionero* studies and begin critical reflection upon past achievements and future possibilities in this field.

And in some areas the achievements of the recent past have been considerable. Although the trend predates the 1980s, the last fifteen years have witnessed extraordinary advances in our empirical knowledge of the *cancioneros*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The opening pages of Vicenç Beltran's contribution provide ample bibliographical documentation.

Brian Dutton's *Catálogo-Índice* (1982), itself a monument to bibliographic scholarship, has culminated in the staggering achievement of the multivolume series published in Salamanca (1990–91). This will be as essential a research tool for the twenty-first century as Foulché-Delbosc's *Cancionero castellano* has been (unfortunately in many respects) for the twentieth. Many others besides Dutton, however, have increased the sheer availability of *cancionero* verse and enhanced our ability to appreciate these anthologies from a wide range of social and literary perspectives. The last fifteen years have also seen a distinct improvement in accessible and high-quality editions of the complete *oeuvres* of single poets: the canonical triumvirate of Santillana, Mena, and Jorge Manrique are the ones to benefit most obviously from the skill and downright dedication of such scholars as Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego, Ángel Gómez Moreno, Maxim Kerkhof, Carla de Nigris, and Vicenç Beltran. But clearly, much more needs to be done in the editorial field, where progress has been sporadic and uneven.

Other basic research tools have been created by Ana María Gómez Bravo, whose metrical catalogue of *cancionero* lyric will soon take its place on the scholar's shelves alongside Tavani's *Repertorio metrico* of the Galician-Portuguese lyric (1967) and István Frank's catalogue of Provençal (1953–66). Equally indispensable documentation has been provided by Vicenç Beltran's study (1988a) of the syntactic and metrical structures of the Castilian *cançión*.<sup>2</sup> Two book-length studies of *cancionero* verse by Casas Rigall (1995) and Crosas López (1995) also provide valuable documentary evidence for understanding the poetic use of rhetorical techniques and classical motifs respectively.

The boundary between documentary and interpretative work (enshrined in the quaint distinction between "scholar" and "critic") is as we know a blurred one, but it seems to me that the main achievements of the past decade or so have lain in the former, rather than the latter category. Although there have been many fine articles on isolated topics, there is a relative scarcity of broad-based monographs that offer extended critical readings of poems, poets, themes, genres, or sociocultural issues. One has to go back over fifteen years to find the two books that (in my opinion) offer the most innovative attempts to conceptualize the poetics and cultural meaning of *cancionero* verse: Roger Boase's *Troubadour Revival* (1978) and Keith Whinnom's *La poesía amorosa* (1981, though his project began in the mid-1960s).

My impression is that at least here in the United States, *cancionero* verse still labors under a certain stigma. Whinnom's pioneering work (1966) was a forceful reminder that *cancionero* lyric has played, so to speak, a "negative function"

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<sup>2</sup> The fruit of twenty years labor, its methods are inspired by Russian Formalism and Structuralism and modulated by the "noble" science of statistics (the adjective is the author's). I hope it does not take another twenty years for Professor Beltran, or someone else, to take up the challenge of Russian Formalism and show how *cancionero* verse "might be said to defamiliarize, make strange or challenge certain dominant conceptions . . . of the social world" (Bennett 1979, 21).

in Spanish literary historiography. But in spite of his insights, much of the work done on the *cancioneros* is still rooted in largely unexamined assumptions about literary canons, esthetic, social, and political categories and values. This is poetry that since the early nineteenth century has occupied a liminal space in the minds of critics. It has been the terrain upon which critics have staked out the boundaries separating pairs of contrasting conceptual categories. Culturally, for example, it has been read to locate the difference between medieval and Renaissance (or early modern); esthetically, the “insincerity” and artificiality of the court lyric has been invoked to demonstrate—or I should say *create by contrast*—the poetic authenticity of canonical texts (whether they be Santillana’s *serranillas*, Manrique’s *Coplas*, or Garcilaso’s verse).<sup>3</sup> The history of *cancionero* studies is a measure of our evolving notions of “literature” and “culture,” since much of the interpretative criticism has been designed to vindicate or deny its status as “art.” It would hardly be appropriate to say that *cancionero* verse has been neglected. Rather, as “literature’s” Other, its uncomfortable yet necessary presence looms large in modern literary historiography, as “traditional” in its alterity as the Traditional Lyric has been in its easy canonicity.

To foster debate on *cancionero* verse, its poetics and cultural significance, we have tried to gather together a representative cross-section of current work, produced by scholars writing at different stages in their careers, some of them renowned specialists in medieval lyric, others publishing for the first time on the subject.<sup>4</sup> The contributors do not follow a homogeneous line, in theme or method. They write from different critical positions and work within (and in some cases across) an international range of academic institutions whose structures and conventions so often exert an unseen pressure upon the kinds of criticism we practice. In this sense, and without wishing to labor the point, this collection is a sample of the range of criticism practiced within contemporary hispanomedievalism. The volume as a whole, therefore, can be used to explore not just *cancioneros* but the assumptions and methodologies we bring to the task of literary and historical criticism.

However, although we stress diversity as a positive value of the book, the collection is not amorphous. The original submissions to the conference fell into fairly clear discussion groups based around the following research topics: codicological studies; literary traditions; questions of language; courtly love as play; and sociopolitical issues.<sup>5</sup> With only slight modification, the book retains

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<sup>3</sup> For a single example that combines both these age-old critical maneuvers, see Di Camillo (1976, 69–106), which casts the nonlyrical, “unpoetic” *cancionero* esthetic as a backdrop, a medieval “other,” against which he defined his Spanish Renaissance humanism.

<sup>4</sup> This collection contains a considerable amount of work in progress. Many essays (e.g., those by Deyermond, Weissberger, Beltran, Macpherson, Hermida Ruiz, Burrus) are samples of more ambitious projects currently in preparation.

<sup>5</sup> Two issues not treated in this volume are music and textual criticism. The latter omission is especially regrettable, because the past twenty-five years have witnessed a significant

the conference grouping; and needless to say, within each area, each essay stands alone as an individual contribution in its own right. However, the sections of the book are not watertight categories: they overlap, and therein lies much of the power of the book to generate further thinking about the field. For—like any anthology—whether this volume as a whole amounts to more than the sum of its parts depends upon the ability of its readers to make connections between the papers: to read the entire book not as a product but as a process. So rather than limiting myself to the usual introductory style of summarizing—too often in bland agreement—each of the papers, I shall attempt something less perfunctory, which is to offer a personal reading of the connections between the essays and to identify some areas for future thought and debate. I hardly need emphasize that the course I plot through these papers is shaped by my own critical concerns. I encourage other readers to follow the spirit of the collection and, by drawing their own intersections between the themes and methods outlined here, to pursue new lines of inquiry or renew their own research.

Anthologies by their very nature select and arrange; in the process of selection and arrangement, they can—sometimes by accident, sometimes by design—create new ways of looking at the material. I hope that this anthology about anthologies will do the same.

### ***Cancioneros: Compilation and Cultural Meaning***

In a paper originally presented at the conference but now published separately, Dorothy Severin (1994) argued that the term *cancionero* (“songbook”) is a misnomer for anthologies that include such a heterogeneous range of literary genres, in prose and verse, copied for a variety of private and public purposes. Whatever one thinks of the usefulness of this catch-all term, her arguments highlight the urgent need for an empirical survey of the available corpus. This is precisely the project undertaken by Vicenç Beltran: as part of his continuing research on the organizational techniques of the anthologies, the present contribution studies their underlying processes of compilation, which are so often hidden from view when we consider the *cancioneros* merely as finished products.<sup>6</sup>

To classify, therefore, what he calls “their genetic typology,” Beltran draws upon an impressive array of codicological evidence. Although we possess some manuscript studies of individual *cancioneros* (as Beltran’s generous bibliography

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growth in critical editions of the major *cancionero* poets (Santillana, Mena, Jorge Manrique, San Pedro) and, to a lesser extent, of the *cancioneros* themselves. Although much remains to be done, these achievements have set the stage for a critical review of those problems that may be associated specifically with editing *cancionero* verse. The issue is all the more pressing given the recent advances in computerized editions (on which see Faulhaber 1991).

<sup>6</sup> The original conference also included an important paper on the compilatory process by Fiona Maguire.

makes plain), this is a pioneering attempt at a broad-based survey of the Castilian material. His essay is founded upon a rigorous accumulation of codicological data, and each piece of evidence seems to have its own singular tale to tell. Beltran reconstructs with special care the stories behind the structural components of each *cancionero* as well as those of the uniquely documented texts (in our quest for the canonical we usually esteem the poems that were most widely disseminated). However, the wealth of documentary detail so necessary for Beltran's project should not obscure the value and overall function of the evidence adduced: this is to emphasize the preeminently *social* nature of these volumes. He shows what happens when a textual "nucleus" (a single work, group of poems, or preexisting *cancionero*) passes beyond its original readership and is reconfigured, whether by chance or design, to suit new needs. A significant group of *cancioneros* are then best seen as products of a cumulative process: diachronic collaborations of successive owners and literary circles. A crucial problem for the literary historian is how to relate seemingly anonymous *cancioneros* to specific centers of literary production. As Beltran emphasizes in his conclusion, this fundamental point (whose implications I explore below) cannot be appreciated unless we shift our gaze from the contents of the anthologies to the manuscript "container" itself.

Michel Garcia takes up the challenge to make the *cancioneros* themselves a primary object of study in an essay that complements and extends many of Beltran's conclusions. Speculating upon their sociological and literary implications, he argues that *cancioneros* should be seen as "literary" objects in their own right. This insight is implicitly supported by recent critical approaches to the history of the manuscript and early printed book. Scholars such as Roger Chartier (1993) and Sylvia Huot (1987) have shown how the materiality of written works both generate and are reinforced by new literary concepts and categories. In this case, the physical form of the *cancioneros* and the essentially posthumous nature of their compilation (according to Garcia) signal the existence in vernacular culture of those categories now enshrined in such terms as "book," "literature," and "literary tradition." Just how these categories give structure and meaning to a specific anthology is shown in Garcia's case study of the *Cancionero de Oñate*, which seems to have been compiled as a coherent record of Castilian literary production.

The importance of manuscript evidence for understanding the historical development of these categories is thrown into even greater relief when we set these two codicological studies side by side and reflect upon some of their common assumptions and different perspectives. Take, for example, the categories "tradition" and "author." Beltran's study of *cancioneros* as a textual *process* provides a suggestive contrast with Garcia's emphasis on the essentially posthumous nature of their compilation. This difference in emphasis should not be resolved in favor of one or the other, because it shows how the remarkable intensity of compilation during the fifteenth century contributes to an emerging sense of "tradition," whose basic dynamic is *renewable* membership in a (selective) *past*. Thus, Beltran's research into the centers of literary pro-

duction acquires a new relevance for a social reading of *cancionero* verse: who were the patrons of these emerging traditions, whose interests did they serve?

The conclusions of both essays hinge implicitly and explicitly upon the category “author.” Garcia views *cancionero* verse as a collective production in which the concept of originary “authorial” creation is something of an anachronism. Yet the validity of this concept is an unspoken assumption of Beltran’s concluding argument that codicological and textual studies of *cancionero* verse should follow the work done on Renaissance manuscripts of Livy, which is predicated on recovering the original authorial intention. My point is not that Garcia is incorrect to downplay the category “author” (though some evidence suggests that it had a powerful appeal for some late medieval writers [Weiss 1990, Minnis 1988]) or that Beltran is unwise to appropriate for *cancionero* verse the methods of textual criticism applicable to a Latin *auctor* (since courtly lyrics might more accurately be portrayed as existing in a state of *mouvance* antithetical to the notion of fixed authorial text). To render, rather than resolve, the full complexity of the historical process (*process* being the key term) we need to recognize how the categories author, literature, literary tradition, or book are not ready-made interpretative templates to be forced back upon the historical data. They are historical constructs and for the period in question are not dominant but emergent ideas—or even what Raymond Williams has called “structures of feeling” that “exist on the edges of semantic availability”—and as such are documented or articulated often in hesitant and contradictory fashion.<sup>7</sup> The intersections between the studies of Beltran and Garcia open up a space in which to explore how codicological analysis sheds light on the historical development of those conceptual categories that provide the most common framework for our discussions of literature. Future research into these issues would need to be conducted on equally rigorous empirical and conceptual levels.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> On the notions of the dominant and emergent, see Williams (1977, 121–27). Williams’s concept of structure of feeling is more complex, but it is a theoretical category designed to identify “social experiences *in solution*, as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been *precipitated* and are more evidently and more immediately available” (see Williams 1977, 128–35, at 133–34).

<sup>8</sup> In this respect, Garcia’s paper should stimulate discussion in the following two areas. Firstly, he suggests that the earlier *mester de clerecia* provides—in the shape of the *Rimado de palacio*—a precedent for conceiving *cancioneros* in terms of a “book” (with its connotations of overarching unity). This view needs to be developed in the light of the arguments of Orduna (1988) and Dagenais (1994): the former compares the *textus receptus* of the *LBA* with a *cancionero*, while the latter argues against viewing the poem as a work informed by modern notions of textual and authorial coherence. However problematic, the comparison between the *cancioneros* and the two earlier *cuaderna vía* compilations is crucial for any historical understanding of the methods and underlying assumptions of vernacular compilation during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Castile. Equally crucial is to bring the Castilian evidence into much closer dialogue with the French and Italian material discussed by Huot (1987).

### Traditions: Rupture and Renewal

Though with different emphases, both studies of *cancioneros* touch on the concept of literary traditions. Their combined evidence shows how the act of recording verse roots the present in the past and simultaneously creates and satisfies a need for an authorizing tradition. However, Garcia also looks to the future and suggests that the continued popularity of *cancionero* verse well into the sixteenth century derives from the perceived "literary quality of the texts."

The concept of tradition, therefore, creates a suggestive link with the studies by Marina Brownlee and Aurora Hermida Ruiz, who both adopt a diachronic perspective and examine the complex relations of *cancionero* poets with those who preceded and followed them. Brownlee's analysis of the poetic genealogy of Francisco Imperial's famous *Dezir a las siete virtudes* breaks new ground in the study of Castilian poets and their French and Italian predecessors. This is no conventional study of source and influence (the genetic criticism practiced by earlier generations of scholars has told us all it can). Brownlee draws on Jacqueline Cerquiglini's theories of the French *dit* to argue that Imperial was trying to establish the Castilian *dezir* as a form of "second-degree literature": a metaliterary form, characterized by a self-conscious play upon previous texts and the primacy of the enunciating subject. Brownlee puts these ideas to work in a detailed explication of Imperial's reading of Dante, which, besides elucidating the complexities of the Castilian poem, shows how Imperial fashioned the seemingly paradoxical authorial persona, *poeta/dezidor*.<sup>9</sup>

How would following the injunctions of Beltran and Garcia to consider the poems in their manuscript context affect our understanding of Imperial's project? Setting the poem alongside the other visionary narratives in Baena's anthology would certainly put into sharper perspective Imperial's challenge to the contemporary horizon of expectations. It would also offer a practical opportunity to test Steven Nichols's argument (1989) that the manuscript be viewed as a "matrix" of the competing interests of scribes, compilers, and poets. Moreover, Brownlee's methods could well be applied to other poets and not just those of the *Cancionero de Baena*. My hunch is that Santillana's narrative *dezires* (and not only his) will display characteristics similar to those found in Imperial's poem: and not necessarily, or even at all, because of putative

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Secondly, for the purposes of cultural analysis much more work needs to be done on the assumptions implicit in Garcia's conceptualization and use of the term "literature." I wonder how possible it will be to sustain "literature" as an autonomous category (as in "the specific values of literature"); unrelated to the ideological interests of the social formations and institutions that produced it as such. I return to this problem below in my comments on Mark Johnston's paper; see also the concluding paragraphs to my study on Hernán Núñez's commentary on Juan de Mena (1993).

<sup>9</sup> The paradox rests on the conjunction of two hierarchically structured, though overlapping, concepts of poetic creativity: poetry as philosophy (*poeta*), and poetry as rhetoric (*dezidor*). The opposition is articulated in the critical prefaces of Santillana and Encina but has its roots in antiquity; see Weiss (1990, 104, 190, 196) for discussion and bibliography.

knowledge of French poetic practice (to assume this would merely replicate Le Gentil's fatuous dismissal of Spain as "fille spirituelle de la France"). A more probable working hypothesis is that the same social forces that produced the *dit* as defined by Cerquilligni—the move from the psychodynamics of orality to those of written discourse—independently shape the development of the Castilian *dezir* (and English, Italian, and Catalan . . .).

The long shift from oral modes of composition and thought to those generated by literacy provides, as Brownlee emphasizes, the essential context for Imperial's fascination with the dynamics of intertextuality, particularly his belief that (like Juan Ruiz) "intertextuality is inevitable." In making this point, Brownlee cites Zumthor's remark that "oralité et écriture s'opposent comme le continu au discontinu." Leaving aside the problems associated with Zumthor's binary formulation, the association between writing and discontinuity or distantiating suggests that there is a social dimension to Imperial's latent concern for "inevitable intertextuality." Perhaps the underlying consciousness that the written word is alienating entails a dialectical need to preserve the community and continuity of orality by emphasizing open texts and a dialogue with future readers. At this social level, one could make thematic connections with the extraordinary urge to gather and preserve poetic writing, described by Beltran and Garcia, and with Michael Gerli's account of language and alienation in the courtly lyrics of Cartagena (discussed below).<sup>10</sup>

Brownlee's primary concern is with intertextual relationships; in that sense literary traditions are, so to speak, "backformations," texts in dialogue with previous texts. Aurora Hermida Ruiz, on the other hand, is concerned primarily with the social meaning of literary traditions: texts in dialogue not so much with each other as with a world outside the text (for some, a questionable notion). She asks what happens when new writers emerge and self-consciously proclaim a break with the past? How "revolutionary" was Garcilaso's love? Hermida Ruiz begins to answer these questions by surveying the ways Garcilaso's concepts of love and poetry have been thought to relate to *cancionero* verse. In spite of the work done on the relation between the Italianate forms and their *cancionero* predecessors, much still remains to be done on an ideological level (two recent books on Garcilaso, by Heiple [1994] and Navarrete [1994], leave the terrain free for exploration). Hermida Ruiz offers a preliminary case study into the ideology of love, by focussing on the way the courtly *topos* of secrecy is deployed in some *coplas* by Jorge Manrique and in Garcilaso's *Canción V* ("Ode ad florem Gnidi"). This *topos* is an ideological bridge across esthetic difference, since it provides both male writers with a strategy to confront and negotiate the feminine "other" and in the process to assert the supremacy of the masculine self.

As evidence for the historical construction of gender, with its asymmetrical

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<sup>10</sup> For a useful overview of medieval ideas about the alienation produced by fallen human language, especially writing, see Jager (1993).



distribution of power, Hermida Ruiz approaches the love lyric as a metonymy: as part of a whole social process (an idea explored from a different perspective in Barbara Weissberger's contribution). Detailed study of the textual strategies whereby the woman's voice is silenced is therefore an essential part of any attempt to tackle the complexities behind Joan Kelly-Gadol's lapidary question, "Did women have a Renaissance?" (1987 [1976]). While they are a necessary corrective to the idealism of formalist studies of style, or to approaches based on the history of ideas, literary studies that highlight the continuity of patriarchy need to be carefully formulated. As Hermida Ruiz herself points out, this continuity is not the result of monolithic and unchanging gender roles but the result of a continuous process of renegotiation: "masculinism" (the ideology of masculine dominance) is dynamic, not static. It is at this point that the formal study of the *cancionero* and Italianate styles needs to be reintroduced, because changing conventions and genres entail different ways of constructing the world, not simply different expressions of the same unchanging reality.<sup>11</sup>

### Courtly Games

Hermida Ruiz draws on the notion of love as a game, though one with serious ideological meanings. Yet the current state of scholarship is such that much practical work remains to be done on the primary texts themselves: to improve our basic understanding of the rules of the game, its language, and the very meaning of many poems, even on the most literal levels. In this respect, the essays by Ian Macpherson and Victoria Burrus make important contributions, and they do so in complementary fashion: the former offers microanalyses of specific texts and the latter a macroanalysis of a paradigm. Their work is exciting, not least because they are able to exploit recent bibliographical research and explore a far wider range of material than was hitherto available.

This point is especially noticeable when one compares Burrus's essay on role playing in the courtly love lyric with the panoramic studies of courtly love by O.H. Green (1949) and Aguirre (1981), who also tried to construct a totalizing paradigm on the basis of motifs extracted from a range of poems. Burrus also goes beyond these earlier scholars by emphasizing the shaping influence of court society, the inescapable context of *cancionero* verse. Drawing on the studies of courtliness by Elias and Jaeger, she opens her account by stressing the importance of creating the "proper image" at court. This entailed negotiating the "sometimes subtle shifts in the dynamics of social power relationships" and in the process deliberately blurring the boundaries between literature and life. In the bulk of her essay, Burrus sketches the principal features of

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<sup>11</sup> For further materialist perspectives on form, developed in large measure through a critique of the ahistorical abstractions of Russian Formalism, see Medvedev and Bakhtin (1978) and Williams (1977, 173–91). However, according to Bennett, "the lost heritage" of Russian Formalism is precisely the analysis of the relation between the ideological and cognitive properties of form and the changing social process (1979, 95–97; see also 18–36).

this image and fleshes it out with much new evidence. Although she recognizes role playing as a means of gaining prestige at court, social competition is not her main concern. Rather, it is to bring out the basic conviviality of this form of social interaction between men, as well as between the sexes. For the duration of the game, the rivalries of the outside world are set aside in non-threatening entertainment. Implicitly extending Jaeger's basic thesis, therefore, she views this courtly role playing as part of the civilizing process of the warrior class.

Macpherson approaches the game of courtly love through the perspective of the most obviously social of the lyric genres, the *letras*, *divisas*, and *invenciones* composed for that special arena of aristocratic wealth and power, the tournament. After salutary warnings against adopting a too generalized approach to that "catch all" phrase courtly love, he encourages us to explore the historical specificity of each manifestation of the "genre" (though whether the notion of courtly love can usefully be regarded as a genre is not a problem to be addressed here). Like Burrus, he finds specificity in social context (in this case that of the "closed community" of the Isabeline court), where the ludic quality of courtly love acquired a peculiar and defining intensity. This ludic intensity betrays "a fascination with the multiple possibilities offered by words at work," an awareness of the "plasticity" of language and of "relationships between objects and ideas which might hitherto have passed unnoticed." These conclusions, which flow logically from Macpherson's subtle analyses of selected *invenciones*, are developed within the conceptual framework of Huizinga's *Homo ludens*. This means that "these literary and sporting activities are part of the world of the imagination and are also related to real life: . . . interludes, designed to stand outside 'ordinary' life, interdependent games with their own rules and vocabulary, played for a fixed duration and within an agreed field of play."

This is, by and large, similar to the position adopted by Burrus, who also comments on the blurring of boundaries between "reality" and "fiction" and regards the verse as an interlude from the real business of politics. From a personal standpoint, I consider that this common ground—the relation between writing and "ordinary" life—poses the greatest challenge to *cancionero* studies, in terms of both conceptualization and practical analysis. It is a problem faced by anyone who wishes to understand *cancionero* verse as a social practice, and, as we shall see, it forms a connecting thread with other essays to be discussed below.

### Questions of Language

Alan Deyermond addresses "Bilingualism in the *cancioneros* and its implications." The title belies the bibliographical scope of the paper. Deyermond sets bi- and multilingual Castilian *cancioneros* within the much larger context of European poetic anthologies of the Middle Ages, with occasional side-glances at lyric traditions of other cultures and periods. The broad perspective adopted here opens up tremendous possibilities for detailed case studies of the use of

different languages within specific anthologies, at specific courts, and by specific poets. But above and beyond this invaluable bibliographic service, Deyermund's panoramic overview also suggests ways in which language use may further cultural, gender, and political analysis (one relevant study, by Menocal [1994], was published too late for it to be considered by the author). These broader interpretative issues, however, cannot according to Deyermund be adequately treated without a firm philological and bibliographical foundation. And in this area, much remains to be done; some of the tasks are listed in the final section of the essay. As Deyermund concludes, "Even though the percentages of bilingual poems, or poets, or *cancioneros* are relatively low—for instance, about 10–12 percent of all late medieval poetic anthologies within a given linguistic tradition seem to be to some extent bilingual—they are high enough to make nonsense of any attempt to study the late medieval lyric tradition of any language in isolation." In other words, we need to establish patterns of lyric traditions (even perhaps beyond the confines of Europe) and reconstruct the "web of relationships" between them.

Deyermund's emphasis is fundamental and timely, given the scarcity of comparative studies of the late medieval court lyric and the conditions of its production within an international court culture. His call for more collaborative work and his arguments in favor of a union catalogue of European lyric anthologies are utterly compelling. The only problem that intrigues me at this early stage is a procedural one (and I cannot answer it here): how far will our conclusions rest upon our definition of "bilingualism"? Will occasional references to other languages sustain that "web of relationships" envisioned by Deyermund? At what point in our research will we need to pause for critical reflection upon that key term "bilingual"?

On one level, Deyermund's paper intersects with those of Macpherson and Burrus, since they all comment on the ways in which courtliness entails a fascination with different forms of linguistic display. A different perspective on the matter is offered by Michael Gerli, who explores the linguistic and epistemological underpinnings of the verse by Pedro de Cartagena. In one respect, Gerli's study follows the pioneering work of Keith Whinnom as a vindication of a misunderstood poetic school through a close reading of its immanent poetics. Developing one of his own earlier observations (that *cancionero* poetics are characterized by "the view that truth resides solely in linguistic perception"), Gerli tries to recover the lost significance that Cartagena's verse held for early modern readers. He locates it in the poet's "obsession with the contradictions of signification and the emptiness of language—the difficulty of establishing an agreement between signs and their meaning—that seems to shape fifteenth-century Spanish courtly culture." The underlying alienation that Gerli finds in Cartagena's verse speaks to our modern sensibilities as well as to those of the poet's early modern readers. He is thus a writer poised on the threshold of modernity, who forces us to reflect upon our own concerns over language.

Gerli's attempt to map a broad cultural terrain through close textual analysis of specific poems has an interesting point of comparison with Brownlee's

discussion of Imperial. The metaliterary concerns of both poets seem to be shaped by a heightened awareness of writing within a community of readers. Yet Cartagena seems less at ease than Imperial with the prospects of polyvalence: for him, the notions of the “primacy of the enunciating subject” and “second-degree literature of distantiation” would carry a much more existential force. He distances himself from other readings of the world by withdrawing into the primacy of his own self. As Gerli puts it in his conclusion, Cartagena suggests that “in order to understand visual, spoken, and written images, the mind needs to reconstitute itself in the seclusion of its own language.” Further research could show how this alienation from consensus is part of that dialectical process that produces the binarism “individual: society” on which early modern subjectivity is predicated.<sup>12</sup>

Further research might also construct as problems, on ideological grounds, the manner in which Cartagena dramatizes the rupture of sign and signified. If one denies the referentiality of language, one obscures the author’s own role in the construction of “truth” as a category based on what Gerli calls “private perception lacking external guarantors.” To see this, we need to look at what elements of the external world the author exploits to develop his linguistic and epistemological themes. The case is obvious in two poems (“No juzguéis por la color,” and the one dedicated to “un loco llamado Baltanás”), in which Cartagena illustrates his ideas through the misperceptions of women and a madman. Put another way, “truth” is protected from the tainted gaze of the Other by being located in the “self,” which is hypostasized as courtly, aristocratic, and masculine.

### Politics, Society, and Culture

Through a series of anthologies and studies produced over the past thirty years, Julio Rodríguez Puértolas has encouraged us to confront fifteenth-century verse as both an overt and covert intervention in the changing sociopolitical structures of late feudalism. The present contribution, on Jews and *conversos* in the *cancioneros*, continues that tradition. Recognizing the value of individual studies already done on these social groups in fifteenth-century Iberia, Rodríguez Puértolas contends that we still lack an adequate broad-based treatment of *cancionero* poetry either by or about Jews and *conversos*. Taken together, the available accounts fail both to explore the full thematic range of the subject and to situate it within “the larger historical coordinates of its production.” His own essay does not set out to fill this gap but to survey the field and to clarify some issues for future research. As a necessary prelude to his analysis of some poems by the *converso* poet-courtier Diego de Valera, Rodríguez Puértolas outlines the increasing anti-Semitism of late medieval Spain. Without this background in view, he argues, the full political significance of these

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<sup>12</sup> For an important essay on subjectivity and fifteenth-century Castilian court literature (with ample references to *cancionero* verse), see Pereira Zazo (1994, 245–77).

apparently innocuous *jeux d'esprit* would be invisible. The three poems chosen are related to the fall of Álvaro de Luna, and together they demonstrate the importance of exploring the ideological underpinnings of *cancionero* verse by situating it within its concrete historical moment.

Rodríguez Puértolas has certainly identified an area where more work urgently needs to be done, and he rightly concludes his study by calling for interdisciplinary collaboration among literary critics, historians, and sociologists. It seems to me that this collaboration would need to take place not just by sharing "findings" (though that is important) but by discussing methodologies of historical understanding. The present essay is structured upon the binarism "text:context," and this approach works well for the poems chosen. But in other cases it might be a drawback, since the literary text is usually posited as a secondary reflection of a pre-given reality, and in the process the potential of writing as a socially constitutive force is lost. In other words, other forms of historicism need exploring, which do not simplify the issue either by selecting obviously "propagandistic" works or by explaining everything as the by-product of an allegedly coherent world-view. Some possibilities are suggested below, in Mark Johnston's paper on cultural studies; but I would be particularly intrigued to see how *cancionero* scholars would respond to Regula Rohland de Langbehn's innovative attempt (1989) to use the concept of mediation developed by the Frankfurt school to link the sentimental romance to the historical situation of the *conversos*.

Though best known, perhaps, for her work on the sentimental romances, Rohland de Langbehn is also a distinguished critic of fifteenth-century verse. Her present paper extends the boundaries of *cancionero* studies by exploring the political themes of power and justice. Although work has been done on political satire since Rodríguez Puértolas gathered the basic materials for the study of *poesía de protesta* in the 1960s, the sharp political edge of this period's moral and didactic verse has remained largely unexamined. This explains the format of Rohland de Langbehn's study, which, like the contributions of Deyermond, Rodríguez Puértolas, and Burrus, serves the indispensable function of identifying the raw material and formulating some basic questions for future research and debate.

Drawing upon an impressive array of primary sources, including the neglected doctrinal verse of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Rohland de Langbehn brings together the most significant beliefs about power and justice and situates the resulting paradigm in the context of emerging monarchical absolutism. Her survey leads her to conclude that initially poets set their discussions of the subject within a shared (or "univocal") ethical framework, but that particularly from the reign of Enrique IV, they adopt a more critical posture. The critical tone, however, is largely a product of factional antagonism, which means that the basic rights and duties of the monarch were unchallenged (and in this sense the conceptualization of power and justice was rather static in this period). In the course of her essay, Rohland de Langbehn confronts a number of crucial and delicate ideological problems (she argues, for example, against Helen

Nader's thesis that the *letrado* and noble classes held clearly distinguishable political views). For me, however, the most stimulating ideological problem raised in this essay is the very concept of "ideology" itself, which is, as Jorge Larrain notes, "perhaps one of the most equivocal and elusive concepts one can find in the social sciences" (1979, 13).

It is true that if one defines ideology as a system of beliefs characteristic of a specific class, the term will not help us uncover any latent subtleties in the apparently homogenous poetic treatments of power and justice during this period. But ideology has many (often contradictory) meanings, which could be fruitfully exploited at different levels of historical and cultural analysis.<sup>13</sup> The notion, for example, does not simply cover the ideas used by certain factions to promote their own interests; it also "aims to disclose something of the relation between an utterance and its material conditions of possibility" (Eagleton 1991, 223). In this respect, we might ask why the categories power and justice were linked in the first place and why this pairing is such an obsessive theme in the transition from feudalism to absolutism. The beginnings of an answer may be found in Anderson's observation that "it is . . . necessary always to remember that mediaeval 'justice' factually included a much wider range of activities than modern justice, because it structurally occupied a far more pivotal position within the total political system. It was the ordinary name of power" (1974, 153).

Implicit throughout Rohland de Langbehn's essay is a healthy skepticism towards reading all instances of the theme of power and justice as transparent expressions of self-interest and bad faith. (She suggests at one point that my reading [Weiss 1991b] of Pérez de Guzmán's rhetorical strategies of self-legitimization may well be anachronistic.) Her skepticism is important, because it will force those of us who wish to pursue ideological criticism to confront the real complexities that underlie the concept and to support our theoretical positions with convincing practical analyses of the ethical and political verse that this author encourages us to explore with fresh eyes.

A different perspective on political and social power is offered by Barbara Weissberger, who has been at the forefront of feminist readings of medieval Spanish literature in this country. In "Male Sexual Anxieties in *Carajicomedia*: A Response to Female Sovereignty," Weissberger reopens the discussion of the literary representation of Isabel la Católica begun over thirty years ago by R. O. Jones (1962). The conceptual framework of her study is twofold. On the one hand, she deploys a materialist feminism that explores how relationships of sex and gender are basic forms of political and social organization. On the other, she draws on the concepts of high and low culture and the Bakhtinian notion of the carnivalesque (as modified by the cultural historians Stallybrass and White), to elucidate the ideological meaning of the *Carajicomedia's* gro-

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<sup>13</sup> In addition to Larrain (1979), see Eagleton's survey (1991) and Williams (1977, 55-71). See also the final paper in this volume, by Mark Johnston, which contains some valuable suggestions about how *cancionero* verse might be read as an ideological practice.

tesque parody of Mena's *Laberinto*.<sup>14</sup> These conceptual models, backed up with close textual analysis and historical documentation, enable her to demonstrate how the parody of male sexuality is predicated upon the demonization of the female potency embodied by Queen Isabel. In other words the carnivalesque mode of *Carajicomedia* does not subvert dominant patriarchal ideology; it is a way of negotiating the anomaly of a powerful woman who reasserted patriarchal values threatened by her allegedly feminized predecessor, Enrique IV, *el impotente*.

Even the most cursory reading reveals the potential of Weissberger's paper as a model for further analyses of *cancionero* verse as a range of politically gendered discourses. Whether one follows her lead will, of course, depend on individual choice (rather than on arguments from within a common methodology): but the connections between her work and the issues of language and love explored by Burrus, Macpherson, Gerli, and Hermida Ruiz are there to be made. To pick up the thread of some of my earlier remarks, if one were to read Gerli's study alongside that of Weissberger, two mutually illuminating possibilities emerge: one, as I have mentioned, is that Gerli's paper could be extended to explore the asymmetrical and gendered power relations structuring Cartagena's reflections on language and the reading subject. The other is that the male anxieties identified by Weissberger are implicated in a much wider web of political and social change: male sexual anxieties mediate the anxieties of a "self" emerging against an impersonal "society"—the former reified as an alienated (yet "private" and controlling) masculine self, the latter as an all-engulfing or castrating feminine Other.

Mark Johnston's "Cultural Studies on the *Gaya Ciencia*" provides an appropriately open-ended conclusion to this collection. He investigates some of the ways in which the interdisciplinary methods of cultural studies can help us understand *cancionero* verse as a discourse of social, political, and economic power. In spite of its eclecticism, cultural studies "share a commitment to examining cultural practices from the point of view of their intrication with, and within, relations of power" (Bennett 1992, 23). *Cancionero* verse has, of course, been studied in connection with the political, economic, and social life of fifteenth-century Spain (Boase's *The Troubadour Revival* [1978] is still the boldest and best example). But cultural studies enables this connection to be discussed with greater conceptual refinement, avoiding simplistic formulations of "text and context" (where the literary text is secondary, a reflection of pre-given "reality") and reductive accounts of literature as a spontaneous reflex of a socioeconomic base.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The *Carajicomedia* first appeared in the *Cancionero de obras de burlas* (1519), which in its turn was originally the final section of the *Cancionero general* (1511). As Garcia and Beltran emphasized, the evolving structure and history of each *cancionero* offer vital evidence for cultural analysis: in this case, they mark the separation of high and low cultures, the very binarism that Weissberger deconstructs in this essay.

<sup>15</sup> At various points in his essay, Johnston refers to the crude reductionism of cultural

Johnston outlines some of the ways in which power relations are inscribed in *cancionero* verse, and he draws practical illustrations from the *Cancionero de Baena*. His essay covers a formidable range of issues—race, class, gender, ideology, subjectivity—and both his arguments and supporting bibliography suggest many new ways of looking at the Castilian material and relating it to work being done in French and English.<sup>16</sup>

In short, Johnston urges us to ask what cultural studies can do for *cancionero* studies. To avoid what is occasionally called “cookie-cutter criticism” and to establish a dialectical relationship between conceptual and practical inquiry, however, we also need to ask what the *cancioneros* can do for cultural studies. (A relevant question, given the emphasis of cultural studies on contemporary culture.) For example, as Johnston demonstrates, cultural studies reveals what we can learn when we deconstruct such modern categories as “literature” and “author,” with their baggage of idealism. And yet, as I have mentioned in my comments on earlier papers, many features of *cancionero* verse indicate precisely *how* these categories began to emerge in the vernacular during the fifteenth century. I recognize that this is something that future research needs to explore more fully. However, at another level of inquiry I would reintroduce these categories as the grounds for a more sustained dialectical engagement between present methodologies and the surviving record of past experience.

The engagement between present and past provides the concluding theme for Johnston’s essay, and it is an apt one for this book too. For the conjunction of *cancionero* and cultural studies requires us to examine our own relationship to the past (a similar point is raised by Gerli). As Johnston observes, cultural studies requires that we interrogate the “definitions of culture and literature in our academic institutions.”<sup>17</sup> It would be wrong of me to co-opt the individual support of all the contributors for the particular endeavor described by Johnston. But collectively, the essays in this volume call attention to the potential of *cancionero* verse for understanding not just the past but our own modes of reading it.

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materialism. It would be interesting to see this criticism substantiated; especially since the man who developed the notion of cultural materialism, Raymond Williams, was also one of the originators of the cultural studies movement. To my knowledge, no medieval hispanist has attempted to work with Williams’s ideas, whether he is construed as a cultural materialist or cultural studies guru.

<sup>16</sup> The collection of essays on early modern subjectivity edited by Pereira Zazo (1994) appeared too late to be consulted by Johnston. However, the former’s own contribution to his volume complements Johnston’s extended remarks on the processes of subjectification.

<sup>17</sup> Deyermond’s contribution intersects precisely at this point, since the linguistic variety of *cancionero* verse helps us to question Castilian hegemony in the “Spanish” national and cultural identity.



I. *Cancioneros*:

Compilation and Cultural Meaning



# The Typology and Genesis of the Cancioneros: Compiling the Materials

VICENÇ BELTRAN PEPIÓ

After the Civil War, Spanish research into the *cancioneros* changed direction and left the path it had followed since the mid-nineteenth century. That is to say, it departed from the course that Romance studies in the rest of Europe would continue to follow in the edition and study of the medieval lyric. The initial impulse in the nineteenth century had come with the publication of the *Cancionero de Baena* by Pedro José Pidal (1851; reprinted 1949).<sup>1</sup> But after the Civil War, information, studies, and extracts from *cancioneros* diminished in comparison with the earlier phase, in spite of the research of such scholars as Serís (1951, 318–20) and Azáqueta (1954–55). From the 1940s through the early 1970s it was thought that each *cancionero* represented a particular school, period, or compiler, and research was redirected into editing them as an organic whole.<sup>2</sup> The value of these publications is very

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<sup>1</sup> Francisque Michel (1860) revised the transcription but reproduced his preliminary study and notes. For a review of these early editions see Azáqueta 1966, LII. Strictly speaking, it was Usoz y Río who first started to reedit the *cancioneros*, with his edition of the *Cancionero de obras de burlas* in London, 1841. But his intentions—to lay bare and vindicate the other Spanish tradition, which had long laid buried and repressed—were to subvert from abroad the dominant intellectual tendencies at home. For this reason, I consider Pidal's edition to be the real starting point for scholarship on fifteenth-century poetry.

<sup>2</sup> This period saw the editions of *O cancionero musical e poético da Biblioteca Pública Hortênsia* (ed. Joaquim 1940); *Il 'Cancionero' marciano (Str. App. XXV)* (partial ed. Cavaliere 1943); *Cancionero de Uppsala* (ed. Mitjana and Bal y Gay 1944; Mitjana's text reproduced with new study by Querol Rosso 1980); *Cancionero de Ramón de Llavía* (ed. Benítez Claros 1945); *El cancionero de Palacio* (ed. Vendrell de Millás 1945); *Cancionero musical de Palacio* (ed. Anglès 1947–51); *Cancionero musical de la casa de Medinaceli* (ed. Querol Gavaldá 1949–50); *Cancionero de Pedro del Pozo* (ed. Rodríguez Moñino 1949–50); *Cancionero d'Herberay des Essarts* (ed. Aubrun 1951); *Espejo de enamorados*; *Guimalda esmaltada de galanes y eloquentes*

uneven; it depends, obviously, on their philological rigor, but it is also affected by other factors that have not always received due attention: the material structure of the codex, the analysis of hands, the process of compilation, the scribes' sources, and what they reveal about centers of literary production. Lastly, the significance of an edition was also judged almost exclusively by the quantity of previously unpublished works it contained, and these gradually diminished in number.

These editions played a crucial role, and they continue to provide the basis of our own knowledge. In addition to making the texts available, they shed considerable light upon authors and often correctly evaluated the representative nature of the *cancionero* and its date. Nonetheless, Spanish philology made the mistake of limiting itself almost exclusively to this kind of research. In the first place, it underestimated the value of critical editions of individual poets, which conditioned both the perspective and methods of analysis, which were more general than particular. Consequently, there was little literary study of individual *cancionero* authors.<sup>3</sup>

Issues of textual criticism arrived late, and from abroad, from the Italian school, starting with Vârvaro (1964). It is true that editions of particular poets did have a rich tradition from the start of this century.<sup>4</sup> But after many decades of studying the *cancioneros*, in the 1970s, for the first time there was an

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*dezires de diuersos autores* (ed. Rodríguez Moñino 1951); *Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Ixar* (ed. Azáceta 1956); "El 'Pequeño cancionero'" (ed. Azáceta 1957); *Cancionero de Luzón (1508)* (ed. Rodríguez Moñino 1959a); *Cancionero de Gallardo* (ed. Azáceta 1962); *Cancionero de Evora* (Askins 1965); *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* (ed. Azáceta 1966); *Cancioneiro de Corte e de Magnates* (ed. Askins 1968); *Cancionero musical de la Colombina* (Querol Gavaldá 1971). Although it is much more recent, a project is now well under way to catalogue all the Golden Age *cancioneros*. Directed by J. J. Labrador Herráiz, this project will undoubtedly bring to light new data for the Renaissance reception of fifteenth-century lyrics.

<sup>3</sup> This does not mean, however, that they are not important. The most significant studies are by Lida de Malkiel on Juan de Mena (1950) and Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (1952b, 1954, and 1960); Lapesa on Santillana (1957); Márquez Villanueva on Álvarez Gato (1960; 2nd ed. 1974); and Álvarez Pellitero on Montesino (1976). From a basically biographical perspective, there are various works by Avalle-Arce (1945, 1967, 1972, 1974a-c). For a useful bibliography of studies on Jewish and *converso* poets and themes, see Rodríguez Puértolas's essay in the present collection.

<sup>4</sup> The initiative was taken by José Amador de los Ríos as early as 1852, when he published the works of Santillana. This was followed by the *cancioneros* of Pedro Manuel Ximénez de Urrea (ed. Villar y García 1878; see also Asensio 1950); Gómez Manrique (ed. Paz y Meliá 1885-86; facsimile reprint 1991); Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (ed. Rennert 1893); Antón de Montoro (ed. Cotarelo y Mori 1900); Macías (ed. Rennert 1900; partial ed. in Martínez-Barbeito 1951); Fernando de la Torre (ed. Paz y Meliá 1907); Juan Álvarez Gato (ed. Artiles Rodríguez 1928); Pere Torroellas (ed. Bach y Rita 1930). See also editions of such major works as Manrique's *Coplas* (Foulché-Delbosc 1902, revised 1905; 1907, 1912), and Mena's *Laberinto* (Foulché-Delbosc 1904a, though it lacks critical apparatus).

interest in editing the work of individual authors.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately, the last few years have brought forth meticulous studies of textual transmission, although even in this field the balance is still poor.<sup>6</sup> Numerous editions have appeared, on the whole carefully prepared. Nor has there been a lack of literary studies, and alongside the edition of *cancioneros* there has been a continuous flow of information, extracts, and analysis of each of them. Brian Dutton's *Catálogo-índice* (1982) and his *Cancionero del siglo XV* (1990–91) crowned an extraordinary bibliographical and documentary project.<sup>7</sup> Both works constitute our major reference tools for a considerable part of the poetic corpus. Perhaps the least active front in recent decades has been facsimile editions.<sup>8</sup> After the

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<sup>5</sup> Scoles (1967), de Nigris (1988, 1994), and Vozzo Mendia (1989), constitute a series of studies with similar objectives, methods, and texts. But these are not the only ones; the panorama also includes editions of satirical works, such as those by Ciceri (1975, 1977) and the edition of Montoro (Ciceri and Rodríguez Puértolas 1990). For another example of the Italian school, see Caravaggi et al. (1986). For obvious reasons, one would have to include in this tradition Perrián's edition of Suero de Ribera (1968).

<sup>6</sup> On the *cancioneros* of Baena, general, and *British Museum* (LB1), see, respectively, Alberto Blecua (1974–79), Dutton (1990), and C. Alvar (1991); on Mena, see Kerkhof (1983b and 1984), Pérez Priego (1986), de Nigris (1986), Kerkhof and le Pair (1989); on Santillana, see de Nigris and Sorvillo (1978), and Kerkhof (1990); on Jorge Manrique, see Beltrán (1987, 1991, and 1992).

<sup>7</sup> For progress reports published by Dutton and the members of his research team, see Dutton (1977–78, 1979–80) and Krogstadt (1979–80). Henceforth, I shall use Dutton's siglae originally set forth in his *Catálogo-índice* (1982) to identify the *cancioneros*. The history of this bibliographical project may be traced in the works of Mussafia (1902); Aubrun (1953); Simón Díaz (1963–65); Várvaro (1964); Norton (1977); González Cuenca (1978); Steunou and Knapp (1978); Faulhaber et al. (1984); and various specialized bibliographies whose value has not always been fully appreciated, such as those by Foulché-Delbosc (1907) and Carrión Gutiérrez (1979). Alongside these bibliographies, one has to mention lists of sources included in studies on specific manuscripts, such as those found in Azáqueta's editions of the *cancioneros* of Juan Fernández de Ixar (1956), Gallardo (1962), and Baena (1966). In addition to Simón Díaz's ongoing bibliography, there are of course the essential catalogues and bibliographical studies by Rodríguez Moñino (1959b, 1965–66, 1970, 1973–77), which remain our most valuable source for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period when *cancioneros* continue to anthologize fifteenth-century verse. Another related area that cannot be ignored is that of the frequently bilingual Catalan *cancioneros*, although Castilian bibliographies often include only the sections devoted to Castilian. While we await a complete bibliography, which I am currently preparing in collaboration with Gemma Avenoz, we have to fall back on the one by Massó Torrens (1923–24), which includes an index of *cancioneros*, whose siglae I shall adopt where necessary, and a systematic analysis of the poets. Even more useful in this respect is the doctoral thesis by Ganges Garriga (defended 1992, currently in press).

<sup>8</sup> I know of only the following: *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia* (1977), *Cancionero de Uppsala* (1983), and *Cancionero del Marqués de Santillana* [B.U.S., Mss 2655] (ed. Cátedra and Coca Senande 1990). I fail to understand why no one has yet published a facsimile of the magnificent *Cancionero de Estúñiga*.

relative lack of interest in studies of this kind in the 1960s and early 1970s, the panorama has become considerably richer. Even so, recent research still bears the marks of a poor and occasionally ill-conceived tradition.<sup>9</sup>

In general, it is clear that the most significant gap affects our knowledge of textual transmission: we scarcely know anything about the specific problems of the Italian (or rather the Aragonese or Catalan-Aragonese) family of *cancioneros* and the more particular case of the Marqués de Santillana. So long as we lack careful editions of the majority of authors, or at least the most significant ones, with corresponding literary study and appropriate analysis of transmission, it will be difficult to make headway towards a rigorous and thorough understanding of this poetic school. The weakest area in our knowledge continues to be the compilation of the *cancioneros*, the relationship between them, and their modes of circulation. In this context, I believe it useful to focus my study on their genetic typology: the provenance of the materials they gathered, their organizational techniques, and the light they shed upon the diffusion of poetry in the fifteenth century.

We can start by returning to the well-known *Cancionero de Herberay* LB2 (Aubrun 1951). In his preliminary study, Aubrun remarked upon the existence of four sections of anonymous poems. These he attributed to the compiler himself, whom he identified as the Navarrese nobleman Hugo de Urríes because of a reference to him in poem no. 43.<sup>10</sup> I think it would be useful for our purposes to reconsider the structure of this *cancionero*, which typifies a model whose characteristics I shall now try to define. The first group of anonymous poems begins with no. 4.<sup>11</sup> According to Aubrun, it is headed by

<sup>9</sup> I would like to have undertaken a detailed account of the goals and scope of studies published in the second half of this century. But the limits of the present study prevent me from doing this. For a review of the very positive developments in recent years, see the *Boletín Bibliográfico de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*. The published proceedings of this association are the most important forum for recent trends in fifteenth-century studies in general and the lyric in particular. Most of these studies and publications continue to focus on the same authors who attracted scholarly attention a hundred years ago: apart from the inevitable Manriques, Santillana, and Mena, we again encounter Antón de Montoro, Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, or Fernando de la Torre, while authors as innovative or culturally representative as Cartagena still lie dormant in the *cancioneros*. Other lyric poets have attracted some attention because they cultivated other literary genres: Diego de San Pedro and Juan del Encina are typical.

<sup>10</sup> "Les poèmes anonymes sont à la suite et groupés: 1o. de 26r à 72v, à l'exception d'un ditié, 55r (XLIII), signé comme malgré lui par Ugo de Urries, soit 44 pièces; 2o. de 85v à 92v, soit 23 pièces; 3o. de 179r à 186v à l'exception de quelques chansons de poètes aragonais; 4o. de 194v à 205r, à l'exception de deux chansons de Juan de Valladolid" (Aubrun 1951, xii).

<sup>11</sup> It contains the following compositions (according to Aubrun [1951] and Dutton [1990–91]), with groups of poems separated by blank spaces:

(26r) 3D Anonymous *canción* in praise of the *infanta*. Unique.

a eulogy dedicated to the *infanta* Leonor de Navarra, the wife of the conde de Foix and governess of the kingdom in the name of Juan de Aragón, her father (no. 5). Suffice it to say that Dutton attributes this composition to the author of nos. 1–3, Diego de Sevilla, all of them dedicated to the same character.<sup>12</sup> And indeed, the rubrics of these poems are either imprecise (no. 4: “otra,” no. 5: “desfecha,” no. 6: “canción,” no. 7, and 8: “otra”) or missing (no. 3D); in the *cancioneros*, this arrangement can sometimes indicate that they belong to the same author. Nonetheless, it would be dangerous to attribute the first long series of anonymous poems in LB2 (up to and including no. 48) to the same author, whether it be Diego de Sevilla or Hugo de Urríes, as Aubrun proposes. As I have said, the editor based his identification on the self-reference in no. 43; however, no. 6 also appears in PN13, where it is attributed to Sancho de Villegas, in the midst of a group in which compositions by this author are combined with those by Diego de Valera. This evidence leads us to doubt that we are faced with a compact group of poems attributable to a single poet.

Nor do I believe it possible to attribute to the compiler the second group of compositions.<sup>13</sup> Here, poem no. 66 repeats the earlier *canción* no. 12; acci-

4 Ditto. Unique.

5 Anonymous. Unique.

6 Anonymous but ascribed to Sancho de Villegas in PN13 (poem 30). In PN13, the text appears in the middle of a group of five poems by Diego de Valera, of which the MS. is almost always the sole textual witness.

7–16 Anonymous and unique.

17 *Otra por la excelente señora infanta*. Anonymous and unique.

18–24 Anonymous and unique.

25 *De madama Lucrecia la napoletana* (eulogy). Anonymous and unique.

26–42D Anonymous and unique.

43 [Hugo de Urríes]. Unique. Unattributed. The author refers to himself in the text of the poem.

(76v) 44–48 Anonymous and unique.

<sup>12</sup> The *cancionero* opens with the following compositions:

1 Diego de Sevilla, *pregunta* concerning Leonor, *infanta* of Navarre. Unique.

2 *Respuesta de Vayona*. Unique.

3 Diego de Sevilla: *Loor de la infanta*. Unique.

Henceforth, I shall take into account the *cancioneros* in which each composition appears, since this can help us trace their origin.

<sup>13</sup> It contains the following compositions:

(85v) 63–65 Anonymous. Unique.

66 = 12 Anonymous and unique.

67–68 Anonymous and unique.

dents of this kind are frequent in *cancioneros* and they can be explained both by the heterogeneity of the collected materials and by the incapacity of the compiler to remember all the preceding texts. But how could he have forgotten that he had already copied out one of his own poems? Moreover, if compiler and author were one and the same, he probably resorted to this very same *cancionero* to gather his own compositions, which would have made repetition impossible.

The third group is very problematic.<sup>14</sup> In it, both attributed and anonymous poems intermingle, although this situation can often be interpreted as a sign that poems belong to the last-named author. On the other hand, the coincidence between this section and the *cancionero* of the Biblioteca Estense de Módena (ME1) suggests that both go back to a common source. In any case,

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69 Anonymous. MP4a (poem 24)

70–75 Anonymous and unique.

76 Anonymous. MP4a (poem 20).

77 Anonymous and unique.

78 Anonymous. MP4a (poem 19).

79 Anonymous and unique.

80 Anonymous but attributed to Francisco Bocanegra in MH1 (poem 179). Throughout this section, MH1 differs from all other surviving witnesses.

(92v) 81–86 Anonymous and unique.

<sup>14</sup> It contains the following works:

(179r) 165 Anonymous (as in ME1).

166 Anonymous but by Luis Bocanegra in ME1 (poem 92).

167 Maçuela

168 Diego de Sandoval.

169 Anonymous (as in ME1).

170–175 Anonymous (as in ME1, poem 75).

176–177 Carlos de Arellano (as in ME1).

178–179 Anonymous (as in ME1).

180 Pero Vaca (as in ME1).

181 Anonymous (as in ME1) but by Francisco Bocanegra in SA7 (poem 11). In this *cancionero* it appears in the midst of a group of *canciones* that are documented only here, attributed to various authors.

182 Anonymous (as in ME1) but by Rodrigo de Torres in SA7 (poem 19), where it appears in the midst of an unstructured group of *canciones* that are documented only here, by various authors (García de Pedraza, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, García de Medina).

183 Anonymous (as in ME1).

184 Santa Fe (as in ME1), anonymous in SA7 (poem 348), where it appears between two that survive only in SA7, and also included in an unsystematic group of poems.

185 *Infante* don Enrique (as in ME1).

186 *Infante* don Enrique (as in ME1 and MH1).

187 Anonymous (as in ME1).

188 Pere Torrella (as in ME1).

(186v) 189–190 Anonymous (as in ME17).



as we shall see, ME1 cannot have taken this section from LB2, so that the compiler of the latter *cancionero* must have done nothing more than reproduce a separate booklet. As for the fourth group identified by Aubrun, it simply does not exist.<sup>15</sup> It is made up of an anonymous poem, followed by two by Juan de Valladolid (all three in praise of María, daughter of the *infanta* Leonor) and by another two anonymous ones. In other words, it faithfully continues the previous part of the *cancionero*, a diverse group of works that do not constitute a cohesive whole.<sup>16</sup>

In sum, although I disagree with Aubrun's hypothesis, we should not discard the possibility that at least some of the anonymous poems (especially from the first two groups, which are particularly compact and contain works linked to the Navarrese court) can be ascribed to authors who were so well known in their communities that it was considered unnecessary to cite their names. Their dual status as anonymous and unique poems within the corpus invites this hypothesis, alongside the fact that, as Aubrun says, "les poètes qui rompent à la fin ou au milieu l'anonymat de ces séries, appartiennent . . . à l'entourage immédiat des princes" [of Navarre]. Whether these poems are by Hugo de Urríes or not, everything indicates that the *Cancionero de Herberay* was the most elaborate representative of a characteristic type: anthologies that combine well-known works with others that survive in single copies. I believe we are dealing with compositions from the compiler's own literary circle, probably by different authors, whose identities are not made explicit precisely because they would have been obvious.

In this regard, the relation between LB2 and other *cancioneros* becomes especially significant, in particular the connection with ME1. Between no. 88

<sup>15</sup> This is the final section of the *cancionero*, and Aubrun attributes its poems to the fourth group of anonymous works:

(194v–195r) 197 *Loores a la infanta [María], condesa de Foix*. Anonymous and unique.

(195r–v) 198–199 *Ibid.*, by Juan de Valladolid. Unique.

(196r–211v) 200–201 Anonymous and unique.

Blank folio.

Final folio (recto and verso) with the opening stanzas of the *Trescientas*.

<sup>16</sup> Index as follows:

191 García de Padilla ME1 (poem 116), MH1 (poem 144).

192 Pere Torrella BM1 (20), ME1 (10), MH1 (189), CO1 (22), MN54 (162), MN6b (41), PN4 (38), PN8 (39), RC1 (126), VM1 (68), ZA1 (5), NH2 (40), 11CG (94r), 14CG (72r), BA1 (5 and 6), MN24 (36 and 37).

193 Juan de Maçuela ME1 (117).

194 García de Padilla ME1 (118).

195 Pere Torrella BM1 (11), ME1 (11), MP2 (27), NH2 (28), 14CG (71r).

196 Juan de Dueñas, *Nao de amor* GB1 (21), MH1 (201), MN54 (23), NH2 (80), PM1 (13), PN4 (27), PN5 (26), PN8 (29), PN12 (24), PN13 (7), RC1 (23), VM1 (15).

and no. 196 most of the compositions appear in both collections. Aubrun offers a convincing explanation for this: in 1466, the marqués de Monferrato married María de Navarra, the same woman eulogized by Juan de Valladolid in the *cancionero's* final section (no. 197–199); and we know that ME1 was already in the possession of the Monferrato household about 1500.<sup>17</sup> We can discount the hypothesis that LB2 might have been the archetype for the texts in ME1 for two reasons. Firstly, if this were the case, we would not be able to explain the eulogy of the *infanta* María; secondly, poem 143, by Macías, is acephalous in LB2 but complete in ME1. As for the opposite hypothesis, the influence of ME1 upon LB2, I consider it highly improbable, since LB2 is arranged by author. It would make no sense for the works of Torrellas and Juan de Mena (which ME1 places in this sequence at the head of the collection) to appear in LB2 at the very end and in no special order.<sup>18</sup>

As has been pointed out, three poems dedicated to María, daughter of Leonor and Gastón de Foix, and two anonymous ones are copied at the end of the volume. The main body of the *cancionero* ends on folio 211v, a large part of which is blank. Also left blank is folio 212r–v, but on the next (and last) leaf a later hand, which is much neater and with marked humanistic features, copied the start of Mena's *Trescientas*. Perhaps the scribe was interested in the dedicatory stanzas and invocation as a rhetorical model, since it was common for well-known texts and school classics, either whole or excerpts, to be added to the final leaves of *cancioneros* so as not to waste blank folios.<sup>19</sup>

In the light of these facts, how do we picture the genesis of the *Cancionero de Herberay*? My analysis is close to Aubrun's (1951, xvi–xxi) but with one

<sup>17</sup> Aubrun (1951, xix). The only surprising thing is that the eulogies of Princess María, who caused the relationship between the two MSS, do not appear in ME1.

<sup>18</sup> Similar conclusions have been reached by those who have studied the transmission of the texts contained in these two *cancioneros* (Michaëlis de Vasconcellos 1900; Vårvaro 1964, 76–89) and by the editors of Lope de Stúñiga (Vozzo Mendia 1989, 47) and Juan de Mena (de Nigris 1988, 79–81). Their conclusions coincide with my own survey of the extant verse of Santillana. The common errors in both witnesses and Pérez Priego's critical apparatus for the "Querrela de amor" (1983) reveal that whereas ME1 reads "crueldat e gran tormento" in l. 49 (= l. 68 of the ed.), LB2 preserves the *lectio difficilior* "crueldat e troquamiento" found in the other textual witnesses. Therefore, one can reject the dependence of LB2 on ME1. In the text of the "Infierno de los enamorados," the same situation frequently occurs (ll. 107, 232, 240, 278, 285, 299, etc.), although the opposite situation is found in l. 347: the correct reading (according to Pérez Priego's ed.) is "e del taragón cubriendo"; ME1 has "targon," but LB2 corrupts this even more with the variant "dargon"; in this case, the reading closest to the archetype belongs to ME1, which cannot derive from LB2.

<sup>19</sup> At the end of the Catalan section of SA5 (an independent MS with the work of Ausiàs March) were copied some lines from the *Vita Christi* by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza (fol. 158v), and at the end of the Castilian section, Mena's "La flaca barquilla" (fol. 206v). Stanzas from the *Vita Christi* also appear in the final folios of BC3 (97v–98v), and in those of LB2 the dedicatory stanzas of the *Laberinto de Fortuna* were copied out in a different hand.

difference in interpretation. Whereas he thought he could detect the intervention of a single author/compiler, I maintain that we should envisage the collaboration of a literary circle. This is to say, we cannot exclude the hypothesis that various individuals or even literary courts gradually left their mark in various parts of the *cancionero*. Consider how some of the material that makes up the second group of anonymous poems is common to the oldest section of the *Cancionero musical de Palacio* and that the third part influenced the *Cancionero de la Biblioteca Estense de Módena* and to a lesser extent SA7 (see the description of each of these sections in the relevant note). The material being circulated, as this example demonstrates, were groups of poems and not a large *cancionero* nor individual compositions. The compiler first gathered the poetic production of the Navarrese court, inspired probably by the desire to preserve the panegyrics of the princess Leonor. That was the source of the texts that Aubrun classified as the two groups of anonymous poems. In this phase, he must have already drawn on a booklet produced elsewhere and from which he took poems 49 to 62. He must have had at his disposal contributions of the highest quality, because in this section he also included a group of poems unknown to other textual witnesses, among which were preserved, for example, single copies of poems by Juan de Mena. Later, he would have laid his hands on a *cancionero* that provided at least some of the poems up to no. 196, perhaps the same archetype that provided the poems it shares with ME1. It was probably an excellent *cancionero*, though not very long, linked to the Aragonese family, which gave him the necessary material to convert that embryonic collection into something grander, something capable of combining the initial nucleus with a significant sampling of fifteenth-century verse. María de Foix's connections with the House of Monferrato made it possible for this *cancionero* to reach northern Italy as well. Even later, a few compositions were added at the end; also unique, they are eulogies of this same princess from the court of Navarre. Finally, after a blank leaf, which was probably left free for further additions, a scribe copied the opening of the *Laberinto de Fortuna*. Moreover, this copy is of high quality and copied uniformly, which indicates that it was not the work of an amateur, but a more cultured product, attributable to the court of Navarre itself.

In this type of *cancionero*, the compilers superimposed strata from different origins. On the one hand, there were poems that reached them through the usual channels of *cancionero* lyric (which are admittedly still to be studied in detail): generally classics (Mena, Santillana, Gómez Manrique, the *Vita Christi*, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Torrellas, and sometimes Villasandino or Macías) or booklets produced in the prestigious creative centers of the Castilian and Aragonese courts. On the other hand, they took advantage of works composed in their own circle, gathered by the author himself or his protégé. These poems circulated either individually or already organized into cycles, groups, or booklets, and their authors did not always have to be named in writing since their works were destined for the private consumption of the compiler and his

circle.<sup>20</sup> This procedure did not create problems until these booklets began to circulate beyond their original locale without any adjustment to their rubrics.

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We should not imagine that this was a frequent situation. On the whole, poems that survive in single copies are common only in certain major *cancioneros*, which frequently share a high number of works that, judging by their sequence and readings, go back to a common source (as in the cases of PN8 and PN12). Nevertheless, *cancioneros* are often structured around an initial core made up of texts preserved by a single or almost single witness and strongly influenced by the collector's taste and interests. The *Cancionero del Marqués de Barberá*, now located in the Biblioteca del Monasterio de Montserrat (MS. 992 = BM1, with the wrong sigla in Dutton since it is not in Barcelona), opens with a "Pregunta de don diego de Castre al principe don karles [de Viana] quando el S. R. su padre lo truxo presonero de la ciudat de Lerida en la qual fue tomado en Lanyo Lx°."<sup>21</sup> No other copy of this composition is known, and surely it is closely linked to the origins of the *cancionero*, which is no doubt Catalan.<sup>22</sup> Better known is the *Cancionero de Martínez de Burgos* (MN33), which begins with a letter from Juan Martínez de Burgos to his son, Fernand Martínez, continues with seven compositions by the former, and then develops into a broad selection of verse compiled in two phases, until it acquires the dimensions of a substantial anthology.<sup>23</sup>

A similar case occurs in the *Cancionero de Egerton* (British Library, Eg. 939 = LB3), which opens with two prose consolatory epistles, of unknown author and destinatee. In the first (fols. 3r–5v), the author addresses a character he calls Count and uncle; his goal is to console him for the violent yet honorable death of his son, which occurred away from home. In the second (fols. 5v–

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<sup>20</sup> The argument is not new. Aubrun uses it to justify his attribution of the anonymous poems to Hugo de Urrés, but it has been applied in other contexts. Whinnom (1979), for example, believed that the brief sentimental romance that he published under the title *La coronación de la señora Gracisla* could be ascribed to the primitive compiler of Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS. 22020 on the grounds that it appears anonymously in the same MS as other prose works by San Pedro and Juan de Flores, whose authorship is explicit.

<sup>21</sup> The poem is easily dated: Carlos de Viana was arrested on 2 December 1460. On 25 February 25 1461 the treaty of Vilafranca forced Juan II to recognize all his rights, in addition to conceding a large part of his claim to rule in Cataluña, and on 23 September of that year the prince died (Vicens Vives 1953, 222).

<sup>22</sup> The remainder of the poems in the first part of this *cancionero* form a brief anthology of Mena's verse which, to judge by de Nigris's edition (1988), is closely related to other *cancioneros* of the Aragonese group: *Herberay* (LB2) and *Módena* (ME1).

<sup>23</sup> See the study and edition by Severin (1976), especially her description of the partial copy by Rafael Floranes and the extracts contained therein.

10v), he laments that after the loss of his son Gastón, he also witnessed the death of his wife, who was related to the dynastic houses of Castile, Aragon, Naples, and France. After these comes a *cancionero* that, like *Herberay*, blends widely known works with others that survive in single copies. It is, in short, a substantial *cancionero*: doctrinal verse predominates, but it also includes the central texts of the fifteenth-century poetic school, with no attempt at systematic arrangement but with two general common traits: the connection of works and authors to the political and literary circle of the Aragonese party, and its didactic character (discussed below), except for the final section devoted to Antón de Montoro.

Although beginning a *cancionero* with a group of unique poems was not the most common procedure, it was the most personal one. On other occasions, the initial inspiration was a preexisting poetic anthology. The perfect example of this is the *Pequeño cancionero del Marqués de la Romana* (MN15), which opens with a selection from the *Cancionero de Baena*.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, the first part of the *Cancionero de San Martino delle Scale* (PM1) is an anthology of Aragonese origin. Another typical example of this model—though an extraordinarily ambitious one—can be seen in CO1, the bulk of which is made up of a generous selection of poets from the first half of the fifteenth century: Santillana, Mena, Lope de Stúñiga, etc. Although the current state of research does not always allow us to reconstruct the immediate model (the *Pequeño cancionero* is an exception), there is no doubt that this is the most frequent mode of compilation we encounter.

Other *cancioneros* follow a simpler scheme. Many are the manuscripts that contain exclusively one or two long poems (and they are usually the same ones), such as *Las siete edades del mundo*, whose textual history has been traced by Sconza (1991). This poem appears alone (OC1) or was frequently followed either by *La fundación de España* (EM12, MN9 and MN42) or by other poems of a similar character: Fernán Pérez de Guzmán's elegy on the death of Alonso de Cartagena (EM3) or the same author's "Doctrina que dieron a Sara" (SA12). In another *cancionero* (MRE1) it is preceded by Santillana's *Proverbios*. This latter poem also appears singly (ML4), as do Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna* (NH5, PN3), Fernán Pérez de Guzmán's *Vicios y virtudes e himnos rimados* (NH4), Pedro de Portugal's *Sátira de felice e infelice vida* (for an account of the MSS, see da Fonseca 1975, x–xviii), as well as his *Coplas del menosprecio e contempto del mundo* (EM10, MN11). In short, *cancioneros* structured around a single poetic unit are remarkably numerous.

In MN39, the *Siete edades del mundo* is associated with the *Tratado* by Pedro de Veragüe (BOOST ID 4376), followed by the *Infante Pitheus* and a *Tratado en metro* (ID 4623) with its *Desfecha* (ID 4624). A later hand copied out a poem by Boscán. Thus, we can see how a small *cancionero* comes to be compiled

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<sup>24</sup> It was edited and studied by Azáceta (1957). For its relations with the *Cancionero de Baena*, see Alberto Blecua (1974–79).

around the usual nucleus. In the same way, Santillana's *Bías contra Fortuna* is associated with another common basic text, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán's *Vicios y virtudes*, to begin MN10, and other poems by this author were later added to make up an anthology of quite healthy proportions. ML2 leads off with Mena's *Coronación*, continues with a miscellaneous prose section, and closes with the *Trescientas*. A copy of the *Vita Christi* laid the basis for an extensive anthology of pious verse occupying up to one hundred and forty-three folios (ML1); to the *Fundación de España* was added a selection of Mena's verse, including the *Laberinto* and sections devoted to Gómez Manrique, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, and other odd poems (MM1); a manuscript as open-ended and as complex as the *Cancionero de Gallardo* (MN17; Azáceta 1962) starts with a copy of one of those poems that often circulated individually: the *Coplas de la Panadera*, whose transmission has been studied by Elia (1982). In all these instances, *cancioneros* of quite distinct conception and scope seem to have been fabricated around an initial nucleus formed by a long work that circulated independently.

The collected works of individual poets could also provide the core of a new *cancionero*. It is true that the works of Santillana or Gómez Manrique did not give rise to larger collections, perhaps because in the period 1460–1480 collective *cancioneros* are scarce. Nevertheless, among those that gather the poetic production of the reign of Juan II it was not uncommon to begin with transcriptions of the verse of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, as in the cases of PN5, PN6, MN6, MN10, MM1, MM3, SA9b, and ZZ1.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, LB1, a substantial *cancionero* from the Isabeline period arranged by author, starts off with the verse of the then highly regarded Garci Sánchez de Badajoz. This system is also the norm in the anthologies of the Provençal troubadours and even the French *trouvères* (see Crespo 1991).

I am not concerned here only with those *cancioneros* that bear the stamp of a particular identity. And of these, there is a group that characteristically starts with an initial nucleus of texts to which new works are gradually added and which in large measure correspond to the two models described above: some augment an earlier anthology, such as the *Cancionero de Herberay*, or derive from a preexisting collection, sometimes through a selection as strict as the *Cancionero de San Martino delle Scale*; an individual *cancionero* can also fulfill this role. Others are elaborated on the basis of a longer work that is used as a foundation. These, in conclusion, are the most common procedures for starting to compile a new *cancionero*. Their subsequent growth could follow various paths.

Finally, I should like to emphasize that what nowadays seems to be the initial nucleus of a *cancionero* can in fact be the product of later textual, or even codicological, additions. The *Cancionero del Marqués de Barberá* (BM1) has on folio 1r–v a Catalan poem concerning the imprisonment of Carlos, *príncipe de*

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<sup>25</sup> The fact was noted by Garcia (1990, xvii) in his introduction to the *Cancionero de Oñate-Castañeda*. Mercè López Casas is about to present a doctoral thesis on Pérez de Guzmán that will shed further light on this kind of problem.

*Viana*; on folios 2r–3r, a work by Diego de Castre dedicated to the same person, whose reply is also transcribed (the texts are in Castilian or Aragonese). Although the manuscript appears to be fairly uniform, and possibly the work of a single copyist, a more detailed study reveals certain changes, sometimes quite distinct ones, both in the tone of the ink and in the style of the hand, which might be explained as the result of sporadic work over a long period by the same person or possibly even be due to the intervention of two copyists. What is important to stress here is that the first folio is written in the same style of hand as folios 136v–150r and 164r–193r, while folios 2r–3r, written out in a much neater and more humanistic hand, seem somewhat out of place. Since there are no flyleaves, I suspect that folio 1 was originally left blank and that it was later used to copy a poem concerning events relating to Carlos de Viana that linked the contents of the following two folios.

Even more striking is the case of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Esp. 225, a fine Catalan *cancionero*. At the front of this, were added two booklets foliated A–L and M–T. The first begins with a privilege of Fernando I de Aragón awarding forty florins to the Consistorio de la Gaya Ciencia; after two blank folios, there is a group of three works on the imprisonment of Carlos de Viana. The second booklet contains the manuscript's table of contents and a new composition. The *cancionero* properly speaking begins with the following booklet, which is foliated in continuous roman numerals throughout the whole collection. There is no doubt that this is a case of an expanded *cancionero*, but it was surely not extemporaneous: the same watermarks recur throughout various parts of the *cancionero*.<sup>26</sup> A similar case is the same library's MS. Esp. 228 (PN6), which begins with a booklet containing a table of contents, also independently foliated with the letters a–h, even though it leaves two folios blank.<sup>27</sup> A third Parisian *cancionero*, MS. Esp. 229 (PN7), also has a new initial booklet, though it is made of different paper from the remainder of the codex. In each of these cases, the addition of a booklet to be used either partially or in whole as a table of contents left room for the insertion of all kinds of texts.

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<sup>26</sup> The pliers, identical to those in Briquet (1907, no. 14089) and datable 1440–1460, reappear in the eleventh quire and elsewhere. A type of sword, which I have not been able to identify, is found in folio S of the second quire and in quires 6, 8, 10, as well as other odd folios.

<sup>27</sup> As in the previous case, the same watermark is found in the first twelve quires, as is this preliminary one: a human head with three *nizos* and a star. It is very similar to Briquet 15685 (Bourg 1470 and Provence 1476), although the face has a much straighter profile, with a more prominent nose, and the eyelids are more horizontal. The measurements, however, are identical. The MS, therefore, is constructed as a single unit, and the only reason for having left this section blank was simply to allow space for the index.

The initial nucleus could be augmented in various ways that are not always easy to make out. There are manuscripts that indicate that they grew by simple means: by the addition of preexisting collections without any apparent selection of material in the strict sense. The *Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Híjar* (MN6) combines two entire *cancioneros*, as its editor demonstrated (Azá-ceta 1956, xv–xviii). The compiler possibly tried to revise the material in such a way as to avoid duplicating texts, but as often happens, he inadvertently repeated some poems in the two sections. Both units are so long and complex that we can scarcely imagine the compiler setting himself any other task than to suppress repeated poems, even though he was unable to carry this out. The joining together of the two parts is perfectly visible both in the codicological structure and in the type of paper.<sup>28</sup>

On other occasions, as in the case of LB2, the compilers seem to have opted for a more random selection. PN6, for instance, after a section devoted to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, incorporates an anthology that combines works of this author with those of Mena and Santillana but continues with a strange hodgepoch in which Santillana rubs shoulders with Villasandino, the marquis of Astorga, and Juan Álvarez Gato. The *Cancionero de Oñate-Castañeda* (HH1) juxtaposes Fernán Pérez de Guzmán with Santillana and is rounded off with a rich sample of Castilian verse from the age of Juan de Mena and Gómez Manrique to the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. PN5 also starts off with the work of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán but then combines verse by Gómez Manrique, Juan de Mena, and other poets from the Aragonese court, some of which goes back to the archetype of the Italian family (Vàrvaro 1964, 73–76). The second section of BM1 is made up of a selection of verse by Mena, Gómez Manrique, and Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, which also (as far as the current state of textual criticism allows us to deduce) can be linked to this same family of *cancioneros*.

A strikingly different case is LB3, which was extended by adding works that seem to have quite varied origins and textual traditions; next to these are works surviving in single copies.<sup>29</sup> This also seems to be the case of the

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<sup>28</sup> I deal with this *cancionero* in greater detail in a study to be published in *Cultura Neolatina*.

<sup>29</sup> Its contents are as follows: Manrique's *Coplas* in a version very close to the archetype (see Beltrán 1991, 18–32), his uncle Gómez Manrique's *Regimiento de príncipes*, then another prose section, the *Tratado del infante Epitus*, plus four religious poems by Juan Álvarez Gato. Then follows another section of religious verse, all in single surviving anonymous copies (fols. 29r–32v, nos. 8–15), a section of pious epistles (fols. 33r–41v), and another uniquely documented poem (42r–43v). The remainder is an anthology of didactic verse which concludes with some poems by Montoro (fols. 43v–122v). The combination of unique texts, in prose and verse, and well-known and widely disseminated works recalls the *Cancionero de Herberay*. However, it is possible that there existed a *cancionero* made up of Manrique's *Coplas*, Gómez Manrique's *Regimiento de príncipes*, and Fray Íñigo de Mendoza's *Coplas de Vita Christi* (Beltrán 1991, 30–31).



second part of the *Cancionero de San Martino delle Scale*, which is formed out of two juxtaposed sections of separate origin. The first is an anthology of the Aragonese family (fols. 1–69v) which, to judge by the paper and the texts themselves, was compiled between 1467 and 1470 and was closely connected to the Chancery of Palermo (Bartolini 1956, 147–87; and Vårvaro 1964, 65–79). The second part contains a bundle of poems that were not widely circulated and are attributed to Román, Juan Álvarez Gato, Fadrique Manrique, and Guevara.<sup>30</sup> From what we know of these authors and the contents of the poems, this section may also be linked to the Aragonese court, perhaps in the period of the Castilian War of Succession.<sup>31</sup> MM1, which begins with *La*

<sup>30</sup> 14 [Román]. 11CG (poem 112r), 14CG (poem 87r).

14b [J. A. Gato] LB1 (363), MH2 (12), 11CG (111v), 14CG (86v).

15 Fadrique Manrique a Johan poeta. MN6d (92), 11CG (222v), 12\*CP (2), 14CG (202r), 19OB (4).

16 Guiuara MN19 (205).

17 *Ropero al serenissimo Rey Anrique de Castilla* MR2 (7).

18 [A prophetic fragment in prose]. Unique.

<sup>31</sup> The poem by Montoro is a critique of Enrique IV, gentle in tone, as befits a *juglar* addressing a monarch, but it is a critique nonetheless. See the editions and notes of Ciceri and Rodríguez Puértolas (1990, no. 71) and Costa (1990, 405). With respect to Guevara, unfortunately we still lack a detailed study, in spite of his undoubted interest for the development of late fifteenth-century verse. The rubric of one of his poems seems to be datable to the end of 1466, when Prince Alfonso traveled from Arévalo to Ocaña (Suárez Fernández 1964, 276): “Otras suyas a vna partida que el rey don Alfonso hizo de Arevalo” (Foulché-Delbosc 1912–15, no. 904). This trip took place around the middle of December, since at that time King Enrique was in Madrid, according to Galíndez de Carvajal (ed. Torres Fontes 1946, 283), and the latter is documented as being in that town from between 15 December 1466 and 17 May 1467 (Torres Fontes 1946, 198). The title of King given to Alfonso excludes the possibility that the rubric refers to another stay in Arévalo the previous year (Torres Fontes 1946, 230). Guevara had probably been in the service of Enrique IV even earlier, if the poem “O desastrada ventura” refers to the meeting held in Guadalupe in 1464 between Enrique, Princess Isabel, and Alfonso V of Portugal. This meeting prompted poems by Guevara, Pinar, Florencia Pinar, and the Portuguese king (see Cátedra 1989, 149; Boase 1978, 103–4). It is also probable that his *Sepultura de amor* was even earlier than this (Rennert 1895, no. 150; see Cátedra 1989, 146). Finally, Fadrique Manrique was the fifth son of Rodrigo Manrique, Maestre de Santiago and first count of Paredes (Salazar y Castro 1696, X, ch. I). Apart from knowing that in the Castilian civil wars this family always fought on the side of the *Infantes de Aragón*, we know that Pedro Manrique, the eldest son of the count of Paredes and Fadrique’s elder brother, took part in the negotiations that led to the pardon of Juan de Cardona’s rebellion by Juan II of Aragón, in Valencia, 1467 (Salazar y Castro 1696, X, ch. III; and Zurita 1988, lib. XVIII, ch. xiii). As regards Juan de Valladolid, Menéndez Pidal dates this composition 1470 (1991, 413–16; see also Levi 1925, 419–39). In principle, I accept this attribution (although not everyone does; see Aubrun 1951, lxvii–lxxii). We need to respect archival documents, which are the only nonliterary evidence we possess. Moreover, it was usual for those in service at the Neapolitan or Sicilian courts to be

*fundación de España*, continues with an anthology of Mena's verse, including the *Laberinto de Fortuna*, and concludes with sections devoted to Gómez Manrique and Fernán Pérez de Guzmán.

*Cancioneros* also grow through the addition of material that, as in the cases of LB2 and LB3, could be unique, sometimes anonymous, texts that were probably the products of the compiler's own circle. The *Pequeño cancionero* of the Marqués de la Romana selects verse from the *Cancionero de Baena* and then includes six poems by Beltrán de la Cueva; this is his only known work, leaving aside the single *invención* found in LB1 (no. 291). The *Cancionero del marqués de Barberá* follows an anthology of Mena's verse and the *Siete gozos de amor* by Juan Rodríguez de Padrón with three anonymous and unique poems on folio 22r-v, which are then followed by more of Mena's verse and one composition by Gómez Manrique. PM1, after extracting poems from the Aragonese archetype (usually known as the Italian family), continues with three anonymous unique poems (fols. 68r-69v), plus another two of the same kind, though in a later hand (fol. 69v), and it concludes with compositions by Román, Fadrique Manrique, and Guevara. More complex is the case of MN17, the *Cancionero de Gallardo* from the Biblioteca Nacional. After the *Coplas de la Panadera* and Petrarch's *Triunfos* translated by Álvar Gómez de Guadalajara, there is a group of anonymous poems that could be attributed to this same writer; then, folios 26r-29r contain three works attributed to the *bachiller* De la Torre and a friend of his, followed by some stanzas by Sem Tob, one poem attributed to Soria (though not the one who figures in the *Cancionero general*), and a few more that might also be by him, among which may be found an anonymous poem under the rubric "Çelos de una dama a un cavallero" (no. 36, fol. 45v), and the anthology then contains a selection of writers from the reign of Charles V.

In all these cases, the amplification of the *cancionero* entails the inclusion of unique, often anonymous, poems among texts that were widely disseminated. The compiler would gradually have strung together the *pliegos* (folios) as they came into his possession. Sometimes, they contained well-known works, chosen from a large anthology, or even whole sections of one; at other times, we are probably dealing with booklets that derived from the authors themselves or their dedicatees; in certain cases the compiler would have included works whose author is not specified, although he perhaps knew him. When we are dealing with texts that did not circulate widely, as in the case of the *Cancionero*

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paid from the customs; this was the case of even such a high-ranking figure in the service of Alfonso el Magnánimo as Antonio Beccadelli el Panormita, who also started out with a position in customs (Ruiz y Calonja 1990, 307-42, especially 318). In fact, the only obstacle in the way of this attribution is the chronology: 1420 to 1470 is a considerable period but not inconceivable for a man who earned a living from letters.

*de Herberay*, we may suspect that they derive from the compiler's own circle, and so the study of them can provide us with valuable information. At the moment, I am not especially interested in whether or not the interpolations were made at the same time as the manuscript was copied, or if they were later additions on blank leaves, since in the final analysis both procedures enrich the collection with the owner's original contributions.

This *modus operandi* can be reconstructed in the successive development of the anthologies printed in Zaragoza by Paulo Hurus and Hans Planck, who started off from an edition of the *Vita Christi* by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza. The first edition of this work (82IM) came out in Zamora, from Centenera's press, on 25 January 1482, accompanied by Diego de San Pedro's *Sermón trobado* (see Pérez Gómez 1959, 30–41; Whinnom 1962). Apparently, some copies were bound with a *pliego suelto* containing Gómez Manrique's *Regimiento de príncipes*, published by Centenera himself that same year (82\*GM). *Pace* Pérez Gómez and Whinnom, I maintain that it was probably followed by Centenera's second edition (83\*IM), perhaps from 1483.<sup>32</sup> This added various works by Íñigo de Mendoza, Jorge Manrique's *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*, *Lamentación de nuestra Señora en la quinta angustia*, Mena's *Coplas contra los pecados mortales* with Gómez Manrique's continuation, Sancho de Rojas's *Pregunta a un aragonés* coupled with its reply, and Jorge Manrique's *Coplas sobre qué es amor*.

I argue that it is here that we have to situate the first edition of the Zaragoza printers, which is perhaps contemporary with the previous one (82\*IM; facsimile ed. Pérez Gómez 1975). Pérez Gómez showed that it was an exact copy of Centenera's first edition (82IM) but with errors, the most serious of which was the loss of one page. Perhaps the Zaragoza printers had also seen the *pliego* of the *Regimiento de príncipes*, which they decided to add to that simple selection of Mendoza's work. When the copy was already at press, and at the moment of binding it, they altered the order of the booklets and interposed a terrible edition of Manrique's *Coplas* between the *Sermón trobado* and the *Regimiento de príncipes*. I believe this last-minute decision was inspired by Centenera's second edition (83\*IM), which among other works also included the *Coplas*, although not Gómez Manrique's *Regimiento*.<sup>33</sup> What for Centenera was an edition of Íñigo de Mendoza, whose character he preserved with only slight modification in the second edition (83\*IM), for the Zaragoza

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<sup>32</sup> See Beltrán (1991, 24–25). The gradual expansion of the anthology is the only argument adduced by Pérez Gómez (and subsequently Whinnom) to identify the printers of the edition as Paulo Hurus and Hans Planck, Zaragoza, c. 1483 (based on the Escorial and Palermo copies).

<sup>33</sup> We now know that this edition had other imitations. For example, it was reprinted with many errors, perhaps by Friedrich Biel, Burgos, c. 1490, whose only extant copy does not specify the printer, nor place and date of publication, though it has been identified by Rivera and Trienens (1979–80, 22–28). I have studied its text of Manrique's *Coplas* and its relation to earlier editions (Beltrán 1991, 18).

printers was transformed into a small doctrinal *cancionero*, with four composition by three different authors, and the quality of the published versions was substantially inferior.

This was the basis of the first printed collective *cancionero* worthy of the name: the *Cancionero de Ramón de Llavía*, published by Juan Hurus in Zaragoza between 1484 and 1488 (86\*RL). So as to underscore its strikingly original character, he suppressed the *Vita Christi*, even though he preserved various compositions collected by Centenera: the *Dechado* and the *Coplas a las mujeres* by Fray Íñigo, Mena's *Coplas contra los pecados mortales* with Gómez Manrique's continuation, Jorge Manrique's *Qué cosa es amor* and his *Coplas* (although this time his text does not come from Centenera, who had published an excellent edition, but from the same archetype of the earlier edition published by Paulo Hurus and Hans Planck). This nucleus was expanded by another work by Gómez Manrique, half a dozen poems by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán divided into two sections, two by Juan Álvarez Gato, Mena's *La flaca barquilla*, a poem each by Ervías and Fernán Ruiz de Sevilla, two by Gonzalo Martínez de Medina, and one by Fernán Sánchez Calavera. This wide selection of pious and doctrinal verse concludes with a unique poem ascribed to Fray Gauberte, who can be identified as the Aragonese chronicler Fray Gauberte Fabricio de Vagad, the future collaborator of these editors (Romero Tobar 1989).

Paulo Hurus published a new poetic anthology that drew on the editorial experience of earlier ones but which was enriched by numerous fine woodcuts and whose text was far more carefully produced, to judge by the attention given to Manrique's *Coplas*, of which he knew two editions, 1492 (92VC) and 1495 (95VC).<sup>34</sup> In the first place, he took up the tradition of starting a *cancionero* with a long work, Íñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi*, and he preserved another four compositions previously published by Centenera: *La cena de Nuestro Señor*, the *Coplas a la Verónica*, the *Siete gozos de Nuestra Señora*, and the *Justas de la razón contra la sensualidad*, as well as the *Coplas contra los pecados mortales* by Mena, with its continuation by Gómez Manrique. From the earlier *Cancionero de Llavía* he took over Manrique's *Coplas*, in a new edition revised on the basis of the same Zaragoza archetype as the preceding ones, and the poem by Ervías, and he completed the volume with San Pedro's *Pasión trovada* and *Siete angustias de Nuestra Señora* and one new poem by Fray Juan de Ciudad Rodrigo, which would be frequently republished in the years to follow (ID 2899). Although the volume concluded with another popular work by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (ID 197), he inserted four poems that were probably unique: the *Resurrección de Nuestro Salvador* by Pedro Jiménez (fols. 60v–70v), the *Ave maris stella* by Juan Guillardón (fols. 77v–78v), the *Historia de la Virgen del Pilar de Zaragoza* by Medina (fols. 78v–81v), and the anonymous *Dezir gracioso de la muerte*.

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<sup>34</sup> A copy of the 1492 edition is to be found in the library of D. Pedro Vindel and is all but unknown to scholars of this period. For further details, see my 1991 edition.

In their three editions, the collaborators of Hurus and Planck have left us tangible evidence with which to strengthen some of my earlier hypotheses. A group of poems was gathered from preexisting *cancioneros*, most of which can be identified, and this initial nucleus would then be amplified from a variety of sources.<sup>35</sup> In some cases, we need to know more: for example, the text of “Señora muy linda, sabed que vos amo” by Ferrán Sánchez Calavera is far superior to the one found in the *Cancionero de Baena*, but we lack any other textual witnesses that might belong, like this one, to an independent tradition.<sup>36</sup> And the *dezir* “Dime quién eres tú, grande Anibal,” ascribed to Gonzalo Martínez de Medina, is documented nowhere else. Quite possibly, this editorial team had at its disposal one or two fairly substantial *cancioneros* that provided them with the major part of the additions in *Ramón de Llavía* and the 1492 incunable. But the editors wove them together with unique witnesses that, according to the hypotheses developed for the manuscripts I discussed earlier, probably came from their immediate circle and never found their way into the more widely diffused large *cancioneros*. The author of the final poem in the *Cancionero de Ramón de Llavía*, Gauberte Fabricio de Vagad, and the theme of the *Historia de la Virgen del Pilar de Zaragoza*, by Medina, included in 92VC and 95VC, confirm their dependence on the local culture of Zaragoza.

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Returning to the contributions of the copyists themselves, the evolution of the manuscript *cancioneros* was far from being as linear and simple as the earlier examples might suggest. The interpolations could derive from successive stages in the elaboration of the *cancionero*, which cannot always be reconstructed. The simplest example is when short texts are inserted onto the blank leaves of preexisting manuscripts, as in the case of SA4. It begins with a unique text but continues with well-known works: Gómez Manrique’s *Querella de la gobernación* and Santillana’s *Doctrinal de privados*. Up to this point the hand is the same, but two different hands then share the partial transcription of the *Vita Christi* (fols. 5v–30r), after which three folios are left blank. Then a fourth hand copied an anonymous composition found only in this manuscript (fols. 34r–37v, ID 4685), and a later hand then added another unique text whose *explicit* attri-

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<sup>35</sup> The textual transmission of Diego de San Pedro’s *Passión Trobada* does not help us, since according to Severin (1973, 17–38), the *Cancionero de Oñate-Castañeda* records an earlier version than all the others, and these are later than the one in question here.

<sup>36</sup> Aside from its dual readings and a final stanza not recorded in PN1, it contains obvious errors in lines 16 and 39; 94RL also has errors that are not in PN1 (e.g., in l. 14). An exhaustive study of the transmission of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán’s verse would help us solve these problems, as would a textual comparison of the poems by Mena, Fray Íñigo de Mendoza, and Gómez Manrique that occur in both *cancioneros*.

butes it to Pero Gómez de Ferrol (ID 4686).<sup>37</sup> Another two anonymous and unique poems follow, and the manuscript rounds off with the longest known version of the *Vita Christi* (420 stanzas), an extensive collection of poetry by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza (fols. 119r–166r), and the *Coplas que hizo el comendador Román reprendiendo al mundo* (ID 4276).

This is far from being the only case. In the *Cancionero de la Biblioteca Estense de Módena* (ME1), on folio 22v, a later Italian hand made use of the blank leaf following a poem by Pedro Torrellas to insert a *canción* by Manrique (“Quien no estuviere en presencia,” although he does not identify its authorship). In PN9, a hand different from the one that actually transcribed the manuscript took advantage of a blank space to insert two poems by Pero González de Mendoza, *el gran cardenal* (ID 151 and 152).<sup>38</sup>

The problem becomes considerably more complex when we do not have the original *cancionero* but a copy in which the different hands, periods, and styles, are obscured by the uniformity of the surviving copy. We should recall how the *Cancionero de Baena* was originally dated after the death of Queen María in February 1445—in spite of her being mentioned in the dedication as alive—by the inclusion of two poems by Juan de Mena, no. 471 (after the battle of Olmedo, 19 May 1445) and no. 472, related to the events of 1449 (Azáceta 1966, xxvi–xxxiii). But subsequent research demonstrates that the extant exemplar is a copy (Tittmann 1968; Alberto Blecua 1974–79) and that Juan Alfonso de Baena died before 27 September 1435 (Nieto Cumplido 1979; 1982). The conclusion is obvious: these are later interpolations, assimilated into the main body of the *cancionero* by the only copy we now possess.<sup>39</sup> When the surviving manuscript is homogeneous in style and construction, it becomes highly problematic to assess the relation between the unique compositions it contains and the collection as a whole. Even so, we should never lose sight of its connections with a center of production, even though it may be that of an intermediate phase, prior to the surviving manuscript copy.

We can see, therefore, how certain texts, often linked to the *cancionero*'s center of production, could be inserted at the start or, more frequently, within the main body of the collection and become mixed up with the material that the compiler had gathered from contemporary written sources. We also know that these interpolations can also be the result of intermediate phases in the

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<sup>37</sup> Six lines from this very poem had been transcribed on folio 33v, immediately after the *Vita Christi*.

<sup>38</sup> Pero González de Mendoza, son of the marqués de Santillana, and successively bishop of Calahorra and archbishop of Toledo, should not be confused with his grandfather of the same name, whose verse is recorded in the *Cancionero de Baena*. For further details, see Nader (1979). He was the subject of a personal chronicle by P. Salazar de Mendoza (1625).

<sup>39</sup> The cycle does not end here: as I said before, one or two hands copied (c. 1500) the text of Manrique's *Coplas* on the final folios, although it is obviously a later addition, incorporated after the construction of the original MS.

manuscript transmission. Nevertheless, the favored place for these additions are the leaves that were frequently left blank between the end of the composition about to be copied and the total number of booklets that had been used to make up the codex. A characteristic example is BC3, the *Cancionero de don Pedro de Aragón*.<sup>40</sup> Its original nucleus is made up of the *Laberinto de Fortuna* (fols. 2r–52r), the *Comedieta de Ponza* (fols. 53r–73r), “La Fortuna que no cesa” (73r–84r), and “O tu rey que estas leyendo” (84r–84v) by Mena, Santillana’s *Doctrinal de privados* (87r–98r) and Mena’s *Razonamiento con la muerte* (95v–98r).<sup>41</sup> The same hand that copied the rubric also put together an index on the back of the second flyleaf (fol. 1v) corresponding to this part of the manuscript.

Up to this point, it is a very neat copy, in large format (268 x 210 mm.), with the text written out within a large ruled space (172 x 96 mm.), in a single column of three stanzas per page. Whatever their length, the rubrics are copied in red ink within the spaces between the stanzas and do not disrupt this general pattern. The poem’s initial letter (fol. 2r) is gilded, with vegetable ornamentation drawn in white over a blue and green background. The initial letter of the *Laberinto* and of the incipits of other poems have been drawn in blue (fols. 13r, 37v, 53r, 73r, and 87r), and those of each stanza in red. There are learned glosses in the margins, written by the scribe himself, though in a smaller and inferior script, and abundant reader’s notes, commenting upon or emending the text (fol. 22v). The quires are remarkably regular: seven quires of six sheets, plus one of five, and a quaternion, from which the second part of the third bifolium has been torn out. There can be no doubt that this is a luxury manuscript, meticulously put together in every respect.

But this did not prevent a series of clumsy interventions. After the texts listed above, four folios (current numeration 99–102) were left blank, plus folio 98v, all of them ruled. A second, very irregular cursive hand, with humanist features, copied the start of the *Vita Christi* by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza in two columns on folios 98v–99v. The scribe arranged the first column in the wide margin to the left of the ruled space, and the second one within the space itself. But because the *Trescientas* are written in eight-line strophes and the *Vita Christi* in ten, he was forced to employ the blank spaces between the stanzas in the manuscript’s original design.

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<sup>40</sup> For its move to the Biblioteca de Cataluña, see Bohigas (1966, 485); for a textual study, see Kerkhof (1979). The latter’s account of the textual transmission of the poems it contains enabled him to propose a stemma for this codex and its closest relations, and he printed the unpublished texts by the *comendador* Estela. In addition to all this, my codicological study uncovers details that enable us to understand how a *cancionero* develops (in this case in a decidedly inorganic fashion).

<sup>41</sup> My foliation does not coincide with Kerkhof’s because I follow only the modern one, written in pencil, which erroneously begins on the second flyleaf. Kerkhof’s is the correct one, but mine allows for a more immediate verification of the textual data.

A third very Gothic hand, but also cursive and quite careless, devoted the rest of the volume to a transcription of various Castilian poems by the *comendador* Estela.<sup>42</sup> He tried to follow the design of the *Trescientas* and write in a single column. In the first section, the original scribe had left the first line blank, but the later one, forced to squeeze ten-line strophes into a space ruled for eight, started to write on the first line and fitted the last line of verse within the blank space between the stanzas (fols. 100v–101v). Paradoxically, when he came across texts actually written in *octavas* (fols. 102r–102v), he completely abandoned the ruled lines, perhaps exhausted by his unaccustomed scribal labor.

We can see how an amateur compiler had no scruples in expanding a luxury *cancionero*, altering its didactic character with poems of a different order and destroying its perfect formal composition. This is a common phenomenon: at the end of the second part of SA5, a luxury edition of the *Trescientas*, Mena's "La flaca barquilla" is added in a different hand; even in PN1, the extant copy of the *Cancionero de Baena*, one or two different hands copied around 1500 an excellent version of Manrique's *Coplas* on the final (probably blank) folios. Nonetheless, the *cancioneros* that interest us most are those that incorporate unique texts that come perhaps from the very same environment where they were gathered, written possibly by the manuscript's owner or even the compiler himself.

The *Cancionero de Salvá* (PN13), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is a luxury manuscript, exceptionally well copied in two columns per page, and with a strikingly uniform layout. Up to folio 192r it contains a generous anthology of verse from the first half of the fifteenth century, whose textual filiation is still to be determined.<sup>43</sup> In the second column of folio 192r begins a series of eleven poems, all unique copies, attributed to Gómez de Rojas, whose work is not found in any other *cancionero*. Since the manuscript is mutilated at the end, we cannot be sure whether or not it included more authors. On the other hand, *cancionero* MM1 does seem complete (see above), and it concludes with the unique copy of a poem by Juan de Herrera on the canonization of San Vicente Ferrer (1455).

Perhaps the most interesting example is the *Pequeño cancionero*, whose compilation has several intriguing features. Beginning with compositions by Pero González de Mendoza and Beltrán de la Cueva, all in the same hand (fols. 1r–2r), which are followed by a blank page (fol. 2v), it continues with selections from Macías, a poem by Suero de Ribera and another by Juana, Queen

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<sup>42</sup> In addition to Kerkhof's article on this *cancionero*, cited above, see Martínez Romero (1990).

<sup>43</sup> On which, see Kerkhof (1983, 39–46), who argues that it is closely related to MN10, although this MS contains only works by Santillana and Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. Vozzo Mendia (1989, 54–55 and commentary on the relevant poems) believes it to be related to the *Cancionero de Vindel* (NH2).



of Castile, plus one by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, which is thematically related, and then leaves another blank page (fol. 8v). Then it transcribes the *Coplas de la Panadera* and *Mingo Revulgo*, leaves another section blank (the second column on folio 13r and all of folio 13v), and reproduces a version of Rodrigo de Cota's *Epitalamio burlesco* that survives in no other manuscript.<sup>44</sup> After leaving yet another folio almost blank (part of 16r and all of 16v), it ends up with the only extant copy of a poem ascribed to Arteaga de Salazar<sup>45</sup> and an elegy on the death of Isabel la Católica (26 November 1504). I should also point out that this *cancionerillo*, which was put together for strictly private use, has a strikingly learned character. It includes annotations and variants from the *Cancionero de Baena* (fols. 6r–v and 8r), which Blecua has used to reconstruct readings from the lost original of this collection; observations drawn from Santillana's *Carta Prohemio* (fol. 4r); and a description of a *cancionero* belonging to Pero Lasso de la Vega, which contained works by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and a selection of poets from the reign of Enrique III (fol. 6r). Although small, it contains two clearly defined sections, the first being devoted to courtly and the second to historical verse. In spite of this, it does not depart from the usual methods of compilation: an initial anthology, some new works inserted in the middle, and some unique texts at the end, with blank folios for further additions appropriate for each section.

When the *cancionero* is copied out in a single hand or, like the *Cancionero de Herberay*, is distinctly uniform in character, the unique texts were probably added at the end, at the very moment the manuscript was originally compiled; it is also possible that their presence is the result of several successive interventions and that they were included in a subarchetype that no longer exists. However, when they are the product of a later hand, as in BC3, especially if it is the work of an amateur copyist, one can deduce that they were added by an owner and that the compilation was carried out in several phases. This situation is frequent.

I have already discussed MN39 from the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Its final section includes an anonymous poem documented by only one other witness (BM3 no. 11), and it ends with a poem by Boscán copied out in a later hand. An especially interesting case is SA5.<sup>46</sup> This contains an edition of Au-

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<sup>44</sup> The editor, Cantera Burgos, believes it to be an early version of the poem (1970, 74–81 and 112–29).

<sup>45</sup> Dutton (1982) identifies it in MN65, an eighteenth-century copy of MN15.

<sup>46</sup> This *cancionero* was formed from two others. The first goes up to folio clvii(r) and contains the work of Ausiàs March. It is written in a semigothic hand, with little difference between the broad and thin strokes, and traces of the Catalan cursive book hand of the fourteenth century; large initials mark each stanza, and there are very few abbreviations, with early foliation in roman numerals. The second part begins on folio 159 (modern numbering; the early foliation does not continue from this point). It contains Mena's *Trescientas* in the Castilian semigothic usually found in the neatest *cancioneros*; the large initials for each new stanza are far more decorated than those in part one, and there is a greater use of abbre-

siàs March and concludes with a poem by Pere March, “Al punt c-om naix comença de morir,” with both its *tornadas*, whose text begins on folio clv(v) and ends approximately halfway down folio clvii(r) (Pagès 1934, 51–53; and Vidal Alcover 1987, 28–31). The second half of this folio has been left blank. On folio clvii(v) there is the sole surviving copy of an *esparsa* by Mosen Lloís Pardo (Massó Torrens 1932), written in a more cursive and careless script than the previous one but that nevertheless still has Gothic features; the remainder of the folio is taken up by an “Oracio en strams feta ala santa creu / per don jordi centelles.” On folio 158r (now numbered differently from the first part of the *cancionero*) there follows an *esparsa*, the first Castilian text in the collection, by “Don Jordi centelles / per dona blanca de rocaberti.” Both works are written in the same legible, cursive hand. The rest of the folio is blank. There is yet another interpolation, occupying the top of folio 158v, which contains part of the opening stanza of the *Vita Christi*, though by now the cursive script is clearly humanistic. And finally, a scribal colophon in the same hand concludes this Catalan *cancionero*: “Quis escripsit escribat semper cum domino viuat dominicus vocatiue quis escripsit benedicatur.”

The case before us, therefore, is clear: at the very least, an owner added the two poems by Jordi Centelles, who was well known as a fractious man of letters (from 1456 until his death in Valencia in 1496); and he did so after this latter individual or another earlier owner had copied the composition by Lloís Pardo. Jordi Centelles was the bastard son of the first count of Oliva, Francesc Gilabert de Centelles, and brother of the second count, Serafi Centelles, a patron of poets and the dedicatee of Hernando del Castillo’s *Cancionero general*.<sup>47</sup> The *cancionero*, either the first part alone or with both parts now assembled, passed through Valencia (the orthography of the atonic vowels in the poem by Lluís Pardo betrays a Valencian hand) where these additions would be made perhaps even in the court of the counts of Oliva or possibly in the broad literary circle of the capital of Turia.<sup>48</sup>

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viations. It continues with “La flaca barquilla” in a different hand, probably added by one of the readers of the MS. Everything suggests that these were two separate *cancioneros* that were bound together in an indeterminate moment in their history. For descriptions, see Dutton, *El cancionero castellano del siglo XV* (1990–91); Massó Torrens (1923–24, 151–54), and Pagès (1912, 31–34). Its provenance can be traced back to the sixteenth century, when it was in Salamanca, Colegio de San Bartolomé, though it was in the Biblioteca Real when Pagès studied it.

<sup>47</sup> An occasional poet, he was judge in a Valencian poetic competition in 1456, and he also participated in those held there in 1474 and 1486. Two other poems by him survive, as well as the Catalan translation of Panormita’s *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum libri quattuor*; see Massó Torrens (1923–24, 150 and 154) and Ferrando Francés (1983, 115–22), who publishes the two texts from SA5. The best study is Durán’s introduction to A. Beccadelli el Panormita, *Dels fets e dits del gran rey Alfonso*, especially pp. 15–29. The bibliography of bilingual poets by Ganges Garriga (1992) should also be consulted.

<sup>48</sup> This point could be clarified by codicological study. I have not personally inspected

I could go on citing various *cancioneros* with the same characteristics, sometimes copied by a single hand or with evidence of having been compiled in several phases but always with the addition of unique texts in the final section. PN6 closes a lengthy anthology with a couple of them, the first anonymous (ID 117), and the second (ID 118) attributed to the *bachiller* de la Torre. In a different hand was added yet another anonymous poem, found in two other *cancioneros* and cited by Diego de Mendoza in Garci Sánchez de Badajoz's *Infierno de amores*.<sup>49</sup> Finally, at the end of PN7—another luxury manuscript of the *Trescientas* (although compiled differently from BC3)—a reader added two little-known Castilian compositions by the *comendador* Estela, another of his Catalan poems, and his prose gloss “Vive leda si podrás,” although in a far better hand than the reader who filled the final folios of BC3.

On the other hand, PN7 offers a supreme instance of what this kind of amplification could entail. The text of the *Trescientas* ends on folio 76v, in the second part of quire nine, and the works of Estela occupy folios 77r–81v, the end of the ninth quire and the two first folios of the tenth. But then follow thirteen unnumbered folios in this quire (plus the last folio that must have been torn out) and then the fourteen folios of the eleventh quire. If a reader had carried on writing in the original quire, a copy of the *Laberinto* would have become the nucleus of a collective *cancionero* of quite respectable size.

The study of the concluding sections of *cancioneros* already has a certain tradition behind it. R. O. Jones (1961), when he examined the poems that conclude the *Cancionero del British Museum* (partial ed. Rennert 1895), considered the possibility that he was dealing with a collection compiled by Juan del Encina himself. His arguments are plausible: no. 346 has the rubric “Villancico del actor deste libro,” and it appears in Encina's *Cancionero* of 1496 with the no. 352; and another (*British* 352) is also attributed to Encina in the *Cancionero musical de Palacio* (ed. Asenjo Barbieri 1890; facsimile reprint 1987, no. 240). Consequently, this poet could have gathered the contemporary verse that he either had available or liked, and he closed the volume with some of his own compositions, from 347 to 352. More recently, Michel Garcia has suggested a similar explanation for the *Cancionero de Oñate-Castañeda*, which would be the work of Pedro de Escavias whose compositions appear at the end of the codex (Garcia 1978–80, especially first volume; and 1990, 24–26). In both cases there are significant arguments in favor of this attribution, as regards the structure of both the volumes and its contents, as well as the circumstances and tastes of their supposed compilers.

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the MS, and so I have been unable to determine if these additions are all in the final folios of the first part (which seems most probable) or if they also extend into the initial folios of the second. Since folio 158 (the last folio with interpolated texts) is not numbered, one should proceed with caution.

<sup>49</sup> Gallagher (1968), stanza 19. Dutton (1982) attributes two more poems to him (ID 5979 and ID 6223).

I would even argue that a third *cancionero* shares these characteristics: SA10a. It is well known that this volume (Salamanca University MS. 2763) is made up of two distinct parts (Wittstein 1907 and Moreno Hernández 1989, 18–20). The first, which concerns us here, is usually dated c. 1520, and it contains an anthology of poets from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, with a high incidence of those who fought for the Catholic Monarchs and the Aragonese faction: Diego de Valera and Pero Guillén are the best represented, although there are also poems by others, such as Lope de Stúñiga, Gómez Manrique, and even Villasandino. Written in a single hand, between folios 89r and 91r it includes seventeen poems by Hernando Colón, in the same hand as the rest of the *cancionero*. So that no space is wasted, these are followed by a series of four anonymous compositions, which begin in the second column of folio 91r and are copied in a different hand. All poems are attested only here.<sup>50</sup> We still know nothing of the transmission of the texts in the collection except for the case of Lope de Stúñiga's work, and although the nature of its variants do not allow firm conclusions, there is a possible link with *Cancioneros* Vindel, Herberay, and Módena.<sup>51</sup> Given Hernando Colón's personality and his obsession with books, it is perfectly feasible to imagine that he was the patron of this manuscript and that at its conclusion the scribe included the work of his patron. Then, a subsequent reader or owner might have added on their own account the anonymous poems, whose authorship I have not been able to ascertain. Nevertheless, the fact that poems deriving from this manuscript are in a single hand is not enough to prove it was compiled in a single phase. The poems by Hernando Colón appear at the end of an anthology whose contents seem to date it around 1460 or possibly a little later. The surviving copy could be a new collection ordered by Colón, at the end of which he added his own work, but it could equally be just a reproduction of an older *cancionero* copied at his behest.

In view of this information, the final sections constitute a varied and com-

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<sup>50</sup> HARRISSE (1871, appendix F) published Hernando Colón's poems from a *cancionero* in the Biblioteca Real, which may be identified as the one under discussion here. Moreover, HARRISSE also reveals that in Colón's library was a book entitled *Ferdinandi Colon varii Rithmi et Cantilene manu et hispanico sermone scripti*, which in his opinion was probably dedicated entirely to Colón's own work, though this MS could also be SA10b. In fact, VARELA identifies this MS, cited in *Abece-darium B*, as the one that in *Registrum B* has the title *Cancionero de coplas de mano echas por diversos autores* (1983, 185–201), although he does not point out that it could well be SA10b, the very MS that provides the source for his own edition. HARRISSE's information reappears in SERRANO Y SANZ (1932, clviii), and the poems have been republished by DUTTON in the *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*. Nonetheless, I should also like to add that MS. Add. 13984 of the British Library (seventeenth century) has poems by Colón on fols. 44–45 (GAYANGOS 1875–91, 2:316), but VARELA (1983, 192) affirms that it is simply a copy of SA10b.

<sup>51</sup> VOZZO MENDIA (1989, 55–56). This connection was limited to ten poems, to judge by the index in RAMÍREZ DE ARELLANO Y LYNCH (1976, 34).

plex set of problems. Perhaps to a greater extent than in the middle of the *cancioneros*, in the final sections poems that were inserted only at the very moment of compilation could exist alongside others that were added during the manuscript's circulation. And the latter probably originated in the same place as the *cancionero*, or even belonged to the compiler or an author very close to him. In any case, the final part of the manuscripts usually left free folios that would be the ideal place to add texts *a posteriori*, separated from their place of origin.<sup>52</sup> Studying them, therefore, becomes a vitally important means of discovering the manuscript's evolution and history, but it requires utmost care if one is to avoid rash conclusions.

We have seen, therefore, how the comparative analysis of manuscripts lays bare a series of characteristic features that shed light on the habits of the scribes, their methods of work, the function of their collections, and even the vanity of their owners. Among them stand out such notable features as the initial nuclei, the internal interpolations, and the concluding section.<sup>53</sup> And all these features can coexist in a single manuscript, as in the cases of the *Cancionero de Herberay* or the *Pequeño cancionero*. All help us understand more fully the textual witness and reconstruct its history and owners. Sometimes we are confronted by collections that reflect the internal life of a literary court; if this were not the case, what could explain the organizational chaos of such high-quality anthologies as the *Cancionero de Estúñiga* and its related texts, where there is no noticeable attempt to be systematic? Like the *Cancionero de Herberay*, they probably derive from open-ended miscellanies, in which, starting from an earlier compilation, the scribe noted down works as they were composed or were passed on to him but without any apparent organizational criteria. These are the very cases that might repay further study.

Whatever the logic behind their inclusion, however, and whenever they were actually transcribed, we should pay close attention to as many poems as we can find in the *cancioneros* that exist in single or just a few copies. As I have already explained, almost all these compilations start in one way or another from preexisting volumes, be they personal *cancioneros* or more ambitious single works and anthologies. But most of them also display a significant innovative streak, which can take various forms: combining two or more *cancioneros*, judiciously selecting the material that comes down to them, and, especially, adding texts that were not widely circulated, which allows us to form the hypothesis that the centers of *cancionero* production disseminated originals alongside copies

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<sup>52</sup> The text of Manrique's *Coplas*, for example, was copied in the final folios of the *Cancionero de Baena*, at the very end of the fifteenth or the start of the sixteenth century (Beltran 1991, 28–30).

<sup>53</sup> In fact, exploiting the blank leaves, as well as the flyleaves, was a characteristic practice of MS readers in the Middle Ages, before the increasing availability of books during the Early Modern period changed reading habits. See Bourgain's remarks concerning Latin MSS. of the High Middle Ages (1991, 71–72).

of other anthologies. Sometimes we can detect major centers of such activity: like the (as yet unidentified) place of origin of the *Cancionero de Palacio* (SA7) or the Trastamaran court that produced the archetype of what we commonly call the Italian family of *cancioneros* (though Aragonese is the more accurate term), which collect a set of major works destined to be widely circulated. On other occasions, the compilations have a more obviously local character: like the central nucleus that formed the basis of the *Cancionero de Vindel* (of possible Catalan origin; see Ramírez de Arellano y Lynch 1976) or that of the *Cancionero de Pero Guillén de Segovia*.<sup>54</sup> In any case, their study can often shed light on the literary circle from which they originated, its tastes, chronology, and locale.

In conclusion, studies on the fifteenth-century *cancioneros* currently betray certain weaknesses that, unless resolved, will prevent us from advancing further in this field. In my own research, I have been hampered by the lack of information about one essential problem: what originals did the compiler have on hand, where did they come from, and how did he get them? In his magisterial book, Giuseppe Billanovich (1981) reconstructed the procedures adopted by Petrarch to edit Livy's *Decades*: what manuscripts he acquired, when, from which library, what each contained, and how he handled them. It is true that many of Petrarch's autographs have survived, and among them his edition of Livy, with both his own marginal annotations and those of Lorenzo Valla. But it is also true that the identification, evaluation, and dating of these manuscripts are the result of a long series of studies and *cancionero* scholars have scarcely begun to embark upon such a task. There is a group of works of considerable scope that recur in numerous *cancioneros*, like Mena's *Laberinto*, Fray Íñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi*, Gómez Manrique's *Regimiento de príncipes*, and many more, whose analysis would enable us to make progress on this score. In only a few concrete cases, such as the works of Santillana that have been so thoroughly researched by Maxim Kerkhof, are we in a position to retrace the paths they have followed. Consequently, I would like to suggest a new direction for our research: from the contents of the *cancionero* to its container, from the poems to the scribes. Precisely because so few have followed it, it is this path that holds the greatest surprises in store.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> The most relevant study of the origins of the MS is Cummins (1973); but see also Lang (1908), Marino (1978–79), and Beltran (1991, 39–42).

<sup>55</sup> This study forms part of a broader research project on fifteenth-century *cancioneros* funded by the Dirección General de Investigación, Ciencia y Tecnología.

*In Praise of the Cancionero:  
Considerations on the Social Meaning of the  
Castilian Cancioneros*

MICHEL GARCIA

Nothing could be more timely than this collection of studies, now that Brian Dutton's compilation of *cancioneros* (1990–91) is finally completed, and now that—thanks to him—we have an exceptional opportunity to make an in-depth study of the entire corpus of fifteenth-century court poetry. My intention here is not merely to pay personal tribute to our late colleague but to recognize an exceptional fact: it is rare that a scholar has an opportunity to review the whole of a literary corpus and to be able to develop theories with the confidence that they are based on utterly reliable material.

Our debt to Brian Dutton for his monumental accomplishment is obvious, not only because of its great literary importance but because of the influence his catalogue will have on the way in which this and future generations of scholars focus their studies of fifteenth-century Castilian literature. By setting before us the complete panorama of surviving anthologies, Brian Dutton has opened up fields of study that we cannot afford to ignore.<sup>1</sup> I should like to point out the two most obvious: first, we are in a position to establish critical editions of the complete works of a much wider range of poets than ever before. Even in the case of forgotten (and forgettable?) poets, it is hard for philologists not to fulfill the obligation they owe to every author from the past whose works they happen to unearth.<sup>2</sup> The second is to establish critical edi-

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the issues I discuss in this study have also been raised in a colloquium held in Liège, in 1989, whose proceedings have been edited by Tyssens (1991); see especially the opening paper by Roncaglia, to which I return below.

<sup>2</sup> I am currently preparing an edition of the complete works of Costana and a new edition of the verse of Pedro de Escavias.

tions of the major poems. So far this has been done in only a few of the most significant cases, such as Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna*, Santillana's *Comedieta de Ponça* and *Bias contra Fortuna*, Íñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi*, Diego de San Pedro's *Pasión Trobada*, and Jorge Manrique's *Coplas*. These editions are the fruit of enormous labor, which previously could be justified only for the truly exceptional works; henceforth they will be possible even for poems of secondary importance.

The value of such projects cannot by any means be underestimated, and I consider them not just inevitable but essential, so long as they do not cause us to lose sight of our main objectives.<sup>3</sup> In fact, I consider it more urgent to ask how we can exploit Dutton's new research tool to undertake a global study of *cancionero* production in particular and also to reassess our perceptions of fifteenth-century literary life in general. To this end, I think it vital that we confine ourselves to the reality of the *cancioneros* or poetic anthologies, whatever one chooses to call them.<sup>4</sup> It is not my intention here to explore the ways in which we might classify the *cancioneros* (Vicenç Beltran has broached this topic in his essay in the present volume) but rather to use this opportunity to open debate on their definition and *raison d'être* within the literary and sociological context of fifteenth-century Castile.

Before I begin, I should point out that in my opinion the *cancioneros* should be the primary object of our research and that we must avoid from the outset the danger of regarding them as mere collections of texts or a fortuitous gathering of preexisting works. This is a very real danger. It is obvious that nowadays the existence of a poem in one of these *cancioneros* is not considered crucial information for the modern scholar or editor and that it has little or no influence on the definition of the text or its interpretation. Current editions usually relegate the codicological origin of the work to footnotes, where they also indicate the principal variants of the extant versions. But what interests them most is the text itself, whether published in isolation or included in a different context, namely, the complete works of the poet who composed it. The presence of a poem in one of these collections has at best been used as evidence for assessing the work's initial popularity. According to this line of reasoning, a *cancionero* is interesting only insofar as it includes unknown poems or the original version of a particular work. Thus we have the paradox that a *cancionero* is considered interesting only if it calls attention to itself by departing from the norm in bringing to light previously unknown works or unusual attributions.

Although I can make this point only in passing, our experience with these

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<sup>3</sup> Roncaglia is of the same opinion: "Les problèmes qui dérivent de cette situation sont nombreux. Pour commencer: faudra-t-il viser à l'édition documentaire des chansonniers, ou plutôt à la reconstruction critique des textes individuels? Voilà un dilemme qui n'en est pas un. Pour des raisons différentes, les deux tâches sont également nécessaires" (1991, 23).

<sup>4</sup> On the problems of the term *cancionero*, see Severin (1994).



collections shows us that we have a natural tendency to attach less importance to the *cancionero* as such than to its contents. At best, *cancioneros* are simply overlooked; at worst, they are considered obstacles to the interpretation of the poems and the establishment of the texts. By contrast, I would argue that it is necessary to examine the *cancioneros* as literary objects in their own right. I shall advance several reasons for this view.

The first is that fifteenth-century *cancioneros* extend a long tradition of poetic anthologies compiled both within and beyond the frontiers of Castile. This in itself is significant.<sup>5</sup> While Castilian collections began to appear only in the first half of the fifteenth century, the practice of gathering poems of different form and thematic content was a common practice elsewhere in the Peninsula. According to the invaluable evidence of his *Prohemio e carta al Condestable de Portugal*, Santillana recalls having seen a large anthology of Galician-Portuguese verse, owned by his grandmother, doña Mencía de Cisneros (the relevant passage is quoted below). As Santillana's testimony suggests, it is most probable that the Castilians inherited the practice from the Galician-Portuguese school and not the Provençal.<sup>6</sup>

However, it is appropriate here to refer to another model that is genuinely Castilian, represented by the works of the *mester de clerecía* of the fourteenth century. The *Libro de buen amor* by Juan Ruiz and the *Rimado de palacio* by Pedro López de Ayala bear an undeniable similarity to the later anthologies, although in my opinion critics have pushed the analogy to unacceptable extremes.<sup>7</sup> To illustrate this, I would point to the frequent changes in register in the *Libro de buen amor*, the absence of certain poems announced by the poet himself, and the final gathering together of those pieces that apparently could not find a place in the main body of the book. For the work of Ayala, there is also ample proof of this organization: the autonomy of the *Ditado sobre el Cisma* and of the religious *cancionero* at the end of Part One of the *Rimado* (underscored by the inclusion of dates or transitional stanzas); Ayala's adaptation of the Book of Job, where several versions of the same passage are combined alongside a series of unconnected sections, giving the *Rimado* its

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<sup>5</sup> See Huot (1987). This book sheds considerable light on many issues that are crucial to our understanding of literary developments in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: e.g., the transition from oral to written literature, the increasing prestige of vernacular verse, and the gradual emergence of the concept "book." But the corpus that concerns me here belongs to a later period, when vernacular literature enjoyed a different, more elevated status, which sets limits to the use I can make of Huot's arguments and conclusions.

<sup>6</sup> The rubrics to the poems in the *Cancionero de Baena* fulfill a role similar to the *vidas* and *razos* of the Provençal collections. However, as Weiss has pointed out (1990, 42), there are significant differences in content and length, which cast doubt on the conclusions drawn by Deyermond (1982) as to the influence on Baena of the Provençal models of compilation.

<sup>7</sup> For example, I do not believe that the fragments of *cuaderna vía* included by Ayala in his *Rimado de palacio* were composed continuously between the reign of Pedro I and the final years of the poet's life. For details, see Garcia (1982, 287–302).

heterogeneous character. Despite this evident lack of unity, with good reason we consider these works to be coherent. In part, no doubt, because the work is by the same poet. But this explanation is not very convincing, because there are limits to the coherence of themes and forms in an author's work, particularly when the book apparently includes his complete output in that genre. In fact, the principal characteristics of the two works in question—the artifice of the poetic whole, which consists in the attempt to balance comprehensive scope with a sometimes forced quest for formal unity—suggest a poetic conception similar to that which inspired the *cancioneros*, though with a much stronger sense of formal structure.

These traits also define fifteenth-century *cancioneros*, which strive to gather a maximum number of works and order them in such a way as to make the collection as a whole appear coherent.<sup>8</sup> We must not lose sight of these fourteenth-century antecedents when we consider both the appearance and the characteristics of *cancioneros* in the following century.

In a way, the works by Juan Ruiz and Ayala illustrate, with far greater clarity than Galician-Portuguese anthologies, one of the major preoccupations of late medieval literati: the preservation of the texts, or, put more dramatically, the determination to prevent their disappearance. Their other characteristics do not diminish that sense of urgency. It is manifest in fifteenth-century *cancioneros* right from the very start: the *Cancionero de Baena* takes its initial impulse and shape as a compilation of the works of Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino. The same is true of several others, such as the *Cancionero de Oñate*, which, as I explain below, opens with the works of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. In each instance, it is difficult to imagine that the operation does not entail the implicit desire to fix forever a body of poetry that is in danger of disappearing or, at least, of not acquiring the fame it deserves. The motives may evolve over time. In particular, the advent of the printing press could have influenced compilers to make the leap toward gathering together the complete works of given authors. But before the dissemination of printing, I see a desire to preserve a patrimony as the principal motivation, because the poets who merited such treatment had either died or stopped composing at the time their works were being compiled. The posthumous nature of the operation tells us much about its objectives.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The criterion of length could be used to distinguish the *cancioneros*. However, brevity was probably due more to an unexpected interruption than to the wishes of the compiler, and therefore, hypothetically speaking, the difference between the collections is not qualitative, only quantitative.

<sup>9</sup> This is a topic that would repay further study. By its very nature, the process of compilation can conceal a great variety of goals on the part of the compilers. Consider, for example, that not all compilers (like Baena or Castillo) envisaged a wide audience for their collections. Perhaps the majority wanted to preserve documents that had exerted a personal influence upon them. The range of attitudes (those of anonymous compilers, publicists like

We know that the *cancioneros* did not compile works of certain authors merely to preserve them; yet the diversity of their materials, authorship, inspiration, and even language makes it difficult to give a simple account of the reasons for their formation. As Beltran argues in his contribution to this volume, we need a taxonomy of the criteria used for including the individual works or combination of works in a given context. In the meantime, however, I feel it safe to say that these criteria do not contradict but complement each other. How else could one explain, for example, the apparently random gathering of isolated pieces or short series of works alongside compilations that presume to be the complete work of a particular author? I would suggest that these smaller collections are not altogether in conflict with the more extensive ones. The principle is the same, except that their coherence does not stem from single authorship but is thematic, or chronological, or geographic, or follows other possible criteria, some of them possibly being very personal.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the presence of isolated pieces often illustrates the difficulties of obtaining certain texts, which can be included only if the compiler chances to have access to them. The criteria are complementary in that the preoccupation to preserve texts is (up to a certain point) quite in harmony with the desire to publish the entire production of the genre. To preserve and publish are, after all, the two facets of the very definition of the object "book," whether in the age of manuscript production or in the early days of the printing press and possibly even beyond.

It is not by chance that these remarks on *cancioneros* lead toward their identification with the concept "book." The idea I wish to set forth is that the *cancionero* is a *book*, with all that this concept implies: the demands of being both the vehicle and the object of literature. In other words, literature (and in our specific case, poetry) exists for and because of the book. This assertion is obvious, even when one grants due recognition to oral literature. A literature exists for posterity in the form of preserved texts, which not only testify to the existence of that literature but make it a reality and constitute its only possible field of study. Note the words of the Marqués de Santillana when he speaks of the volume of Galician-Portuguese poems kept in the home of his grandmother:

Acuérdome, señor muy magnífico, syendo yo en hedad no propecta, mas asaz pequeño moço, en poder de mi avuela doña Mençía de Cisneros, entre otros libros, aver visto un grand volumen de cantigas, serranas e dezires portugueses e gallegos; de los quales toda la mayor parte era del

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Baena, or "theorists" like Encina) may have in common the nostalgic desire to preserve more than a century of poetic activity that signaled Castile's cultural splendor. On the motives of Encina and Castillo, see the brief but pertinent remarks of Weiss (1990, 237) and Andrews (1970).

<sup>10</sup> I develop these points in my introduction to the *Cancionero de Oñate-Castañeda* (Severin et al. 1990, especially xix-xxii).

Rey don Donís de Portugal—creo, señor, sea vuestro visahuelo—, cuyas obras, aquellos que las leyan, loavan de invenciones sotiles e de graçiosas e dulçes palabras. Avía otras de Johán Suares de Pavía, el qual se dize aver muerto en Galizia por amores de una infanta de Portogal e de otro, Fernand Gonçales de Senabria. (Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof 1988, 449)

The *marqués* recalled the names of the principal poets included in the volume, though not all are as well known as the Portuguese King Dinis, whom he feels obliged to emphasize given the identity of his interlocutor, the young don Pedro, *condestable de Portugal*. The details he provides about Suares de Pavía seem taken from the rubric that would have introduced his verse in that *cancionero*. What is striking is that after many years he was still able to describe the contents of a book that retained even its material form as “un grand volumen.” While it was defined by the works it contained, the codex retained its personality as a book, which distinguished it from the other volumes in doña Mencía’s library.

That identification presupposes recognition of at least a minimum of elaboration, which is one of the defining qualities of the concept “book.” Inadvertently, it passes from being a mere physical support for literary texts to being a real literary work in its own right. Is there anything in the *cancioneros* that would allow us to deny them these qualities inherent in a book? I think not. Moreover, in my opinion, they are the natural channel of fifteenth-century poetry.

This verse survives only through the collections in which it has been included. If there is anything the *cancioneros* have in common, despite their diversity, it is to have kept alive an entire production, that otherwise would have ceased to exist. Beyond this rather obvious fact, one can detect something else: a systematic desire to preserve it. To demonstrate this, one has only to take two examples from opposite ends of the chronological chain. Without the *Cancionero de Baena* (c. 1425), the work of Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino would be practically nonexistent. Without Hernando del Castillo’s *Cancionero general* (first edition, 1511), over half the works of Jorge Manrique would have been lost: of the forty-nine poems attributed to him, thirty-two survive only in that collection. This documentary function was never lost from view, despite the temporal distance between the two anthologies.

But if the *cancioneros* had aspired only to preserve works that interested their compilers, they would have accomplished only half the purpose of the book. In reality, the existence of those collections contributes to the conceptual evolution of poetry itself. How does one define the poetic production preserved in the *cancioneros*? Above all, as an art of composing poems that is related above all to a social context. For the aristocracy, it was as much a sign of nobility as the luxury of daily life or the passion for the hunt.<sup>11</sup> It displayed the poet’s

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<sup>11</sup> In this respect, it is very significant that among the numerous pastimes of the “grandes

adhesion to the cultural values that shaped the ideology of the governing class, with scarcely any concern for the specific values of literature. When Juan II or Álvaro de Luna composed their verses, they did not expect to be considered men of letters but only to share in and promote a social ritual of court life. For this reason, I feel it more appropriate to speak of *production* and not *creation* as such.<sup>12</sup> What is expressed through that medium is the social body itself, with a view to imposing from the top down social values and official norms.

Critics who delight in emphasizing the recurrence of themes and forms in *cancionero* poetry are only recognizing the efficiency of this means of promoting an ideology; yet they do not realize that it is above all a sociocultural phenomenon, and they thereby fail to understand why this poetry survived well into the sixteenth century, clear proof that the phenomenon survives the circumstances that brought it into being. This durability comes, I believe, from the literary quality of the texts, and I consider this to be the essential contribution of the *cancionero* compilers.

There is no hiding that such an assertion clashes with some of the characteristics of the *cancioneros* that are apparently incompatible with what we now regard as a "literary work." How can we reconcile their heterogeneous content, their frequent anonymity, and the occasional amateurishness of their authors with our expectations of "literature"?

The apparent lack of unity in anthologies is a question that has been debated for a long time among scholars of Provençal poetry. But there is now a consensus that a unifying principle actually exists, and it has a name, "sylloge" in French ("silogio" in Italian). It is thus recognized that while the content of the collections may include a variety of pieces of different origin and authorship, they can still qualify as something more than mere anthologies. The unifying cement consists of two factors. The first concerns the socio-cultural reality that surrounds the production of such works. As Roncaglia explains:

Ce sont des conditions où le sentiment d'une solidarité collective, enracinée dans un milieu socio-culturel polycentrique, mais typologiquement homogène, l'emporte sur la personnalité individuelle des auteurs [qui pourtant] ne sont point interchangeables. (1991, 22)

This is in short a tonal unity, and it cannot easily be denied the Castilian *cancioneros*, which so often have been condemned for monotony and repetitiveness in theme as well as in form and vocabulary.

The second cohesive factor is the aim pursued by the compilers. Again I quote Roncaglia:

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señores" mentioned in Baena's prologue, he also refers to the art of poetry (ed. Azáqueta 1966, 1:12-13).

<sup>12</sup> Production warrants an approach that is more sociological than literary, while creation presupposes a personal perspective on the work.

J'ai dit que les chansonniers se définissent à la rencontre d'un projet—qui peut-être un projet de choix, mais peut-être aussi l'intention de produire tout ce que l'on connaît—et d'autre part des conditions extérieures qui pouvaient limiter la disponibilité des modèles. Donc il y a un aspect matériel, mais aussi un certain aspect de choix. (1991, 22)

Those two circumstances weigh heavily on any *cancionero* and help to strengthen the kinship that unites them. The more the compiler seeks to order his materials systematically, the more evident the principles that unite them become. In this case, perceptible discontinuities only illustrate the difficulties encountered in collecting the material and, by contrast, throw into relief the compiler's project. But I am not unaware that these two criteria define the *cancioneros* only in a negative manner. We must therefore find more positive arguments in support of my proposal.

The most convincing one would be to demonstrate that a collection could itself attain the status of a literary work. In this respect, we might find examples in the fourteenth-century works of *mester de clerecía* to which I referred above. Despite their obvious artifice, no one would deny that the *Libro de buen amor* and the *Rimado de palacio* should be considered accomplished works from a literary standpoint. In medieval Castilian literature they stand out in three respects: history, esthetics, and the author's personality. To what extent can these qualities be found in a *cancionero*? It would be easy to prove that they exist in some cases, such as in the *Cancionero de Baena*, for which we possess an unusually large amount of information: the identity of the compiler, the circumstances of compilation, esthetic criteria outlined in the prologue, and an obviously systematic ordering of the material. But it would be more interesting to take a lesser-known work in which the circumstances surrounding its compilation are not clearly defined, such as the *Cancionero de Oñate-Castañeda* (ed. Severin et al. 1990).

What strikes one most about this collection (c. 1485) is the keen awareness shown by the compiler for poetic developments that took place during the course of the whole century. This is illustrated by the way in which he gives prominence to the poets considered most representative of their generation. They are carefully selected and ordered in chronological sequence: Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Juan de Mena, el marqués de Santillana, Gómez Manrique, Fray Íñigo de Mendoza, Diego de San Pedro, Fray Ambrosio Montesino, Antón de Montoro, and Jorge Manrique. Merely enumerating these poets gives a clear idea of his priorities. The *Cancionero de Oñate* uses history as a structuring device, which means transforming the collection into something more than an anthology: a real historical manual of fifteenth-century poetry.

The impression is heightened by the choice of forms and themes that turn out to be the most representative in each generation. The *Cancionero* opens with a section devoted to twenty-three works by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, a substantial part of which possesses a distinct structure: the second poem is a matins prayer (*Loores a maitines*), and the twentieth, an *último*. This constitutes

the whole of his religious poetry—and it is presented as such—and it is rounded off with four large-scale poems, one at the beginning, the others at the end: in short, this is a most complete reproduction of the serious verse of “el señor de Batres.” He is the only poet who merits such treatment. It is as if the *Cancionero* had been placed under his authority, much as Villasandino was the authority for Baena’s collection. Despite their high quality, in every way comparable to Pérez de Guzmán, and despite the compiler’s obvious admiration, the inclusion of the other poets’ works depends on other criteria. Mena and Santillana are seen as complementary to each other. Their works alternate in a sort of fictitious dialogue that ends with an exchange of *preguntas y respuestas*. This physical arrangement illustrates two of the principal characteristics of poetry during the reign of Juan II: that it was a collective activity and that it developed in the royal court. The reign of Enrique IV is represented by an austere poem by Gómez Manrique and by the typically critical tone of Franciscan verse. Lastly, the beginning of the Catholic Monarchs’ reign is centered on one region, Andalusia, no doubt because of the compiler’s own personal experiences. But even within these limits, the selection of works and poets shows an acute sense for the originality of that region’s poetic production. The poet Montoro is an essential figure, and it is revealing that he is presented as a favor-seeking courtier, without resorting to the triviality of his minor verse. At the same time, the compiler brings to light the widespread patronage of Castilian nobles and the consequent composition of panegyric verse. Finally, the inclusion of Jorge Manrique indicates his ability to perceive new currents of quality.

Seen in this light, the *Cancionero* does not have the limitations usually attributed to anthologies. Despite the difficulties inherent in the task, especially considering limitations imposed by contemporary modes of literary dissemination, the compiler was not content merely to collect samples of the work of his own age, but he has provided clues that permit one to read and interpret not only the texts he himself gathers but also the entire corpus of fifteenth-century verse. It constitutes a literary work in the strict sense of the term.

The second criterion of literariness mentioned earlier, esthetics, is also present in this *cancionero*. It is manifested in several ways, and it gives a good account of the compiler’s tastes. I have already mentioned his ability to capture the dominant poetic trends of each era, which displays his keen critical sense and a capacity to evaluate the merits of the works. He also shows great care in ordering the poems. But this is not simply a didactic question. The volume comes across as a well-balanced construction, with subtle patterns that suggest that esthetic concerns as much (if not more) as didactic ones went into its compilation. A good example of this is the last part of the *Cancionero*, devoted to the works of Pedro de Escavias. This section reproduces in condensed form the chronology of fifteenth-century poetic creation, within the limits of one lifetime.<sup>13</sup> This relationship between collective production and the poetic

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<sup>13</sup> The compiler tries not only to trace the various stages of Escavias’s poetic career—not

microcosm of a single author evokes a classic *mise en abyme*, which has evident esthetic intentions.

Finally, even though the authorship of the *Cancionero* is not made explicit, the author's personality has certainly left its mark. It can be deduced from what I have just said about the anthology's organization. But clearly, whoever the compiler was—Pedro de Escavias, as I still believe—he obviously felt under no compunction to include this or that work for reasons other than his own. His control seems ever present, and any changes in his criteria for selecting works, whether due to objectively changing trends in contemporary verse or to his own literary evolution, are entirely deliberate and used to good advantage in the compilation of his *cancionero*.

One might argue that not all *cancioneros* lend themselves to the sort of analysis appropriate to the *Cancionero de Oñate*. I do not believe this to be a valid point. Each *cancionero* has its own history and therefore deserves to be analyzed in that light. In any case, any taxonomic study worthy of the name presupposes detailed analysis of both the structure and the process of compilation of each surviving *cancionero*.

I must emphasize once again the priority of this study over any other. Fifteenth-century poetry exists only because it was collected in the *cancioneros*, including that of Hernando del Castillo. A true understanding of that poetic production implies a prior understanding study of its original, almost exclusive medium. This position leads us to reflect on the concept of the poetic work itself. When we identify the work with its author, we risk committing an anachronism by applying a modern concept that was foreign to the medieval period. At the very least, we should explain what we mean by this concept before applying it to such a remote epoch. Although I would not go so far as to deny that fifteenth-century poetry had a personal dimension (some of the *cancioneros* clearly suggest this), we should not overlook its collective aspect, which finds its best expression in the collections compiled in the same era as when the verse was first composed. The reception of that poetry took place through the *cancioneros*, and it is through them that the public became conscious of poetic production and its underlying currents. I think this argument is more than enough to make us take careful note of those collections as a means of evaluating fifteenth-century Castilian poetry in its proper context.

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hesitating to reject works that seem of little value—but also to illustrate the gradual evolution of Castilian verse during the same period.



II. Traditions:  
Rupture and Renewal



*Francisco Imperial*  
*and the Issue of Poetic Genealogy*

MARINA S. BROWNLEE

Paradoxically, the *Dezir a las siete virtudes* (*Dezir*) remains the “best known” and “least understood” of the 588 poems in Baena’s *Cancionero* (Clarke 1992, 77). The issue of its poetic genealogy continues to elicit considerable debate—primarily the extent of the Dantean subtext and its significance. How do we account for the apparent contradiction that the *Dezir* seems to rely extensively on the Dantean subtext while markedly diverging from it in order to expose the degenerate condition of an unnamed Spanish city (probably Seville)? Moreover: “Why,” as Dorothy Clotelle Clarke remarks, “did our poet have Dante, except for introductory and concluding remarks, do all the speaking, often even quoting himself from the *Divine Comedy*?” (1992, 81). Critics continue to debate whether the echoes of Dante provide a coherent meaning or are merely a collection of fragments intended to endow Imperial’s enterprise with a generalized aura of learnedness, a quality that was highly prized during this time (Post 1915, 181–82; Morreale 1967).

These questions and others will, I believe, become clarified once we understand not only the programmatic treatment accorded by Imperial to Dante but also the generic developments of the late medieval French *dit*, which provides the discursive model for Imperial’s *dezir*. Textual evidence makes it clear that Imperial was as conversant with the French tradition, evidenced by his selective treatment of the *Roman de la Rose*, as he was with the Italian (Luquiens 1907).<sup>1</sup>

While scholars agree that the *Dezir* offers an elaborate mosaic of Dantean

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<sup>1</sup> The present study will not treat this most influential of French texts for Imperial’s poem, although a future essay will show the *Dezir*’s careful reworking of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun to be as sophisticated as its treatment of Dante. All quotations from Imperial’s verse are taken from Nepaulsingh’s edition (1977).

references, work remains to be done on its function. Giuseppe Sansone has used the term “programmatic” but, I believe, in a different sense than mine. He writes:

Imperial utilizza Dante programmaticamente, come documentano i suoi due poemi lunghi, in funzione di una scelta da compiere, in quella vasta costruzione che è la *Divina Commedia*, di strutture allegoriche e di verità del sapere, garantite dalla grandezza del trecentista e avvertite come congeniali in un’area di professione poetica e carattere tipicamente intellettualistico. (Sansone 1974, 102)

Sansone, and others, assume that by inserting Dantean reminiscences into his text, Imperial is essentially borrowing Dante’s authority to enhance his own poetic status. By contrast with this view, I hope to demonstrate that Imperial has strategically chosen seminal moments from the *Commedia*, remotivating them programmatically not simply to display his profound knowledge of the Italian master—the first self-proclaimed vernacular *poeta*, although that in itself is clearly demonstrated by the poem. Beyond Imperial’s impressive understanding of Dante’s text, however, he exploits the text in such a way as to figure himself as a unique kind of *poeta*—the *poeta dezidor*. I realize that this claim seems paradoxical, given the Marqués de Santillana’s well-known appraisal of him: “Yo no [lo] llamaría dezidor o trobador, mas poeta” (ed. Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof 1988, 452).

How can we speak of Imperial as both *poeta* (philosopher) and *dezidor* (rhetorician)? We are authorized to do so because Imperial, unlike Santillana, was aware of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century developments of the French *dit*. This claim is based on the conformity of the *Desir* to all the features of the late medieval French *dit* as identified by Jacqueline Cerquiglini in her dazzling study of this poetic form (1980).

Before turning to consider her remarks about the evolution of this important literary form, let us first consider the ways in which the *dezir* has been defined. Corominas, in his etymological dictionary, offers no entry at all for the term or its semantic field. By contrast, Pierre Le Gentil writes as follows about the *dezir*, especially in the case of Imperial:

Les *decires* d’Imperial se distinguent des *dits* français en ce qu’ils conservent toujours la forme strophique et ne comportent pas normalement d’intermèdes lyriques, si l’on met apart le poème moral intitulé *Decir a las siete virtudes*. Ces compositions ont un caractère didactique très peu accentué; elles ne prennent jamais caractère d’allure et les proportions d’un traité, comme c’est le cas des *dits* de Machaut. Nous sommes d’ailleurs, à cet égard, plus loin encore de la *Divine Comédie*. Faut-il tellement s’étonner? Imperial commence à écrire à un moment où la poésie castillane est en pleine transformation. C’est alors que les notions de poésie dite et de poésie chantée tendent à s’opposer; mais cette évolution—qui rappelle exactement celle de la poésie française au cours du XIVE

siècle—n'est pas entièrement achevée au Sud des Pyrénées. Si les genres à forme fixe sont déjà nettement définis, le *dezir* est encore, à bien des titres, très proche de la *chanson*, d'où il est sorti. (1949, 1:240–41)

While one may challenge various aspects of Le Gentil's definition of the *dezir*, it is nonetheless accurate in reflecting the form's as yet somewhat unexplored identity in fifteenth-century Castile in general. What can be said with certainty, however, is that Imperial reveals in the *Dezir* a degree of literary self-consciousness that is analogous to the form as it existed in France during the time in which he wrote.

If we turn briefly to a consideration of the late medieval French *dit*, we find—as Cerquiglini observes—that “le dit est un genre qui se définit par son jeu au second degré; en d'autres termes, le dit est un genre qui travaille sur le discontinu” (1980, 158). In other words, it is not a particular subject that constitutes a *dit* but rather its configuration: “Ce n'est pas la *nature* des ‘ingrédients’ qui fait le dit . . . mais bien leur *mode* de mise en présence, leur montage” (1980, 158). It is its nature as “second-degree” literature (literature that comments on a preexisting text) that defines the *dit*. Hence it is a literature of self-conscious distanciation:

Si la loi constitutive du dit est bien un jeu de distanciation, on comprend pourquoi sont appelés *dits* tous les textes dont le principe de composition est un principe extérieure, venant d'un ailleurs. (1980, 159)

For this reason one finds so many *dits* bearing numerological titles, for example, the *Dit des douze mois*, or the *Dit des trois signes*. (By virtue of its reference to the number seven, Imperial's *Dezir* obviously conforms to this feature of *dit* composition as well.) According to this same law of distanciation, we find numerous *dits* that contain intercalations of preexisting poetry or letters (1980, 159).

Cerquiglini further associates the distancing or discontinuity that lies at the heart of this literary form in the late Middle Ages with the shift that occurs between oral (continuous) and written (discontinuous) literature. Citing Paul Zumthor's observation that “oralité et écriture s'opposent comme le continu au discontinu” (Zumthor 1972, 41), she distinguishes the thirteenth-century *dit* from the form's fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manifestations in a very interesting manner, namely, in terms of the new attitude towards literature evident in the late Middle Ages in France:

Le dit marque donc, pour nous, l'apparition d'un nouvel âge pour le texte médiéval, âge où celui-ci passe progressivement du statut d'objet auditif qu'il était aux époques antérieures à un statut d'objet visuel. On comprend alors la raison de la différence existant entre le *dit* du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, court le plus souvent, proche encore d'une ‘parole’ possible: ‘Ore escutez une dit creables’ dit un tente du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et les *dits* du XIV<sup>e</sup> et du XV<sup>e</sup> siècles qui, ayant découvert toutes les possibilités de leur forme et en particulier son pouvoir intégrateur—pouvoir de dire, grâce

a l'écriture, le décrochement, l'enchâssement—peuvent s'allonger à l'infini. (1980, 159)

In addition, Cerquiglini points out that the appearance of the word *dit* in the thirteenth century is significant, stemming from the verb *ditier*, which in turn comes from the Latin *dictare*, which means in Old French “to write” (*écrire, rédiger, enseigner*). As such, the term *dit* does not refer to a genre but, it seems, to a particular form of enunciation; it is a meta-discursive mode. This metadiscursivity is facilitated by means of the third defining feature identified by Cerquiglini, namely, that “le dit est un discours qui met en scène un ‘je’, le dit est un discours dans lequel un ‘je’ est toujours représenté” (1980, 160). As such, “le texte *dit* devient le mime d'une parole” (160). Even in the case of a text where the enunciating subject, the author, introduces the narrative proper, thereafter apparently forfeiting his primary role of author, he actually remains visible, figuring in an equally important way as the principal commentator on the text. (This observation also has bearing on Imperial's enterprise, for it may answer Clarke's question as to why Imperial has Dante “except for introductory and concluding remarks, do all the speaking, often even quoting himself from the *Divine Comedy*” [1992, 81]. What at first seems perhaps to be a surprising reticence on Imperial's part should be considered instead in terms of the authorial metadiscursivity that the *dit* entails.)

Hans Robert Jauss, in a classic study on allegory, charts the expansion undergone in the semantic field of the term *dit*, explaining that the word “était à l'origine strictement limité dans son emploi: par opposition à la littérature profane nourrie de fictions, il servait à designer le nouveau *modus dicendi* allégorique” (1964, 120). It was thus intimately related with “truth”—ethical (rather than poetic) truth. This association had changed by the middle of the fourteenth century, however, as Cerquiglini illustrates by referring to the example of Guillaume de Machaut's celebrated *Voir Dit*. First, the title reflects that the *dit* was no longer construed as necessarily bearing religious or ethical truth. Second, the title communicates truth without the mediation of allegory, unlike the earlier thirteenth-century *dit*. The text's truth-status is guaranteed instead by the poet's own experience, and this constitutes a major development in the evolution of vernacular poetic identity. As Cerquiglini points out, “La vérité ne peut plus être garantie par son recours à une allégorie mais par appel à l'expérience vécue” (1980, 167). (In the *Dezir* Imperial will, like Machaut, assert the primacy of the enunciating subject and of poetic truth at the expense of religious truth. While recalling, of course, a variety of religious considerations by means, primarily, of the seven virtues, Imperial puts in the foreground the importance of his primarily poetic—rather than religious—pilgrimage. This is why readers looking for clear theological interpretations continue to be stymied. This is also why the seven serpents continue to be subject to so much debate and why the Celestial Rose is *not* revealed to Imperial at the end of his poem [v. 456].)

Bearing in mind the three principles of the *dit* (discontinuity, its resultant

metadiscursivity, and the primacy of the first-person subject), let us now consider Imperial's *dezir*.

Having indicated that he fell asleep, the narrator (in vv. 17 and 25) begins his rewriting of the Dantean journey in a way that signals to the reader his markedly different enterprise. More precisely, these two verses of the Spanish text reiterate the first and last invocations of the *Paradiso*. Their citation in stanzas three and four of the Spanish narrative serves, among other things, to collapse the daring linguistic journey (from Apollo to God) sequentially staged by Dante throughout the third *canto* of his poem. Dante writes:

O buono Appollo, a l'ultimo lavoro  
 fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso,  
 come dimandi a dar l'amato alloro.  
 Infino a qui l'un giogo di Parnaso  
 assai mi fu; ma or con amendue  
 m'è uopo intrar ne l'aringo rimaso.  
 Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue  
 sì come quando Marsia traesti  
 de la vagina de le membra sue. (*Par.* I, 13–21)<sup>2</sup>

[O good Apollo, for this last labor make me such a vessel of your worth as you require for granting your beloved laurel. Thus far the one peak of Parnassus has sufficed me, but now I have need of both, as I enter the arena that remains. Enter into my breast and breathe there as when you drew Marsyas from the sheath of his limbs.]

This opening invocation involves a daring conflation of St. Paul and Ovid, as Robert Hollander has observed (1969, 205). The word “vaso” (v. 14) echoes the “vas d'elezione” which described St. Paul in *Inferno* II, 28. The subtext for both passages is *Acts* 9:15, where God speaks to Ananias regarding the blinded Saul whose sight (both physical and spiritual) will soon be restored: “Vade, quoniam vas electionis est mihi iste, ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus, et regibus, et filiis Israel” [Go, for he is a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel].<sup>3</sup> Dante requests the kind of vision granted by God to Paul. At the same time, Dante addresses himself to an Ovidian Apollo in terms of his poetic enterprise: the “amato alloro” of v. 15 refers to the transformation of Daphne (*Met.* I, 548–67) into the Apollonian tree from whose leaves the *corona poetae* is fashioned. In explaining this extraordinary conflation, Kevin Brownlee writes, “A Christian request for Pauline inspiration is thus being made in Ovidian, poetic

<sup>2</sup> Dante (1970–76). All references, unless otherwise indicated, are to this edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Biblia Sacra* (1959). Latin citations refer to this edition. English citations are taken from *Oxford Annotated Bible* (1962).

terms: the apostolic calling is presented as leading to the laurel crown of the *poeta*" (Brownlee 1991, 225).

Imperial's rewritten invocation, by contrast, omits the Pauline allusion entirely; he will not attain an unmediated spiritual vision:

Sumo Apolo, a ti me encomiendo,  
ayúdame tú con suma sapiencia,  
que en este sueño atiendo,  
del ver non sea al dezir defyrençia;  
entra en mis pechos, espira tu çiencia,  
commo en los pechos de Febo espiraste,  
quando a Marçia sus mienbros sacaste  
de la su vayna por su exçelencia. (XVII, 17–24)

The absence of the Pauline vision has far-reaching implications for Imperial, *qua* protagonist of the *Dezir* and *qua* author as well, in that it boldly separates him and his enterprise from his Italian predecessor, for whom St. Paul was so essential. For Dante-protagonist, the *Paradiso* involves experiences that are clearly beyond the bounds of human perception and articulation. Imperial would appear, thus, to be construing Dante's celestial voyage as a dream, not as the literal fact Dante claims it to be.<sup>4</sup> In so doing, Imperial reduces the stature of the *Commedia* to that of one more dream vision—albeit the most exalted one.

Not only is the Pauline register absent, but Imperial recalls Apollo's own (self-sufficient) inspiration of himself in the contest with Marsyas in another highly significant recasting of the *Commedia*. We recall that Marsyas's punishment by Apollo (*Met.* VI, 385–91) was the result of his prideful presumption in challenging the divinity to a musical contest. What Imperial achieves by referring to Apollo both in the second person (as the universal source of poetic inspiration) and in the third person (as the punisher of Marsyas for a particular transgression) is a highly original split between Apollo-generalized poet figure and Apollo-protagonist. It is no accident that Dante figures as both in Imperial's text—as subtext and guide.

Imperial not only has collapsed the essential linguistic progression whereby he relies initially upon Apollo, upon classical allusion to attain direct speech to God, he explicitly signals the hermeneutic distance separating him from his poetic predecessor. Dante writes as follows:

O somma luce che tanto ti levi

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<sup>4</sup> Whereas Dante makes it clear that his vision was not a dream but an experience he underwent while entirely awake, Imperial purposely makes the physical condition in which he found himself for his analogous journey an ambiguous one. In vv. 13–16 he writes: "vynome a essa ora/ un grave sueño, maguer non dormía,/ mas contemplando la mi fantasía/ en lo que el alma dulce assabora," and in v. 72, "non sse sy dormía o velava." Likewise (v. 462), he concludes by saying, "acordé commo a fuerza despierto."



da'concetti mortali, a la mia mente  
 ripresta un poco di quel che parevi,  
 e fa la lingua mia tanto possente,  
 ch'una favilla sol de la tua gloria  
 possa lasciare a la futura gente;  
 ché, per tornare alquanto a mia memoria  
 e per sonare un poco in questi versi,  
 più si conceperà di tua vittoria. (*Par.* XXXIII, 67-75)

[O Light Supreme that art so far uplifted above mortal conceiving, relend to my mind a little of what Thou didst appear, and give my tongue such power that it may leave only a single spark of Thy glory for the folk to come; for by returning somewhat to my memory and by sounding a little in these lines, more of Thy victory shall be conceived.]

Imperial recalls this ninth and final invocation from Dante's third *canto* but with some notable alterations. First, rather than concluding his journey through Paradise with this invocation, he recasts the Dantean text in verses 25-32, in the octave immediately following his recasting of Dante's first invocation in Paradise. The effect of this conflation is to cast Dante's spiritual and poetic voyage into the category of discontinuity of "second-degree literature," to use Cerquiglini's terminology, into that of a remotivated subtext.

Beyond this significant repositioning of the ninth Dantean invocation, the particular verbal recasting is equally important:

O suma luz que tanto te alçaste  
 del concepto mortal, a mi memoria  
 representa un poco lo que me mostraste,  
 e faz mi lengua tanto meritoria,  
 que una çentella sol de la tu gloria,  
 pueda mostrar al pueblo presente,  
 e quiçá después algunt grant prudente  
 la ençenderá en más alta estoria. (vv. 25-32)

The first five verses of the Spanish text reproduce nearly *verbatim* the Italian original. The remaining three verses of the octave, however, change the subtext dramatically. Imperial, unlike Dante, is not thinking of hypothetical future readers of his poem, "la futura gente" (v. 72), but of his readers in the present time in which he writes. Concurrently, Imperial alludes to the venerable procedure of *emendación* by some future "grand prudente" who may improve his *estoria*.<sup>5</sup> Dante, for his part, envisioned no such possibility of improvement.

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<sup>5</sup> Imperial's substitution of the Dantean rhyme word "vittoria" with "estoria" is particularly interesting here, given its semantic range at the time. *Estoria* was used to designate

More than just another instance of the well-worn *topos* of the *captatio benevolentiae*, Imperial differentiates himself from his predecessor to underscore his belief in the dynamics of intertextuality and (somewhat playfully perhaps) in the recasting in his poem of the one text that presents itself as immune to subtexual refashioning. In this way Imperial clearly distinguishes his poetic enterprise from Dante's while laconically presenting the *Commedia* as his own reworked model, thus underscoring the inevitability of intertextuality.

That Imperial's remotivation of Dante was very carefully wrought is also borne out by his inclusion of the two key mythological figures of Marsyas and Glaucus. Marsyas figures the problem of language for Dante-poet and Glaucus, the problem of vision for Dante-protagonist.

We recall that Dante rewrites the flaying of Marsyas *in bono* since it is represented as a liberation from the body by means of divine inspiration (*Par.* I, 13–21). Dante in the first person is asking to be metamorphosed like Marsyas. Brownlee incisively remarks that:

Dante-poet is asking for a "martyrdom" that is nothing other than poetic inspiration. On the other hand, the extraordinary pridefulness of Dante's experiential claim and poetic request is explicitly acknowledged and, as it were, sublimated. This extraordinary act of self-justification involves once again the strategic conflation (and transformation) of Pauline and Ovidian models. (1991, 227)

Dante transforms Marsyas's literal emancipation from his body through divine intervention. Yet this act ends not in death, as Ovid claims, but in Dante's life.<sup>6</sup> This extraordinarily privileged linguistic accomplishment for the poet Dante finds its parallel in the privileged transformation of the protagonist Dante, a transformation effected by means of the Ovidian metamorphosis of Glaucus from a man to a sea god (*Met.* XIII, 904–59).

This second transformation is triggered by Dante's gazing directly at Beatrice: "Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei,/ qual si fé Glauco nel gustar de l'erba/ che 'l fé consorto in mar de li altri dèi" [Gazing upon her I became within me such as Glaucus became on tasting of the grass that made him a sea-fellow of the other Gods.] (*Par.* I, 67–69). What is most important in the *Dezir's* recollection of this Dantean moment is the notable absence of Dante's guide, Beatrice. Imperial is signaling the difference of his text (although he has no guide at this point, he does not need one), indicating in this way that he does not need the stimulus of an explicit guide to undergo the Ovidian transformation. This claim, of course, constitutes a remarkable transgression of the

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"allegory," "history," and "story," i.e., a fiction—which is clearly not what Dante had in mind.

<sup>6</sup> Imperial seems to be rewriting Ovid as well as Dante in the reference to Marsyas. For while Marsyas challenged the master (Apollo) to a contest and lost, Imperial wins his contest with Dante. He is certainly not the loser.

Dantean teleology, whereby first Virgil, then Beatrice and ultimately Saint Bernard painstakingly guide Dante-pilgrim on his unprecedented journey. Imperial's transformation is motivated instead by his unmediated gazing into the stars themselves:

En sueños veía en el Oriente  
 quatro çercos que tres cruces façían,  
 e non puedo dezir conplidamente  
 commo los quatro e las tres luzían;  
 enpero atanto que a mí movían,  
 commo movió Glauco gustar la yerva  
 por que fue fecho de una conserva  
 con los dioses que las mares rregían. (vv. 41–48)

Thus he underscores in yet another way his difference from Dante as both poet and protagonist. We see from this passage as from several others, the discontinuity, metadiscursivity, and vivid portrayal of the first-person subject that define the *dit* operative in the deepest levels of the *Dezir's* conception and articulation.

Evidence of the strategic choice of fragments made by Imperial is offered in this same octave (vv. 41–48) as we notice that the *Dezir* conflates *Paradiso* I, 39 with *Purgatorio* I, 22–24. Imperial claims to see in a dream the four astronomical signs that Dante saw in his vision (the four circles and three crosses). It is highly significant that Imperial does not claim to have experienced the celestial phenomena during a fully conscious state, as does Dante in his claim to extra-terrestrial transport. More precisely, Imperial at times claims to be dreaming, as is the case in v. 41 for example, but at other times he seems unsure as to whether this is in fact the case (e.g., v. 72, “non ssé sy dormía o velava”). His vacillation again distances him markedly as pilgrim from Dante's self-presentation. We observe still further alterations of the model text, however. For Imperial complicates his self-presentation as protagonist in the recasting of *Purgatorio*, I when he claims, unlike Dante, that the circles and crosses that make up the Southern Cross (representing as they did for Dante the four cardinal and three theological virtues) are shining down not upon Cato's face but upon his own.<sup>7</sup>

This figuring of himself as Cato constitutes yet another seminal transformation of the model text, one which is intimately linked with Imperial's specifically Iberian concern: his desire to counter corruption at home by recalling for

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<sup>7</sup> “Vidi presso di me un veglio solo,/ degno di tanta reverenza in vista,/ che piu non dee a padre alcun figliuolo./ Lunga la barba e di pel bianco mista/ portava, a' suoi capelli simigliante,/ de' quai cadeva al petto doppia lista./ Li raggi de le quattro luci sante/ fregiavan sì la sua faccia di lume,/ ch'i' 'l vedea come 'l sol fosse davante” (*Purg.* I, 31–39).

his readers the Roman exemplar of civil integrity.<sup>8</sup> In keeping with his interest in exposing civil corruption, it makes sense that Imperial would choose to associate himself with this symbol of civil integrity. He does not wish to retrace Dante-protagonist's footsteps, particularly his transhumanation, his literal spiritual *raptus* into the heavens. Imperial-protagonist exploits the *Commedia* instead for his own consummately literary terrestrial journey.

In an unanticipated inversion, we note that Imperial relies heavily on *Paradiso* I to describe himself while *outside* the garden, whereas he refers to *Inferno* I after he has *entered* it. Indeed, once Imperial has met Dante, he cites the very first verse of the *Commedia* in Spanish: "En medio del camino" (v. 103), describing the volume as being "escrito todo con oro muy fino" (v. 102). Thus the book itself is concretized, presented as a material object, again in keeping with the concept of "second-degree literature" that is so important to the extreme literary self-consciousness of the *dit*.

Imperial is, moreover, casting Dante into the role of guide, just as Dante before him had cast Virgil. Here too, however, Imperial distinguishes his literary project from that of his predecessor. For while Virgil was a pagan guide unable to accompany Dante on his celestial voyage, Dante remains by Imperial's side until the moment of his awakening with the *Commedia* open in his hands at the "Salve Regina" of the last canto of *Paradiso* (XXXIII, 1). Imperial is not only valorizing Dante as the consummate guide, he is endowing him with a truly novel attribute, namely, a passionate interest in Iberia. That is, it is he who will explain to Imperial why the seven virtues depicted as stars never appear in Iberia (vv. 280ff.).

Dante's first appearance to Imperial is presented in reverential terms, leading the unsuspecting reader (unfamiliar with the marked differences that separate Dante's literary project from Imperial's) to think that we are witnessing a case of straightforward emulation. The Spanish poet registers his respect for the *poeta* in no uncertain terms, first by his action and subsequently by his speech: "faciéndole devyda rreverencia,/ e dixele con toda obediencia:/ 'Afectuossamente a vos me ofresco/ e maguer tanto de vos non meresco,/ ssea mi guya vuestra alta cyençia" (vv. 107-12). Dante takes his poetic disciple by the hand (v. 121) as the latter literally follows in his footsteps (v. 122). These indications of filial indebtedness are double edged. Imperial views Dante as being in a category by himself as far as western poetry is concerned, a point that few if any other readers would dispute. Imperial not only indicates this profound

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<sup>8</sup> In the *Convivio* and in *De Monarchia* Dante praises Cato unreservedly in the following terms: "O most sacred breast of Cato, who shall presume to speak of thee? Assuredly there can be no greater speech about thee than to be silent. . . . We read of Cato that he thought of himself as born, not for himself, but for his country and for all the world . . . that he might kindle the love of liberty in the world he showed of what worth it was, for he chose to go forth from life free rather than remain in it without liberty." (Quoted from Sinclair's translation of Dante [1975], *Purgatory* commentary, 28-29.)

admiration for Dante explicitly, he implicitly yet very visibly controls the details of the *Commedia* in a way that few other writers have. (Indeed, one is hard put to think of other texts that afford such an extensive and programmatic treatment of it in any language.) Nonetheless, the wealth of recontextualizations effected by Imperial belie his self-presentation as humble and faithful scribe of the Florentine *maestro*.

In addition to the rewritings already discussed, further corroboration of Imperial's flagrant tampering with his literary model is offered immediately after his self-presentation as literally following in Dante's footsteps, with bowed head ("los ojos baxos por no perder tino," 123). Just as Imperial had encapsulated the experience of *Paradiso* by including the first and last invocations at the beginning of the *Dezir*, he similarly minimizes the importance of the experience of *Purgatorio*. Whereas Dante-protagonist had had to undergo an educative process at the end of which the "P's" ("peccati"/sins) visible on his forehead would be erased, signaling the successful completion of his course, Imperial has little interest in the experiential process of the master. So as to crystallize for the discerning reader his rewriting of the matter of Purgatory Imperial will, moreover, invert the order of two important figures from the *Commedia*: Leah and Metellus, who correspond to the entrance to the Dantean representation of the entrance into the Earthly Paradise and the exit from *Purgatorio* (cantos XXVII and IX respectively).

In the third purgatorial dream, the prelude to the Earthly Paradise and its threshold, Leah appears making a garland of flowers. By means of paranomasia, Imperial recalls this moment: "¿non oyes Lía con canto graçiosso/ que destas flores ssu guirlanda lýa?" (vv. 143–44). He is recalling this final purgatorial scene at the beginning of his own journey, thus altering the Dantean placement. Yet his alteration is even more far-reaching, aimed, once more, at Dante's claim to having experienced—not dreamed—his celestial voyage. Dante, immediately before his sighting of Leah, indicated that he fell asleep. In Imperial's text Dante assumes that Imperial too falls asleep: "Creo que duermes o estás oçiosso" (v. 141). Imperial, however, differentiates himself from his poetic predecessor by answering his guide, saying "non duermo" (v. 145). At this response Dante reproaches his charge: "'ssy non duermes eres omme rudo./ ¿Non ves que tú eres ya llegado/ en medio del rrosal en verde prado?/ Mira adelante las ssyete estrellas'" (vv. 147–49). Imperial here conflates the figure of Leah with the beholding of the celestial bodies that occurs in Paradise. The creative misreading of the *Commedia* extends even further as we note the reference made to the noble Metellus in verse 374. Exhorting the citizens of the city he castigates to act nobly, Imperial writes:

'Ora te alegre, que fazes derecho,  
pues que triunphas con justiçia e paz,  
e multiplica de trecho en trecho  
tanto el bien, que el uno al otro faz  
por el común; cada uno más faz

que fizo en Roma Metilo tribuno;  
 mira e vee sy en ty ay uno  
 que cate al çielo e colore su faz. (vv. 369–76)

Historically, Metellus achieved legendary status as a result of his courageous (although vain) attempt to defend the Roman treasury against Julius Caesar in 49 B.C. In describing the opening of the door of the sacred portal of Purgatory, Dante draws upon a passage from Lucan (*Pharsalia* III, 153–57, 167–68), stating that:

e quando fuor ne' cardini distorti  
 li spigoli di quella regge sacra,  
 che di metallo son sonanti e forti,  
 non ruggiò sì né mostrò sì acra  
 Tarpea, come tolto le fu il buono  
 Metello, per che poi rimase macra. (IX, 133–38)

[when the pivots of that sacred portal, which are of metal resounding and strong, were turned within their hinges, Tarpea roared not so loud nor showed itself so stubborn, when the good Metellus was taken from it, leaving it lean thereafter.]

Canto IX is further recalled by the *Dezir* by its association with Leah in terms of the music heard by Imperial-pilgrim as opposed to Dante-pilgrim. The *Dezir* grafts the description of voices singing in praise of God that follows immediately after the mention of Metellus onto Leah (*Dezir* 129–36). Canto IX reads:

Io mi rivolsi attento al primo tuono,  
 e *Te Deum laudamus* mi pareo  
 udire in voce mista al dolce suono.  
 Tale imagine a punto mi rendea  
 ciò ch'io udiva, qual prender si suole  
 quando a cantar con organi si stea;  
 ch'or sì or no s'intendon le parole. (vv. 139–46)

[I turned attentive to the first note, and “te Deum laudamus” I seemed to hear in a voice mingled with sweet music. What I heard gave me the same impression we sometimes get when people are singing with an organ, and now the words are clear and now are not.]

Similarly, Imperial writes:

. . . oý bozes muy asonssegadas,  
 angelicales e mussycado canto;  
 mas eran lexos de mí aun tanto  
 que las non entendí a las vegadas.

'Manet in caritate, Deus manet in eo,  
et credo in Deum,' allí sse rrespondía,  
e a las vezes, 'Espera in Deo,'  
aquesto entendí en quanto allí oýa. (vv. 125–32)

The inversion effected by Imperial in the beginning and ending of *Purgatorio* with Leah and Metellus, like the encapsulation of the first and ninth invocations of *Paradiso*, reminds us that Imperial is not interested in reproducing the empirical journey of Dante-pilgrim or Dante-poet. Instead he is interested in recalling the model text to treat it as a discontinuous and metacritical manner, in the manner of the late medieval *dit*.

If we consider the eponymous seven virtues themselves, we see that here too Imperial has effected a notable transformation of his model text. In *Purgatorio* XXIX, that is, the virtues serve as Beatrice's handmaidens, while in the *Dezir* Beatrice is conspicuously absent as mediator between the earthly and divine spheres of existence.

It is not simply a question of eliminating Dante's personal muse that Imperial effects by the erasure of Beatrice in his poem. For Beatrice (represented as Wisdom personified) is borne in a triumphal cart drawn by a griffin (first mentioned in XXIX, 108) who is Christ himself, described as "la fiera/ ch'è sola una persona in due nature" [the animal that is one person in two natures] (*Purg.* XXXI, 80–81) to Beatrice and the pilgrim Dante. Dante dwells on this unprecedented moment in literature (his viewing of Christ the Griffin) as follows:

Mille disiri più che fiamma caldi  
strinsermi li occhi a li occhi rilucenti,  
che pur sopra 'l grifone stavan saldi.  
Come in lo specchio il sol, non altrimenti  
la doppia fiera dentro vi raggiava,  
or con altri, or con altri reggimenti.  
Pensa lettor, s'io mi maravigliava,  
quando vedea la cosa in sé star queta,  
e ne l'idolo suo si trasmutava. (vv. 118–26)

[A thousand desires hotter than flame held my eyes on the shining eyes that remained ever fixed on the griffin. As the sun in a mirror, so was the twofold animal gleaming there within, now with the one, now with the other bearing. Think, reader, if I marveled when I saw the thing stand still in itself, and in its image changing.]

This type of vision—indeed any christological vision—is notably absent in the *Dezir*. We see here, as in prior details of the poem, that Imperial is not interested in replicating the religious journey of Dante-pilgrim or the poetic journey of Dante-poet. In recasting this most crucial moment in the *Commedia*, Imperial diverges once again from his model.

Not only is the privileged sighting of the Griffin and of Wisdom personified in the figure of Beatrice absent, the seven virtues are presented in an entirely different way. In the *Commedia* we are told by the Virtues that they are the handmaidens of Beatrice: “Pria che Beatrice discendesse al mondo,/ fummono ordinate a lei per sue anelle” [Before Beatrice descended to the world we were ordained to her for her handmaids] (XXXI, 107–108).

Imperial further distinguishes his Virtues from the Dantean ones by his mode of description. In the *Commedia* they are introduced in a most undetailed manner. They are mentioned in connection with Dante’s baptism in XXXI:

*Asperges me* sì dolcemente udissi,  
che nol so rimembrar, non ch’io lo scriva.  
La bella donna ne le braccia aprissi;  
abbracciommi la testa e mi sommersi  
ove convenne ch’io l’acqua inghiottissi.  
Indi mi tolse, e bagnato m’offerse  
dentro a la danza de le quattro belle;  
e ciascuna del braccio mi coperse.  
‘Noi siam qui ninfe e nel ciel siamo stelle;  
pria che Beatrice discendesse al mondo,  
fummo ordinate a lei per sue anelle.  
Merrenti a li occhi suoi; ma nel giocondo  
lume ch’è dentro aguzzeranno i tuoi  
le tre di là, che miran più profondo.’ (vv. 98–111)

[I heard “*Asperges me*” sung so sweetly that I cannot remember it, far less write it. The fair lady opened her arms, clasped my head and dipped me under, where it behooved me to swallow of the water. Then she drew me forth and led me bathed into the dance of the four fair ones, and each of them covered me with her arm. “Here we are nymphs and in heaven we are stars: before Beatrice descended to the world we were ordained to her for her handmaids. We will bring you to her eyes; but in the joyous light that is within them the three on the other side, who look deeper, shall quicken yours.”]

Shortly thereafter (v. 131), the four cardinal Virtues refer to the three theological ones with equal brevity, as “l’altre tre” [the other three]. What is important in the Dantean text is not their description but their speech. He redefines these venerable fixtures of Christian allegory with their radically new identity as the handmaidens of Beatrice.

By contrast, the *Dezir* offers elaborate descriptions of each of the Virtues. One hundred and nineteen verses of a total four hundred sixty-five, that is, over one-fourth of the entire poem, is devoted to the detailed descriptions of these extraordinary ladies. And, not only does Imperial rewrite the Dantean presentation by offering a plethora of precise details, he offers in addition an



entourage of handmaidens for each Virtue. Again, his aim is to recall Dante contrastively. If we turn to the presentation of one of the Virtues for comparison, we find, first of all, that Imperial recasts the Dantean Virtues's claim that in heaven they are stars, while in the Earthly Paradise they are nymphs (XXXI, 106–107). Imperial tells us that “fforma de dueña en cada estrella/ se demostrava, e otrossý fazían/ en cada rrayo forma de doncella” (vv. 153–55). He goes on to describe their geometric shapes and their respective colors, as well as the characteristic activity in which they are each engaged. There follows a list of each Virtue's handmaidens (ranging in number from six to ten). These obvious differences are intended to remind the reader of the distance separating Imperial's enterprise from that of his predecessor. The Virtues themselves, not their subservience to someone else, are important for Imperial.

Clearly, the most commented departure from Dante is that of the seven personified serpents who occupy a total of fifty verses, or approximately one-ninth of the entire text. Since they are seven in number, critics have often been tempted to view the serpents (identified variously as *serpientes*, *sierpes*, or *bestias*) as the seven deadly sins designated by Christian belief. Yet the textual details of the *Dezir* do not support such a reading. The theory advanced by Clarke, which views the serpents as historical heresies according to the Christian church is, in my view, far more convincing. She writes:

The explanation of the *serpientes* probably is that the accumulation of attacks on Christianity, and especially the contemporary attempts to splinter the Roman Catholic Church, bringing or having brought about a (presumed) reversion to debauchery and heathenism via contempt for all morality, is ending (or will soon end) in the complete destruction of Christianity and all its beauties. (1992, 80)

According to her interpretation, the first serpent (vv. 316–17) refers to the Roman emperor, Nero, who set Rome afire, blamed the Christians for it, and persecuted them as a consequence. The second (vv. 318–20) refers to Arius (the first Christian heretic), who denied the equality of Christ with God the Father. The third (vv. 321–26) is identified as Judas Escariot, who betrayed Christ and, more broadly, Judaism itself. The fourth serpent is Alenxada (vv. 333–36), that is, Lexada, a reference to Pedro de Luna, otherwise known as Benedict XIII, who reigned as antipope during the Great Schism. Next is serpent five, the Sierpe Calixta (vv. 337–40), whom Clarke identifies as John Huss, a priest who lived during the time of Benedict XIII and who was burned at the stake for advancing the belief that the communion calix should be given to laymen as well as priests. Asyssyna (vv. 341–44), the sixth serpent, refers to the Islamic sect of Assassins, founded in 1090, whose members were known for engaging in drugs and murder. The final serpent, Sardanapalas (vv. 345–48), supposed king of Assyria is, as Clarke affirms, “virtually a synonym for complete moral and spiritual dissolution” (79).

This historically based interpretation of the serpents is a compelling one, since the entire thrust of the *Dezir* is historical, given the timely political, civil,

and personal castigation leveled by Imperial against the Seville of his day.<sup>9</sup> It recalls, moreover, Dante's extended castigation of Florence.

Yet, here too the reference to the seven heresies and to the serpent as well finds a model in the *Commedia's* longest canto (*Purg.* XXXII, 109–60). The fox that invades Beatrice's cart (and that she herself drives away) in this section represents the Christian heresies. In speaking of false teachers, Ezechiel writes: "Quasi vulpes in desertis prophetae tui" (13, 4) [Thy prophets are like the foxes in the desert]. The serpent (identified first as a dragon, XXXII, 131) represents the devil, "the old serpent" of the Book of Revelation (XII, 9). It is important to note, moreover, that when the dragon's invasion of the cart is referred to a second time (in XXXIII, 34), "serpente" is the term chosen by Dante.

Beginning in verse 109, Dante represents, as Singleton explains:

seven principal calamities that have successively befallen the Church and are an offense to God's justice as represented by the tree. Such calamities, affecting the tree and the Church which is reunited to it, are termed "blasphemies of act" in *Purg.* XXXIII, 58–59. (1970–76, 797)

Dante depicts as the first heresy Nero's persecution of the Christians, and it is no accident that Imperial followed him in this regard. In the *Commedia* an eagle (the Imperial Eagle) attacks the tree, rending its trunk, dispersing its leaves, thereafter attacking the cart as well with all its force, which is depicted as a foundering ship:

E ferì 'l carro di tutta sua forza;  
 ond' el piegò come nave in fortuna,  
 vinta da l'onda, or da poggia, or da orza.  
 (XXXII, 115–17)

[And it struck the chariot with all its force, so that it reeled like a ship in a tempest, driven by the waves, now to starboard, now to larboard.]

The second heresy depicted by Dante, using the invasion of the cart by the fox (vv. 118–23), is most likely that of Gnosticism. The third great threat to the Church (vv. 124–29) is that of materialism, that is, the acquisition of temporal riches resulting from the "Donation of Constantine." Dante depicts this situation by having the Imperial Eagle swoop down over the cart, leaving it covered with its feathers ("di sè pennuta," v. 126). The fourth calamity is the heresy of Mohammedanism (vv. 130–35), depicted by the dragon that thrusts its envenomed tail through the cart's floor, dragging away part of the

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<sup>9</sup> The fact that the seven-headed hydra is the emblem of Seville lends further authority to the historically specific interpretation of the beasts.

floor as it departs. Thereafter Dante addresses the fifth disaster (vv. 136–41), recalling once again the danger of material wealth in a historical context. He effects this by presenting the cart as entirely choked by feathers—wheels and pole included.

Of this scene of transformation Singleton remarks:

This no doubt refers to the Donations of Pepin (A.D. 755) and Charles the Great (A.D. 775), and other similar and rapidly growing accessions of wealth and endowments to the Church. Dante graphically says the change was effected before his eyes in less time than a mouth remains open in uttering a sigh (v. 141). These possessions had now become so vast as to alter the whole aspect of the Church, and to bring about a complete transformation of its original character (v. 142). (1970–76, 803)

The sixth threat alluded to by Dante is that of the seven deadly sins (vv. 142–47):

Trasformato così 'l dificio santo  
 mise fuor teste per le parti sue,  
 tre sovra 'l temo e una ciascun canto.  
 Le prime eran cornute come bue,  
 ma le quattro un sol corno avean per fronte:  
 simile mostro visto ancor non fue. (vv. 142–47)

[Thus transformed, the holy structure put forth heads upon its parts, three on the pole and one on each corner: the three were like horned oxen, but the four had a single horn on the forehead. Such a monster was never seen before.]

These hideously deformed beasts also serve as analogues for Imperial's *bestias*.

The seventh and final danger depicted by Dante brings us back to history once more, indeed, to a historical moment contemporary with Dante's lifetime. It refers to the Avignon captivity of 1305, the removal of the papal seat from Rome to Avignon under Clement V, represented in terms borrowed from the Apocalypse: the cart is no longer occupied by Beatrice or by the ideal papacy but by a harlot (vv. 148–60). Of this amazing passage, this seventh and final vicissitude, E. Moore observes: "This brings the panorama of the Church's history comparatively near to Dante's own time. Henceforth we have depicted contemporary troubles, and notably the Avignon captivity from 1305 onwards. These form the seventh and last tribulations here figured" (1968, 208–209).

Dante writes as follows:

Sicura, quasi rocca in alto monte,  
 seder sovresso una puttana sciolta  
 m'apparve con le ciglia intorno pronte;  
 e come perché non li fosse tolta,  
 vidi di costa a lei dritto un gigante;

e basciavansi insieme alcuna volta.  
 Ma perché l'occhio cupido e vagante  
 a me rivolse, quel feroce drudo  
 la flagellò dal capo infin le piante;  
 poi, di sospetto pieno e d'ira crudo,  
 disciolse il mostro, e trassel per la selva,  
 tanto che sol di lei mi fece scudo  
 a la puttana e a la nova belva. (vv. 148–60)

[Secure, like a fortress on a high mountain, there appeared to me an ungirt harlot sitting upon it [the monster], with eyes quick to rove around; and, as if in order that she should not be taken from him, I saw standing at her side a giant, and they kissed each other again and again. But because she turned her lustful and wandering eye on me, that fierce paramour beat her from head to foot. Then, full of jealousy and fierce with rage, he loosed the monster and drew it through the wood so far that only of that he made a shield from me for the harlot and for the strange beast.]

According to Moore, Philip the Fair is the principal monarch represented by the giant, who is also meant to recall other notorious members of the French royal family (cf. *Purg.* XX). Their occasional intrigues with various popes (e.g., Urban IV, Clement IV, Martin IV, Nicholas IV), which are depicted by Dante as the caresses exchanged by the giant and harlot (v. 153), were replaced by the enmity of Philip and Boniface VIII. The attacks on Boniface carried out by the myrmidons of Philip Nogaret and Sciarra at Anagni (see *Purg.* XX, 85ff.) are suggested by the giant's scourging of the harlot, her former lover (vv. 155–56). In a wrathful rage, the giant unties the chariot from the tree, carrying it, along with the harlot, out of sight. This action signals the transfer of the papal seat from Rome to Avignon during the papacy of Clement V, in 1305 (Moore 1968, 209).

In sum, the Dantean depiction of seven heresies by means of monstrous beasts offers another indisputable model for the *Dezir*, another textual nexus for Imperial to endow with his own metaliterary purpose.

The final Dantean nexus I would like to address in terms of Imperial's poem is that of the Celestial Rose. This phenomenon, as Dante explains in *Paradiso* IV, 28–63, is not a literal but a metaphorical space—an accommodative metaphor, an analogy by which the truth of God is made accessible to man. Of such metaphor in *Paradiso* Robert Hollander writes:

As Beatrice explains in Canto IV: Paradise, that is, the actual place where God is, is the Empyrean. Thus the rest of *Paradiso*, that is, the poem, is not Paradise, but an accommodative metaphor (*Par.* IV, 28–63), actually a series of nine metaphors, in which the truth of Heaven is gradually made clear by the kind of analogy that Grace alone affords, as spirits who actually dwell in the Empyrean with God descend from their seats in the

celestial stadium—rose to make the hierarchical structure and meaning of God's truth known to man. (1969, 192)

Aware of this metaphorical function, and in keeping with the remotivation of Dante effected by Imperial for his own metaliterary purposes, Imperial offers us literal roses instead. In *Paradiso* XXX, 64–65 Dante describes the flowers into which living sparks (angels) descend: “Di tal fiumana uscian faville vive,/ e d’ogne parte si mettien ne’ fiori” [From out of this river issued living sparks and dropped on every side into the blossoms]. There follows in verses 91–99 the moment in which Dante has an unmediated vision of God, one that is effected by the angels in the flowers:

Poi, come gente stata sotto larve,  
che pare altro che prima, se si sveste  
la sembianza non s'ua in che disarve,  
così mi si cambiario in maggior feste  
li fiori e le faville, sì ch'io vidi  
ambo le corti del ciel manifeste.  
O isplendor di Dio, per cu'io vidi  
l'alto trionfo del regno verace,  
dammi virtù a dir com' io il vidi!

[Then, as folk who have been under masks seem other than before, if they do off the semblances not their own wherein they were hid, so into greater festival the flowers and the sparks did change before me that I saw both the courts of Heaven made manifest. O splendor of God whereby I saw the high triumph of the true kingdom, give to me power to tell how I beheld it!]

This moment, where Dante begins to see God face to face (culminating in *Par.* XXXIII, 139–45), is clearly the culmination of Dante-pilgrim's and Dante-poet's experience. One cannot imagine a greater spiritual or poetic attainment. Precisely for this reason, and in keeping with his programmatic desacralizing in the *Dezir*, Imperial denies his pilgrim the same Dantean experience. He writes:

'E pues amansaste con el bever  
la mi grant sed, non sé dezir cuánto,  
dame, poeta, que yo non ssé ver  
cómo estas rossas canten este canto.'  
Díxome: 'Fijo, non tomes espanto,  
ca en estas rrosas están Serafynes,  
Dominaçiones, Tronos, Cherubines,  
mas non lo vedes, que te ocupa el manto.' (vv. 449–56)

We see that the pilgrim of the *Dezir* is unable to experience the unmediated vision. This is, of course, in keeping with Imperial's recasting of the *Commedia* as “second-degree literature.” For, what he does is to turn Dante's metaphori-

cal roses, which point to unmediated literal angels into literal roses and mediated angels, which he is unable to see.

Thus he consistently turns the *Commedia* into a more limited form of *allegoresis*, representation and language. Although he is committed to the tenets of the Christian faith, he writes not a religious allegory but an "allegory of the book."<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note, in addition, that the reception of the *Commedia* in France had an analogous fortune during the same time period in Christine de Pizan's *Chemin de longue estude* (1403) (in this context, see Brownlee 1993).

Imperial crystallizes this *mise-en-abyme* of Dante's celestial journey by having the final two verses of the *Dezir* end with a curious reference to the first line of *Paradiso* XXXIII: "Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo figlio." Instead of referring to a *canto* or *verso*, however, Imperial speaks of "el capítulo que la Virgen salva" (v. 464). This prose marker, the chapter, is used to differentiate the second text from the first, to alert the reader in yet a different manner of the two vastly different literary projects constituted by the *Commedia* and the *Dezir*. Further proof of the *Commedia*'s function as second-degree literature is made totally explicit and concretized by the fact that these last two lines present Imperial the protagonist as waking up with a copy of the *Commedia*—the book itself as object, not the vision or experience it depicts—in his hands.

The *Dezir* boldly exploits the discontinuity, metadiscursivity, and primacy of the first-person subject at issue in the late medieval French *dit*. It is by means of a narratological analysis of the *Commedia* and the *Dezir* that Imperial's profound knowledge of Dante as well as his daring remotivation of this vernacular *auctor* becomes visible. In this way may Imperial justifiably, without being contradictory, be termed a *poeta dezidor*.

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<sup>10</sup> Once again, it is the *estoria* created by Imperial, his fictional journey based on his "history of the intertext," that predominates.

*Silent Subtexts and Cancionero Codes:  
On Garcilaso de la Vega's Revolutionary Love*

AURORA HERMIDA RUIZ

The most specialized criticism of the sixteenth-century Spanish lyric has frequently regarded the literary transcendence of the Renaissance with a partial and subjective radicalism. Renaissance poetry has been taken to be an unprecedented cultural triumph, represented in rhetorical terms as the victory of progress over tradition, modernity over primitivism, or, simply, culture and civilization over poetic barbarism. For the history of Spanish poetry, the arrival of Petrarchism stands less for an alternative source of poetic imitation, or literary fashion, than for a simple and definitive rupture with a most forgettable past. Thus Garcilaso de la Vega, reputed to be the first representative of Petrarchism in Spain, independently of all earlier Castilian poets, rises up to become "el fundador de nuestra lengua lírica, la cual, hoy mismo, está en la misma cadena cuyo primer eslabón es él." Or so Lázaro Carreter would have us believe, but only after denouncing those critics who have defended fifteenth-century Castilian poetics for their coarse "reproches nacionalistas" and their "valoración mezquina, insuficiente y, por fortuna, superada desde hace años entre los mejores garcilasistas" (1986, 110–11).

In the same way, Francisco Rico not only exposes the aggressive rhetoric of humanism but revives it to become one of its champions. Nor does he hide the fact: in the prologue to *Nebrija contra los bárbaros*, Rico writes, "No puedo ocultar que aun manteniendo algunas trazas de objetividad yo mismo he tomado partido en la pelea de que cuento unos pocos lances. Por los humanistas, desde luego, contra los bárbaros" (1978b, 9; my emphasis). With the same contemptuous rhetoric, Rico denigrates what he considers to be Castilian precursors to Garcilaso's Petrarchism (his "prehistoria 'a la castellana'" [1978a, 338]) as so many "malditas coplas" (325) of one "pecador" or another (328).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This humanist rhetoric can be traced even in the earliest revisionary judgments of *can-*

There have been studies, nevertheless, that have tried to tone down this combative rhetoric while attempting to account for the actual permanence of *cancionero* poetry in the Golden Age; the studies by José Manuel Bleuca (1952), Rafael Lapesa (1967), and Antonio Prieto (1984) are the most notable.<sup>2</sup> Approaching the question as an urgent problem of literary historiography, Bleuca proclaimed the need to include and consider fifteenth-century poetry in the literary histories of the Golden Age as fundamental for any understanding of "la profunda originalidad de la poesía barroca" (24).<sup>3</sup> In doing so, Bleuca not only undermined the concept of struggle between ancients and moderns as a failed model of historical periodization but also discredited it as a simplistic overview of the poetic panorama of the Golden Age. After Bleuca, Castilian poetry could not be seen anymore as the waning tradition of some reactionary traditionalists (Castillejo is the exemplary case) but as a "parallel" undercurrent to the Italianate fashion, still palpable in later generations of poets.<sup>4</sup>

Even acknowledging the vitality of the *cancionero* tradition throughout the Golden Age, the concept of struggle between Castilian and Italian poetics remains a historiographical problem in Lapesa and Antonio Prieto, hidden under the guise of a debate over aesthetic value. Following a general tendency in Garcilaso studies (Rico 1978a), both critics tend to evaluate *cancionero* poetry for its lack of poetic ideals akin to Petrarchism and not on its own aesthetic terms.<sup>5</sup> The implied impartiality of the chapter heading, "El ayuntamiento de dos prácticas poéticas" (Prieto 1984, 37-58), for example, does not prevent Prieto from subsequently succumbing to the temptation to malign *cancionero* poetry as obsolete and unrefined, to which the Renaissance will ultimately "otorgar cultura," "salvar," and "ennoblecer" (43). Working back chronologically from Prieto to the conclusions of Lapesa in his "Poesía de *cancionero* y poesía italianizante" (1967), one sees how little attitudes have changed after many years of debate and how central the establishment of this rigid hierarchical opposition has been for Garcilaso studies: "En general, la orientación italo-clásica llevaba un concepto de la poesía *mucho más elevado* que el de mero

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*cionero* poetry. Already in the "Justa poética" in honor of San Isidro, Lope de Vega made the gesture of recognizing the wit of "aquellos ingenios maravillosos" but not without first pardoning them for the "grosera" and "bárbara lengua de que usaban" (ed. Carreño 1984, 145-46).

<sup>2</sup> Julian Weiss is currently studying this problem of ruptures and continuities in his book in progress, *Medieval Verse and Its Renaissance*.

<sup>3</sup> Although the original study is from 1952, the references here are from the reprinted version of 1970.

<sup>4</sup> For a more specific example of this critical approach, see also Otis H. Green's study on courtly love in Quevedo (1952).

<sup>5</sup> It was Keith Whinnom who first proposed the need for an immanent approach towards the esthetics of *cancionero* poetry: "uno en el cual se pospone el ejercicio de apreciación estética a la determinación estadística del ideal estético contemporáneo" (1968-69, 369).



entretenimiento o habilidad celebrada en la corte" (222; my emphasis).<sup>6</sup>

The radical view of the Renaissance has led not only to a disdain for *cancionero* poetry but also to an almost mythical regard for the place of Garcilaso in post-1526 Spanish literary history—what Rico, for example, boldly proclaims to be a "nuevo universo poético" (1978b, 336), "revolución poética," and "mutation brusque" (1976, 50). But this emphasis on the primacy and originality of Garcilaso may be misleading. On the one hand, the persistence of love as the subject matter of poetry "par excellence" could attenuate the supposed revolutionary status of Garcilaso. To solve the problem, idealist criticism offers what has become the classic answer: that Garcilaso brings to Spanish poetics not only a "true" understanding of Petrarch's poetic language (as Rico would have it) and a "higher" concept of poetry (as we have seen with Lapesa) but an entirely new idea of love: the concept of love proposed by neoplatonic philosophy and perceived in Petrarch's *Canzoniere* as its best expression. Alexander Parker views the change as a "gradual modification" in which the *cancionero*'s obsessive conflict with carnal desire (always unfulfilled, by his definition) is finally overcome, thus achieving the highest possible degree of idealization and glorification of human love (1985, 42–43).<sup>7</sup> In the end, Garcilaso's assimilation of neoplatonic mysticism and Petrarchan style and concepts made poetry a much more worthy enterprise since, after all, it relates to a much higher human endeavor: the search for individual transcendence. It is this metaphysical status of Garcilaso's poetry that has finally exacerbated the tendency to trivialize the *cancionero* tradition as nothing more than an entertaining "pastime" for amateurs with no vital commitment whatsoever to love, art, and posterity (see again Lapesa 1985).

The struggle and distance between Italian and Castilian muses seems to be less radical, however, if we think of Petrarchism from a less idealistic point of view. Leonard Forster recommends that specialists of European Petrarchism should lower their expectations for profundity and originality from a movement that was so highly codified and fashionable. After all, Petrarchism became "le dernier cri" of poetic fashion around Europe for reasons that, according to Forster, were much more trivial than many critics are willing to accept: it seems unreasonable to reproach Petrarchist poets with imitating precisely those

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<sup>6</sup> Although this study initially appeared in 1962, I refer to the version reproduced in the revised edition of *La trayectoria poética de Garcilaso de la Vega* (1985, 213–54). Lapesa's opinion is a direct though moderate inheritance of Menéndez Pelayo's views on the traditional poetry of Boscán: "... coplas de *cancionero*, versos sin ningún género de pasión, devaneos insulsos que parecen imaginarios, conceptos sutiles y alambicados, agudezas de sarao palaciego tan pronto dichas como olvidadas, burlas y motejos que no sacan sangre: algo, en suma, que recrea agradablemente el oído sin dejar ninguna impresión en el alma" (1908).

<sup>7</sup> For Parker, the fifteenth-century poets were also in search of "some sort of aspiration or ideal" (1985, 17) which gave transcendental value to human love, while only managing to do so "in a confused way" (43). By emphasizing this transcendental value of poetic activity, all poetry before Garcilaso appears to be, once again, a failed project.

aspects of Petrarch's poetry that were imitable and with neglecting those that were not. Moreover, they had their reasons for wishing to imitate. These were first of all social; these poets were living in a society in which love was one of the most important subjects of conversation and consequently of poetry and song. Everybody was expected to participate, and poetry was mostly not so much the baring of the soul as a heightened kind of social small talk. Small talk, however heightened, can only operate within a conventional framework and with a conventional idiom, otherwise it ceases to be small (Forster 1969, 62–63).

Thinking more of the material connections between Garcilaso and *cancionero* poets, Garcilaso appears not only as another poet writing mainly about unrequited love but as another member of the nobility writing love poetry at court, one of the many exercises in which a courtier traditionally proves himself (see specially Book I of *El cortesano*; Castiglione 1980). In this essay, I propose to challenge traditional literary historiography by reexamining the poetry of both Garcilaso and the *cancionero* tradition, not only as poetic conventions but as social ones as well. It seems to me that the notion of radical change and modernity that has traditionally marked the distance between Garcilaso and *cancionero* poets somehow becomes blurred if we explore and connect the idiomatic character of Garcilaso's poetic diction with an equally conventional attitude towards love. This, of course, means sacrificing the romantic, idealized notion of Garcilaso as the first Spanish poet to contemplate the feeling of love in the intimate and solitary realm of his soul. It does not mean, however (as it seems to mean for Forster), that the love poetry of Garcilaso will begin to appear just as trivial or forgettable as *cancionero* ever was or was reputed to be. It is not my purpose here to elevate *cancionero* poetry to the poetic status of Garcilaso; after Whinnom (1968–69, 1981) it is hardly necessary to justify its aesthetic qualities. Nor do I wish to downgrade Garcilaso. What interests me at this point is to see whether the change of poetic language, that is, the change of literary conventions, entails a parallel and measurable change in the social relations at court, and this issue is far from "small" and trivial.

To begin answering these questions, I shall focus on one of the principal *topoi* of *cancionero* poetry—the "secreto amoroso"—as it appears in the work of one of the most representative and famous poets of the *Cancionero general*: Jorge Manrique.<sup>8</sup> Such noted critics as Otis H. Green (1970, 53–57), Keith Whinnom (1968–69, 36), and Nicasio Salvador Miguel (1977, 286–87) have viewed the *topos* of secrecy as central to the idea of courtly love for the conspicuous position it occupies in the hierarchy of courtly values. It is the first requirement of any noble lover, not only as an essential component of amorous ser-

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<sup>8</sup> Hernando del Castillo includes up to 46 compositions attributed to Jorge Manrique in the 1511 edition and, in spite of the disappearance of some after the second edition, the total number grows thanks to the inclusion of other, newer poems.

vice but as the most faithful proof that such service exists in the first place. The entire edifice of love is based, as Diego de San Pedro tells us in his *Sermón*, on the foundation of the secret: "Pues luego conviene que lo que edificare el desseo en el corazón cativo, sea sobre cimiento del secreto si quiere su labor sostener y acabar sin peligro de vergüenza."<sup>9</sup> On the formation and meaning of the *topos* of amorous secrecy, Lapesa writes:

Cualidad imprescindible del amador cortés era la reserva: recomendada por todos los manuales de preceptiva amorosa, llegó a constituir un tópico literario. Se presenta, de una parte, como consecuencia de la timidez: el enamorado no se atreve a afrontar la posible repulsa y permanece callado, sin descubrir sus sentimientos ante la dama. Por otra parte, el buen nombre de ésta exige que no se divulguen las pretensiones y menos aún, si los hay, los favores. (1985, 29)

According to this opinion, the fifteenth-century *cancionero* poet, composing on the themes of the lover's secrecy and silence, does nothing but repeat a kind of song learned in courtly life, thus confirming a fundamental law of wooing. In contrast to the *cancionero* poet, the Petrarchist poet draws back completely the veil that covers the woman and dedicates his poetry to her glorification since, according to Lapesa, "es en él más poderosa la creencia de estar llamado a *publicar* las excelencias de su amada" (1985, 30; my emphasis).<sup>10</sup> We should not forget, however, that *cancionero* poetry is read, glossed, discussed and debated at court and is itself denounced as a form of publicity by Diego de San Pedro in his *Sermón*:

Donde . . . parece que todo amador deve antes perder la vida, que escurescer la fama de la que sirviere. E lo que más deve proveer, es que . . . no yerre con priessa lo que puede acertar con espacio; que le hará passar muchas vezes por donde no cunple, a buscar mensajeros que no le convienen, y embiar cartas que le dañen, y *bordar invenciones que lo publiquen*. (ed. Whinnom 1971, 1:174; my emphasis)

This public character is inherent in *cancionero* poetry, turning poetic activity into an ideal courtly medium for embellishing and divulging the image of lover that any young noble should know how to "affect," as Juan Alfonso de Baena puts it in the prologue to his own *Cancionero*: "E otrosý que sea amador, e que siempre se precie e se finja de ser enamorado" (ed. Azáceta 1966,

<sup>9</sup> Quoted from *Obras completas*, ed. Whinnom (1971, 1:173–83, at 174).

<sup>10</sup> Though Lapesa insists on the discovery of female beauty as one of the main achievements of Petrarchism, it is worth noting that, from a feminist perspective, Nancy J. Vickers points to the opposite direction: that Petrarch never allows a complete picture of Laura to emerge in the *Canzoniere* and that the resulting fragmented image is an emblematic way of suppressing her full presence and speech (265–79).

1:15).<sup>11</sup> In principle, the *topos* of secrecy seems to be absolutely incompatible with this social aspect of *cancionero* poetry. In this sense, it becomes necessary to reconstruct the social meaning of these *topoi*, to understand both the reasons behind the fifteenth-century insistence upon using them, and the limits of the renovation brought on by Garcilaso's Petrarchism.

Manrique's lyric verse provides an ideal model to analyze the application of the *topos* as a means of courtly propaganda. In two compositions, the poet explicitly declares himself keeper of the law of amorous secrecy. "De la profesión que hizo en la orden del amor" (17–19) sees the poet imagining himself inducted into the rank of lover, a position for which he must make a series of vows.<sup>12</sup> The fiction is a parody of the rituals characteristic of the military orders of *caballería*, or the religious sacraments of holy orders, as Serrano de Haro and Beltrán respectively have shown.<sup>13</sup> But the parody also functions inversely to distinguish the suitor as a *caballero* about to receive a title of nobility. The terms of the parody suggest a contractual agreement in which are implied not only the lover's duties but also his rewards; in other words, the lady's duty to compensate for his service. Manrique promises to be secretive and "guardar toda verdad / que ha de guardar el amante" (ll. 34–35) but only after promising his constancy in not complying with the famous vow of chastity, a promise presented as a personal act of will and not as a request for favors. With respect to the service this lover intends to provide, one could hardly be more indiscreetly plain: in this new "profession," what the poet proclaims is his sexual ordination. The reference to secrecy only serves to confirm the existence of a now poetically revealed "truth."

In the *coplas*, "Acordaos, por Dios, señora" (ll. 48–51), the poet addresses the woman directly so as to remind her of all the vows and services that make him deserving of the prize. The allusion to the secret ensures that her feminine reward will not be made public ("Acordaos que soy secreto / acordaos de mi firmeza / y afición"), while simultaneously revealing that such a reward has already been bestowed. Moreover, if the woman were not to grant what "en justicia" belongs to him, then there would no longer be any secret to keep. The woman comes under a severe threat of blame and defamation. In one

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<sup>11</sup> The idea of courtly love as a kind of "game" or "social fiction" has been studied by John Stevens in the case of the early Tudor court:

Courtly love provided the aristocracy not only with a philosophy and a psychology of love but also with a code of social behaviour. It was a school of manners, of "politeness," of "chere of court." . . . Even if you were not a lover, you must—at least in mixed company—*act the lover*. (1961, 151)

For the case of Spanish poetry, see Roger Boase (1977, 103–107) and, in the present volume, the articles by Victoria A. Burrus and Ian Macpherson. For a concise reading of the ideological implications of the game of courtly love, see Weiss (1991a).

<sup>12</sup> All references to Manrique's poetry are from Vicente Beltrán's 1988b edition.

<sup>13</sup> See Beltrán (1988b, 17) and Serrano de Haro (1966, 72).

sense, she lacks any possibility of obtaining forgiveness, either divine or human:

Acordaos que llevaréis  
 un tal cargo sobre vos  
 si me matáis  
 que nunca lo pagaréis  
 ante el mundo ni ante Dios,  
 aunque queráis.

In another sense, there is no escape from this suitor's pursuit, and not only because he boasts of persisting to the death: there is also a "tribunal" or "police" that protects him, where he promises to seek revenge for any feminine injustice. Thus a collective masculine cause begins to take shape, a cause that has even God on its side and for which the woman has no defense:

Y aunque yo sufra paciente  
 la muerte y de voluntad  
 mucho lo he hecho,  
 no faltara algún pariente  
 que de quexa a la *Ermandad*  
 de tan mal hecho. (my emphasis)

It is disquieting to find a reference to "la Santa Hermandad," a powerful fifteenth-century police force, in a poem supposedly about love. Once again Manrique disguises as poetic metaphors real institutions of the times: military orders, police corporations—institutions that were marked by a sense of cohesion among their members and of obedience among their subordinates. Manrique identifies his poetic persona as a very special lover, as well as a very special member of those organizations, and by doing so, he inscribes love as an act of power and dominance over women, and as a violent act, if necessary.<sup>14</sup>

The secret leaves no doubt as to whether the woman offers her favor; on the contrary, the existence of the woman's favor is emphasized precisely by establishing it as something that in fact must remain hidden. Of particular interest is the poet's manipulation of the terms of the *topos*: it is no longer the evidence of feminine favors that condemns her to infamy and eternal fire but rather the lack of those favors.<sup>15</sup> While we still might think that the woman

<sup>14</sup> Victoria Burrus has pointed out to me another metaphoric use of "la Ermandad" in a poem by Quirós, where it is aimed at threatening those women who forget their presupposed loyalty in favor of newcomers: "Y en verdad, / aunque toda novedad / es a la vista plaziente, / serviros de mucha gente / sera caso d'Ermandad" (Dutton 1990–91, ID6733, 11CG–951, 211r).

<sup>15</sup> Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, in one of the numerous occasions in which he acts as an advocate for women, also alludes to the threat of baseless defamation as a common masculine recourse for forcing the woman to yield her honesty:

has a right to be even a little "unjust" or that the last word belongs to her, Manrique leaves her absolutely no capacity for decision-making. The end of the *canción* is revealing enough: "Consentid que vuestro sea / pues que vuestro quiero ser / y lo seré" (my emphasis). There is only one will here that counts: the masculine one. Woman's only function is to "consent" to the power that this will wants to represent.<sup>16</sup>

Clearly then, the poetic treatment of the secret transforms a formula, long considered by critics such as Green, Whinnom, and Lapesa to be one of respect for woman and social norms, into one that underscores masculine values. It is a dialectical game in which the achievements of the suitor are "revealed" through the idea of concealment and mystery, underlining masculine virility and silencing only what is of no interest: any decisive role whatsoever for the woman in the relationship.<sup>17</sup>

Within this same pattern, it is fitting to consider those compositions in which Manrique sets about contriving conceptual games concerning the identity of the beloved. Once again, Diego de San Pedro offers a valuable testimony for interpreting the function of these poetic games:

Guardaos, señores, de una erronía que en la ley enamorada tienen los galanes, comenzando en la primera letra de los nombres de la que sirven sus invenciones o cimeras o bordaduras, porque semejante "gentileza" es un *pregón* con que se hace justicia de la infamia dellas. (1973, 176; my emphasis)

There can be no doubt of the social dimension of these poetic inventions

Eso mismo digo de cavalleros burgeses e otras personas de estado o manera qualesquier que aman locamente. . . . E vienen ya en tal especie que a las vezes por fuerça las mugeres e las fijas de los buenos fazen ser malas. Que, quando non quieren las tales consentir a su voluntad, luego son las difamaciones, los libellos difamadores puestos por puertas, las palabras injuriosas dichas de noche a altas horas a sus puertas . . . fasta que, o por fuerça o por mal grado, se ha de fazer lo que a ellos pluguiere por sobervia pura e fuerça, sin temor de Dios nin de la justicia e sin vergüença de las gentes. (ed. Gerli 1979, 127–28)

<sup>16</sup> Diego de San Pedro employs the same technique of divine threat and dissuasion in the third part of his *Sermón*, aimed exclusively at women:

Pues para començar el propósito, sólo por salud de vuestras ánimas devríades remediar los que penáis, que incurris por el tormento que les dais en cuatro peccados mortales. E si esta razón no bastare sea por no cobrar mala estimación. . . . Pues dexad, señoras, por Dios, usar a cada su officio, que para vosotras es el amor y la buena condición y el redemir y el consolar. (ed. Whinnom 1971, 1:179–80)

<sup>17</sup> See also Weiss (1991a) for a treatment of this dialectic of display and dissimulation in the game of courtly love as a medium for the aristocracy to construct powerful identities of masculinity.

when San Pedro declares them to be an infamous “pregón.” But San Pedro’s warning is still very ambivalent in its condemnation: the game seems to be fair enough when the favor of a woman can be read between lines, but when her name can be read, the game seems to have gone too far. Basically, what this means is that courtly poetry is a language of both competence and competition. In other words, the courtier “acting the lover” needs to know how to negotiate the fine line between concealment and display to win the match and the prize. And since the favor of the woman is so implicitly presupposed in the code of secrecy, it seems to me that the real prize of this game is to show competence and control over it and over the other members of that masculine circle (whether they be “parientes” or member of “la Ermandad”) who constitute the poem’s primary public. Obviously, those who could not handle the subtleties of the game had a lot to lose by their exclusion from this masculine courtly contest.

But Manrique will use the feminine identity game to validate another set of interesting values that, while masculine, nevertheless avoid feminine defamation. In the *canción* “¡Guay de aquel que nunca atiende!” (20–22), Manrique employs the device or “invention” of the acrostic to reveal the name of one woman in particular: his wife. In “Según el mal me siguió” (35–37), not only her name but those of the four lineages that contribute to it (Castañeda, Ayala, Silva, and Meneses) appear “hidden” inside the poem through the rhetorical device of *annominatio*. Both compositions are guessing games that challenge the reader to reconstruct the name of the woman, who is herself now “reduced” to being a mere anecdote of her lineage. Once again the poet, now showing off his wife as if she were a recently acquired title of nobility, is the immediate beneficiary of this revelation in full presence of the assembled participants in the guessing game: “claro será quien me tiene / contento por su cativo.”<sup>18</sup> If before Manrique revealed the secret as a means of accentuating his own manliness, now he does so to highlight his own heightened nobility. In this way, poetry functions as a means for creating or shaping his status at court.

In “Castillo de Amor” (27–31), Manrique makes use of an allegory—the construction of a castle—fortress—to symbolize the unyielding steadfastness of his love. The standard atop the castle is, once again, a riddle concerning the name of the lady to whom he offers his service as vassal:

En la torre de omenaje,  
 está puesto toda ora  
 un estandarte que muestra, por vasallaje,  
 el nombre de su señora  
 a cada parte,

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<sup>18</sup> Guiomar de Castañeda did, in fact, belong to a powerful Castilian family, and Don Jorge was not the only one to join this family by marriage. His father, Don Rodrigo, had married Guiomar’s sister, Doña Elvira, one year earlier. Thus we have the quite complicated picture of the stepmother / sister-in-law and the wife / aunt.

que comienza como *más*  
 el nombre y como *valer*  
 el apellido;  
 a la cual nunca jamás  
 yo podré desconocer  
 aunque e perdido. (my emphasis)

Both Beltrán and Serrano de Haro have detected in this poem the woman's real name, which unfortunately is impossible for us to reconstruct today.<sup>19</sup> Even had she really existed, it does not seem that Manrique's guessing game could be solved in this way alone. The lady to whom he pays homage is also part of the allegory; what the poet hopes to achieve with his vasallage is "valer más": to acquire more of a name, more nobility, more virility, in a word, more symbolic power. This unnamed "señora" of the castle of love symbolically reveals how we are to understand the proper names of other women: like his wife, Guiomar de Castañeda, Ayala, Silva y Meneses, they serve as a means to "más valer."

The *topos* of secrecy belongs to an amorous ideology that stresses an array of fundamentally masculine courtly values. In this context, love and poetry are the means through which Manrique emphasizes his merit, position, and status within the courtly setting.

According to Lapesa, when Garcilaso and Boscán poeticize the themes of secrecy and self-restraint, they are merely harking back to a tradition already in its death throes, a tradition that after 1526 will begin to belong to the past. Of Boscán, particularly, Lapesa says that "después de haber descubierto una concepción artística *más ambiciosa y exigente*, pudo negar importancia a estas primeras creaciones considerándolas fruto de un *juego sin trascendencia*" (Lapesa 1985, 44; my emphasis). *Cancionero* poetry has repeatedly been defined as a game, one of wit and skill, to be sure, but one that we can no longer continue thinking of as insignificant. As Julian Weiss puts it: "The love lyric can hardly be called 'minor' on an ideological level" (1991a, 244). Contrary to what we might suppose, even Garcilaso will never entirely distance his poetry from the ludic concept of verse, and his poetic games are also decidedly masculine.

Even Lapesa himself seems to acknowledge that there is in Garcilaso a constant affirmation of virility that somehow might recall the Castilian tradition. In the main, however, he sees it as Garcilaso's individual embodiment of the archetypal virility of the Spanish character:

Pero en todo momento se mantienen dos notas de honda raigambre española: una es la contención recatada, que de ser exigencia de la

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<sup>19</sup> Beltrán contends that for Manrique's contemporaries, this particular case would amount to a "transparent" revelation of the lady's name (1988b, 15). Serrano de Haro is inclined to think that the composition was also dedicated to his wife, Doña Guiomar (1966, 112).



cortesanía, se convierte en norma artística gracias a la cual quedan repudiadas las lamentaciones sin nervio; otra es la altiva independencia con que el poeta defiende la autonomía de su espíritu y transforma en viril resolución el abrazo con el destino adverso. (1985, 65)

The choice of words is right, but for the wrong reasons. In no way can I accept Lapesa's "sympathetic" praise for Garcilaso's virility as an archetype of the Spanish national character (being a woman myself, I would never qualify properly as a Spaniard). If Lapesa is correct in calling attention to Garcilaso's "virile" concerns, his tendency to naturalize or "nationalize" Garcilaso's masculinity is obviously problematic. Lapesa seems to suggest that Garcilaso is just one more literary example of the Stoicism that since Amador de los Ríos and Menéndez Pelayo (among others) has been considered a distinctive feature of "Spanishness" already present in Seneca.<sup>20</sup> This stoic affirmation of masculinity in Garcilaso is apparent not for the reasons signalled by Lapesa but rather due to issues of gender and class that cannot be so easily dissociated from the historical period in which this poetry is written. An examination of "Canción V" helps to determine how Garcilaso plays with poetry as a means to assert his own image of nobility and masculinity.

The "Ode ad Florem Gnidii" or "Canción V" (as Herrera more prosaically called it) has been considered since Menéndez Pelayo to be a kind of poetic plaything, in which Garcilaso addresses the lady Violante Sanseverino to intervene on behalf of his friend, Mario Galeota.<sup>21</sup> In the third book of *El Cortesano*, Castiglione suggests the possibility of relieving the suitor's suffering through sharing his love secret to a male friend: "Y, demás destes provechos, es muy gran alivio decir vuestras congojas a quien las tome como propias; y así mismo los placeres se hacen mayores comunicándose" (1980, 153). In "Canción V," Garcilaso takes advantage of that possibility, not so much as a means

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<sup>20</sup> Manrique's "aunque yo sufra paciente la muerte" is an example of the Stoicism alluded to by Lapesa.

<sup>21</sup> In this sense, it is interesting to recall Lapesa's comments regarding Menéndez Pelayo: "Menéndez y Pelayo, en el magistral análisis que hizo de la oda, la calificó de 'precioso juguete': en efecto, posee la gracia y la finura del puro juego" (1985, 146). Dunn (1981) accepts Menéndez Pelayo's definition but attempts to explain how this "juguete" actually works. Lázaro Carreter also proposes to demonstrate that the ode is a grand example of imitation. Notwithstanding, it seems curious that after having achieved this, and upon beginning to perceive its "socarronería latente," he takes a step back from his initial objectives and ends by claiming the work a "joya menor" (1986, 126). The reason seems to be that "Canción V" does not share the supposed "uniform gravity" that critics have imposed on Garcilaso. Prieto, for example, insists on the "gravità" of Garcilaso's verse and that his poetry never participated in the evidently jocular vein of other Renaissance poets, such as Hurtado de Mendoza (1984, 90). This critical disqualification of pure poetic play with respect to Garcilaso reproduces the same attitude that traditionally has affected the appraisal of *cancionero* poetry. On this last point, see Whinnom (1981, chap. 1).

of consoling his friend but so as to establish a powerful male bond. By the end of the poem, what began as a personal secret shared between friends has become a gender-based alliance in opposition to one woman. Garcilaso organizes a male poetic syndicate to threaten the "desdeñosa" Violante (l. 68), a kind of poetic "mafia" similar to the "Ermandad" that protected Manrique against cruel female indifference.

Manrique initiated his threat by denying woman divine forgiveness. Garcilaso now makes use of a classical metamorphosis to reproduce the same refusal of pardon, albeit in a pagan setting:

Hagate *temerosa*  
 el caso de Anaxárate, y *cobarde*  
 que de ser desdeñosa se arrepintió muy tarde;  
 y así, su alma con su mármol arde.

(213; my emphasis)<sup>22</sup>

The sexual blackmail continues in both poets with the threat of defamation; however, Garcilaso's Petrarchism will produce a new type of threat: one that hinges upon the immortalizing value of poetry, and in which more than "la glorificación de la amada" of which Lapesa writes, we are left instead with her eternal damnation. If the woman wishes to be a "musa inmortal," like Petrarch's Laura, she must submit to the will of the poet who pursues her. If not, then the very same poets (note how the plural proclaims a united masculine cause) who could immortalize her beauty will instead charge themselves with the task of defaming her:

No quieras tú, señora,  
 de Némesis airada las saetas  
 probar, por Dios, agora;

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<sup>22</sup> The myth of Anaxarate and Ifis has served poets since Ovid as a recourse for softening an overly hard woman. The motive behind Anaxarate's belated repentance seems, however, to be an original embellishment by Garcilaso (Lázaro Carreter 1986, 124), with less interest in enlisting Violante's compassion than in threatening her and pressing her to take the only out offered her. Castiglione's *El Cortesano* also deals with this tardy (and therefore useless) repentance: one of the interlocutors seeks to show how women's disdain comes not from their honesty but rather from some kind of sadistic nature that would have them take pleasure in the misfortunes of men, the more extreme the better: "Querrían si fuese posible, después de quemados y hechos ceniza . . . resucitallos por volver a quemallos otra vez y otras ciento." When women finally relent and concede what is asked of them, they do so at such an inopportune moment that "quedan ellas deshonradas, y el enamorado se halla haber perdido el tiempo y los trabajos, y haberse acortado la vida, trabajando sin frutos y sin placer ninguno, pues alcanzó lo que deseaba no cuando gustara tanto de ello que hubiera sido bienaventurado; mas cuando ya no lo preciaba de tener el corazón tan caído que, no tenía ya sentimiento de placer ni de contentamiento que se le ofreciese" (1980, 154-56). Garcilaso's portrait of Mario Galeota conjures up the same image of extreme decline.

*baste que tus perfetas  
 obras y hermosura a los poetas  
 den inmortal materia,  
 sin que también en verso lamentable  
 celebren la miseria  
 de algún caso notable  
 que por ti pase triste y miserable.* (215; my emphasis)

The "Ode" uses the idea of a Laura immortalized by Petrarch to give a new spin to the usual form of sexual blackmail. The poet's power over his poetry translates into power over the poetic muse, that is, over the woman. Garcilaso threatens Violante with a metamorphosis that the poem has already carried out; from its very title, the woman has already become a statue: the Venus of Cnidus. The "verso miserable" that could condemn her is the very poem we are reading. Trapped forever in the eternal frame of mythology, the case of Violante Sanseverino serves to immortalize Garcilaso's poetry and also to immortalize the misogynistic discourse that traps her. Now, this discourse relies more on the idea of poetry as an eternal force and more openly on personal identity as a means to assert power. To quote Arthur Brittan: "What has changed is not male power as such, but its form, its presentation, its packaging. . . . However, what does not easily change is the justification and naturalization of male power; that is, what remains relatively constant is the masculine ideology, masculinism or heterosexualism" (1989, 2-3).

Garcilaso's ode plays extensively with the idea that gender roles are naturally justified. The hardness of Garcilaso's Venus is presented as a "contra natura" inversion of her proper role. While the "dureza" and "fuerza" with which she is "armada" turn her into the "fiero Marte" whose praises Garcilaso does not wish to sing, Galeota is shown dispossessed of all his masculine attributes: he does not ride a horse, carry a sword, or fight. Furthermore, he does not even talk to his friends. On the contrary, he appears as an effeminate "viola," a flower, and, as a being without a will of his own, "a la concha de Venus amarrado" ("enconchado" Lázaro Carreter puts it, a little more suggestively; 1986, 121). As Ignacio Navarrete has pointed out, this lack of courtly activity is an erotic code for Galeota's sexual inactivity (1994, 106-109). Inversely, Galeota's sexual solitude is represented as a complete withdrawal from the public scene. What has to be read here is that Galeota's lack of sexual affairs, his emasculation, is equivalent to a lack of public image and agency. In other words, love and gender are not a private matter between a man and a woman, but a public one.

Obviously, woman continues to be a major means through which masculinism can exist; accordingly, only the woman who "loves" ratifies masculine ideology and deserves to be fittingly immortalized. Poetry, far from being an innocent game, in the hands of the poet becomes a weapon with which feminine will can be threatened, controlled, and undermined.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Here it is appropriate to recall Lope de Vega's free imitation of the "Ode," which he

In no way does this analysis pretend to deny the stylistic change that occurs in sixteenth-century Spanish poetry as a result of the assimilation of Petrarchism; it has, on the other hand, sought to call into question a series of claims regarding the consideration of love in the poetry of Garcilaso and the nature of his poetic revolution. For in this new love and this new poetry, woman continues to function as a medium for the reaffirmation of masculinity, and her new status as poetic "muse" is inadequate grounds for postulating a feminist stance on the part of the poet. The inherited misogyny of Garcilaso's discourse of courtly love, which neither Petrarchism nor neoplatonism do anything to abate, will continue to have poetic currency after him, especially in Quevedo. The male will continue to assert his central place in the scheme of things, and the glorification of the beloved is, like the breaching of secrecy before it, merely another means for the creation of a privileged group with an impeccable image of masculinity.<sup>24</sup>

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presents under the suggestive title, "Encarece su amor para obligar a su dama a que lo premie." The poem in question is one of the burlesque sonnets written by Lope in the guise of Tomé de Burguillos. In a spoof of the Petrarchism that was already evident in his model, Lope also "steals" Garcilaso's famous line, "en la concha de Venus amarrado" (ed. Carreño 1984, 461).

<sup>24</sup> I am especially grateful to Professors Julian Weiss and Michael Gerli, from whose close reading and comments this essay has greatly benefited.

### III: Courtly Games



*The Game of Courtly Love:  
Letra, Divisa, and Invención at the  
Court of the Catholic Monarchs*

IAN MACPHERSON

*"Everybody has heard of Courtly Love, and everyone knows that it appears quite suddenly at the end of the eleventh century in Languedoc."*

These are the words of C. S. Lewis (1936, 2), writing in 1936. In *The Allegory of Love* Lewis, with recourse principally to the writings of Chrétien de Troyes and Andreas Capellanus, felt confident enough to offer the world a definition of the nature of Courtly Love, establishing in the process four convenient boxes into which scholarly observations about the phenomenon could be tidily placed. Its defining and distinguishing characteristics were identifiable as Humility, Courtesy, Adultery, and the Religion of Love. For Lewis, Courtly Love, as it surfaced in Languedoc, depended on a misunderstanding of Ovid and was describable.

A great deal of critical ink has flowed under proverbial bridges since the thirties, and there can be no doubt that the term Courtly Love is now firmly established amid the terminological baggage of modern scholarship. Although a thoughtful article by Joan Ferrante (1980) brought out the fact that the usage of the term was by no means as uncommon in Medieval Europe as had been earlier assumed by scholars such as D. W. Robertson (1968), John Benton (1968), and E. Talbot Donaldson (1970), their skeptical legacy is still with us. Whether or not we agree that the notion of *amour courtois* is little more than a myth, a fictional invention, or reinvention of Gaston Paris and the late nineteenth century, it would be perverse to deny that in the course of the last half century scholarship has moved inexorably, if not always profitably, towards a present situation in which its practitioners find themselves unable to agree on

a definition or even an adequate description of the term.<sup>1</sup> We have come full circle to the view that "love" in the modern sense of the word (that is, as used in phrases such as "falling in love" or "being in love") was in no sense, as Ernst Curtius (1953, 586) had it in a lecture delivered in Colorado in 1949, "an emotional discovery of the French troubadours and their successors," but, in the words of Peter Dronke sixteen years later, an experience "universally possible in any time or place and on any level of society," an experience "at least as old as Egypt of the second millennium B.C., and might indeed occur at any time or place" (1965-66, 1:xvii).

My present concern is not to reopen the great debate over nomenclature, nor to undertake another journey through the multitudinous theories of origin so far expounded. It is rather to attempt the more modest task of focussing on one single aspect of the phenomenon as it resurfaced in fifteenth-century Spain and was adopted with enthusiasm by the court poets of the fifteenth century, in particular by those of the court of the Catholic Monarchs.<sup>2</sup>

In this area one feature that must be of primary concern to the literary critic is context. It seems improbable that the phenomenon remained static: its characteristics did not remain unchanged over a period of three hundred years, nor did it survive intact either its journey over the Pyrenees or its translation, literally, into another language and another culture at another time. Yet this fairly routine consideration has often escaped the attention of those who have written on courtly poetry in Spain. The temptation among literary historians not to read widely among English critics nor to dedicate themselves to close reading of the texts, to latch on to a set of generalizations designed by earlier scholars for France, and to text-hunt in Spain for specific illustrations to support an accepted and acceptable theory, simply ignoring or dismissing as eccentric aberration what does not fit, has proved irresistible in many cases.<sup>3</sup>

This is the background to the observations I now wish to make about the state of play in this field at the court of the Catholic Monarchs. The social context for the period is the court itself, a closed community, presided over by

<sup>1</sup> This is brought out well by Kelly (1987). His conclusion is that "no attempt to restrict it [the phrase *amour courtois*] to any particular author or work, or to make it so vague as to be valid for a large number of works, can succeed, because of the promiscuous use it has received. We cannot hope to undo past errors and present inertia; we must cut our losses and start over" (324).

<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive account of origin theories, see Boase (1977).

<sup>3</sup> Scholars tend to fall naturally into one or other of the categories defined by the historian Jack Hexter as "lumpers" or "splitters" (1979a, 241-42). The lumpers are those who examine their data for likenesses and connections, in search of systems and general rules; the splitters cannot abide the systems and the generalizations and delight in highlighting divergences, drawing distinctions, pinpointing differences. The lumpers who write of courtly love have done so in terms of the features that can be alleged to be common to all its manifestations north and south of the Pyrenees and until recently have tended to dominate courtly love criticism. My natural sympathies tend to be with the splitters.



Isabel and peopled predominantly if not exclusively by an upwardly mobile lower nobility identified and brilliantly described by José Antonio Maravall in his study of *Celestina* (1979, 32–58). The literary context is the expression in the contemporary creative writing of a set of attitudes towards love. These attitudes made their presence felt in Languedoc at the end of the eleventh century and in the same or modified form had been enjoying a considerable vogue in Spain since the middle of the fifteenth century. The critical context is the terminology: “Courtly Love” is a lumpner’s box not unknown in the Middle Ages but principally inspired by nineteenth-century French scholars and since used by many as a catch-all to net the totality of its manifestations in Western Europe over a period of some five hundred years, or at least as many of those as have seemed at the time convenient or relevant to the lumpner in question.

Generalizations about the nature of the courtly experience designed to cover all individual performances in all geographical locations over five centuries are unlikely to be either accurate or helpful. Like all genres, this one developed and evolved, reaching what could well be regarded as its most imaginative manifestation in Spain towards the end of the fifteenth century and declining rapidly thereafter. The play element—love is a game, poetry is a game—was there as a component from the outset, and became one of its most prominent features during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. As early as the thirteenth century Alfonso el Sabio asserts that God intended mankind to enjoy itself by playing games.<sup>4</sup> And for the later Middle Ages Pierre le Gentil reminds us that Courtly Love “n’est plus qu’un jeu, et, de fait, alors, c’est bien la forme d’un jeu que prend le service d’amour. On le joue, du reste, comme celui de la chevalerie dans les tournois, avec le plus grand sérieux” (1949, 1:92). It is my contention that this is the background against which we should be reading the *Cancionero general* of 1511, in which Hernando del Castillo offers his selection of the poetry of that time.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever one says about the nature of Courtly Love, the element of play was an important ingredient from the earliest times. There is a striking mismatch between what the historians and sociologists tell us about the behavior of the real-life human beings in the south of France and the set of assumptions on which their literary behavior is based. One way to account for the mismatch is the sublimation theory, as expressed eloquently by Alexander Parker (1985), which holds that all these writers longed for something more spiritual than the disgraceful social and sexual behaviour which they saw going on

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<sup>4</sup> “Por que toda manera de alegría quiso Dios que ouiessem los omnes en si naturalmente, por que pudiessen soffrir las cueytas e los trabajos quando les uiniessen, por end los omnes buscaron muchas maneras por que esta alegría pudiessen auer complidamientre. Onde por esta razon fallaron e fizieron muchas maneras de iuegos e de trebeios con que se alegrassen,” *Libros de acedrex, dados e tablas* (1941, 4).

<sup>5</sup> The *Cancionero general* can now be most conveniently consulted in Brian Dutton (1990–91, 5:117–538).

around them, and they expressed their views in the idealized literary world of what has come to be known as "Courtly Love" (see also Aguirre 1981; Gallagher 1968, 283–88). The problem, however, for the critic who is seeking to distinguish the philosophy that underpins the whole corpus of courtly writing is the need to assume, in order to justify the generalization, that more than a thousand poets felt uniformly constrained to express such sublimation, that all did so consistently in various languages over four centuries, and that anyone who did not do so should be set aside as an aberration. If, on the other hand, the critic is prepared to look at the literary exercise as a manifestation of the play phenomenon, this approach does account for and put into perspective a significant proportion of the observable data.

Some of the outstanding formal characteristics of play have been identified by Johan Huizinga (1970), and four of them are particularly relevant to the present argument:

1. Play stands outside "ordinary" life as a kind of interlude, but it nevertheless tends to absorb the player intensely and totally. There is the element of illusion: the player pretends he is not playing. Play is by definition "not serious," but the observation has to be made that the best game players take their games very seriously indeed, and play to win; although it is possible to adopt a more light-hearted approach, it is not easy for a player to excel at any game unless he takes the game totally seriously while it is in progress.
2. Essential for the playing of a game are the field of play, and an agreed time span in which to play it. The players need a field, a board, a pitch, a court, within which the game proceeds within its predetermined boundaries of space and time. The game is finite: it has a beginning and an end, but of course it can be repeated as many times as the players please. Then there must be a return to real life.
3. The game has rules. The rules are part of the mystique, joy, and pleasure of the game and have to be adhered to by all who take part for its duration, or the game is "spoiled." The individual players display their virtuosity by working within self-imposed restrictions. Any individual may cheat or bend the rules, and indeed many contestants derive much pleasure from the cheating or the rule-bending, but if one contestant consistently refuses to recognize that there are rules, he cannot be accommodated by the other players into the game—that player is a spoilsport.
4. It follows that only those who are prepared to learn the rules can be welcomed into the game. The rules may be learned from the book or more commonly by word of mouth or example from other, experienced, players. The closed community—the golf club, the tennis club, the bridge club—forms itself and by its very nature tends to build a defensive wall against outsiders. It very quickly develops a specialized language and vocabulary not readily intelligible to the uninitiated—"three double bogeys and an eagle," "a double-handed knicker-tucker," "stopped in 3N when the grand was

cold"—and the players take pleasure in their recondite and secret language, which tends to provide a warm and reassuring feeling of belonging.

The relevance of these observations to the game of Courtly Love should be immediately evident, and I resist the temptation of laboring the point by drawing the one-to-one parallels. The historical scenario, however, needs closer attention.

The play element in Courtly Love is evident from the beginning in Languedoc, but it is taken very seriously indeed by a high proportion of the players, as is to be expected. The rules—not for life, but for the game—have their roots in the social context of the time. A selection of these is compiled by Andreas Capellanus (1892), whose twelfth-century *De arte honesti amandi* nevertheless contains more than a touch of irony not always identified by later scholars.<sup>6</sup> The court of play is the closed confine of the royal and noble courts of the time, the players are predominantly the upwardly mobile younger members of the nobility, the specialized language is developed, the outsiders are excluded. There is considerable evidence, as Joan Ferrante observed, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries poets “seemed to be working with conventions that were common to all of them and familiar to their audiences, to such an extent that they could parody them and count on the audience to get the joke” (1980, 686).

The revival of the genre in Castile during the reign of Juan II consisted very much in the first instance of a mastering of the base rules, and the early manuscript *cancionero* collections of the period amply demonstrate this: for example, the poets of the *Cancionero de Baena* (compiled by c. 1430) express a lively interest in moral and religious issues and not a great deal of concern for the business of Courtly Love. The comparatively small number of love poems included in *Baena* shows poets such as Macías and Villasandino amply demonstrating their skills as players in all seriousness but in a game whose rules have not materially altered since their first drafting north of the Pyrenees. Critical rules elaborated for Languedoc are reasonably appropriate for this period in Spain.

This type of poetry was introduced, nevertheless, into a social context that differed considerably from the context of its origins. As Juan Alfonso de Baena observes in the prologue to his *Cancionero*:

los rreyes e príncipes e grandes señores vsaron e vsan ver e oyr e tomar por otra manera otros muchos conportes e plaseres e gasajados, así como ver justar e tornear e correr puntas e jugar cañas e lidiar toros e correr e luchar e saltar saltos peligrosos. (ed. Azáceta 1966, 1:12)

This observation shows every indication of being based on the behavior of Juan II, a king who, according to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, had little taste for the business of ruling, who delegated state affairs to his favorite Álvaro de

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<sup>6</sup> Andreas's use of puns, humor and irony is elegantly brought out by Bowden (1979).

Luna, and whose reputation depended almost exclusively on his love of the “conportes e plaseres e gasajados” to which Juan Alfonso de Baena refers.<sup>7</sup> Juan II cared passionately for tournaments, jousting, the ring and the quintain, *pasos de armas*, *juegos de cañas* (mock tournaments fought with bulrushes), and celebrations and festivities of all kinds; he was himself an expert joustier who took part in tournaments from the age of eighteen; jousts accompanied his coronation in Zaragoza; his engagement to María of Aragón in 1428 was celebrated with tournaments, jousting, and bullfights; it was during his reign that the *Passaje Peligroso de la Fuerte Ventura* took place in Valladolid and then perhaps the most famous of all the Spanish *pasos de armas*, the *Passo Honroso*, organized by Suero de Quiñones on the bridge at Orbigo in 1434, which lasted thirty days and where one hundred and eighty lances were broken (the plan was to break three hundred lances, but disappointingly for the organizers the supply of willing adventurers dried up).<sup>8</sup> Juan II was a king who, according to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán:

sabía fablar e entender latín, leía muy bien, plazíanle muchos libros y estorias, oía muy de grado los dizires rimados e conoçía los viçios dellos, avía grant plazer en oír palabras alegres e bien apuntadas, e aun él mesmo las sabía bien dizir. (ed. Tate 1965, 39)

In fact at least seven compositions attributed directly to him by early manuscript *cancioneros* have survived (Dutton 1990–91, 7:38).

The nobility entertained itself, in the presence of its ladies, with these tournaments, jousts, and *pasos de armas*, but the entertainment that forms the background for many of the poems preserved in the early *cancioneros* would have outraged a nobility accustomed to the violent melees of eleventh-century Provence. Lances were tipped with coronals to reduce the numbers of casualties; for major festivities the elaborately decorated *arnés real* was generally preferred to the more functional *arnés de guerra* and became much more like spe-

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<sup>7</sup> “Nunca una ora sola quiso entender nin trabajar en el regimiento [de su reino] aunque en su tiempo fueron en Castilla tantas rebueltas e daños e males e peligros quantos no ovo en tiempo de reyes pasados por espacio de dozientos años,” Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (ed. Tate 1965, 39). The *privado*, nevertheless, was still able to find ample time to indulge his sporting and artistic tastes: “Fue muy enamorado en todo tiempo: guardó gran secreto a sus amores. Fizo muy vivas e discretas cançiones de los sus amores, e muchas bezes declaraba en ellas misterios de otros grandes fechos. . . . Fue muy [inventivo e mucho dado a fallar invenciones, e sacar entremeses en fiestas, o en justas, o en guerra; en las quales invenciones muy agudamente significaba lo que quería. Fue muy] nonbrado cabalgador en ambas sillas, e grand braçero, e dio grand cuidado de tener buenos caualllos e ligeros” (*Crónica de don Alvaro de Luna, condestable de Castilla, maestre de Santiago* 1940, 207).

<sup>8</sup> The most detailed descriptions of these festivities can be found in Pedro Carrillo de Huete (1946, 20–22) and Lope Barrientos (1946, 59–62). For commentary, see especially MacKay (1985) and Ruiz (1988). The *passo honroso* is described by Pero Rodríguez de Lena (1977).

cialized sports equipment; violence was kept in check by official judges. Stewards (often dressed as jesters) dealt with the problems of crowd control; the number of collisions and injuries was reduced with the introduction of a central barrier, the *tela*, to keep the jousters and the horses apart.<sup>9</sup> The decorative and theatrical aspects of these festivities came to predominate. Extravagant blazons and emblems adorned the pavilions, the standards, banners, clothing and armor of the knights, the tabards of the heralds and the trappings of the horses. Displays of riding at the ring and the quintain, *pas d'armes*, *juegos de cañas*, *juegos de tablas* (the hurling of spears at fixed wooden targets); jesters, dancers, singers, and mummers provided entertainment during the natural breaks. Scaffolding (*cadalsos*) was brought in at great expense to construct mock castles and towers richly decorated with drapes and cloth of gold; they provided a secure vantage point from which the ladies of the court could better see and be seen.

What had in its earliest manifestations been a training ground for warriors became a festive occasion for courtiers. Banquets, dances, poetry readings, *invenciones*, and *entremeses* filled the evenings. The *letras* came to be an indispensable part of the proceedings: they were composed to decorate the helms laid out before the tournaments to entertain, delight, and increasingly towards the end of the century to scandalize the ladies, and later collected in the sixteenth-century *cancioneros* (for example, Hernando del Castillo assembled in the *Cancionero general* of 1511 a section of more than a hundred *letras* and *invenciones* composed by jousters). The participants on these festive occasions were predominantly young and inventive, and life was full. There were love affairs, real or imagined, to be conducted; literary activity, along with song and dance, was encouraged by Isabel, but the participants were not erudite in any scholarly sense. The game of Courtly Love became the ideal vehicle for the literary after-dinner soirées and the post-tournament festivities: occasional poems, riddles, *motes*, *letras*, *invenciones*, *preguntas*, and *respuestas* became the staple diet of such reunions, because they particularly lent themselves to group activity, required no great depth of erudition or scholarship, and depended rather on native intelligence and quickness of wit in all its senses.

Two characteristic examples of how the *invención* grew out of and formed an integral part of the tournament are provided by Pedro Carrillo de Huete, the falconer of Juan II. The chronicler records that the Infante Henrique rode out to joust in Valladolid:

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<sup>9</sup> The *tela* was almost certainly invented in Spain and used in the *Passaje de la Fuerte Ventura* in 1428: "E estava puesta vna tela de cañas, e la tela començaba desde la fortaleza, e al otro cavo de la tela estavan otros dos torres e vn arco de puerta" (Carrillo de Huete 1946, 21). Gutierre Díez de Games (1982, 237) comments on the backwardness of the French in these matters: "Los franceses justan por otra guisa que non façen en España; justan sin tela, a manera de guerra, por el topar. . . . Conteze muchas vezes que topan vn cavallo con otro, e caen amos a dos, o cae el vno, o amos [a] dos. No ay allí mantenedor, ni justa uno con otro señaladamente, sino quien más se atiene." The *tela* was rapidly to become a favourite source of erotic wordplay in *cancionero* poetry (see Macpherson and MacKay 1994).

con vnos paramientos muy rricos, vordados de oro. La qual vordadura eran [peras], e vnos rrótolos con vnas letras en que dezía: *Non es*. (Carrillo de Huete 1946, 24)

What is required of the lady to whom the message is directed is that she make the mental effort to juxtapose the messages received by word and image—*non es* and *peras*—in that order; her efforts will be rewarded by the discovery that she will not be kept waiting when the jousting is over:

non es-peras.

Two weeks later King John himself rode out to the lists in the apparel of God the Father, with a retinue of twelve knights decked out as the twelve apostles.

E todas sus cubiertas de los cavallos de grana, e daragas bordadas, e vnos rétolos que dezían: *Lardón*. (Carrillo de Huete 1946, 25)<sup>10</sup>

Pedro Carrillo de Huete assumes that the solution is obvious: “Así que bien entendida la ynuención.” It is, provided that this time we appreciate that the *letra*, the verbal message, makes no sense in itself and must be prefaced by the visual stimulus, the *divisa*. This time image (*daraga*) must precede word (*lardón*):

dará ga-lardón.

Francisco Rico (1965) neatly encapsulates the literary device: the *invención* in this context aims at providing a harmonious combination of image and word (*divisa* and *letra*, *mote*), or body and soul (*cuero* and *alma*), which marks the thoughts or feelings of its composer.<sup>11</sup> The wordplay in Spain, as I have argued elsewhere (1985), tended to be accompanied by innuendo, and a secret language, specific to practitioners of the genre, was developed. Who would be providing the reward? The king, to his courtiers, in financial terms? Or the lady, to the king, in kind? Pedro Carrillo de Huete, diplomatic as ever, does not record the social events of the evening in full.

It is clear that the “traditional” and “serious” version of courtly composition

<sup>10</sup> As reflexes of Arabic *darqa*, *daraqqa*, the forms *dáraga*, *daraga*, *adagara*, *adarga* alternated freely in medieval Castilian. For example, as my colleague Fred Hodcroft kindly indicated, the so-called “Acto de Traso,” which appears in late editions of *Celestina*, begins “Las adargas y coraças tengamos apercebidas” (*Tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea*, ed. M. Criado de Val y G. D. Trotter [Madrid: CSIC, 1970]: 314), while the manuscript *Celestina comentada* (Act 19) has the reading “daragas.” Given the medieval love of symbol, the fact that this Moorish shield is heart-shaped is by no means irrelevant to the *invención*.

<sup>11</sup> In the first example, Pedro Carrillo de Huete’s text reads: “La qual vordadura eran esperas,” where the last word appears to be an erratum. Rico, however, suggests that the error may lie in the *letra* rather than the *divisa*: “La letra diría, en efecto, ‘non as’ [así en Barrientos], pero lo bordado serían ‘esperas,’ es decir, ‘esferas’... habrá que comprender, según ello, ‘non as esperas,’ ‘no esperas,’ referido a la dama por quien se sacó la invención o al corazón, a la pasión, del propio Infante.”

imported from north of the Pyrenees was introduced to a context very different from that of its origins, the very much less serious, often frivolous, context of the court of Juan II. It should come as no surprise that the *Cancionero de Baena*, compiled by a scribe in the service of Juan II, should contain a generous selection of *preguntas, respuestas, requēstas, debates, and adivinaciones*—the products of group activity rather than of the solitary inspiration of the individual poet.

The *Cancionero general* of Hernando del Castillo contains a much higher proportion of love poetry than *Baena* but continues to demonstrate a comparable lively interest in the poetic production of group activity at court. Among the many "traditional" compositions (which nevertheless remain in the great majority), and where the love experience continues to be articulated by poets who should, according to *Baena*, "siempre se precien e se finjan de ser enamorados" (ed. Azáqueta 1966, 1:15), a group stands out which is much less reverential, and which is characterized by its lack of respect for the traditions of the genre and an attitude towards love very much less spiritual. Particularly in the last two decades of the century, when Isabel la Católica gathered around herself a lively and energetic band of young courtiers, circumstances favored collective literary activity. These courtiers and their associates formed the prototypical closed community. Their numbers included Pedro de Cartagena, Juan Téllez-Girón, Antonio de Velasco, Fadrique Enríquez (the fourth admiral of Castile), Juan Manuel II, and Juan de Mendoza. Many were interrelated, and some were sufficiently wealthy and sufficiently interested to employ professional writers like Diego de San Pedro or professional musicians such as Gabriel Mena. This was a group that met regularly in "fields of play," which are readily identifiable: the court of the Catholic Monarchs, the manor houses and castles of the Peñafiel-Valladolid-Rioseco triangle and the numerous jousts, tournaments, and bullfights that were regularly held on festive occasions throughout the country.<sup>12</sup> There are clear indications in the poetry of the period that the more "traditional" attitudes towards Courtly Love, although competently demonstrated from time to time by the courtiers of Isabel's entourage, had begun to lose their novelty value and their appeal. In the eighties and nineties we begin to find more variation and experimentation, both in content and in form.

Increasingly, *cancionero* poetry of this period becomes, as Keith Whinnom observes, "el arte de la miniatura," and the way in which the interrelationship between *divisa* and *letra* developed and flourished as an art form is a graphic illustration of these new attitudes towards poetic composition at court. By means of a series of close personal readings, Whinnom (1981; 1994) has shown how the conscious restriction of both metrical forms and lexical items by the poets of the *Cancionero general* has led to the semantic enrichment of their writings. The result is a series of "difficult" poems that are suggestive, ambiva-

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<sup>12</sup> For more detail, see Avalor-Arce (1974a) and Macpherson (1984; 1986; 1989).

lent, at times indecent, and prone to wordplay in which the vocabulary is sometimes to be taken at its face value and sometimes in its figurative and erotic sense. The *invención* of one, two, or three octosyllables, occasionally supplemented by a line of *pie quebrado* (half-line), aspired at its best to be a harmonious combination of *divisa* and *letra* and grew naturally from the tournaments of the fifteenth century.<sup>13</sup> In Spain the participants would ride into the lists with an elaborate crest (*cimera*), painted upon or affixed to their helms, or a striking emblem (*divisa*) embroidered on their clothing, the scabbard of their sword, or the trappings of their horse.<sup>14</sup> This image was designed to be interpreted in conjunction with the *letra* in verse composed to accompany it. The *letras*, inscribed on small wooden boards (*rótulos*), embroidered on the cloth draperies (*paramentos*) that decorated the lists, laid out with the decorated helms for inspection in the pavilions, or passed around on scraps of paper to the participants and spectators during the tournament, were generally targeted specifically at the current real or imagined object of the poet/joustier's affections.<sup>15</sup> The object, as can be deduced from the recorded examples that have survived (there appear to be no surviving manuals of composition), was to express an idea, or an emotion, as concisely and economically as possible, ideally by drawing attention to a hitherto unsuspected relationship between image and word. Innuendo was an optional extra. Not all surviving *invenciones* are of equal literary merit: the one hundred and thirteen recorded by Hernando del Castillo in the *Cancionero general* (fols. 140r–143v) fully justify Juan de Valdés's laconic observation that "en las invenciones hay que tomar y que dexar" (1987, 244). They range from the simple-minded to the highly imaginative but, perhaps most interestingly for the critic, illustrate a range of literary techniques that once understood, considerably facilitate our understanding of the poetry of the period.

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<sup>13</sup> The semantic range of *invención* was wide in the fifteenth century, when the term is occasionally used to refer to the *divisa* alone, or alternatively in its most general sense to refer to any type of novelty or fashionable innovation, such as one of the dramatic improvisations often staged during the course of a major tournament. In the course of the sixteenth century, *invención* in its specific sense of *divisa* + *letra* progressively gave way to the term *empresa*.

<sup>14</sup> "E todos aquellos caualleros mançebos hijosdalgo de la cassa del Condestable, e muchos otros, iban muy ricamente guarnidos. Ca unos llevaban diversas debisas pintadas en las cubiertas de los caballos e otros avía que llebaban tarjas pequeñas muy ricamente guarnidas, con estrañas figuras e ynbençiones. E non era poca la diversidad que llevaban en las çimeras, sobre las çeladas e los almetes; ca unos llebaban tinbles de bestias salvajes, e otros penachos de diversos colores, e otros avía que llebaban algunas plumas, así por çimeras de sus çeladas, como de las testeras de sus caballos . . . Así que en esta manera yba toda la gente del Condestable" (*Crónica de don Alvaro de Luna* 1940, 166). Some crests were so striking that they were incorporated into the family shields of the time (see Riquer 1936).

<sup>15</sup> Leriano makes this clear in *Cárcel de Amor*: "Por las mugeres se inventan los galanes entretales, las discretas bordaduras, las nuevas invenciones; de grandes bienes por cierto son causa" (San Pedro 1971, 164).



When the Vizconde de Altamira appears on the lists with "Juana" inscribed on his scabbard, and composes the *letra*:

Letras del nombre de vna  
que no tiene par ninguna (Dutton 1990–91, 5:348)

we find ourselves at the elementary end of the spectrum. When the same nobleman rides on displaying "vna figura de san juan y en la palma vna .a.," and we learn that

conesta letra demas  
de la figura en que vo  
si miras conosceras  
el nombre de cuyo so (Dutton 1990–91, 5:344)

the effort required to identify the particular saint depicted and then combine "Juan" and "a" may reassure us about the Viscount's constancy in love but does little to stretch us intellectually or emotionally. A variation is produced by Juan de Mendoza, whose *letra* reads:

Vida es esta  
ser el medio de su nombre  
principio de su respuesta. (Dutton 1990–91, 5:349)

The rubric reveals that "su amiga se decía Ana," and we deduce a negative response to Juan de Mendoza's advances on that particular occasion.<sup>16</sup> An anonymous *galán* offers a slightly more complex variation of the game with a *letra*, which reads:

Diziendo ques y de que  
esta de quien cuyo so  
dize lo que hago yo. (Dutton 1990–91, 5:349)

The accompanying *divisa* is "vna .a. de oro," and Hernando del Castillo's rubric reveals that the name of the lady in question is Aldonza. Correct identification of the lady, however, is not in this instance the primary objective of the *invención*. What one must do is first look and see, to make a visual identification of the "a de oro," and then look and say—"adoro"—to elucidate the last line of the *letra*: "lo que hace este galán es adorar a doña Aldonza." This type of *invención* could conveniently be grouped under the heading of "find the lady": *divisa* and *letra*, taken together, offer the courtly circle a guessing game with possibly, as in the cases of Juan de Mendoza and the anonymous *galán*, the bonus of a reflection on the present behavior of the object of the poet's affections or on his present state of mind.

<sup>16</sup> External evidence suggests that the object of Juan's affections is Ana de Aragón, daughter of the count of Lerín, who was subsequently to respond in the affirmative and become Juan de Mendoza's second wife (see Macpherson 1989, 98–99).

The “look and say” game may take a more ambitious form. At its most elementary, the Conde de Haro sports a helm on which is depicted a prison. The eyes of the spectators observe, and the word *cárcel* is generated. The *letra* picks this up in the first line, with routine sentiments:

Enesta carcel que veys  
que no se halla sallida  
beuire mas ved que vida. (Dutton 1990–91, 5:344)

Fadrique Enríquez, the fourth admiral of Castile, displaying his acquaintance with the colors of rhetoric, offers an example of *traductio* whereby the sound sequence generated by the *divisa*, in this case a *delfin* or *dolfin*, is repeated in the *letra* in a syntactical form, which now spans three parts of speech, do+el+fin:

La mejor vida es aquella  
dolfin es comienzo della. (Dutton 1990–91, 5:345)

The principle is echoed in a three-line *letra* devised by Don Álvaro de Luna, where the first line is generated by Don Álvaro’s choice of a *fuelle* as his *divisa*. The internal and circumstantial evidence is that this *letra* is not the work of Juan II’s *privado*, the constable of Castile, but of his grandson, also called Álvaro de Luna, who was the first *alcaide* of Loja but also, and more immediately relevant to the *invención*, the lord of Fuentidueña. The *invención* emerges as little more than a signature, a self-conscious reference to Don Álvaro’s principal title:

Fuentendido mi querer  
antes que yo lo dixesse  
en mandarme cos siruiesse. (Dutton 1990–91, 5:344)

The last two *invenciones*, it must be observed, are syntactically enterprising but remain intellectually superficial. Each marks a phonetic overlap between otherwise unconnected sound sequences, but neither seeks to develop the connection in any meaningful way.

A more elaborate version of *traductio* that appears frequently in this group of *invenciones* is that which brings together words of the same form but with different meanings. The Valencian Henrique de Monteagudo complements the heraldic device of the diamond-shaped *lisonja* (now more commonly *losange*) with the hyperbolic *letra*:

No tocando en lo de dios  
no ay lisonja para vos. (Dutton 1990–91, 5:349)

The Vizconde de Altamira adopts a feather as his *divisa*; the spectator’s eye must see, consider, and generate not the obvious *pluma* but the neologism *pena*. The *letra* develops the wordplay on *pena* with a second layer of *traductio*, as the same form takes on a new syntactical function and then a different sense in the first octosyllable:

Quien pena sepa mi pena  
y aura la suya por buena. (Dutton 1990–91, 5:348)<sup>17</sup>

We are now clearly in the area of the *agudeza*, which so captivated Baltasar Gracián about *cancionero* poetry. “La primorosa equivocación es como una palabra de dos cortes y un significar a dos luces. Consiste su artificio en usar de alguna palabra que tenga dos significaciones, de modo que deje en duda lo que quiso decir” (1969, 2:53). For good measure, Altamira here offers three-way, rather than two-way, wordplay.

The *conceptismo* embodied in the *invención* was to reach its most recondite and sophisticated form with a type that can be illustrated in the following *letra* attributed to Esteban de Guzmán:

En la vida la busque  
y en la muerte la halle. (Dutton 1990–91, 5:345)

The *alma literaria* embodied in these two lines is totally obscure without its accompanying *cuerpo visual*, the *divisa*. The *divisa* is referred to twice but by the weak pronoun “la” on each occasion, so that the harmonious whole aimed at can only be achieved when the eyes of the recipient appreciate that the device embroidered on the clothing of the tourneyer represents the sesame plant. When the possible solution *sésamo* is set aside, *alegría* is selected and then applied, in its very different metaphorical sense, to the *letra*. The sentiments expressed then turn out to be of an unexceptional courtly nature, but this is not the point of the *invención*: what matters is the imaginative juxtaposition of image and word, the surprise and pleasure of replacing, with a single leap of the imagination, confusion with clarity.

Further examples of the same type, with all specific verbal reference to the *divisa* formally excluded, illustrate that the technique was well understood by the closed circle of joster-poets who practiced the genre:

Saquelas del coraçon  
por que las que salen puedan  
dar lugar a las que quedan.  
(Condestable de Castilla, Dutton 1990–91, 5:346)

A todos da claridad  
sino a mi que la desseo  
que sin veros no la veo.  
(Juan de Lezcano, Dutton 1990–91, 5:345)

Esta que veys que padesce  
es por que dio  
all uno lo que paresce

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<sup>17</sup> Francisco Rico (1966) was the first to draw attention to the wordplay on *pena* in his influential “Un penacho de penas.”

all otro lo quescondio.

("Un galán," Dutton 1990-91, 5:345)

Lo que haze causa veros

lo que dize conosceros.

(Don Juan Manuel, Dutton 1990-91, 5:348)

In the first of these the weak pronoun "las" of the *letra* picks up the *penachos* or *penas* of the *divisa* and develops the *traductio* over three lines. The wit, as Francisco Rico has observed, depends upon the interpretation of *pena* as *pluma* in the *divisa* and its necessary reinterpretation as *sufrimiento*, *pesar*, *cuidado* in the *letra* (Rico 1966/rpt. 1990, 194). The second is Juan de Lezcano's only known contribution to Spanish letters. For the key, since the *letra* is completely impenetrable without some indication of the unexpressed subject of the verb *dar* in the first octosyllable, the *divisa* reveals all: "Saco juan de lezcano vna luna seyendo seruidor de doña maria de luna."<sup>18</sup> Possibly surprisingly, if his contemporaries García de Astorga and Antonio de Velasco were right to dismiss Juan as a drunken old sodomite, an economical little poetic conceit emerges: the moon lights the whole world but not, in the absence of María de Luna, the world of Juan de Lezcano. The third *letra* is anonymous and refers to the *divisa* only by its first word, the demonstrative pronoun *esta*. In this case Hernando del Castillo records an elaborate device depicting "vn dragon con media dama tragada y el gesto y la meytad se mostraua de fuera" and the *invención* now becomes instant innuendo: the mysterious *esta*, the *galán* publicly suggests, refers to the lady being consumed by the dragon as a punishment for reserving her top half for one lover and her lower half for another.

I suggested earlier (1985, 58) that the last *invención* of this group, by Juan Manuel II, might well be one of the most imaginative and suggestive of the period. Considered now in this wider context, the claim still seems valid.<sup>19</sup> The unexpressed subject of the main verbs in the *letra* has to be supplied, as always, from the *divisa*, in this case embroidered on the clothing of the joust

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<sup>18</sup> Dutton (1990-91, 7:379) notes: "Segunda mitad del siglo XV. García de Astorga en ID0837 se burla de Lezcano, el del rey, diciendo: 'hasta agora viejo añçiano . . . / de pro a popa borracho / y aun dizen que se halló / en la çibdad de sodoma / desde mochacho'. Antonio de Velasco en ID0793 recuerda a Lezcano diciendo: 'Que calças de rraso verde/ dieron la muerte a Lezcano'." Velasco's composition forms part of a sequence in which a group of Castilian poets ridicule the new camlet breeches modeled by the Portuguese nobleman Manuel de Noronha at court in Zaragoza.

<sup>19</sup> The lines that immediately follow represent essentially what I said then. For a slightly different emphasis, see Whinnom (1981, 104-105, n. 95). Whinnom accepts my interpretation of the *invención* but is less impressed by the conceit, which he sees as little more than a sequence of courtly commonplaces. We coincide in our view of the artistic techniques employed: "De todas maneras, es evidente, sin que importe cómo interpretamos los versos, que el juego de palabras homófonas, 'suelta' (sustantivo) y 'suelta' (verbo), se hace a base de una palabra expresada sólo en un dibujito bordado" (105).

and depicting the hobble worn by the horses as they enter the lists to prevent them from bolting. The key to the paradox is the stimulus “*suelta*.” In the first line “*veros*” has to be read as the subject of the main verb “*causa*”: “*Veros causa lo que haze (la suelta)*.” Since what the hobble does is to restrain, the sight of the lady causes the poet to become a prisoner of love, now the victim of his eyes, in metaphorical fetters and deprived of his former liberty. In the second line the context changes and we can impose sense on the line only by interpreting *suelta* as the imperative or present indicative of the verb “*soltar*” and by considering not “*lo que haze*,” or what the fetter does (restrain), but “*lo que dize*,” what its homophone says or means—and that is “*loosen*,” “*release*,” or “*set free*.” Thus “*knowing you*” (and this can be taken in its everyday, or in its biblical sense) “*leads to release*.” This represents a remarkably condensed piece of wit. The key word *suelta* simultaneously involves both restriction and release, and the parallels with the effects of love (the tensions involved in holding back or coming forward) are now patently clear: the enigma is resolved, and the paradox is sharp and effective. *Transductio* and paradox are all bound up in the six letters of *suelta*, but *suelta* does not itself appear in the *letra*: the only clue is the visual stimulus of the embroidery on the knight’s tunic. This *invención* differs from the majority of those considered above in that the sense is as compelling as the technique. While the notion of love as a simultaneously restraining and impelling force is by no means a novel poetic concept in the late fifteenth century, the focus that Juan Manuel brings to it, deriving its inspiration from the tournament and depending on recently established poetic techniques, represents a considerable innovation.

This is a way of writing that takes us some distance from the *fin’amor* of the standard histories of literature. Plasticity is the keynote: eye and ear, *cuero* and *alma*, ideally combine to produce a harmonious end product. Play, and wordplay, come to the fore. In this public entertainment the poet-joustier plays his part before an audience of the gentlemen and ladies of the court, expressing sentiments that on the whole have been well tried and tested over the years but characteristically with recourse to a vocabulary that aims at stimulating the imagination, at focussing the attention of the intended audience on the relationships between objects and ideas that might hitherto have passed unnoticed. In a composition that by tacit agreement among its practitioners may not exceed three and a half lines of verse, there is self-evidently little margin in which to develop any great depth of thought, but this is not in principle what one should be looking for in the *invenciones* of the late fifteenth century. The keynotes are wordplay, verbal ingenuity and context-switching, and the best of these *invenciones* demonstrate above all a fascination with the multiple possibilities offered by words at work. These compositions graphically illustrate the early peninsular origins of the kind of *conceptismo*, which was to entertain Juan de Valdés, captivate Gracián, and later be honed and polished by Luis de Góngora and Francisco de Quevedo.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> A full critical edition of the *invenciones* of the *Cancionero general*, along with an intro-

The rapid rise to popularity of *letras* and *invenciones* from the period of Juan II onwards by no means implies that all *cancionero* poetry of the time depends on *fiestas*, tournaments, paradox, and wordplay, with the occasional spicing of innuendo. There is evidence, however, that the play element, always an important ingredient from the earliest stages, became an increasingly influential factor during the last two decades of the century. As with all games, some of the players continued to take completely seriously the established principles governing courtly behavior, at least while taking part in the game. One finds poets of the period who write about a kind of love that is illicit and therefore necessarily secretive, about the quest of the male for his own spiritual ennoblement, and about the pain and suffering of parting or the anguish of unrequited love in much the same terms and with much the same terminology as their predecessors did four hundred years earlier. It may never be satisfactorily determined whether this is to be accounted for by the sublimation theory, the simple desire to excel at a literary genre currently held in high esteem, or even the unfashionable possibility that they really were suffering.

Alongside these traditionalists, a new generation of Isabelline courtiers, less respectful of the rulebook handed down by their predecessors, interested in developing and refining the principles governing the verse form and the content, fascinated by the multiple possibilities of language, exercised their skills above all through group activity in mixed gatherings at tournaments and at the royal court. Men and women have always tended to share a lively interest in words and in the relationships between the sexes, and that is what a significant proportion of Isabelline courtly poetry is about. The bawd's blandishments directed at the impressionable Pármemo in Act I of *Celestina* illustrate this precisely:

La natura huye lo triste y apetece lo delectable. El deleyte es con los amigos en las cosas sensuales, y especial en recontar las cosas de amores, y comunicarlas. . . . ¡O qué juegos! ¡O qué besos! '¡Vamos allá!' '¡Bol-vamos acá!' '¡Ande la música!': 'pintemos los motes, [cantemos] canciones, [hagamos] invenciones, justemos.' (Fernando de Rojas 1991, 262)

The *justa* that *Celestina* is recommending is of course the specialized version that takes place between two lovers—the *justa de amores*, with its accompanying games, caresses, dance, music, and words. These literary and sporting activities are part of the world of the imagination and are also related to real life: if we approach them as interludes, designed to stand outside "ordinary" life, interdependent games with their own rules and vocabulary, played for a fixed duration and within an agreed field of play, then what results is something that approximates very closely to Huizinga's description of the play phenomenon.

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duction to Castillo's collection and an updated bibliography, can now be consulted in Macpherson 1998.

## *Role Playing in the Amatory Poetry of the Cancioneros*

VICTORIA A. BURRUS

The role playing I shall discuss in the amatory poetry of the *cancioneros* can only be adequately understood in the context of the social world in which it was cultivated. Written for, and often by, the members of the courts of kings and magnates, this type of poetry served a valuable social function that must be taken into consideration in its appraisal. The fifteenth century in Spain was a period in which the nobles were becoming increasingly dependent upon the figure of the king for their continued survival as a privileged upper class in the face of the growing power of a bourgeoisie, which was itself making inroads into the nobility by way of the royal concession of titles.<sup>1</sup> The need to maintain the prestige and privileges that distinguished their class drew ever-growing numbers of nobles to court, where they vied for the rewards that the attention of the powerful could bring. The close quarters of the court in turn created the need for restraint in their now much more complicated social dealings with each other, a restraint embodied in a courtly code of manners, of ceremony and etiquette, which gradually arose in court life.<sup>2</sup>

Life at court involved a high degree of role playing, of taking care to present the appropriate image at the proper time for the benefit of the proper people. One had to be ever sensitive to the sometimes subtle shifts in the dynamics of social power relationships and adjust one's public image accord-

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<sup>1</sup> The gradual process by which, as Norbert Elias puts it, "a landed warrior nobility founded on a barter economy is supplanted by a court aristocracy founded on a money economy" (1983, 158) was taking place throughout Europe, but Spain, along with Italy, was in the forefront (1983, 241).

<sup>2</sup> This is essentially the thesis of Elias, who sees the role of the court as a dual one, characterizing it as "an institution for taming and preserving the nobility" (1978-82, 2:269). As a sociologist, Elias is concerned with the underlying social and economic conditions that foster social change. For different perspectives, see Jaeger (1985) and Scaglione (1991).

ingly.<sup>3</sup> These role playing skills so vital to their survival at court were practiced and refined during leisure activities, which were used primarily to promote conviviality among its members.<sup>4</sup>

The importance of leisure was recognized in medieval medical and philosophical doctrine, allusions to which were frequently used to justify the leisure pursuits of the nobility.<sup>5</sup> These activities were in fact vital to life at court, and we find Alfonso X of Castile establishing in his thirteenth-century *Siete partidas* a revealing distinction between *corte* and *palacio*. The *corte* was the place in which the official business of the kingdom was handled ("Qué cosa es corte," II, ix, 27; 1807, 2:82–83). In contrast:

Palacio es dicho aquel lugar do el rey se ayunta paladinamente para fablar con los homes, et esto es en tres maneras, o para librar los pleytos, o para comer, o para fablar en gasajado. . . . Et quando es para fablar como en manera de gasajado, así como para departir o para retraer, o para jugar de palabra, ninguna destas non se debe de facer sinon como conviene: ca el departir debe seer de manera que non mengüe el seso al home por él, así como ensañándose: ca ésta es cosa que le saca mucho aína de su siesto. (II, ix, 29; 1807, 2:85)

As a place to "fablar en gasajado," the *palacio* could provide a needed hiatus from more serious concerns, a place where one could relax and be light-hearted with one's fellows.

In Alfonso's insistence on the separate and valued role of the *palacio* in the life of the court, we can better understand the nature of the activities one finds occurring in the social life at the *palacio* in Trastamaran Spain. Literature had always played an important role as courtly entertainment, but by the fifteenth century, after generations of being entertained at the *palacio* by romances of chivalry and the troubadour poetry of the Provençal, French, and Galician-Portuguese traditions, the notion of courtly love that ran through these works had clearly become the basis for a rather elaborate social fiction, a sort of role playing game played among the courtiers during the plentiful free time at the *palacio*.<sup>6</sup> The roles were adopted in sociable conversation at court and enhanced by the writing and performance of poetry as a means of portraying

<sup>3</sup> Elias comments: "Court aristocrats are often well aware that they wear a mask in their dealings with other people, even though they may not be aware that playing with masks has become second nature to them" (1983, 241). Jaeger concurs: "It is a truism of court life that all public acts and words are a mask" (1985, 62).

<sup>4</sup> Jaeger speaks of "that important law of court life: maintain unbroken cheerfulness and amicability" (1985, 62).

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion, see Olson (1982).

<sup>6</sup> Ian Macpherson examines the playful qualities inherent in the concept of courtly love and the poetry that was based on it in his study in the present volume. The game of courtly love as played at court has a number of elements in common with the fantasy games such as "Dungeons and Dragons" that became popular in the late 1970s (on which see Fine 1983).



oneself and others in these roles.<sup>7</sup> In this game the boundaries between literature and life were purposely confused, and the exploitation of the ambiguities created by this confusion was an essential part of the entertainment.

The knightly lover in literature provided the role on which the courtiers modeled their behavior toward the ladies at the *palacio*. The fantasy to be played out required the knight to be in the grip of an obsessive passion for a lady who embodied all beauty and virtue, one whose perfection precluded his ever being truly worthy of her love. He would nonetheless strive to prove his worth to her in the hope that she might one day look favorably upon him. Love was a magnificent quest fraught with difficulty at every turn: the more arduous it was, the more seemingly impossible its successful completion, the more noteworthy it would be. The knight's love for his lady was of such monumental proportions that it deserved to become as legendary as the loves of the famous knights of the romances.<sup>8</sup> The true lover was willing to put his very life in jeopardy for his lady's love. Elaborate tournaments, jousts, and passages at arms afforded knights of all ranks the opportunity to play the valiant knight-errant engaged in a marvelous enterprise to prove his merit to his lady. Noblewomen readily accepted the role of the lady of unsurpassed beauty and unquestionable honor to whom a worthy knight had unconditionally surrendered his heart. In the lists he would joust for her, while at the *palacio* he would do his best to demonstrate that his love, if unrequited, would surely be the cause of his death. An exceptional love such as this would needs be sung at court. Such works could be commissioned of the many court poets, but it was, of course, far preferable for one to participate actively oneself as poet, inspired by a noble passion.

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<sup>7</sup> Spain is far from unique in this phenomenon and, as often happened in literature, foreign patterns were adapted to its own particular circumstances. For a view of this game as played in the early Tudor court, see Stevens (1961, esp. chap. 9, "The 'Game of Love,'" 154–202) and R. F. Green (1980, esp. chap. 4, "The Court of Cupid," 101–34). For the court of late medieval France, see Poirion (1965). Aware of the critical controversy concerning the usefulness of the term "courtly love" (see Boase 1977, 111–14), Larry Benson insists: "Courtly love did exist, perhaps not in the twelfth century, but certainly in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and even sixteenth centuries" (1984, 239). He concedes: "Certainly not everyone was acting like courtly lovers in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and even those who were probably did so on rare occasions. Yet these few set the fashion that grew stronger and more widespread in the generations that followed" (1984, 251).

<sup>8</sup> The courtiers often compare themselves favorably with literary lovers. In a poem from the *Cancionero de palacio*, Juan de Dueñas, for example, claims to his lady "que por cierto si yo fuera / en el tiempo d'Amadis, / según vos amo y adoro / muy lealmente sin arte, / nuestra fuera la más parte / de la Inssola del Ploro" (ID2606, SA7–233, fol. 101v; Dutton 1990–91, 4:140–41). Poems are identified by ID number and manuscript reference according to Dutton (1990–91). Texts are cited from facsimile editions of the *Cancionero de Baena* (PN1) and the *Cancionero general* (11CG) and in other cases from their transcription in Dutton (1990–91), using my own punctuation.

A certain amount of intrigue was required, as the lover by convention had to conceal the object of his passion, ostensibly in order to protect his lady's honor. "Secret" communication with the lady became a key to playing out the fantasy. The knight could not properly appear at a tournament or joust or enter into battle without vaunting a secret love in some symbolic fashion, often going so far as to wear his lady's colors or a token she had given him. The fanciful crest, or *cimera*, adorning the knight's helmet could be adopted as part of his armorial bearings, while sometimes enigmatic verses were composed to elucidate their meaning.<sup>9</sup> The knight often adopted a motto (*mote*) that alluded to his role as lover and for which poetic glosses could be composed, such as Jorge Manrique's gloss of his *mote* "Siempre amar y amor seguir" (ID6405 M 4229, 11CG-598, fols. 143v-44r).<sup>10</sup> Elaborate devices (*invenciones*) of all kinds were contrived to allude to aspects of one's love and verses inevitably composed to explain them. The lover truly wore his heart on his sleeve, as *invenciones* sometimes involving a rebus were embroidered on the clothing or on the caparison of a mount. A color system was used in *invenciones* and in the composition of one's costume to convey an emotional state.<sup>11</sup>

It was in sociable conversation with the ladies at the *palacio*, however, that the role of lover could be most elaborately developed.<sup>12</sup> There one need not yet be knighted to participate, and a ready wit was a more valued asset than skill at arms. The lover's ingenuity could be most impressively demonstrated by writing amorous poetry, which would be performed at court for the appreciation of all. In terms of the fantasy, the verse supposedly inspired by this great

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<sup>9</sup> The *Cancionero del British Museum* contains a section of "Letras y çimeras que sacaron çiertos justadores" (LB1-232-308, fols. 77r-79v) including poetic commentary on some of them by Pedro de Cartagena. Many of these are reproduced in the section of "Invenciones y letras de justadores" in the *Cancionero general* (11CG-481-593, fols. 140r-43v). See Ian Macpherson's study in the present volume.

<sup>10</sup> The *Cancionero general* includes a section of "Glosas de motes" (11CG, 594-634, fols. 143v-46v).

<sup>11</sup> Matulka discusses erotic color symbolism in medieval Spanish courtly culture (1931, 266-82, esp. 276-82). See also Kenyon (1915), and Battesti-Pelegrin (1982, 1:400-19). Goldberg has reviewed the system as it appears in the sentimental romance and shown in greater detail that "although at first glance it might seem that colour symbolism consisted in a straightforward system of fixed equivalences, . . . meaning varied not only according to hue, but also according to shade and intensity" (1992, 232).

<sup>12</sup> Stevens discusses the importance of courtly conversation, or "commoning," particularly "luf-talkyng," in the early Tudor court: "The importance of talk in the aristocratic ideal world of courtly living can hardly be exaggerated" (1961, 159). "'Luf-talkyng' could take many different forms. A good talker could coin maxims or aphorisms, devise riddles and jokes, develop 'themes,' formulate 'questions' concerning love, start a debate or a 'contention,' take part in talking-games, and so on. Such talk is nearly always *dramatic*" (1961, 161). Poems like Puertocarrero's have recently been dubbed *autos de amores* and are discussed by Sirena (1992).

love served as an important vehicle for "secret" communication and helped to foster an air of intrigue that further fueled the fantasy.<sup>13</sup> The anonymous author of the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* portrays Juan II's notorious Constable of Castile as the very model of the perfect courtly knight, one who therefore did not neglect to cultivate the role of lover in an admirable fashion:

Fue muy medido e compasado en las costumbres, desde la su juventud; sienpre amó e honrró mucho al linage de las mugeres. Fue muy enamorado en todo tienpo; guardó gran secreto a sus amores. Fizo muy vivas e discretas cançiones de los sus amores, e muchas bezes declaraba en ellas misterios de otros grandes fechos. (1940, 207)

Although they provided a vehicle for sociable conversation and proved highly versatile in lending a dramatic dimension to many forms of courtly entertainment, these roles had a very important practical benefit as well. It is well known that the fifteenth century was a time of great strife and social upheaval among the nobility. If in the real world blood dictated social worth and established a hierarchy within the nobility itself, in the mixed company of the *palacio* all nobles were equal in the role of lover, be they nobles of ancient lineage or the most recent recipients of a concession of noble status. The lover had no official concern outside the love relationship: political rivalries, the obligations of rank, even duties to king and country were brought to nothing by the awesome power of love, for the duration of the game. Courtly love transformed all nobles into knightly lovers, each intent on proving himself the greatest lover ever born. Each would play the role as though, in the words of Guevara, "si d'amor s'escriue ystoria, / yo seré comienço d'ella" (ID0858, 11CG-232, fol. 108r), and in a way, the writing of courtly love verse ensured that his story would indeed be told. Moreover, all the ladies of the court were potentially the unnamed lady of the poetry, which attributed to them a power over men and their own fates, belied by historical fact and unsupported by serious philosophy. Other men could be rivals, but more often, it would seem, theirs was the role of co-sufferers who listened sympathetically to the lover's plaint. The role of lover thus offered the noble a means for interacting socially in an unthreatening way with both male and female members of the court.

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<sup>13</sup> In many cases the "secret" is clearly an open one, as is evident in many of the *invenciones* used to designate the lady. The *letras de invenciones* of the Vizconde de Altamira and others cited by Ian Macpherson in the present volume are typical. Another only somewhat less transparent device is the use of acrostics, such as in Jorge Manrique's poem, which spells out the name GUYOMAR by beginning each successive strophe with the appropriate letter. Despite the acrostic, Manrique can still declare: "¡O si aquestas mis passiones, / o si la pena en qu'estó, / o si mis fuertes passiones / osasse descubrir yo! / ¡O si quien a mí las dio / oyesse la quexa dellas!" (ID6147, 11CG-194, fol. 98v). There is further irony in that, as the audience well knew, Guiomar was the name not of Manrique's secret love but of his wife. Aurora Hermida discusses other acrostic poems by Jorge Manrique in her study in the present volume.

The social fiction of courtly love contributed to patterns of thought and behavior that would form the basis for what has generally come to be regarded as civilized behavior. The formal show of deference toward women that became an essential part of polite social behavior, a sign of good breeding, may be seen as a cultural legacy from the days when "gentleman" (*gentilhombre*) was synonymous with "nobleman" and the game of courtly love was played in the courts of Europe. In Spain it is clear that by the time of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs these play concepts had already begun to crystallize into required formal gestures, as all forms of affection and reverence toward women came to be expressed in the mode of courtly love. Poetic praise of the queen and of the ladies present at court was also habitually rendered in amorous terms.<sup>14</sup> Pedro de Cartagena, for example, employs a *cancionero* technique that María Rosa Lida de Malkiel designates the "hipérbole sagrada" to praise not his own lady-love but rather Isabel herself:

Que loaros, a mi ver,  
en vuestra y agena patria,  
silencio deuéys poner,  
que daros a conoscer  
haze la gente ydolatría.

(ID6120, 11CG-153, fol. 87v)<sup>15</sup>

Fernando and Isabel themselves led the way in playing the courtly lover to each other. Each adopted a personal device which, in the Provençal tradition of the poetic *senhal*, signified the other, as Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo explains:

Muy acostumbrada cosa es en nuestra España, entre caualleros e señores, procurar que la invençión comience su nombre en la primera letra del nombre de la señora por quien se invençiona, demás del atributo o sinificación de lo que quieren magnifestar o publicar con esas devisas. E guardando esta orden, el Católico Rey don Fernando trahía vn yugo, porque la primera letra es Y, por Ysabel; y la Reyna Católica trahía por diuisa las frechas, que la primera letra es F, por Fernando. (1983, 1:480)

Even in their personal correspondence, one finds Fernando playing the role of

<sup>14</sup> Jones adduces evidence for "toda una tradición amorosa a Isabel" (1962, 63).

<sup>15</sup> For extensive examples of the convention of the lover calling his lady his God, see Lida de Malkiel (1946, 306-309 n.) and Gerli (1981). Le Gentil points out that in poems of this sort: "Il ne faut pas, bien entendu, prendre à la lettre un tel langage . . . il faut penser que la terminologie courtoise tend alors à se transformer en un simple formulaire de politesse, aussi bien, l'amour étant la plus haute forme de l'admiration et du respect, dans la pensée des hommes du moyen âge, il ne faut pas s'étonner du ton que prennent certaines *cantigas de loores* adressées à des souveraines. Il s'agit là d'hyperboles poétiques, dont personne n'était choqué" (1949, 1:101).

the unrequited lover who claims his death will be on the head of his *belle dame sans mercy*. Absent from court and having received no news from his queen, Fernando wrote her the following letter, written in Tordesillas, 16 May 1475:

Mi señora. — A lo menos agora bien se parece quien se adolesce más dell otro quanto según vuestra señoría me escribe y aze saberme cómo está da [*sic*] alegre, no puedo dormir, tantos son los mensajeros que allá tenemos que sin cartas se vienen no por mengua de papel ni de no saber escrebir, salvo de mengua de amor y de altiva, pues estáis en Toledo y nosotros por aldeas. Pues algún día tornaremos en el amor primero. Si por no lo yziese vuestra señoría, por no ser omecida me debe escrebir y azerme saber cómo se halla vuestra señoría. (ed. Prieto Cantero 1970, 79)<sup>16</sup>

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who began his long career of service at the court of Fernando and Isabel, has left perhaps the most overt statement of the use of the role of lover as a model for proper courtly behavior:

Costumbre es en España entre los señores de estado, que venidos a la corte, aunque no estén enamorados o que pasen de la mitad de la hedad, finjir que aman, por servir y favorecer a alguna dama y gastar como quien son en fiestas y otras cosas que se ofrecen de tales pasatiempos y amores, sin que les dé pena Cupido. (1983, 1:249)<sup>17</sup>

The nobles, who must act “como quien son,” adopted the role of lover as an essential part of social pastimes at court, for, as Hernando de Ludueña, *maestresala* of Isabel la Católica, puts it in his rhymed *Doctrinal de gentileza*: “Los amores son el sello / que sellan la gentileza” (ID1895, MP2–33, fol. 95r; Dutton 1990–91, 2:405).

Poetry was a major vehicle for the dramatic expression of the play sentiment of courtly love as well as for the elaboration of the nature of the concept. In the prologue to his *cancionero*, Juan Alfonso de Baena enumerates the qualities that the practitioner of “el arte de la poetría & gaya çiençia” (PN1 3r) must possess: discretion, good judgment, erudition, worldly experience, and

finalmente, que sea noble fydalgo & cortés & mesurado & gentil & graçioso & polido & donoso. E que tenga miel & açúcar & sal & ayre & donayre en su rrazonar. E otrosý que sea amador & que siempre se preçie & se finja de ser enamorado, porque es opynión de muchos sabyos que todo omne que sea enamorado, conuiene a saber, que ame a quien

<sup>16</sup> I am indebted to Peggy K. Liss for facilitating the citation of Fernando's letter to Isabel. For a discussion, see Liss (1992, 110–12).

<sup>17</sup> Roger Boase first drew attention to this passage (1977, v).

deue & como deue & donde deue, afirman e dizen qu'el tal de todas buenas dotrinas es doctado. (1926, fol. 3v)

The courtly poet should be both a "noble fydalgo" and an "amador." This second attribute is important because when he loves in the proper fashion ("a quien deue & como deue & donde deue"), he, by implication, possesses a set of concomitant virtues. It therefore behooved the courtier to feign love ("se finja de ser enamorado") if necessary, in order to be able to play the role by which he could increase his prestige among his peers.

Amatory poetry was enthusiastically cultivated by the nobility, who circulated it among themselves and had it performed before the court for the entertainment of all. The meticulous care with which this poetry was preserved in voluminous *cancioneros* bears witness to the high esteem in which it was held. The poems were considered displays of courtly skill, just as the feats of arms at joust and tournament were demonstrations of knightly prowess. The compilers of the *cancioneros* duly recorded for posterity the names of the noble poets along with their verses with the same diligence shown by the chroniclers in registering the names of participants in knightly action, be it battle or tournament.

While as a format for social etiquette all were expected to participate to some extent, as a real game, courtly love was one to which only the young could fully commit themselves. It was considered quite unseemly for a mature man to attempt to participate with the unbridled enthusiasm of youth. Hernando de Ludueña asserts: "El galán á de tener / lo primero tal hedad / que de treinta e seis no pase" (ID1895, MP2-33, fol. 82v; Dutton 1990-91, 2:395). Later in the same work he elaborates:

Y amores de gentileza,  
no neguemos la verdad,  
huyen de la senetud,  
porque toda su firmeza,  
condición e calidad  
son flores de juuentud.  
Y el que llega a los çinquenta,  
çinquenta e çinco, o sesenta,  
con mañas de enamorado,  
quánto deue ser culpado  
no tiene quento ni quenta. (fol. 89r; Dutton 1990-91, 2:400)

The poet then ridicules at some length the sight of "vn biejo bordado, / estirado en la gran sala" (Dutton 1990-91, 2:401). Such behavior on the part of a mature man shows a complete lack of a sense of decorum in a society in which, as Ludueña informs us, it is vital to "pensar en elegir / lo que se deue vestir, / según cuerpo, tienpo, edad, / pues la no conformidad / es cosa para reýr" (fol. 83r; Dutton 1990-91, 2:395).

There was certainly no want of willing participants in these activities. For

a young man, the fantasy of being a knightly lover like those of the romances of chivalry was attractive indeed. In his autobiography, Saint Ignatius of Loyola recalls his own fantasies as a young knight who was "dado a las vanidades del mundo, y principalmente se deleitaba en ejercicio de armas, con un grande deseo de ganar honra" (1966, 27). In 1521 at the age of twenty-six he sustained serious leg wounds defending a fortress against the French at Pamplona. An operation to reset the bones, which had healed badly, left him bedridden for a period and, being "muy dado a leer libros mundanos y falsos que suelen llamarse de caballerías" (1966, 30), he would often find his mind straying to idle thoughts:

Y de muchas cosas vanas que se le ofrecían, una tenía tanto poseído su corazón, que se estaba luego embebido en pensar en ella dos y tres y cuatro horas sin sentirlo, imaginando lo que había de hacer en servicio de una señora, los medios que tomaría para poder ir a la tierra donde ella estaba, los motes, las palabras que le diría, los hechos de armas que haría en su servicio. Y estaba con esto tan envanecido, que no miraba cuán imposible era poderlo alcanzar; porque la señora no era de vulgar nobleza: no condesa, ni duquesa, mas era su estado más alto que ninguno de estas. (1966, 31)

Their heads filled with such fantasies, eager and lusty young knights and *donceles* must have arrived at court fully expecting to fall in love with a lady at first sight. The anonymous author of a short epistolary treatise found in the prose material at the beginning of the *Cancionero de Herberay des Essarts* (LB2) describes the phenomenon in explaining the *Leyes de amor* to one young "mossén Ugo":

Vos sabéys plazen a todos naturalmente e más que ninguna otra cosa las donas, d'entre las quales si una bella e graciada qu'en estremo e presto se comprehende es vista por un mançebo qui con la voluntat suelta con feruiente sangre e con gentil animo va buscando amor, fallado el pedreñal dispuesto e la yesca fina, ninguna marauilla es que presto, con el golpe de solos oios, l'enamorado fuego s'ençienda. (ed. Aubrun 1951, 24)

Although this was certainly preferable, if none of the ladies happened to inspire any real attraction, all was not lost. The knight had merely to single out a lady who seemed worthy of the honor of receiving his attentions on occasions that called for a display of gallant servitude. She, in turn, would respond as she saw fit: purely honorific service would be graciously accepted, while those with pretensions of more would have to play the role with all the more zeal to prove that their love was indeed on a par with that of the knights who populated the romances. As there were always far more men than women at court, a comely lady would typically have several would-be suitors vying for her affection, with varying degrees of seriousness their part. Each would be expected to prove by word and deed that his love for her was true, while that of his rivals was base and false. Typically he would seek to accomplish this

through the affirmation of the orthodoxy of his own love or the witty derision of his rivals and their goals.

To be fully convincing in the role of courtly lover, one had to learn how to “fazer gestos / como los enamorados” (Pedro González de Uzeda; ID0111, PN1–343, fol. 126v). For this, a knowledge of the classic signs of lovesickness (the *signa amoris* of the medical manuals) was indispensable. Since these symptoms served as testimony to the sincerity and strength of his love, the lover displayed them as a badge of honor for all to witness. It is for this reason that in his *Coplas sobre la gala* Suero de Ribera jocularly makes them a requirement of the *galán*: “El galán flaco, amarillo, / deue ser y muy cortés” (ID0141, 11CG–88, fol. 51r). It is apparent from the medical literature of the day that passionate love (*amor hereos*, or simply *el mal de amores*) was recognized as a genuine disease that was capable of leading to madness and, in extreme circumstances, to death.<sup>18</sup> The symptoms were commonly known. We find Alfonso Martínez de Toledo echoing them in a chapter of his *Corbacho* (1438) entitled: “De cómo muchos enloquecen por amores”:

¿Quántos, di, amigo, viste o oíste dezir que en este mundo amaron que su vida fue dolor e enojo, pensamientos, sospiros e congojas, non dormir, mucho velar, non comer, mucho pensar? E, lo peor, mueren muchos de tal mal e otros son privados de su buen entendimiento; e si muere va su ánima donde penas crueles le son aparejadas por siempre jamás. (ed. Gerli 1979, 79)

Pedro Mejía, in his *Silva de varia lección* (1540), describes how Greek and Arab physicians counted “el afición y pasión de los amores” among the other “enfermedades humanas” (1933–34, 2:74) and lists some of the signs:

Muchas señales otras ponen para conocer cuándo uno anda enamorado, como que tienen los ojos hundidos, y duermen y comen poco, que el pulso les anda apriesa, y hablando con ellos no responden a propósito algunas veces; y así otras muchas que no quiero decir, porque ya los hombres se precian tanto de ello, que ellos tienen cuidado de publicarlo y aún a las veces falsa y fingidamente. (1933–34, 2:75–76)

Those who go to such extremes are obviously more involved in playing the role of lover than the courtier who takes on aspects of the role merely as part

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<sup>18</sup> In a 1495 translation into Spanish of his *Lilium medicinae* (1305), Bernardo Gordonio says that “devedes de saber que el amor que hereos se dize es propria pasión del cerebro e es por corrupción de la imaginativa” (Bernardo Gordonio 1990, 109). He summarizes the *señales of amor hereos*: “Son que pierden el sueño e el comer e el beber e se enmagresce todo su cuerpo, salvo los ojos, e tienen pensamientos escondidos e fondos con sospiros llorosos” (1990, 108). He states unequivocally: “La pronosticación es tal que si los hereos non son curados, caen en manía o se mueren” (1990, 108). For recent research into the subject, see Wack (1990) and Jacquot and Thomasset (1988).



of courtly etiquette. Here we have a glimpse of the true players of the game, the ones without whom the notion of courtly love would have become no more than a stale stylistic affectation of literature. Furthermore, Mejía's statement reveals that he still believes that lovesickness was a real phenomenon, although he recognizes that the exaggerated display of symptoms has become a status symbol. That "a veces" one finds men displaying these signs "falsa y fingidamente" seems to refer to the motive of the display rather than to the display itself. It is not the player of a harmless game who plays "falsa y fingidamente," but rather one who uses it for the base purpose of seduction.<sup>19</sup>

In the context of the court, the role of lover was highly ambiguous, and in its ambiguity lay its attraction: although its conventions could be used as an adjunct to secular chivalry, for mere social amenity, or for flattery of the powerful, it is equally true that no less noble form could appropriately be employed to express a real attraction or to honor an existing relationship, and—as moralists were quick to point out—no more effective form could be used for seduction.<sup>20</sup> The knowledge that clandestine (and overt) affairs could really take place certainly added spice to the social banter. This flexibility and ambiguity in turn provided endless material for courtly entertainment, much of which was achieved through poetry. Because this love would always be presented as unrequited, it allowed virtuous ladies to participate in social acti-

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<sup>19</sup> Pedro de Cartagena, in a poem warning the ladies of "los engaños de los onbres," describes these lover/poets who are neither lovers nor poets, although they would "por estilo galán / contar cuentos de pasión, / qu'estos sin ningún afán / por dondequiera que van / dizen la misma razón" (ID6118, 11CG-151, fol. 87r). Appended to his 1554 translation of the *Amphitruon* of Plautus, Francisco López de Villalobos (1473?-1539), physician to Carlos V, includes a short treatise on love in which he similarly speaks of false lovers: "Lo sobre-dicho se entiende de los verdaderos amores. . . . Mas de los fingidos otra cosa sentimos; que ya hemos visto algunos grandes señores que toman los amores por su pasatiempo, y para dissimular con ellos los grandes negocios que andan urdiendo, sábenlo tan bien hacer, que quien los viere jurará que están dentro; mas yo aviso a sus amigas que se guarden dellos, porque vienen a ellas en vestiduras de cordero, y ellos son lobos robadores" (1855, 489).

<sup>20</sup> The moralists, of course, took a dim view of the whole game. The anonymous author of the *Libro de la consolación de España* sees the path that the court had taken in following these customs as a perilous one indeed: "Ca lla[ma]mos a la Luxuria de la carne e al adulterio 'amores' e 'bienquerençias': e en cosa tan sucia e tan vil deçíamos tan altísimo nonbre e quitámosle el suyo, e tenemos por mejor al que más vsa destos amores, e más loado es por ello e más honrra le fassen, ca es tenjdo por más desenbuelto e por más omne, e avn él se da más fauor por ello, e quiere más valer por nesçedat, e mucho syn seso es reputado oy el que non anda en tales amores, por cuyo trabto yo creo verdaderamente segúnd lo que veo trabtar que Dios non tyene parte, njn avn pequeña parte en los mançebos nin avn en los de más hedat que mançebos, njn en las mujeres, ca tanto abrán como complaserán e se agradarán vnos a otros en sus adulterios, asý ellos como ellas, que çiegan a la parte de Dios e ofende[n]lo por myll maneras, sólo por este trabto tan malo que trabtan" (ed. Rodríguez Puértolas 1972, 204-205).

vities without compromising their reputations, while elevating mundane sexual liaisons by depicting them poetically as essentially chaste and noble. Speculation as to the identity of the poet's unnamed lady and the real nature of the relationship was a major source of amusement at the *palacio*. And of course, one need not have any particular lady in mind to write a poem of courtly love, in which the lady traditionally remains nameless. A poet could thus write poetry to a fictitious lady merely to display his poetic skills or to pique the interest of the court. One suspects as much when Pedro de Cartagena writes a poem, as the rubrics claim, "respondiendo a ciertas damas que le preguntaron quién era su amiga, si era dueña o donzella" (ID0914, 11CG-142, fol. 85v).

In his *Doctrinal de gentileza* Hernando de Ludueña emphasizes the essential harmlessness of the fiction as played at court:

De palacio los amores  
son de tal constelación,  
que dessechan la victoria,  
porque los más son fauores  
do proçede presunpción,  
qu'es el cabo de su gloria.

(ID1895, MP2-33, fol. 89r; Dutton 1990-91, 2:400)

He insists that those who do not respect this are in the minority:

Y si algunos son agenos  
de lo bueno e no tan bueno  
que no guardan el compás,  
no se condenen los más  
por la culpa de los menos.

(fol. 89r; Dutton 1990-91, 2:400)

He reminds us that court life obliged the *doncella* to take part in the game:

No es razón de se escusar  
la donzella de salir  
en palacio y ser mirada.  
Tanpoco puede dexar  
el festejar y reír,  
conforme donde es criada.

(fol. 93r; Dutton, 1990-91, 2:404)

He defends the maligned *doncella* from detractors who do not understand the game and therefore judge her actions as suspect:

Porque ay cien mill mugeres,  
festejadas, palançianas,  
en esta nuestra Castilla  
que sauen de mil plazerres  
sanas como las manzanas,

sin punzada y sin manzilla.  
 Y a las tales condenar  
 o dexallas de loar,  
 son maliçias ynfernales,  
 porque son tantas y tales,  
 que no se podrán contar.

(fol. 93v; Dutton 1990–91, 2:404)

The young *doncella* had to learn the unwritten rules of this courtly game at the *palacio* itself. There, if she paid attention, she would assimilate her role and eventually be able to begin to play herself. She had to be made aware, however, that it was really just a game. Overexuberance on her part would therefore be subtly chastised, as in a poem by Tapia to a young lady who evidently took to extremes her role as the *belle dame sans mercy*: “a vna dama, porque era altuia con quien la seruía. Dale consejo porque era muy moça” (ID6613, 11CG–850, fol. 178r). In it he tells her that in her youthful ignorance she has erred in thinking that the “surtes esquiuos” with which she treats her admirers will bring her fame, “pues no se llama bondad / los respectos muy altiuos / a la dama” (fol. 178r). A “dama muy honesta / y de linaje” (fol. 178r) must give a “dulçe respuesta” to those who contemplate her with desire and adoration.

The poetry that depicts the social banter between the aspiring lover and his would-be lady-love could be highly amusing.<sup>21</sup> Witty poetic responses to a lady’s challenge abound in the later *cancioneros*. Alonso de Cardona writes an *esparsa*, as the rubric explains, “porque estando delante vna señora, sospiró, y ella le dixo que no deuía sospirar pues que dezía que se tenía por dichoso de su pasión” (ID6677, 11CG–905, fol. 194r). The rubric to a poem by Gerónimo de Artés claims that he wrote it “porque le dixo vna señora que pensaua en qué podelle enojar” (ID4360, 11CG–941, fol. 206r). The courtly lady could be quite a coquette in this matter. Another poem in the *Cancionero general* was composed, according to the rubric, by “vn galán porque, estando con su amiga, ella le puso la mano sobre el corazón, y halló que estaua seguro y díxole que era de poco amor que le tenía” (ID6260, 11CG–371, fol. 127v). Knowing that a racing pulse was a primary symptom of the *mal de amores*, the lady playfully chides her lover for not sufficiently fulfilling the expectations of the role. The young *galán* answers in his poetic defense that his heart has been mortally wounded by her unceasing disfavor.

Keeping in mind the playful nature of the activity, it is not surprising to find courtiers actively seeking to pique the curiosity of the ladies. Pedro de Cartagena, for example, writes a poem “porque le dixeron vnas damas que por qué dezía él y otros compañeros suyos que estauan tristes, qu’en su vestir pub-

<sup>21</sup> What Stevens says of the literature of the early Tudor court applies to the late Trastamaran court as well: “‘Literature’ in this period presents us with stylized talk, idealized talk” (1961, 160); “one cannot but be impressed by the closeness of literary to spoken forms” (1961, 161).

licaúan el contrario, porque yuan vestidos de grana” (ID0668, 11CG–159, fol. 88r). Well aware that scarlet garb symbolizes *alegría*, Cartagena has a ready (and standard) response: “c’a las veces ell amor / haze muestras d’alegría / con qu’encubre su dolor” (88r).<sup>22</sup> Similarly, a young *galán* dressed in black fairly invited inquiries about the person for whom he mourns.<sup>23</sup> Costana accounts for his dress in the following poem, contrasting his lady’s playfulness with his own professed sincerity:

Vuestra merced me mandó  
con vn officio fengido  
que dixesse por quién yo  
andaua tal qual me vio  
de xerga negra vestido.  
Mostrando con gran desdén  
encobrir que sabéys cierto  
que soys mi mal y mi bien,  
ni menos saber por quién  
hago las onrras de muerto.  
(ID6109, 11CG–135, fol. 81r)

It is, of course, for himself that he mourns, as Guevara, in a similar poem, would explain:

Que maguer me muestro biuo,  
en la verdad y razón  
ya muerto soy,  
pues con yra y mal esquiuo  
auéys muerto el gualardón  
tras quien voy.  
Que no teniendo esperança  
se cuenta muerto el que biue  
su [= sin?] dulçor,  
pues a mí con tal andança  
no mandéys que se me oluide  
mi dolor.  
(ID0869, 11CG–219, fol. 104v)

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<sup>22</sup> For a different perspective on this poem, see E. Michael Gerli’s discussion in the present volume.

<sup>23</sup> This was a favorite theme of Alonso de Cardona (ID6669, 11CG–896, fol. 193r and ID6675, 11CG–903, fol. 193v). See Boase (1977, 40), for a brief discussion of the fashion of wearing black among Álvaro de Luna and his contemporaries at the court of Juan II. Whinnom reminds us that in heraldry black symbolizes “la fidelidad y la lealtad” (1981, 53). In his *Tratado de las armas* Diego de Valera states that black stands for “la firmeza e honestad” (1959, 138).

Guevara is not truly without hope, of course, and he even goes so far as to make the following suggestion to his lady:

Mas si desto que buscastes  
 verme tal os dio pesar,  
 perdé crueza,  
 que vos la que me matastes  
 me podéys ressucitar  
 de mi tristeza. (fol. 104v)

Poems such as these may or may not be based on real exchanges of playful banter at court. The rendering of the lover's response in poetic form clearly fictionalizes the encounter, whether or not some semblance of it really took place. Although these poems are formally addressed to the lady, the intended audience is the entire court, which judges the ingenuity of the poet's response in terms of playing the game. From a social point of view, one of the main goals of this type of poetry may have been to illustrate how the social game should ideally be played: the ladies are both *graciosas* and *cuerdas*, and the lovers are equally witty in their (presumably) vain attempts to seduce them into playing the game on their terms.

The poet Puertocarrero creates a lengthy poetic dialogue between himself as a hapless *galán* and a clever lady (ID0738, 11CG-794, fols. 160v-63v). After some brief banter during a chance encounter in the street, she decides to invite him to come pay her a visit. She asks a companion (who is, according to the rubric, "también tercera d'él") to send for him and tells her to hide and listen in on their conversation "si auéys gana de reýr" (fol. 161r):

Ora le veréys venirse  
 paseando y requebrarse;  
 velle eys sin pena quexarse  
 y con quexas despedirse.  
 Velle eys mil vezes partirse  
 sin que parta;  
 Velle eys que nunca se aparta  
 de la muerte sin morirse;  
 veréys que no es de sufrirse. (fol. 161r)

The unsuspecting *galán*, however, plays his role in an orthodox fashion, using all the rhetoric of courtly love at his command, while the lady consistently calls its tenets and his sincerity into question:

Nunca más pasión ni pena  
 tenga yo  
 que la que mi vista os dio,  
 que yo la terné por buena. (fol. 161v)

The conversation becomes a battle of wits: she willfully trying to exasperate him with common sense and he just as determined to play the lover to the

end. Finally, having tired of the game, she cuts him short. To his plea that she not withhold at least some shred of hope, she responds:

Ni la pedís, ni la niego,  
ni os la do, ni la tomáys,  
ni so yo la que buscáys,  
aunque os he tenido juego.  
Assí que a las penas tristes  
y al engaño,  
y a quien quexa vuestro daño,  
y a quantas quexas me distes,  
ningún derecho touistes.

Que si confessáys verdad,  
no aurá culpa ni daño,  
ni vos receléys engaño,  
ni vuestra liberalidad.  
A quitar ociosidad  
os entrastes.  
Pues passatiempo buscastes,  
no finjáys necessidad,  
qu'es tocar en liuiandad.

Pero dexemos nos d'esto.  
¿Vuestra muger está buena? (fol. 163r)

In this poem the interlocutors sustain a level of wit that real players of the social game could never hope to achieve in actual courtly conversation. It is for that very reason that the piece is so entertaining. It was also instructive to the younger members of the court, as it served as a reminder not to take the game too seriously or it would lose all its gaiety.

It is important to keep in mind that in the context of the poetry all the personages are fictional entities, creations of the poet, including, and indeed especially, the "poetic I." *Cancionero* poetry dealing with courtly love tends to fall into two categories: (1) that which may properly be called "courtly love poetry," in which the poetic voice is that of the impassioned lover suffering the pangs of unrequited love, and (2) poetry in which the poetic voice is that of a courtier who is clearly a player in the social game of courtly love. In the first category, the poet creates his poetry to actively play the role of the ideal lover striving to gain his lady's favor. In the second category, he uses the poetry to comment on the social fiction. In this second category, the poet is at liberty to step out of the role of the ideal courtly lover to adopt other less well defined roles such as the disillusioned lover, the misogynist, or the jaded courtier. These deviant roles are not meant to reveal the "ugly truth" about courtly love but are, quite to the contrary, essentially festive in nature. Their existence served to spur the defense of the "orthodox" roles of the long-suffering noble lover and the perfect, unattainable lady, injecting new vigor into what would otherwise have become tired old formulas that ceased to amuse.

In poetic debates, *preguntas* and *respuestas*, and the like, the courtiers examined the nuances of the concept of courtly love and its practice at court for the entertainment of all.

These two categories of poetry are not ironclad, for a favorite ploy is for the poet to admit in a poem of the first type not to have believed, or to have ceased to believe, in love before laying eyes on the one who has stolen his heart. Juan de Mena confesses to having merely played along with the game for convenience in the past:

De beuir sin dessear  
quántas vezes he memoria.  
Mi dolor es mayor gloria  
que la vida sin amar.

Quando biuo sin pensar  
enfingendo d'amador,  
¿qué faría con fauor  
de la que amo sin par?

(ID0335, 11CG-59, fol. 30v)

The existence of the social fiction as essentially a game is implicitly recognized, and yet the poet affirms his own experience to be real. In this way Mena can play the game (by implying, at least, a current love interest) and still comment on the game and the way it is played.

In examining a particular poem, in addition to establishing the nature of the poetic voice, one must consider for whom the poem is intended. The audience of a poem dealing with courtly love must also be considered on various levels. In a classic courtly love poem, the poet addresses himself to an unnamed lady, but, as we have seen, the private nature of the communication is a fiction, for indirectly the poet also addresses the entire court as his audience. This may be either from within the fiction in terms of their implicit roles as courtly lovers and their ladies or from without, as his fellow courtiers who are consciously playing these roles. When the lover confides his secret yearning to his lady in a poem, he speaks exclusively to her on one level and on another to the entire court, which listens in on this supposedly secret communication. Likewise, when the poet ostensibly addresses a confidant and tells him of his passionate love for a lady who refuses to believe the purity of his motives and the depth of his suffering, he may on another level be understood to be sending a message to his anonymous lady (who theoretically may be present among the courtiers listening to the poem as it is performed). Or of course, she may not exist at all. The fun is in the conjecture. The poet's complaints to Love or Fortune, the internal dialogues he creates within his fragmented self and the like are also quite obviously meant to be "overheard" by the courtly audience.

Just as the poetic voice is not that of the poet speaking for himself as a man but rather that of the *persona* he wishes to portray, so the poet manipulates the image he presents of his lady. When he pictures her as perfection itself, he

augments his own prestige as a lover equal to such a lady.<sup>24</sup> When he emphasizes his monumental suffering, he often bewails her as indifferent or even cruel, the obvious strategy in terms of the game being to make the lady feel guilty for the suffering she has inflicted on him. The audience would understand the motives behind the lover's rhetoric not only in terms of the poetic description of his plight but as fellow players in the game, in terms of the persuasion of the lady to take pity on him and yield to his suit. Rather than call her cruel to her face, the poet may address his poem to the general audience, which knows full well that his unnamed lady is likely to be in their midst:

Yo como alcanço lo digo,  
y en esta razón me fundo,  
qu'es la por quien me fatigo  
la más hermosa del mundo.

Es tal, que no tiene ygual  
su saber y discreción;  
es tal, que fuera razón

no nascer muger mortal.  
Y ésta por quien digo yo,  
no tiene sino vna cosa,  
que quando Dios la crió,  
no la hizo piadosa.

(ID6265, 11CG-377, fols. 127v-28r)

The lover/poet may, on occasion, dare to inform the lady of this single defect, as a sign of his despair:

Hermosura tan hermosa  
que destruye todas las hermosas  
y enbaraça las discretas,  
si fuéssedes amorosa,  
terníades todas las cosas  
más altas y más perfetas.  
Mas con vuestro desamor,  
quanto gana la belleza  
la crueza desconcierta.  
Yo lo sé por mi dolor,

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<sup>24</sup> María Eugenia Lacarra explains the poets' use of the perfect lady as an "abstract construct" from a feminist point of view: "Only in that way could their poetry project male desires of perfection on the female beloved, and still preserve intact their masculine prerogative of superiority over women. Since masculine ideology defined women as naturally inferior to men, it was necessary that the beloved, the *Lady*, be an exceptional woman in the literal sense of the word, that is to say, an exception to the rule. Only by being a unique specimen could a female be considered worthy of the love of a man" (1988, 19).



que de lloros y tristeza  
ya tengo la vida muerta.

(Tapia; ID6596, 11CG-827, fol. 174v)

Occasionally, however, the poet may choose to subvert the game by taking a radically unorthodox stance. Juan Álvarez Gato, obviously eager for the opportunity to use his glib tongue to defend his posture, makes bold to tell the ladies of the court:

Las que os han mucho loado,  
nobles damas, hast'agora,  
dexá, dexá lo prestado,  
que sabé que con pecado  
se hurtó desta señora.  
También las que yo seruí  
n'os quexéys porque os desdeño,  
que si con fición mentí,  
virtud es grande de mí  
tornar lo suyo a su dueño.  
Cabo.

Quexen las que quexarán,  
riñan y tengan baraja,  
que los ciegos lo verán  
como vos soys la ventaja.  
Y si alguna se atreuire [sic]  
en contra de lo hablado,  
señora, perded cuydado,  
mientras qu'el Gato biuiere.

(ID3105, 11CG-240, fol. 110v)

He first insults the ladies of the court by demanding that they concede that his lady is the rightful owner of all the praise they have received in the past and then blatantly admits that his own past praise of them was a lie that must now be rectified. Knowing that this would be sure to cause a scandal, he gallantly tells his lady that she need not fear that others may be displeased with this statement as long as "el Gato" is alive to defend her.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> In light of this, one wonders if Pedro Torrellas, who seems to enjoy being at the center of controversy with the antifeminist stance he takes in poems such as the infamous "Coplas de maldezir de las mugeres" (ID0043) found in some fifteen different *cancioneros*, might not be deliberately trying to provoke similar reactions with a poem that begins: "Cessen ya de ser loadas, / si a osadas, / todas las donas presentes. / Oluidense las passadas, / sin pensar en las vinientes. / A vos, mis nuevos amores, / se den los grandes renombres / y quiten los amadores / a sus amigas los nombres / de mejores, / que vos venida en el mundo, / fazéys su nombre segundo / en loores" (ID2232, 11CG-173, fol. 94r). The indiscreet mention of his lady as "mis nuevos amores" would also seem to indicate a noncon-

Even more shocking is the poet who presents himself as the sincere player and the lady as the one who brings into the courtly love situation unwanted elements from the real world. By manipulating her role in this way, he may create the illusion of being her moral superior. Perálvarez de Ayllón writes a poem "a vna muger que se le encaresció y después vínolo a otorgar por vn ducado, y él, antes de la tocar, embióle estas coplas":

Con mi crescido cuydado  
 he sabido de vos cierto  
 c'os vence más vn ducado  
 qu'el más lindo requebrado  
 que anda por seruiros muerto.  
 Y pues no valen sospiros,  
 quiero, señora, deziros  
 que abráys pública la tienda,  
 porque no yerre la senda  
 el que viniere a seruiros.

...

Yo's pensaua d'agradar  
 y andaua al reués la rueda.  
 Yo's seruía con sospirar,  
 con músicas y trobar.  
 Vos queriédeslo en moneda.  
 Y pues que distes señal,  
 perdona si hablo mal,  
 que yo cierto he sospechado  
 c'aunque demandáys ducado  
 no desecháys el real.

...

Y siendo vos de tal trato,  
 quanto me congoxo y mato,  
 tanto es mayor menosprecio,  
 y pues la cosa anda en precio,  
 yo's espero a más barato.

(ID4120, 11CG-1004, fol. 229r)

Although the poet presents himself as the sincere player of the game, his representation of the lady breaks all the rules.<sup>26</sup> The utter unorthodoxy of the

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ventional approach that invites a response. Interestingly, the earlier *Cancionero de Herberay* has the more orthodox "mis *tristes amores*" (LB2-90, fol. 98v).

<sup>26</sup> It is telling that in the rubric Castillo refers to the lady as "vna muger," not dignifying her with the designation of *dama* or *señora*. Within the poem the latter term is used ironically, for though she may be a noblewoman, she is certainly no lady.

poet's strategy is, of course, appreciated as such by the audience, and the poet is unlikely to be reprimanded poetically for what is obviously a joke.

The foregoing poem is not an aberration, for presentations of a degraded version of the game essentially serve as a commentary on it. Hernando del Castillo tends (as above) to segregate such poems in the *Obras de burlas* section of his *Cancionero general* (fols. 219r–34r), but among the general works he includes a “Canción que hizo vn gentil ombre a una dama que le prometió si la hallasse virgen de casarse con ella, y él, después de auerla a su plazer, ge lo negó, según muestra la canción” (ID6253, 11CG–360, fol. 126v). He explains that he would surely have complied had he not discovered that another had already merited the honor:

Yo soy vuestro prisionero  
por la fe de grande amor,  
y otro es más vuestro debdor  
que gozó de lo primero.  
El qual, pues, dama, lleuó  
lo más de lo que nos distes,  
haga lo que me pedistes,  
c'así lo hiziera yo,  
ganando lo qu'él ganó. (fol. 127r)

While his complete lack of discretion in referring to this matter already marks him as most uncourtly, the poet uses the typical language of courtly love to imply that although under the circumstances he is not bound to the agreement, he gallantly remains her devoted courtly lover (“vuestro prisionero”).<sup>27</sup> The men might have snickered at the gullibility of the lady and admired the cavalier tone of the poet, but the poem may also have served as a cautionary tale for the inexperienced younger ladies of the court. It is immediately followed by a poem in which the lady in question ruefully replies that as

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<sup>27</sup> The prospect of marriage is not part of the game of courtly love. A poem written by Juan Álvarez Gato “porque le dixo vna señora que siruie que se casase con ella” is often alluded to in this regard: “Dezíz: ‘casemos los dos, / porque d’este mal no muera.’ / Señora, no plega a Dios, / syendo mi señora vos, / c’os haga mi compañera. / Que pues amor verdadero / no quiere premia ni fuerça / avnque me veré que muero / nunca la querré ni quiero / que por mi parte se tuerça. / Amarnos amos a dos / con vna fe muy entera, / queramos esto los dos, / mas no que le plega a Dios, / siendo mi señora vos, / c’os haga mi compañera” (ID3094, MH2–27, fol. 12v; Dutton 1990–91, 1:549). This poem is often described in terms such as “Expresiva testificación del carácter antimatrimonial de la experiencia cortés” (ed. Aguirre 1971, 161 n.). It is my contention that the game was not antimarriage but merely not concerned with marriage. The leading rubric suggests the possibility that the lady’s proposition and the response of the lover comprise an idealized representation of a witty verbal exchange at court, the lady challenging the sincerity of the lover’s claim to be dying of the *mal de amores* by offering him a solution not possible within the framework of the game.

a result of his lie, he is responsible for the “cien mil muertes que muero / por llevar vos lo mejor” and that “beuirán mis días tristes, / pues vuestro querer faltó / a quanto me prometió” (ID6254, 11CG–361, fol. 127r). The entire episode is doubtless a fiction. The lady’s *respuesta*, typically echoing the rhyme scheme of the original, was in all probability written by a male poet in response to the scandalous stance taken by the first. Indeed, there is no reason to rule out the possibility that they were one in the same person.

A more subtle poet is Guevara, who creates delicious comic irony in the following *esparsa*:

¡Qué noche tan mal dormida,  
 qué sueño tan desuelado,  
 qué dama vos tan polida,  
 qué ombre yo tan penado!  
 ¡Qué gesto el vuestro de Dios,  
 qué mal el mío con vicio,  
 qué ley que tengo con vos,  
 qué fe con vuestro seruiçio!  
 (ID6168, 11CG–220, fol. 105r)

This appears to be quite standard fare until one notes that the rubric reads: “Esparsa a ssu amiga, estando con ella en la cama.” As the *De amore* of Andreas Capellanus was known in Spain at this time, this may be an allusion to the extreme case of *amor purus* which “goes as far as kissing on the mouth, embracing with the arms, and chaste contact with the unclothed lover, but the final consolation is avoided, for this practice is not permitted for those who wish to love chastely” (Andreas Capellanus 1982, 181). Be this the case or not, it is certain that in the courtly circles of fifteenth-century Spain no one would doubt that under those conditions the “final consolation” would indeed be attained. It is more likely, since the *dama* of the poem is described in the rubric as the poet’s *amiga*, that we are dealing with a playful contraposition of the courtly love of theory and its practice at court, as the rubric gives the lie to what the words themselves say about the suffering of the poet.<sup>28</sup>

In assessing a given poem, the importance of audience expectations cannot be overestimated. The poet knows exactly what the audience expects of him if he is to play the game according to the rules, but he also knows that it

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<sup>28</sup> Keith Whinnom interprets the poem differently. In light of the suggestive rubric to this seemingly idealistic poem, he detects sexual overtones in the references to “vicio” and “vuestro seruiçio.” Recalling that the most certain *remedio* for the *mal de amores* suggested in the medical manuals was to have sex with the desired woman, he interprets: “Ha pasado la noche desvelado—ya nos figuramos cómo—y, a pesar de lo que dicen en los tratados médicos, ha quedado más enamorado que nunca. . . . Aun con el ‘vicio,’ o sea, a pesar del supremo éxtasis del placer, su mal, su enfermedad, o sea, su amor sigue tan fuerte que resiste hasta al consagrado remedio de los teóricos” (1981, 32).

thrives on jokes and intrigue. The type of poem he creates depends on how he wishes to affect his audience. The courtly audience relished this poetry because its very rules and conventions invited innovative poets to dare to break them in creative ways, to have fun with them. Thus, alongside serious poems that reflect the fiction of orthodox courtly love as reality, we find playful intimations that both the poet and his audience are conscious players of a social game, laughing at each other and at the game itself.

In the preceding pages I hope to have shown that a just evaluation of the amatory poetry of the *cancioneros* cannot take place without considering the social context in which and for which it was produced. Because the social goals of the poet were often as important as (if not more important than) strictly literary ones, it should not be surprising that much of the amatory poetry was preserved in the *cancioneros* not because of any intrinsic literary merit but because a prestigious name lent honor to the art and the practice of the art lent honor to a particular name. That a great deal of *cancionero* poetry seems derivative and uninspired is the result of those who composed verse merely to remain in the mainstream of court activities. These poets, however, form part of the game and cannot be dismissed from attention. As Keith Whinnom astutely observes, "Los versos malos nos pueden enseñar tanto como los buenos" (1981, 14–15). The complexity and ambiguity of *cancionero* poetry, while frustrating to the modern reader unfamiliar with it, was the key to its longevity as a style. Amatory poetry not only allowed the poets to enhance the role they played in the social fiction at court, it also provided an ideal medium for playing with the concepts of the social fiction. The more daring poets made use of the same stock of commonplaces to achieve goals different from the ones sought by the merely social players. While the game could certainly be played "straight," skilled and playful poets were occasionally wont to subvert the role of the impassioned noble lover in sometimes subtly, sometimes outrageously, unorthodox fashions. This sort of mock threat is what kept the game fresh and interesting. The spirit and wit in many of these poems is readily discernible to anyone familiar enough with the social context of the *palacio* to understand that the poet could both play the social game and comment on it through the conscious manipulation of roles as a poetic strategy.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> This study is drawn from a forthcoming book titled *Cancionero Poets at Play: Love Poetry in Late Medieval Spain*.



## IV: Questions of Language





# *Bilingualism in the Cancioneros and Its Implications*

ALAN DEYERMOND

## **1. Bilingual Poetic Courts**

Throughout the Middle Ages there are examples of poetic courts—courts in which a monarch or a great noble is an active patron of poets (and often of musicians, prose writers, and artists)—where the poetry is in two or more languages. There are several causes of such bilingualism. The monarch and the higher aristocracy may speak a different language from the rest of the population; this may mean that the language of court culture is not that of the country, as was the case with the court of the French-speaking Hainault princes of Holland in the first half of the fourteenth century (Oostrom 1992, 10–12; 1994, 32; see also Prevenier 1994), but it may generate an authentically bilingual or multilingual culture, especially if the language of the country has higher cultural prestige than that of the rulers.<sup>1</sup> This is the case with the fifteenth-century Aragonese court at Naples, where the poets of Alfons V, el Magnànim, wrote not only in Catalan and Castilian but also in Italian and Latin (M. de Riquer 1960; Black 1983; M. Alvar 1984; Rovira 1990; Maguire 1991; Turró 1992a; cf. Atlas 1985). Other causes of a bilingual poetic court may be a genuinely bilingual kingdom (in the fifteenth century the Crown of Aragon not merely had a bilingual court but was, as a whole, a bilingual country), the marriage of the sovereign to a foreign consort (for instance, one Castilian king was married to an English princess and another to a Norwegian princess, and several had French wives; one Castilian princess and one Arago-

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<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that when Bavarian princes replaced the Hainault rulers in 1358, a bilingual poetic court soon developed, a Germanic *koine* (“in the late-fourteenth-century Hague court, the Dutch and Bavarian languages were fused into a practicable linguistic compromise,” Oostrom 1992, 11) coexisting with the already well established and culturally prestigious French.

nese married English kings), or the proximity of a country whose language had higher prestige (in central and western Europe the prestige of Latin was likely to sustain some element of bilingualism for several centuries after the emergence of cultured vernacular poetry).

The use of Hebrew as well as Arabic in the courts of Al-Andalus is well known; indeed, those courts became the home of the most brilliant Hebrew culture of medieval Europe, though Jewish poets faced problems when writing in and for a Muslim (or a Christian) court, as Ross Brann shows (1991). In the second half of the twelfth century, the courts of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine can, in the light of recent research, be seen to have been visited, for longer or shorter periods, by many of the greatest poets of the time: Peter of Blois and Walter of Châtillon in Latin; Bernart de Ventadorn in Provençal; Marie de France, Benoît de Sainte-Maure, and Chrétien de Troyes in French (for other names, see Dronke 1976).<sup>2</sup> Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor 1215–1250, was also king of Sicily, and so a German and Italian poetic court was to be expected, but it did not stop there: Peter Dronke (in press) has shown that Latin, Greek, and Provençal were used just as often by the court poets and that there was also some use of French and Hebrew. At the court of Alfonso el Sabio, a generation later, the diversity was almost as great: the dominant poetic language was Galician-Portuguese, in which the king composed at least some of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, but he was host and patron to many Provençal troubadours (Bertolucci Pizzorusso 1966 and 1967, C. Alvar 1977) and to some Hebrew ones; Latin was used at least for the composition of hymns; and it may well be that Arabic and Castilian were also active poetic languages at the court (though there is no evidence that Castilian was used for lyrics). Such diversity raises problems, of course: when Todros Abulafia presented his Hebrew poems to Alfonso, was the manuscript merely admired for its visual beauty, or did the poet improvise translations of some of his work? (See Dorón 1989, Brann 1991.) It would be hard to imagine anyone with the versatility needed to appreciate poetry across the full linguistic range, but there is evidence that poetry in one language may have influenced another and not just in the simple case of Provençal and Galician-Portuguese: Todros Abulafia may have been affected by the Provençal poets with whom he came into contact (Boreland 1976–77).

The tradition of bilingual poetic courts continued in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as we have already seen. The English courts of the period were a home of French as well as English poetry (see Robbins 1976; Doyle 1983, 163; Wilkins 1983). In the fourteenth century, for example, the court of Edward III was of this kind, Jean Froissart being one of the French authors

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<sup>2</sup> In the third quarter of the century, Eleanor and Henry traveled back and forth across the Channel with some frequency (Labande 1952, H. G. Richardson 1959). Thus these bilingual monarchs presided over bilingual or multilingual courts that moved from one language area to another.

who spent time there (Wimsatt 1991), and that of Richard II followed a similar pattern (Mathew 1968). The ducal court of Brabant had a French and German poetic culture (see Willaert 1990), especially under Henri III. In the 1380s and 1390s, the court of Joan I of Aragon and his French queen Violant de Bar was the home of poetry not only in Catalan that consciously continued the Provençal tradition (Boase 1978) but also in French and occasionally Latin: the *Chansonnier de Chantilly*, long thought to have been compiled in Italy, now seems to have been made for Joan (Scully 1990). I doubt whether Castilian was used by his court poets: these were the early years represented in the *Cancionero de Baena*, when Castilian had not yet clearly asserted itself over Galician; perhaps, however, even the remote possibility that Joan I's poets used Castilian and/or Galician should be investigated. From the thirteenth century to the mid-fifteenth, the courts of both northern and southern Italy were frequently bilingual, and in the earlier part of that period Provençal, as well as Italian and French, was spoken there, in addition to some literary use of Latin. Thus Adam de la Halle wrote some of his poetry at the court of Naples, and many Italians wrote in French (Fallows 1989, 429). In the fifteenth century, French lyric was still familiar at the English court (Armstrong 1979, Boffey 1988), and French was still vigorous as a court language in northern Italy until about 1440 (Fallows 1989). In the 1420s Queen Margarida de Prades maintained a court within a court in Barcelona, where Catalan and Castilian poets met (Jordi de Sant Jordi and the Marqués de Santillana are the most famous). In 1416, in Perpignan, Margarida met the Tirolean poet Oswald von Wolkenstein (see n. 32, below), who wrote in her honor an autobiographical poem in which he boasted of his linguistic and musical knowledge:

Franzoisch, mörisch, katlonisch und kastilian, teutsch, latein, windisch, lampertisch, reuschisch und roman, die zehen sprach hab ich gebraucht, wenn mir zerran. (M. de Riquer and Badia 1984, 325)

The list of examples could easily be prolonged.

Although I am chiefly concerned in this paper with central and western Europe, bilingual poetic courts are by no means confined to this area; the factors already mentioned could operate anywhere. The Islamic conquest of Persia displaced the ancient Iranian court literature for a couple of centuries, but poetry in Persian began to reassert itself at court around 900, though now with Arabic verse forms predominant, and coexisted for some time with poetry in Arabic (Danner 1975; Meisami 1987, chap. 1). Japanese court poetry flourished from the mid-sixth century A.D. but was to some extent under the shadow of the much older Chinese court lyric: "China gave court poets their classical heritage" (Miner 1968, 144). From the seventh century onwards, the prestige of Chinese affected all aspects of court life in Japan, and in the early ninth century, Japanese was largely replaced by Chinese as the language of culture, Chinese models being followed even by those writing in Japanese.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> There is one important and long-lasting exception. Women continued to write poems

Bilingual courts were a natural setting for the compilation of bilingual *cancioneros* (though we should not lose sight of the fact that, even in such a context, monolingual collections were likely to be the norm). It may be relevant that linguistic skill was one of the qualities expected at court, whether of the courtier in Germany in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Jaeger 1985) or of the poet in Castile in the early fifteenth century (as Juan Alfonso de Baena says, in the prologue to his *Cancionero*, it is important that the poet “aya visto e oýdo e leýdo muchos e diverssos libros e escripturas e sepa de todos lenguajes”; see Weiss 1990, 51–53).<sup>4</sup> It is to these *cancioneros* that we should now direct our attention.

## 2. *Cancioneros*: A Working Definition

Poetic anthologies, and not only in Western European languages, seem to be ubiquitous in the Middle Ages where there are courts with cultural tastes. The Arabic courts of Al-Andalus are famous for their *diwāns* (see, for example, Bellamy and Steiner 1989).<sup>5</sup> This is as true in Asia as in Europe: much medieval Sanskrit and Japanese poetry comes down to us in anthologies that had already attained classic status in their own times (Brough 1968, 14–19, Miner 1968) and that may have continued to be copied and embellished for centuries (e.g., Pekarik 1991). Such anthologies are not a medieval invention: the *Anthologia latina*, which survives in the sixth to seventh-century Codex Salmasianus, was compiled in North Africa in the early sixth century and combines poems of late classical Rome with the Latin poetry of Vandal-occupied North Africa. It may have served as a model for such early collections of medieval Latin lyric as the eleventh-century *Cambridge Songs*, and it may in its turn be modeled on one or more of the many Greek anthologies that were compiled

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in Japanese, and these often drew on a native popular tradition (Pekarik 1991, 14–16). Stephen Reckert observes that “the early Classical period in Japan (9th–11th c.) was the only ‘Golden Age’ of any world literature in which women writers played the leading role” (1993, 100 n. 34). Earl Miner says that “the Japanese . . . never took over Chinese as a poetic language” (1968, 145), but he must, I think, have meant that they did not wholly or permanently adopt it to the exclusion of Japanese.

<sup>4</sup> The same quality is singled out by Baena in the rubric to one of Francisco Imperial’s poems (one that contains a Castilian/French dialogue between a man and a woman): “La qual era muy fermossa muger; era muy ssabia e bien rrazonada e sabía de todos lenguajes” (Nepaulsingh 1977, 51). For other aspects of the language problem in the Middle Ages, see Chaytor 1945, chap. 3; Schulze-Busacker 1987–88; and Paterson 1993. It is interesting to compare these medieval views of linguistic versatility with the reflections of Stephen Reckert (1993, 1–15).

<sup>5</sup> *Kitāb rāyāt al-mubarrizīn wa-ghāyāt al-mumayyazīn* (*The Banners of the Champions*), translated by Bellamy and Steiner, was compiled in 1243, but the great century of Hispano-Arabic anthologies is the twelfth, with Ibn Bassām’s *Dhakhūra fī mahāsin ahl al-jazīra* (*Treasure of Beauties of the People of the Peninsula*) and Ibn Khāqān’s *Mannah al-anfus* (*Goal to which Souls Aspire*).

from the fourth century B.C. onwards. (These are lost, but their contents are preserved in the vast *Palatine Anthology* of the tenth century, with its thousands of lyrics. There is—though over a much longer period—a curious parallel here to the puzzling disappearance of all the smaller *cancioneros* that served Hernando del Castillo and Garcia de Resende as sources.<sup>6</sup>) Even before the earliest Greek anthologies, there were small papyrus collections of ancient Egyptian love songs (De Rachewiltz 1957), and it may well be that the Song of Songs, one of the most powerful influences on medieval European lyric (see Dronke 1979, Hunt 1981, Astell 1990, and Matter 1990), had its origins in such an anthology (see Landy 1983).

For the purposes of this paper, I take *cancionero* to have a more restricted meaning than “manuscript or early printed book containing lyric poetry.” The boundary is hard to draw, and this consideration, as well as practical utility for users of his work, led Dutton (1982) to include a fair number of manuscripts that fall outside the category of *cancioneros*. He later (1990–91) cast his net still wider. I do not wish to criticize that decision; indeed, as a frequent user of his books I welcome it. However, in sections 3 and 4 of this paper I confine myself to formally organized anthologies, whether manuscript or printed, containing the work of several poets, since statements that are true of them may not be true of a manuscript containing just one poem.<sup>7</sup> Major collections containing the work of a single poet, especially if prepared by that poet, often have a great deal in common with multipoet anthologies in terms of organization and presentation, and interesting research is now in progress on the characteristics of such collections (e.g., Bertolucci Pizzorusso 1991, Beltrán 1992). But such collections do not, at least in my limited experience of the subject, have great importance for a study of bilingualism—unless, of course, the poet is bilingual.

Much important work is now being done on the characteristics of *cancioneros* in the strict sense and in particular on their compilation: I am thinking in particular of Tavani (1969c and 1979), Ferrari (1979), Livermore (1988), and Gonçalves (1991) on Galician-Portuguese; Bourgain (1991) on Latin; Roncaglia (1991) on Provençal; Maguire (1991) on Castilian (Severin and Maguire 1992 describe work on strict *cancioneros* as well as on other kinds of miscellany); and Cerquiglini (1987) and Ferrari (1991) on a wider range of Romance; as well as the splendid book by Julia Boffey (1985, supplemented by Boffey

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<sup>6</sup> Dr. David Fallows, in a letter of 29 January 1993, does not find this puzzling. The same is true, he finds, of the exemplars of almost every surviving poetry or music manuscript that he has studied.

<sup>7</sup> Severin 1994 argues for a drastic reduction in the use of the term *cancionero*, and her reasons are in line with the experience of specialists in other areas: Dr. Julia Boffey says that “there are really very few . . . anthologies of just lyrics (as opposed to anthologies with some lyrics)” (letter of 2 February 1993), and Professor Peter Dronke tells me that of the manuscripts that he lists (Dronke 1965–66), only some thirty to forty could be described as *cancioneros*, the remainder being compilations of prose and/or of nonlyric verse, with some lyrics, or perhaps only one (telephone call, 22 March 1993).

and Thompson 1989) on fifteenth-century English manuscripts, and the comparable one on French by Sylvia Huot (1987), which offer a wealth of information on anthologies, though they are not confined to them. The prehistory of Provençal *chansonniers* is the subject of two studies that point in different directions (Van Vleck 1991 on compilation from oral sources, and Meneghetti 1991 on the role of *florilegia*), and there are of course many studies (A. Bleuca 1974–79 is an excellent example) on the history of individual *cancioneros*. Studies of this kind are important for our understanding of the ways in which bilingual *cancioneros* were compiled.

### 3. The Compilation or Copying of *Cancioneros* Outside Their Linguistic Area

In one sense, all medieval Latin poetic manuscripts were compiled and read outside their linguistic area. In this section, however, I shall be concerned with vernacular *cancioneros* compiled in a region where another vernacular was the normal speech. Two of the major traditions of court lyric, the Provençal and the Galician-Portuguese, are for the most part preserved in anthologies copied, and in some cases compiled, in other lands. J. H. Marshall observes that “a good proportion of the [Provençal] *chansonniers* were copied in Italy. And, if we allow for a few collections made in French-speaking or in Catalan-speaking territory, we are left with a very small number of extant MSS copied within the linguistic area which had been that of the original poetry itself” (1975, 5; see also Avallé D’Arco 1961 and Folena 1976). The compilation of *chansonniers* in Italy is a witness to a culture in exile (many troubadours took refuge there after the Albigensian Crusade: Marshall 1975, 5–6), but the copying there, just before or just after 1500, of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* and the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti/da Biblioteca Nacional* cannot, despite the strong presence of Castilian and Catalan lyric in Italy in the preceding few generations, indicate a surviving Galician-Portuguese tradition there: we owe these *cancioneiros* to the antiquarian interest of Angelo Colocci (Ferrari 1979).

The *Chansonnier de Chantilly* was, as we saw in section 1, above, compiled for Joan I of Aragon: Scully (1990) has established that the date was between 1392 and 1396 and that the scribe was Catalan speaking. In this case, the reason for compilation outside the linguistic area of the contents (all but two of the songs are French) was neither a culture in exile nor an antiquarian interest; it was a trilingual poetic court. That five major French *chansonniers* were compiled in Italy (Scully 1990, 509–10) had seemed puzzling, but David Fallows has shown, on the evidence of musical sources, that French “remained a vital courtly language in many parts of northern Italy at least until 1450,” nearly a century later than had been supposed (Fallows 1989, 441). He finds that “virtually all the surviving sources of French song from 1415 to 1440 were copied in northern Italy” (1989, 434).

### 4. Bilingual *Cancioneros*

Some *cancioneros* are bilingual only in appearance: two monolingual manuscripts

may be bound into the same volume, as in the case of PN11=BN Paris esp. 305 (Severin and Maguire 1992, 55), and there are some cases (e.g., PN4: see Black 1985) in which a second hand has added poems in another language to a previously monolingual anthology. Cases in which modern rebinding has created a bilingual volume should obviously be excluded from consideration, but the case is not so clear if a medieval librarian—still more, a medieval private owner—has chosen to have two or more poetic manuscripts bound together. The case for exclusion is even less strong if one or more hands have, over a period of time, created a bilingual *cancionero* by copying poems in one language into blank spaces of a manuscript that originally contained only poems in another language, since this may imply a bilingual readership, even if only a small one.<sup>8</sup> Another kind of doubt is raised by the *cancioneros* that include only one or two short poems in a second language: for example, the two Latin songs among the 110 French ones of the *Chansonnier de Chantilly*, or the single Franco-Italian poem among the 84 Castilian ones of SA10a (quite possibly a late addition, since it is no. 74 of the 75 poems in the *cancionero*).<sup>9</sup> The *Cancionero de Vindel*, on the other hand, is authentically bilingual, even though its 87 poems include only four in Catalan.<sup>10</sup> It was copied by a Catalan scribe, and three of the four Catalan poems are by Mossèn Avinyó, a bilingual Catalan poet who also has Castilian poems in this *cancionero* (see section 5,

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<sup>8</sup> Professor Vicente Beltrán asks, with good reason, “¿y si lo conserváramos en una copia posterior, quizá después de una selección de su contenido, de una sola letra?” He continues: “Mi impresión personal es que no puede separarse de la tradición bilingüe. Al fin y al cabo, en un momento determinado cayó en manos de algún usuario a quien no importaba que lo fuera, o quizá, incluso, lo prefería” (letter of February 1993). Dr. Jane Whetnall draws a different conclusion: “Most [*cancioneros*] are copies, either of selected sources or of exemplars which have had bits added. Which means you may find that the ‘alien’ components belong to some discrete stage in the composition or copying. (And therefore that evidence of quotations is a better index of linguistic competence in the audience, as at least they are integral?)” (letter of February 1993). For quotations in Iberian *cancioneros*, see Dias (1978) and Whetnall (1986, chaps. 2–3).

<sup>9</sup> There are many cases in which bilingualism is so tenuous that to include the *cancioneros* in this category would be stretching the term absurdly: for example, a single line in a second language, in just one of a hundred poems, does not in my opinion make a *cancionero* bilingual. Dr. Jane Whetnall comments, in a Castilian context, that “if you were to count quotations and other kinds of lyric insertions, glosses, etc., you would be hard put to name a *cancionero* that wasn’t at least trilingual. Latin is everywhere, with odd signs of pretty well everything including Arabic, Hebrew, French, Provençal, and English” (letter of February 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Ramírez de Arellano’s list of contents has 84 poems (1976, 16–23), whereas Dutton lists 87 (1990–91, 3:1–49)—the total of 85 for Castilian poems given by him in VII.662 is clearly an error—and 87 is also the number given by Faulhaber (1983, 1:578–83). The difference is to be explained by this *cancionero*’s idiosyncratic division between poems, which was interpreted in one way by Ramírez de Arellano and in another, more satisfactory, way by Dutton and Faulhaber.

below). The multilingual culture of the Aragonese court at Naples (see section 1, above) left its mark on the family of *cancioneros* compiled there or deriving from it, not just in the doubtful case of PN4 (Castilian and Catalan), discussed above, but in the clear case of the *Cancionero de Estúñiga*, which contains Italian and part-Italian poems by Carvajal.

The bilingualism of these *cancioneros* is less intense than one might expect, given the culture of the court: there is no *cancionero* combining Catalan, Castilian, Italian, and Latin in roughly equal proportions, even though many at the court must have been able to read all three languages. But such a disparity is far from uncommon: the notably multilingual poetic court of Alfonso el Sabio, for example, produced little by way of bilingual *cancioneros* and had few bilingual poets. A curious late reflection of the Neapolitan dimension of the Crown of Aragon is found in the second edition of the *Cancionero general* printed in 1514 in, like the first edition, Valencia. Not only does it contain poems in Catalan among its overwhelmingly Castilian contents, but it includes eighteen Italian sonnets by Bartolomeo Gentile, who, as one of a Genoese family settled in Seville, must have been bilingual in everyday life but who seems to have written poetry only in Italian (Chalon 1988).

There are no bilingual Galician-Portuguese *cancioneiros*. Is this because of a “tradizione povera, tradizione sterile” (Tavani 1969c, 89–96)? Or could it be that a poetic *koine* (in this case, a literary language that seems to correspond neither to the Galician nor to the Portuguese of the time) may reduce the chances of bilingualism? A fair comparison is with Provençal, “a poetry whose linguistic medium was an Occitan pruned of most narrowly dialectal features—a linguistic blend or *koine* so subtle that modern scholarship has never entirely succeeded in localising it” (Marshall 1975, 6; for some qualifications, see Zufferey 1987, 312–13). Provençal and French poems are found with relative frequency in the same *chansonnières*, but other types of bilingualism are rare or nonexistent in the Provençal lyric tradition. Classical literary Arabic is also a *koine*, and the compilers of its *diwāns* normally exclude poems, like those of Ibn Quzmān, that use Vulgar Arabic or foreign phrases. We should therefore consider the possibility that the poetic courts of medieval Europe normally surpassed the boundaries of a single language or dialect, either by bilingualism or by a *koine*, but not usually by both (for an exception, see n. 1, above). Of course, such a *koine* may become one of the languages in a multilingual poetic court outside its primary area: the two chief poetic languages at the court of Alfonso X were Galician-Portuguese and Provençal.

Authentically bilingual (or multilingual) *cancioneros* are numerous. *Vindel* has already been mentioned. A well-known example is the *Carmina Burana* (Diemer and Diemer 1987): though none of its 131 love songs is wholly written in the vernacular, 48 combine Latin with German (usually by ending with one or more German stanzas, though a few songs combine the languages in other ways; for an example, see section 6, below), one has a French refrain, and one combines Latin and French lines in each stanza; thus 38 percent of the love



songs are bilingual.<sup>11</sup> Other examples are the Venetian songbook, c. 1463 (Bodleian Canonici misc. 213), that has, besides sacred music, 25 Italian and 239 French songs in the same hand (Fallows 1989, 435), and, among fifteenth-century Iberian *cancioneros*, Resende's *Cancioneiro geral*, the musical *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia*, and a group of *cançoners* in Barcelona libraries (*Jardinet de orats* and others). The vast *Cancioneiro geral* of 1516—with nearly 1,200 poems, it surpasses its thousand-poem model, Hernando del Castillo's *Cancionero general* of 1511—has 157 Castilian poems, 71 of them freestanding and the rest in some relation (*pregunta/respuesta*, *glosa*, etc.) to another poem, sometimes Castilian, sometimes Portuguese. It is not only the number of Castilian poems in this Portuguese volume that makes it so clearly bilingual (though the number alone would suffice): their authors are usually Portuguese, and, as we have already seen, Castilian poems are linked with Portuguese ones on many occasions, and the Portuguese ones quote Castilian poets even more often than they quote in their own language.<sup>12</sup>

The *Cancionero de Baena* is bilingual, as Lang (1902), Lapesa (1953–54), V. Richardson (1981, 31–35), and Polín (1994) have shown, but in a different sense, since the Galician poems that it contains are mostly from its early years. The long time span that it represents is one of change in the dominant language of court lyric, as we can see from the work of Villasandino and other poets (it has traces of other languages also: e.g., a stanza in French, see Deyermund in press; a line in Arabic, see Krotkoff 1974).

In the eastern part of the Peninsula the situation is more complex. From the end of the fifteenth century, Castilian begins to replace Catalan as the language of court lyric in the Crown of Aragon, but the many bilingual *cançoners* (whose Castilian poems are edited by Catedra 1983) are not necessarily a reflection of that change. The first *cancioneros* to include both Castilian and Catalan lyrics are predominantly Castilian, and the chief reason for their bilingualism is the prominence of Catalan in the Aragonese court at Naples. The earliest manuscript to show this mixture is, I think, the *Cancionero de palacio* in the late 1430s, which contains eight Catalan lyrics, all anonymous (though the authors of a couple may be identifiable). In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, there is a change: it is chiefly the predominantly Catalan *cançoners* that have this mixture. Max Cahner (1980) attributes this development to political pressure from the Trastamaran rulers in favor of Castilian. Pedro Catedra dissents (1983, v–x), arguing that the causes are the growing prestige of the innovatory late-medieval Castilian lyric and the rise of a new class of reader:

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<sup>11</sup> See Wachinger 1985. By contrast, only a few of the 40 drinking songs have a German element, and all 55 moral and satirical poems in the collection are exclusively in Latin.

<sup>12</sup> See Dias 1978. My figures for the *Cancioneiro geral* and for some other *cancioneros* are derived from Dutton's "Índice de lenguas" (1990–91, 7:590–97), one of the many indexes that make the final volume of Dutton's masterpiece an indispensable research tool for anyone working on fifteenth-century Spanish poetry.

“Puede sugerirse . . . que estos cancioneros nacen en el ambiente ciudadano de los nuevos lectores, a los que no alcanza el código de lujo” (1983, x). More recently, the bilingual nature of the Crown of Aragon itself has seemed a more satisfactory explanation, especially since most of the Castilian poems in these *cançoners* are anonymous, so that it would be rash to assume that they are the work of Catalan poets and that the parallel with the *Cancioneiro geral* is therefore close.<sup>13</sup> From the end of the fifteenth century, it is indeed true that the use of Castilian by Catalan poets becomes more frequent, but Catalan poetry continues to be written well into the sixteenth century, and as late as 1562 a bilingual *cancionero* is printed: the *Cancionero llamado Flor de enamorados, sacado de diversos autores agora nuevamente por muy linda orden copilado* (Rodríguez-Moñino and Devoto 1954; Romeu Figueras 1972). One of the *cançoners* studied by Càtedra, the *Cançoner del Ateneu Barcelonés*, has an Arabic *estribillo* and Castilian *glosa*:

Di ley vi namxí,  
 ay, mesquí,  
 naffla calbí.  
 Quando vos veo, senyora,  
 por la mi puerta pessar,  
 lo coraçón se me alegra;  
 d'amorés quiero finar.  
 Quando vos veo, senyora,  
 por la mi puerta venir,  
 lo coraçón se me alegra;  
 d'amorés quiero morir.<sup>14</sup>

The *Cançoner del Ateneu* also, presumably as a result of the Aragonese domination of Naples, contains two Italian popular songs, the first Neapolitan and the second Sicilian (Aramon i Serra 1947–48). Another *cançoner* (ZA1; Baselga 1896) has 187 Catalan poems and six Castilian, two of them with Latin words or lines; it includes 20 Catalan and three Castilian poems by Pere Torroella (Massó Torrents 1932, 20). One piece of special interest is a Catalan poem by Torroella that quotes Catalan, French, Provençal, and Castilian poets (eight of the last: Dutton 1990–91, 4:376–77).

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Lluís Cabré writes: “La Corona d’Aragó era bilingüe, més encara si es recorden les relacions amb Navarra durant bona part del segle xv. Abans d’especular amb fatalismes caldría posar en solfa: llocs de composició dels cançoners i dates, procedència dels bilingües, adscripcions a corts, etc. . . . la llengua tapa la realitat cultural: la poesia navarresa i aragonesa pot estar escrita en castellà pero pertany a la societat de la Corona d’Aragó també (i té tendències pròpies)” (letter of February 1993).

<sup>14</sup> Càtedra (1983, 43, 88), and Solá-Solé (1972). It was not at first apparent that the *estribillo* was in Arabic. Aramon i Serra referred to it merely as “tres difícils versos solts” (1947–48, 159 n. 2). Aramon i Serra (1961) edits and studies two Castilian and Latin poems, and two Catalan and Latin ones from Catalan *cançoners*.

There are Castilian *cancioneros* that contain Portuguese poems, though not, with one exception, on the scale of the Castilian representation in the *Cancioneiro geral*. The exception is the *Cancionero musical de Elvas*, compiled circa 1520, which has 17 Portuguese songs and 48 Castilian ones. Dutton's "Índice de lenguas" shows five other *cancioneros* with between one and five Portuguese poems. It is noteworthy that of the 30 Portuguese poems in Castilian *cancioneros*, 26 are in musical ones: if a song is included primarily for its music, the language is less important, a factor that helps to explain the astonishing linguistic diversity of the *Cancionero de la Catedral de Segovia*. Previously thought to be of the late fifteenth century, and compiled for use by the musicians of Isabel la Católica, it now seems, in the light of Víctor de Lama's research, to be somewhat later and destined for the musicians of Felipe el Hermoso (Lama de la Cruz 1994, 122–30). It is made up of three parts, each apparently by a different copyist (the second part may have been begun by a fourth copyist: Lama de la Cruz 1994, 117); the first of these contains alternating sections of Latin religious pieces and vernacular secular songs, the second part is Castilian, and the small third part, Latin.<sup>15</sup> González Cuenca (1980, 25–29) lists the French and Flemish songs but mentions the small Italian element only in passing.<sup>16</sup> This *cancionero* thus has songs in five languages. The number is equalled by the *Pixérécourt*, *Escorial*, and *Mellon chansonniers* (for the first, see Pease 1960; for the last, Perkins and Garey 1979), but in practice *Segovia* outdoes the others: of *Mellon's* 57 songs, for instance, 47 are in a single language, French, while the rest are made up of four songs in Italian, three in English, two in Latin, and one in Castilian.<sup>17</sup> The *Cancionero musical de palacio*

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<sup>15</sup> This raises the possibility that the manuscript might be a combination of several different repertoires. However, Dr. David Fallows is not convinced that several copyists were involved: "It will be hard to persuade me that this wasn't one musician's personal collection. And what seems most fascinating about it is that the scribe was plainly Spanish (as first established in [Baker 1978]) but had a flawless knowledge of Flemish" (letter of 29 January 1993).

<sup>16</sup> González Cuenca (1980, 38 n. 67). Scholars differ on the exact number of songs in this *cancionero* and on the number in each language, because some have only an incipit, which may not be a safe linguistic guide, and some are repetitions. The Italian component is an extreme case, since of the five Italian songs only one has a text, and that consists of only four lines. Dr. Fallows comments: "Since it's the most widely distributed Italian song of the late 15th century, there are few simple conclusions to be drawn from it" (letter of 29 January 1993).

<sup>17</sup> The *Escorial chansonnier*, produced in Italy (probably Milan) in the second half of the fifteenth century (Southern 1981; see also Hanen 1983, who argues for a Neapolitan origin), is included by Dutton (1990–91, 1:65) as EM2, with three songs edited, but the first of them is French, the second is Italian (another *cancionero* has a *lingua franca* version), and the third is a song by Cornago, "Yerra con poco saber," that was left without a text, a later hand providing as incipit the first three words of a poem that occurs in several *cancioneros* with attributions to Juan de Mena or Pedro Torrella (Hanen 1983, 122–23; Dutton and Krogstad 1990–

(MP4), overwhelmingly Castilian in its original form, and still primarily Castilian after a series of additions, has thirteen Italian poems (Romeu Figueras 1965, 124–28). Two of these include Latin, while one Latin song has some Italian. There is also a Basque song with some Castilian words and another that has a Basque *estribillo* and a Castilian *glosa*. One song mixes French, Italian, and Castilian, and another mixes French and Catalan. There are thus songs in four languages (Castilian, Italian, Latin, and Basque), and the number of languages used rises to seven when we take account of lines or phrases in Catalan, French, and Portuguese. *Segovia*, nevertheless, is outstanding because of its substantial representation of four languages (Castilian, Flemish, French, and Latin).<sup>18</sup>

In these cases the musical fashion seems to have produced linguistic diversity far above what might have been expected, and the special nature of musical *cancioneros* (see, for instance, Fallows 1992; also Gallo 1978) makes it desirable to treat them separately. I had at first intended to devote separate sections to the musical and the nonmusical *cancioneros*, since they raise different problems in a study of bilingualism (and in other contexts: e.g., the inclusion of nonlyric material), but not all of the summary listings of poetic anthologies that I consulted distinguish clearly between those that have musical notation and those that do not. I remain convinced that such a distinction is important in any extensive consideration of the subject, though I have temporarily had to abandon it for practical reasons.<sup>19</sup>

The mention of the *Carmina Burana* and the *Mellon*, *Pixérécourt*, and *Escorial chansonniers* serves as a reminder that bilingual or multilingual poetic anthologies are as frequent outside the Iberian Peninsula as within it, and bibliographies for different languages (my scrutiny of these is far from complete) show the extent of the phenomenon. Boffey (1985, 187–200) lists for the fifteenth century six manuscripts that combine Latin and English in varying proportions; four with Latin, French, and English; two with English and French; one Latin, Welsh, and English; and the multilingual *Mellon* and *Escorial*. Of her list of 126 manuscripts of the period 1400–1530 that contain English courtly love lyrics, 15 are, in some sense, at least bilingual: a percentage of 11.9. Peter Dronke

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91, 7:58). There is thus, as with the single line of an English song, the minimum justification required for us to add Castilian and English to the French, Italian, Flemish, and Latin of this manuscript. *Pixérécourt* (PN15), copied in Florence c. 1484, has songs in Latin, Castilian, and what may be Provençal (most of the texts are garbled), as well as French.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Fallows, commenting on “a few [*cancioneros*] that include surprising strange languages: a little French in the *Schedelsches Liederbuch*, Italian songs in f.fr. 1597, the extensively copied English in *Mellon*,” says that “it is in that context that the flawless Flemish in *Segovia* seems remarkable (whereas the French and Italian text incipits are not)” (letter of 29 January 1993).

<sup>19</sup> For different aspects, see, as well as the studies already cited, the fundamental bibliographical tool *Census* (1979–88), and the books by Stevenson (1960) and Stevens (1961, 1986).

lists some 140 manuscripts containing love poetry in medieval Latin (1965–66, II, 545–83). Of these, 16 (11.5 percent, a figure astonishingly close to that derived from Boffey's list) are bilingual: the *Carmina Burana* has Latin, German, and French; five have Latin and German; four have Latin and French; three have English, Latin, and French; two have Latin and Czech; and one has Latin and English. In almost half of these cases, including the *Carmina Burana* and the *Harley Lyrics*, the manuscript is known to have been produced in the country whose vernacular accompanies the Latin texts, and in most of the other cases, as one would have expected, it is in a library of a region speaking that vernacular. The *Chansonnier de Chantilly* does not fit this pattern, but it has only two Latin texts, and so is not of great significance in this context. The listings given by Gaston Raynaud (1884) and Robert White Linker (1979), though they do not provide all the information that is needed, offer a useful impression of the occurrence of French and Provençal in the same *chansonniers* (see also Meyer 1890). Raynaud's inventory of 32 French *chansonniers* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (1884, I) includes five with such a mixture, or 15.6 percent of the total, but only three of these (9.4 percent) are thoroughly bilingual. The percentage of French in Provençal *chansonniers* is higher: Linker (1979, 68–69) lists 19 such manuscripts, and since there are some 95 Provençal *chansonniers*, those with French poems are 20 percent. To take an average from the information provided by Boffey, Dronke, Raynaud, and Linker is risky, since their methods of listing are different, and they cover different periods (all medieval poetic manuscripts for the language concerned in Dronke and Linker, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries only in Raynaud, fifteenth only in Boffey). Nevertheless, making all necessary reservations and recognizing the highly tentative nature of the calculation, it is interesting that the average of the four percentages is 13.2 percent and that if we take the 55 bilingual anthologies listed by these four scholars as a percentage of their total listings of 533, the figure is 10.3 percent. It seems at present, therefore, that we may expect something between one-eighth and one-tenth of *cancioneros* to be bilingual. Among musical *cancioneros* the percentage is likely to be much higher: for example, Fallows finds that French polyphonic song established itself in northern Italy about 1375 (1989, 431), with the result that “in the first years of the fifteenth century the surviving north Italian song manuscripts (most of them fragmentary) nearly all contain roughly equal quantities of French and Italian material” (433).

### 5. Bilingual Poets

The bilingualism of Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino reflects the change from Galician-Portuguese to Castilian as the dominant language of court lyric in the center and western part of the Iberian Peninsula (see Lang 1902; Lapesa 1953–54; V. Richardson 1981; Deyermond 1982, and Polín 1994).<sup>20</sup> He is not the

<sup>20</sup> I have not yet been able to see Carlos Mota's Barcelona doctoral dissertation (reported

only bilingual poet of the *Cancionero de Baena*, but he is the most prolific one. A sharp chronological division between the use of poetic languages, without any transitional linguistic forms, is represented by Villasandino's older contemporary John Gower, who began in the 1370s with poems in the Anglo-Norman dialect of French that had been used in the English court since the Norman Conquest, but he was heading towards obsolescence: the religious allegory *Mirour de l'Omme* and perhaps the *Cinkante balades*. A few years later he wrote a long satirical poem in Latin, *Vox clamantis*, which deals with, among other subjects, the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and that in turn was succeeded by the long poem that took up most of the rest of Gower's active life, the *Confessio amantis*, written in English despite its Latin title and Latin marginal glosses. The division is thus both chronological (if the *Cinkante balades* are indeed among the early poems) and generic.<sup>21</sup> A purely generic division may be observed in Petrarch, who wrote love lyrics and allegories (*Rime sparse* and *Trionfi*) in Italian but genres of Virgilian inspiration (*Bucolicum carmen* and the lost epic *Africa*) in Latin, and in the Comendador Estela, who wrote religious poetry in Catalan and love lyrics in Castilian (Martínez Romero 1990). Chronological divisions in authors' use of languages may have a biographical rather than a generic basis: two well-known examples in fifteenth-century prose are the use of Catalan by Enrique de Villena for the first version of the *Doze trabajos de Hércules* and of Portuguese by Dom Pedro de Portugal for the first version of the *Sátira de la infelice e felice vida*, because of where they spent their youth; the circumstances of their later lives made it natural for them to use Castilian.

These are interesting examples of bilingualism, but even more interesting are those writers who use two languages within the same poetic genre and at the same period of their lives. David Fallows has found that a high proportion of surviving French songs by named composers from the period 1340–1415 (42 out of 194, or out of 118 if Guillaume de Machaut is excluded) are by Italians (1989, 432). Charles d'Orléans is such a poet: captured at Agincourt when he was only twenty (though already a poet), he spent twenty five years as a prisoner in England, continuing to write a great deal in French but also

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complete in 1992) or to obtain details of it. For the present, see, on Villasandino in the context of this change, Levi (1928–29) and Caravaggi (1969), as well as the general studies just cited.

<sup>21</sup> For the problems of dating the *Cinkante balades*, see Fisher (1965, 72–74). Gower may not be the only major English poet of his time to write in French. It is likely that Chaucer, who knew French poetry well (Wimsatt 1968, 1991), wrote it, at least in the early part of his career, and Wimsatt argues (1982) that he may have composed some French poems headed "Ch" in the manuscript (though, of course, the letters could stand not for Chaucer but for *chanson*). See also Robbins (1976).

writing a substantial number of English poems.<sup>22</sup> There is a different kind of biographical explanation for the two Italian and two part-Italian poems among the 47 Castilian ones by Carvajal (M. Alvar 1984): he spent years at the Aragonese court in Naples.

Other Iberian parallels to Charles d'Orléans's bilingualism, though without such a strong biographical reason for it, are Catalans such as Romeu Llull, Pere Torroella, and Mossèn Avinyó. Montserrat Ganges Garriga's inventory (1992) lists 25 poets who wrote in both languages. Some show a marked preference for Catalan: Francesc Alegre (Ganges Garriga 1992, 103–105) has ten poems in Catalan and only one in Castilian, Bernat Fenollar (129–36) has 24 and two, and Jaume Gassull (Cantavella and Jàfer 1989; Ganges Garriga 1992, 139–42) eleven and two. In some the preference runs the other way: Francesc Fenollet (Ganges Garriga, 136–39) has one poem in Catalan but eight in Castilian, while for Francesc Moner (Cocozzella 1970, 1986, 1987, 1991; Quesada 1973; Ganges Garriga 1992, 152–62) the numbers are 16 and 66. In other cases, the two languages are evenly matched: Francesc de Castellví has four Catalan and five Castilian poems, Miquel Estela six Catalan and four Castilian (Martínez Romero 1990, Ganges Garriga 1992, 126–29), and for Torroella the numbers are 34 and 36. Romeu Llull (Turró 1989, 1992b; Ganges Garriga 1992, 144–49), who has several Castilian poems in the Catalan miscellany *Jardinet de orats* (Cátedra 1983; Turró 1992c), wrote two replies, one in Catalan and the other in Castilian, to a poem by the Conde de Oliva. As well as Llull's nineteen Catalan and six Castilian poems, there are six in Italian (Turró 1992a, 1992b), and he wrote one quadrilingual poem. One other Catalan poet wrote also in Castilian and in Italian: Narcís Vinyoles, with eighteen poems in Catalan and two in each of the other languages (Ganges Garriga 1992, 190–94). A number of Catalan poets, from Jacme March in the 1370s to Torroella and Francesc Ferrer in the 1440s, incorporate into their poems lines and stanzas from Bernard de Ventadorn, Arnaut Daniel, and other Provençal troubadours (I. de Riquer 1993). Torroella and Avinyó are strongly represented in the *Cancionero de Vindel* (Ramírez de Arellano 1976), with over a fifth of this small but important *cancionero's* texts. Torroella has been edited and studied (Bach i Rita 1930) but is due for further attention in the light of the last sixty years' scholarship (see Cocozzella 1987; Ganges Garriga 1992, 166–87); Avinyó has at last received the extended treatment that he merits (Arqués i Corominas

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<sup>22</sup> Steele and Day (1970); see Arn (1983). Some scholars (e.g., Poirion 1958, 1978) have queried his authorship of these poems, but the weight of recent evidence is against them (see Deborah Hubbard Nelson 1990 for an analytical account of scholarship; also Boffey 1988), and their doubts are surprising within a context of frequent poetic bilingualism. However, we should remember that Guillaume Dufay was resident in Italy for more than twenty years, but seems to have learned little Italian. He composed songs for the d'Este family in French, though he set some Italian poems to music (Fallows 1989, 438–40, and letter of 29 January 1993).

1992; see also Ganges Garriga 1992, 108–11). It is not only Catalan poets (those already named and others listed by Ganges Garriga 1992 and edited by Cátedra 1983) who write both in that language and in Castilian: the same is true of Juan de Valtierra, who was probably Navarrese.<sup>23</sup>

At the western frontier of Castilian, there are many Portuguese poets of the *Cancioneiro geral* who write in both languages. We have seen some cases in section 4, above, and there are plenty of others. A striking example is that of João Manuel, who has 29 Portuguese poems and 12 Castilian ones in the *Cancioneiro geral*, and another 12 Castilian ones, under the name of Juan Manuel, in the 1511 *Cancionero general* and the *Cancionero del British Museum*. Although it is possible that Juan and João were two different poets (Macpherson 1979), cogent reasons have been given for believing that they were the same man (Botta 1981; Gornall 1991). For João Manuel and Carvajal, for Avinyó and Fernam da Silveira, writing in a bilingual culture, it seems that either language would do for their lyrics. This impression is reinforced by the quoting poems in the *Cancioneiro geral*: the Portuguese poets quote Mena, Jorge Manrique, Antón de Montoro, and others just as readily as their Portuguese contemporaries.

## 6. Bilingual Poems and Their Uses

We all know that there are poems in more than one language that, though they demonstrate the poet's linguistic ability, provide no evidence of a bilingual or multilingual poetic culture, since their comic or bragging use of language implies an exception to normally monolingual poetry. I am thinking of modern cases such as A. D. Godley's macaronic poem about the motor bus ("What is it that roareth thus? / Can it be a motor bus? / Yes, the smell and hideous hum / Indicat motorem bum! / [ . . . ] Domine, defende nos / Contra hos motores bos."), and medieval ones such as Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's *descort*, in which each of the five stanzas is in a different language and the *tonada* uses all five:

Eras quan vey verdeyar  
 pratz e vergiers e boscatges,  
 vuellh un descort comensar  
 d'amor, per qu'ieu vauc aratges;

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<sup>23</sup> See Lang (1909). It is, however, not certain that the Valtierra who wrote three Castilian poems and the Vallterra who wrote one in Catalan were the same man: see Ganges Garriga (1992, 187–88 n.). There are, inevitably, other problems of identification: for instance, the Jeroni Artés who wrote a poem in Catalan may perhaps not be the Artés who wrote seven in Castilian (see Ganges Garriga 1992, 105–106 n.). The Aragonese Pedro de Santa Fe, who certainly wrote in Galician as well as Castilian (Tato 1994), also wrote a poem in Catalan, according to Lang (1909, 82–83, 86), though Cleofé Tato is more cautious (1994, 260). Tato's doctoral dissertation (Univ. de La Coruña) on Santa Fe, in which she deals also with his contacts with Italian poets, is now well advanced.



- 5 q'una dona.m sol amar,  
 mas camjatz l'es sos coratges,  
 per qu'ieu fauc dezacordar  
 los motz e.ls sos e.ls languatges.  
 Io son quel que ben non aïo
- 10 ni jamai non l'averò,  
 ni per april ni per maio,  
 si per ma donna non l'ò;  
 certo que en so lengaio  
 sa gran beutà dir non sò,
- 15 çhu fresca qe flor de glaio,  
 per qe no m'en partirò.  
 Belle douce dame chiere,  
 a vos mi doïn et m'otroi;  
 je n'avrai mes joi' entiere
- 20 si je n'ai vos e vos moi.  
 Mot estes male guerriere  
 si je muer per bone foi;  
 mes ja per nulle maniere  
 no.m partrai de vostre loi.
- 25 Dauna, io mi rent a bos,  
 coar sotz la mes bob e bera  
 q'anc fos, e gaillard e pros,  
 ab que no.m hossetz tan hera.  
 Mout abetz beras haisos
- 30 e color hresc' e noera.  
 Boste son, e si.bs agos  
 no.m destrengora hiera.  
 Mas tan temo vostro preito,  
 todo.n son escarmentado.
- 35 Por vos ei pen' e maltreito  
 e meo corpo lazerado:  
 la noit, can jatz en meu leito,  
 so mochas vetz resperado;  
 e car nonca m'aprofeito
- 40 falid' ei en mon cuidado.  
 Belhs Cavaliers, tant es car  
 lo vostr' onratz senhoratges  
 que cada jorna m'esglio.  
 Oi me lasso! que farò
- 45 si sele que j'ai plus chiere  
 me tue, ne sai por quoi?  
 Ma dauna, he que dey bos  
 ni peu cap santa Quitera,  
 mon corasso m'avetz treito

50 e mot gen favlan furtado.  
(ed. Linskill 1964, 192–93)<sup>24</sup>

This is an exercise in linguistic virtuosity (and perhaps has other aims too), though it is without any element of conscious exoticism, since the languages are all Romance, are contiguous, and would probably be accessible to an educated speaker of any one of them: successive stanzas are in Provençal, Italian, French, Gascon, and Galician-Portuguese. Such poems are of limited interest in the context of our present discussion (unless, of course, it could be shown that Raimbaut de Vaqueiras composed his *descort* at a poetic court where all five languages were in use).

Raimbaut, here as in the man-woman dialogue mentioned below, is an innovator.<sup>25</sup> Three similar poems are written a few generations later, two of them by poets who have strong Iberian connections. The troubadour Bonifaci Calvo, born in Genoa, spent some years at the court of Alfonso el Sabio (C. Alvar 1977, 181–94), where he composed two *cantigas de amor* (see Piccat 1989) as well as poems in Provençal, and where, c. 1254, he addressed a *sirventes* to Alfonso, inviting him to make war on the kings of Navarre and Aragon:

Un nou sirventes ses tardar  
voill al rei de Castella far,  
car no.m senbla, ni pes, ni crei,  
qu'el aia cor de guerreiar  
5 Navars ni l'aragones rei;  
mas pos dig n'aurai zo que dei,  
el faz'o que quiser fazer.

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<sup>24</sup> See Crescini (1923–24); Brugnolo (1983, 67–100); Tavani (1986, 1989); Gaunt (1988); Segre (1993); Brea (1994); Fernández Campo (1994). I have not yet been able to see Tavani (1969a). Brugnolo argues that Raimbaut is parodying the contemporary courtly lyric of the five languages. Gaunt says that

in a poem which switches languages as this one does, any explicit reference to language such as that in the Italian stanza [“certo que en so lengaio / sa gran beutà dir non sò”] invites interpretation. Here Raimbaut seems to be aware of a fundamental barrier between the sexes and if the poem’s multilingualism is seen as another metaphor for sexual difference, the text surely becomes much richer. (1988, 313)

I am not sure that the lines quoted will support such a conclusion, but Gaunt’s suggestion is interesting, and it deserves further attention. The use of quotations in this section contrasts awkwardly with their almost total absence elsewhere in this paper, but unless I am to append a substantial anthology it is only bilingual poems—not bilingual poets or *cancioneros*—that can be thus illustrated.

<sup>25</sup> His innovation is recognized by Elwert: “La mode a été inaugurée dans la poésie courtoise par Raimbaut de Vaqueiras” (1960, 424). I am not sure why Gaunt (1988, 307–308) accuses Elwert of saying the opposite.

- Mas eu ouç'a muitos dizer  
 que el non los quer cometer  
 10 si non de menassas, e quen  
 quer de guerr'onrrado seer,  
 sei eu muy ben que lli conven  
 de meter hi cuidad' e sen,  
 cuer e cors, aveir et amis.
- 15 Per quoi ia diz au roi, se pris  
 vuelt avoir de ce qu'a enpris,  
 qu'el guerries sens menacier,  
 que rien no mont', au mien avis;  
 qe j'ai por voir oï comter
- 20 que il puet tost au champ trover  
 les doi rois, se talent en a.  
 E se el aora non fa  
 vezer en la terra de la  
 sa tenda e son confalon
- 25 a lo rei de Navarr'e a  
 so sozer lo rei d'Arragon,  
 a caniar averan razon  
 tal que solon de lui ben dir.  
 E comenzon a dire ia
- 30 que mais quer lo reis de Leon  
 cassar d'austor e de falcon  
 c'ausberc ni sobreenseing vestir.

(Formisano 1993, 140–41)

Vicente Beltrán (1985) has shown that political factors governed the choice of languages: Galician-Portuguese was the chief poetic language of Alfonso's court; French was that of the Navarrese court and the native language of its king, the *trouvère* Thibaut de Champagne, who had recently died; and Provençal was the poetic language of the Catalans, whose king, Jaume I, was waiting in Tarazona to resist the Castilian attack on Navarre. The use of language differs from that of Raimbaut's *descort*, not merely in that there are three languages, not four but also in their distribution: Provençal is repeated, occupying the fourth stanza and the *tornada* (Raimbaut's *tornada* is multilingual), and although the sentence breaks come at the end of each stanza, the first two changes of language do not coincide with them (Provençal is replaced by Galician-Portuguese in the last line of stanza 1, and Galician-Portuguese by French in the last line of stanza 2).<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, the debt to Raimbaut is clear (despite the hesitation of some scholars), just as it is in the *cobla* by Bonifaci's contempo-

<sup>26</sup> As well as Alvar, Beltrán, and Formisano, see Branciforti (1955), Brea (1985), and Blasco (1987).

rary, the Catalan troubadour Cerveri de Girona:

Nunca querria eu achar  
 ric'home con mal coraçon,  
 mas volria seynor trobar  
 que.m dones ses deman son jon;  
 e voldroye touz les jors de ma vie  
 dames trover o pris de tote jan;  
 e si femna trobava ab enjan  
 pel mio cap'io, misser, la pigliaria.  
 Un esparver daria a l'Enfan  
 de setembre, s'aytal cobla.m fazia.<sup>27</sup>

The rubric says that this is a “cobla en .vi. lengatges,” and scholars were at first inclined to accept this statement, identifying the languages as Provençal (with four lines), French (two lines), and Galician-Portuguese, Italian, and perhaps Gascon (one line each). Giuseppe Tavani, however, argues that there are only four languages: Provençal, French, Galician-Portuguese, and Italian. The last member of this group of texts is a 44-line trilingual poem attributed to Dante, which departs radically from the pattern of the others by changing the language with every line:

Aï faux ris, pour quoi traï avés  
 oculos meo? Et quid tibi feci,  
 che fatta m'hai così spietata fraude?  
 Iam audivissent verba mea Greci.  
 E selonch autres dames vous savés  
 che 'ngannator non è degno di laude.  
 (Brugnolo 1983, 107)

Here the tradition deriving from Raimbaut's *descort* seems to end, with an even more conscious display of linguistic virtuosity.<sup>28</sup>

A different kind of interest attaches to what looks like a nonsense refrain, to be found in a number of medieval and later poems, refrains that may turn out to be a garbled form of another language, as in a mid-thirteenth-century *cantiga de amigo* by Pedro Annes Solaz:

Eu velida non dormia, *lelia doura*,  
 e meu amigo venia, *edoy lelia doura*.  
 Non dormia e cuydava, *lelia doura*,

<sup>27</sup> Tavani (1968, 76). As well as Tavani's study, see M. de Riquer (1947, 45–46), Monteverdi (1948), and Frank (1950).

<sup>28</sup> The poem is studied by Crescini (1934) and at greater length by Brugnolo (1983, 105–62). Brugnolo concludes, on stylistic and lexical grounds, that the attribution to Dante is “fortemente plausibile” (1983, 162). The poem is not, however, accepted into Dante's lyric canon by Foster and Boyde (1967).

e meu amigo chegava, *edoy lelia doura*.  
 O meu amigo venia, *lelia doura*,  
 e d'amor tan ben dizia, *edoy lelia doura*.  
 O meu amigo chegava, *lelia doura*,  
 e d'amor tan ben cantava, *edoy lelia doura*.  
 Muito desejei amigo, *lelia doura*,  
 que vos tevesse comigo, *edoy lelia doura*.  
 Muito desejei amado, *lelia doura*,  
 que vos tevesse a meu lado, *edoy lelia doura*.  
     *Leli, leli, par Deus, lely, lelia doura*,  
 ben sey eu que non diz *leli, edoy lelia doura*.  
 Ben ssey eu que non diz *lely, lelia doura*,  
 demo e quen non diz *lelia, edoy lelia doura*.  
 (Dutton 1964, 1)

Brian Dutton concluded that the refrain was probably Arabic, and he suggested an interpretation ("The night [weighs] long [upon] me, / I languish, and the night [weighs] long [upon] me"). His article concludes:

I am inclined to see in this poem by Pedro Annes Solaz an ironical comment on a liaison between a Muslim minstrel and a *soldadera*. . . . The first four stanzas are perhaps part of a song which the *soldadera* was fond of singing. . . . Similarly [I suspect that] the refrain in Arabic comes from the repertoire of her paramour. . . . We must see in the poem a blend of two . . . love lyrics that produce a fine piece of ironic satire. (Dutton 1964, 8–9)

For a time, he explored the possibility that nonsense refrains in other European poems might similarly represent Arabic phrases garbled almost beyond recognition (cf. Frank 1952), but the investigation petered out because of methodological problems and because the evidence was tenuous. The form in which such refrains have survived does not, in any case, suggest that they are the products of bilingual poetic cultures, and for that reason I shall not be further concerned with them in this paper.

The vexed question of bilingualism in the *kharjas* (see, for instance, Whinnom 1982–83, Armistead and Monroe 1982–83) is also, though for other reasons, remote from our present topic, but the use of different languages (e.g., Hebrew/Spanish or Hebrew/Vulgar Arabic) for *kharja* and *muwaššāh*, arising from the linguistic range of the Andalusian courts in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, is directly analogous to the bilingualism of many fifteenth-century court lyrics and their social context. I am, however, aware of very few cases in which a woman replies in everyday language, in the *kharja*, to a man's elevated speech in Classical Arabic or Hebrew, in the main body of the *muwaššāh*.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> It is thus not true that "what some of the complete poems [*muwaššāhas*] now show us

I can find only one case, among the eighty-one poems in Solá-Solé (1973), in which the poet addresses his beloved (in the fifth and final Classical Arabic stanza of the *muwaššāh*) and she replies to him in the *kharja* (in Vulgar Arabic that may contain a couple of Romance words). This is an anonymous poem of unknown date (no. 48, Solá-Solé 1973, 289–91). In addition, two of the ninety-three Hebrew *muwaššāhs* with *kharjas* (both of them couplets) in “a more or less colloquial form of Arabic,” studied by James T. Monroe and David Swiatlo (1977), end with a bilingual dialogue between a woman and her lover. One of the *muwaššāhs* is by Abraham ibn ‘Ezra (c. 1092–1167), and the other is by another famous Hispano-Hebraic poet, Todros ben Yehudah ha-Levi Abū l-‘Afia (1247–c. 1306).

The interplay of languages, registers, and tones between courtly, man’s-voice *muwaššāh* and colloquial, woman’s-voice *kharja* in these three cases (see Deyermond 1993) is to some extent paralleled in *Carmina Burana* no. 185, though here a woman’s voice speaks throughout: the German lines present a romantic seduction, while the Latin lines that alternate with them show that it was a rape:

Ich was ein chint so wolgetan,  
 virgo dum florebam,  
 do brist mich div werlt al,  
 omnibus placebam.  
 Hoy et oe!  
 maledicantur thylie  
 iuxta uiam posite!  
 Ia wolde ih an die wizen gan,  
 flores adunare,  
 dowolde mich ein ungetan  
 ibi deflorare. . . .  
 Er nam mich bi der wizen hant,  
 sed non indecenter,  
 er wist mich div wise lanch  
 valde fraudulentur. . . .  
 Er graif mir an daz wize gewant  
 valde indecenter,  
 er fürte mih bi der hant  
 multum violentur. . . .

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is a conventional situation in which a poet expresses his longing for a beautiful slave-girl in the language of culture, whereupon in the coda [*kharja*] the girl replies in the language of the people” (Forster 1970, 12). As is well known, the majority of Arabic and Hebrew *muwaššāhs* that have Romance or Vulgar Arabic *kharjas* are panegyrics or homosexual love poems. Among the minority that are heterosexual love-poems, the norm is for the young woman to address her mother in the *kharja*, and/or for the poet to write about his love without directly addressing the beloved.

Er sprach: "vrowe, gewir baz!  
           nemus est remotum."  
 dirre wech, der habe haz!  
           planxi et hoc totum. . . .  
 "Iz stat ein linde wolgetan  
           non procul a uia,  
 da hab ich mine herphe lan,  
           timpanum cum lyra." . . .  
 Do er zû der linden chom,  
           dixit: "sedeamus,"  
 — dive minne twanch sere den man —  
           "ludum faciamus!" . . .  
 Er graif mir an den wizen lip,  
           non absque timore,  
 er sprah: "ich mache dich ein wip,  
           dulcis es cum ore." . . .  
 Er warf mir ûf daz hemdelin  
           corpore detecta,  
 er rante mir in daz purgelin  
           cuspidē erecta. . . .  
 Er nam den chocher unde den bogen,  
           bene uenabatur!  
 der selbe hete mich betrogen,  
           ludus compleatur. . . .<sup>30</sup>

Both the German and the Latin lines are in the same woman's voice. Why, then, do they carry different meanings? Anne Howland Schotter says that "the girl's narration of her seduction proceeds much more rapidly in Latin than in German, so that she appears either not to know what is happening to her, or else to willfully soften it with the idealistic diction of Minnesang" (1981, 24). Schotter decides in favor of the second possibility: the young woman "continues to use German to romanticize what is in fact a rape" (25). I think she is probably right, but more study of this poem is needed.<sup>31</sup> This is one of many songs in the *Carmina Burana* that combine Latin and German (as we have seen in section 4, above), but its skillful interweaving of the languages to establish an ironic counterpoint makes it much more interesting than those that use a

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<sup>30</sup> Diemer and Diemer (1987, 588–92). See Schotter (1981, 24–25); see also Dronke (1965–66, 1:304, and 1975, 128); Plummer 1981, 141–42. It is interesting to compare a dialogue between a knight and a young woman in the *Cambridge Songs*, in which both parties use Latin and German.

<sup>31</sup> I place it in the context of other (though not bilingual) poems about sexual initiation in Deyermond (1990).

German stanza or stanzas to end a Latin poem, without the factors that make such a pattern fruitful in a *muwaššāh* and its *kharja*.<sup>32</sup>

A closer parallel to the *muwaššāh/kharja* linguistic pattern—a much closer parallel to the three man–woman dialogues—is found in a poem written at the Aragonese court in Naples by Carvajal: the man speaks Castilian and the woman, Italian:

“¿Dónde sois gentil galana?”  
 Respondió manso e sin priessa  
 “Mia matre è de Adversa  
 io, micer, napolitana.”  
 Preguntel si era casada  
 o si se quería casar:  
 “Oimè — disse — esventurata,  
 hora fosse a maritar!  
 Ma la bona voglia è vana,  
 poi fortuna è adversa:  
 ché mia matre è de Adversa  
 io, mecer, napolitana.” (Scoles 1967, 186)

Although the usual description of this poem as a *serranilla* rests on shaky ground (Marino 1987, 119–20), the implication is that the woman is of lower social status than the man, and this sociolinguistic differentiation contrasts sharply with the insistence of the Italian humanists that their culture is superior to the Castilian.

There are several very interesting analogues to Carvajal’s poem, in addition to the *muwaššāhs* already mentioned, and I am inclined to think that they form a subgenre of bilingual man–woman dialogues, perhaps inspired by the difference in register often found in *pastorelas*, perhaps descended directly from a *tenso* (c. 1190) by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, in which the man speaks Provençal and the woman, the Genoese dialect of Italian.<sup>33</sup> The other texts that I have found are the section of the *Libro de Buen Amor* in which Trotaconventos courts a young Moorish woman on the narrator–protagonist’s behalf, and the

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<sup>32</sup> The form of this poem, alternating lines in each language within a quatrain, may be related to the early stages of the *rondeau*; see Beltrán 1984. Professor Regula Rohland de Langbehn (letter of 24 February 1993) draws my attention to a thirteenth-century poem by Tannhäuser, which combines two languages in a different way to produce an ironic result: single words from the French courtly lexicon are set within a German poem: “Von amure seit ich ir, / daz vergalt si dulce mir. . . .” She also points out that two poems by Oswald von Wolkenstein (1377–1445) contain passages in several languages with German versions of these passages (Klein et al. 1962, nos. 69 and 119). Von Wolkenstein, as we have already seen, met Queen Margarida de Prades and wrote a poem in her honour (section 1, above).

<sup>33</sup> The text is in Linskill (1964, 99–101). Simon Gaunt suggests that the Italian stanzas may be the authentic work of an anonymous Genoese woman poet (1988, 302, 313). The suggestion had been made by earlier scholars, but Gaunt develops it fruitfully.



woman replies in Arabic (not a lyric but an adaptation of a lyric pattern; Blecua 1992, 387–89, st. 1508–12); a Castilian-French dialogue by Francisco Imperial (Nepaulsingh 1977, 51–55; Dutton and González Cuenca 1993, 303–304); a Welsh-English dialogue by Carvajal's contemporary Tudur Penllyn (D. Johnston 1991, 74–77); and a French-Basque dialogue written at the end of the fifteenth century by the Flemish musician and poet Josquin Desprez (Stevenson 1977, 218–19; Paden 1987, II, 522). These dialogues need much more discussion than could be accommodated in the present paper, and I have therefore dealt with them separately (Deyermond in press).

There are many other kinds of bilingual poem, in various linguistic combinations. Some songs from the period 1340–1415 (much the same period as that covered by the *Cancionero de Baena*) mix Italian and French (Fallows 1989, 432). A random sampling of sixty fifteenth-century English religious lyrics (Brown 1939, nos. 1–20, 81–100, and 141–60) reveals eleven, or nearly one-fifth of the total, that combine English and Latin in some way. The kind of combination varies: alternating Latin and English texts in nos. 1 and 90; a Latin refrain in 6, 85, 156, and 159; the fourth line of each stanza in Latin, 16; alternating Latin and English lines, 17 and 86; the first half of each of the first four lines in Latin and the second half in English, 18, 157. It could be objected that frequent use of the liturgical language is not surprising in religious lyrics, and indeed the equivalent sample of fourteenth to fifteenth-century secular lyrics (Robbins 1955) yields only five cases, but they are very interesting ones: a French refrain, no. 1; the second half of a few lines in French, 14; Latin last line(s), 89 and 90 (these should perhaps be eliminated from consideration, since they are colophons); and a short trilingual drinking song:

Verbum caro factum est  
 et habitavit in nobis.  
 Fetys bel chere,  
 drynk to thy fere,  
 verse le bavere,  
 and synge nouwell! (1955, 8, no. 10)

A comparable earlier case is no. 19 of the early fourteenth-century *Harley Lyrics*, a love poem whose first eighteen lines are a macaronic blend of Latin and Anglo-Norman, ending with two lines in English:

Dum ludis floribus velud lacinia  
 le dieu d'amour moi tient en tiel angustia,  
 merour me tient de duel et de miseria  
 si je ne la ay quam amo super omnia.  
 5 Eius amor tantum me facit fervere  
 qe je ne soi quid possum inde facere;  
 pur ly covent hoc seculum relinquere  
 si je ne pus l'amour de li perquirere.  
 Ele est si bele e gente dame egregia

- 10 cum ele fust imperatoris filia,  
de beal semblant e pulcra continencia,  
ele est la flur in omnia regis curia.  
Quant je la vey je su in tali gloria  
come est la lune celi inter sidera;
- 15 Dieu la moi doint sua misericordia  
beyser e fere que secuntur alia.  
Scripsi hec carmina in tabulis;  
mon ostel est en mi la vile de Paris;  
may y sugge namore, so wel me is;
- 20 3ef hi de3e for love of hire, duel hit ys.  
(Brook 1968, 55)

Earlier still, and dividing the languages more sharply, are two thirteenth-century poems, a prisoner's poem whose parallel English and Anglo-Norman versions are arranged in alternating stanzas (Brown 1932, 10–13, no. 5), and a definition of love, whose three stanzas say the same thing in, successively, English, Latin, and French:

Love is a selkud wodenesse  
þat þe idel mon ledeth by wilderness,  
þat þurstes of wilfulscipe and drinket sorwenesse  
and with lomful sorwes menget his blithenesse.  
Amor est quedam mentis insania  
que vagum hominem ducit per deuia  
sitit delicias and bibit tristia  
crebris doloribus commiscens gaudia.  
Amur est une pensee enragee  
ke le udif humme meyne par veie deveye  
ke a soyf de delices e ne beyt ke tristescs  
and od souvens dolurs medle sa tristescs [*sic*].  
(Brown 1932, 14–15, no. 9)

The linguistic state of the secular lyrics thus reflects a trilingual poetic court—and other trilingual cultural contexts—in late medieval England. We should recall that the most famous of Scottish lyrics from the end of the Middle Ages, William Dunbar's *Lament for the Makaris*, uses a Latin refrain to great effect:

I that in heill wes and gladnes,  
Am trublit now with gret seiknes,  
And feblit with infermite;  
Timor mortis conturbat me. . . .  
He hes done petuously devour  
The noble Chaucer, of makaris flour,  
The Monk of Bery, and Gower, all thre;  
Timor mortis conturbat me. . . .  
Sen he has all my brether tane,

He will nocht lat me lif alane,  
 On forse I man his nyxt pray be;  
 Timor mortis conturbat me. . . .  
 (Mackenzie 1933, 20–23)

We should recall also that Juan Ruiz's contemporary Dafydd ap Gwilym wrote a nine-stanza meditation on a eucharistic sequence, in which each Latin phrase is glossed by a Welsh quatrain.

In Iberian *cancioneros*, as in those of other countries, Latin and the vernacular are most likely to be found together in religious poems or in parodies of religious texts. The *misas de amor* of Juan de Dueñas, Suero de Ribera, and Nicolás Núñez provide a good example (see Tillier 1985, chap. 2). In secular lyric the blend is much more likely to be of two vernaculars and to be found in two or more closely linked poems than within a single one. Thus in Resende's *Cancioneiro geral* a Portuguese poem by Jorge da Silveira (Dutton ID 5240) begins a series of 74 poems, so closely linked that in Dutton 1982 they were given a single ID number. The first two of this series (the anonymous 2280 and Nuno Gonçalves's 5241) are in Castilian, and all the rest are in Portuguese. A Portuguese *pregunta* by Fernam Brandam is answered in Castilian by Anrique de Saa (5143–44), and Fernam da Silveira replies in Castilian to his own Portuguese *pregunta* (5459–60). Similarly, two Catalan *cançons* include a *demanda* in hendecasyllables by Joan Roís de Corella to which the Príncipe de Viana replies in Castilian, using the same rhyme scheme but in *arte mayor*.<sup>34</sup> Only a few single poems by Castilian poets are bilingual or trilingual: Carlos Alvar's estimate is 12–15 (1991, 499). One by Carvajal, which uses language for gender and social differentiation, has already been quoted; in another, entirely man's-voice, he mixes Italian, Castilian, and Latin: a quotation from Scipio Africanus transposed to a love complaint (Scoles 1967, 192–93; see M. Alvar 1984).<sup>35</sup>

Bilingual poems may be classified in a number of ways. One relates to the distribution of languages within the poem. If two are used in a single line, we have a macaronic poem (see the observations of Harvey 1978 for Anglo-Norman), and the same is true of some poems that change languages with

<sup>34</sup> For the difficult problem of defining the hendecasyllable according to the scansion conventions in different languages, see Duffell (1991). An exchange between poets of different languages was not always bilingual: the individual *cancionero* of Gómez Manrique (MN24) includes a *pregunta* by a Portuguese identified only as Álvaro, to which Manrique replies in the same language (3369–70; texts in Dutton 1990–91, 2:217). Manrique's Portuguese is slightly Castilianized, and Álvaro's *pregunta* includes three lines of Castilian; this does not, however, invalidate the statement that I make in this note.

<sup>35</sup> Another poem by Carvajal begins with a line in Latin, the rest being in Castilian, but this hardly counts as bilingual, since the Latin is a well-known quotation from the Psalms (Scoles 1967, 192–93). An analogue is Rojas's use of a phrase from the *Salve Regina* to end *Celestina*.

every line (e.g., the *descort* attributed to Dante, though not “Ich was ein chint so wolgetan,” from the *Carmina Burana*, with its antiphonal effect). The function of macaronic poems is likely to be different from that of poems that have a final stanza or stanzas in a second language or that use a second language for one speaker in a dialogue. Much, however, depends on the languages used. If, as is usually the case in macaronic texts, one is Latin and the other is vernacular, and the subject matter is religious, we should need strong evidence before accepting that the purpose of this linguistic mixture is comic; it is far more likely to reflect the bilingual nature of popular worship in the medieval western Church: Latin liturgy, vernacular sermon. If, however, two vernaculars are mixed within a line, the most probable reason is that the poet wishes to exploit the comic possibilities of such a mixture. Vernacular-Latin bilingualism is in any case usually of a different nature from the mixture of two or more vernaculars: Paul Zumthor observes that “le bilinguisme roman est horizontal; le bilinguisme latin-vulgaire, vertical,” and he dates the emergence of the former to the end of the twelfth century (1960, 588; 1963, 110). The same contrast is valid for any pair of liturgical and everyday languages: for example, the Hebrew *muwaššāhs* with Vulgar Arabic *kharijas* studied by Monroe and Swiatlo (1977). This does not, of course, imply that the two vernaculars are necessarily on an equal footing. Another basis for classification is the number of languages used: at one extreme, a wish to display linguistic virtuosity is likely to be the main, perhaps the sole, reason for using four or five languages in a single poem; at the other extreme, if only two languages are used, some other explanation should probably be sought. These, however, are probabilities, not immutable rules, and each case needs to be carefully considered: until Vicente Beltrán (1985) showed the political significance of Bonifaci Calvo’s trilingual *sirventes*, critics had assumed that it served the same purpose as its model, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s *descort*.

### 7. Implications for Readers

In the preceding sections of this paper, I have raised, directly or indirectly, a number of important general questions. For example, when two languages are used in a man-woman dialogue, is there a hierarchical ranking of the languages, and if so, how is it manifested? Is the hierarchy that of cultural prestige or of political and economic power? In Josquin Desprez’s poem, where the male narrator-protagonist speaks French and the woman, Basque, the criteria converge. In Raimbaut de Vaqueiras’s *tenso*, the man’s language, Provençal, is that of high culture, while the woman’s, the Genoese form of Italian, is the language of power, as she brutally reminds the man at the end. Two and a half centuries later, when another such dialogue is written in Italy, by Carvajal, the roles have changed: the man’s Castilian is one of the languages of the Aragonese conquerors of Naples, while the woman’s Italian is one of the languages of culture (not ranked as high as the Latin of the humanists, but with the *Divina commedia* and Petrarch’s lyrics at its back). In Carvajal’s poem, however, these hierarchies are only implicit, as they are in its contemporary, Tudur

Penllyn's dialogue (written in a lower register), where the language roles are comparable. In all the man-woman dialogues, the question of gender hierarchy is explicitly or implicitly present, sometimes coinciding with the hierarchy of culture, sometimes with that of national power, sometimes with both, sometimes with neither (for the texts of these dialogues and discussion of the poems, see Deyermond in press). These often competing hierarchies remind us that Zumthor's image of vertical and horizontal bilingualisms is sometimes too restrictive: there are diagonal and even chiasmic hierarchical relationships. Another context for language hierarchy is found in the bilingual poem from the *Carmina Burana*, quoted above, where a single speaker alternates the language of high culture with that of everyday life (albeit in a fairly high register). Here the two languages may reflect two levels of the speaker's awareness or two interpretations. There is no transferable set of hierarchical relationships, even when the same pair of languages is involved. Context is all important: the macaronic use of Latin and German in "Ich was ein chint so wolgetan" has little in common with that of a fifteenth-century Christmas carol:

In dulci iubilo  
 nun singet und seid froh!  
 Unsers Herzens Wonne  
 leit in praesepio  
 und leuchtet vor die Sonne  
 matris in gremio.  
 Alpha es et O! . . . (Forster 1970, 10)

The English version of the carol has even less in common with Godley's poem about the motor bus.

Another question to be addressed—more, perhaps, by literary historians than by critics on this occasion—is whether the frequent use of one language in a *cancionero* written predominantly in another language reflects a shift in political or economic power. The extensive use of German in the *Carmina Burana* is not due to any external shift but may possibly, when compared with largely monolingual Latin anthologies of an earlier period, indicate changing social patterns and the rise of vernacular literacy.<sup>36</sup> The use of Castilian by many Portuguese poets in the *Cancioneiro geral*, on the other hand, is probably due in large measure to growing Castilian political hegemony, and the same explanation may apply to the increasing use of Castilian in Catalan *cançons* of the same period (though more caution is needed here, for reasons discussed in section 4).

A third question to be considered is the international and therefore multi-lingual culture of medieval royalty and aristocracy (for various aspects of that

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<sup>36</sup> Peter Dronke's redating of the *Carmina Burana* to the early thirteenth century, on literary as well as art-historical and paleographic grounds (1962), against Otto Schumann's widely accepted date of c. 1300 (1926), would reduce the probability of the latter hypothesis.

culture, see Prestage 1928 and Jaeger 1985). The traveling poets of the thirteenth century (C. Alvar 1977) illustrate the fluidity of that culture in one way, the knights errant of the fifteenth century (M. de Riquer 1967, 1970) in another. Before the rise of the nation-state, the association between language and loyalty to one's country scarcely existed (Chaytor 1945, chap. 3). To attempt to study one lyric tradition in isolation is thus to distort sociohistorical as well as literary reality.

All these questions, and more, arise from any attempt to study bilingualism in the medieval lyric. I can do no more than indicate paths that critics and literary historians may wish to follow. Before they can do so satisfactorily, however, a number of bibliographical and philological tasks must be undertaken.

### 8. Implications for Action

First, it is clear that as well as analyzing individual poems and studying individual poets, we need to consider poetic anthologies as an object of research in themselves. Aurelio Roncaglia observed that "il faut en premier lieu développer systématiquement ce que j'appellerai un contrôle croisé entre la stemmatique générale des chansonniers et la stemmatique particulière des compositions individuelles" (1991, 36). The possibility that a *cancionero* was influenced in its visual or conceptual design by another *cancionero* or group of them, with which it has nothing in common textually, needs more attention than it has so far received. Henry H. Carter argued, briefly but convincingly, that the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* was modeled on a royal scriptorium manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Carter 1941, xii); it has even been suggested that *Ajuda* itself is a product of the Alfonsine scriptorium. I have given reasons for believing that the *Cancionero de Baena's* conceptual structure, though not its intellectual content, derived from the Provençal *chansonniers* (Deyermond 1982, 204–205).<sup>37</sup> Similarly, Víctor de Lama's work on the *Cancionero de la Catedral de*

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<sup>37</sup> Julian Weiss disagrees on two grounds (1990, 40–42). First, he accepts that "the *vidas* are, in their basic conception, similar to the general rubrics preceding the work of the major poets in Baena's anthology," but, he adds, "they are far more elaborate than anything written by the Castilian" (42). Similarly: "The *razos*, which describe the circumstances of composition, correspond in their basic function to the rubrics of the individual poems; yet as far as style and substance are concerned, they share nothing in common" (42). Weiss is right in his comparative judgment of length and quality; I had said much the same: "The *vidas* and *razos* are usually much longer than Baena's rubrics . . . but the similarity is unmistakable, and is much too close to be coincidental" (1982, 205). I still believe that opinion to be correct. Weiss goes on: "The similarities in function between the Castilian rubrics and the *vidas* and *razos* stem from something much more simple: they both originate in the desire of compilers to sell their wares and at the same time to extol the literary and social merits of their patrons" (42). Yet these are fairly common motives in the compilation of poetic anthologies, and if Weiss were right, we should expect the *vida* plus *razo* pattern to be fairly widespread. It is not. Looking at such anthologies in a wide variety of languages, I have been struck by the scarcity of that pattern (Weiss's impression is different: "Baena structured his *Cancionero*

*Segovia* has shown again that the stemma of musical relationships may be quite different from the textual one (Lama de la Cruz 1994), and an iconographic stemma may well be different from both (most of us are familiar with the work that has been done on woodcuts in early editions of *Celestina*). We are still only at the beginning of a serious study of medieval European poetic anthologies, though some important work has already been done, both in surveying a tradition (e.g., González Cuenca 1978, Dutton 1979) and in tracing the relationships of a family of *cancioneros* (Fiona Maguire's codicological paper of 1991 is a model here). And, of course, Julia Boffey's book (1985) stands as a

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in a way that was common in the European lyric tradition," 43). Moreover, Baena shows familiarity with Provençal precedent. As is well known, he uses the Provençal-derived term "la gaya ciencia." Second, Weiss believes that adequate precedent for Baena's pattern of rubrics is to be found in the textual tradition of the Galician-Portuguese *cancioneiros*. He says that "the basic arrangement of the three large *cancioneiros* is by genre, and within that by author; but internal evidence also proves that in smaller anthologies the opposite practice (by author, then genre) was also followed, and this was the system selected by Baena" (41). This statement is supported by a reference to Tavani (1969c), but Tavani's findings do not adequately support the opinion. Tavani's reconstruction of the manuscript tradition distinguishes four stages: small manuscripts of individual poets (1969c, 153–67), then "raccolte poetiche dedicate ad un solo autore e di proporzioni maggiori" (167–72), then collections of medium size containing the work of a number of poets (172–75), and finally the big *cancioneiros*. The evidence about the third stage is ambiguous: Tavani refers to "una serie di chierici-trovatori riuniti assieme nella stessa sezione del canzoniere, con poesie appartenenti ai generi più disparati" (174; see also 178), but he does not mention arrangement by genre within the work of a single poet at this stage, and his study as a whole points firmly towards genre as the main basis for organization once the stage of single-poet manuscripts is past; the existence of a single-genre anthology, the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, is powerful evidence for this hypothesis. Even if that were not the case, we should still lack evidence for anything in the Galician-Portuguese textual tradition that resembled the Provençal *vida plus raso* system. Weiss (1990) says:

These *cancioneiros* supply the additional precedent for Baena's anthology in the occasional use of rudimentary rubrics. These come down to us mainly in the section devoted to satiric verse in the two Italian collections (unfortunately, the scribes never filled in the spaces left for rubrics in the *Canioneiro da Ajuda*). (41)

The rubrics that are found are, as Weiss says, rudimentary, though he finds one exception:

where the compiler gives rare details about Martin [Soares]'s origins and his excellence as a poet. This may have reflected a wider practice, current in smaller anthologies now lost to us, whose purpose was to preserve and confer authority upon the work of an individual or local community of poets. (41)

That is possible, but the hypothesis rests on slender evidence—much too slender, I think, to justify preferring it to the clear similarity between Baena's rubrics and the Provençal pattern of *vida plus raso*. Even the closest approximation in Galician-Portuguese to Baena's practice—the *razo*-type rubrics in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, with an initial poem that to some extent corresponds to the *vida*—is not as close as the Provençal-Baena resemblance.

challenge and an inspiration to hispanomedievalists. We now, thanks to the monumental achievement of Brian Dutton and his collaborators (1982, 1990–91), have the equipment with which to respond to that challenge.<sup>38</sup>

In the wider European context, we need to bring together specialists in different languages to pool information and to bounce ideas off each other. The 1989 Liège conference (*Lyrique* 1991), at which two-thirds of the papers were concerned with topics wider than a single anthology, made an excellent start for the Romance languages, and the publication of the discussions as well as the papers adds to the value of the volume. I have for the last few years been thinking of a conference at which each of a dozen lyric languages of the Middle Ages would be represented by a specialist, so that common problems in the study of *cancioneros* as units could be identified and possible solutions discussed. The time has clearly come to pursue this idea.

Second, we need, as a minimum, a union catalogue of poetic anthologies and other formally constituted poetic manuscripts and early printed texts compiled in Europe between the fall of the Roman Empire in the West and about 1600, in all languages (including Arabic and Hebrew). There would be obvious advantages in including all manuscripts and early printed texts containing lyrics, but these might be offset by delays in completing the project. The catalogue should, in addition to codicological details, history of the manuscript, and library location, list the poets (with number of poems—in each language, in the case of a bilingual poet), and give the number of anonymous

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<sup>38</sup> An announcement of a new collaborative project, "Intavulare: tavole di canzonieri romanzi (lirica delle origini)," directed by Anna Ferrari, is distributed with *Lyrique* 1991. It will provide for each major manuscript anthology a volume containing indexes of first lines and authors, with all relevant supplementary material. This will make comparative studies within the Romance field much easier, as will Anna M. Gudayol i Torrelló's dissertation (in preparation). The practical reasons for the exclusion of English, German, Latin, and other languages from the Intavulare project are easy to understand, though the exclusion is regrettable. I also regret that the announcement makes no mention of Brian Dutton's work, though it is implicitly recognized by the absence of Castilian from the list of volumes in press and in preparation. The extent to which Dutton and his collaborators have surpassed the bibliographical tools available for the study of other lyric traditions may be gauged by comparing Dutton and Krogstad 1990–91 with *The Index of Middle English Verse* (Brown and Robbins 1943; Robbins and Cutler 1965). The *Index*, indispensable though it is, is relatively unsophisticated and inflexible and lacks the copious indexing of Dutton and Krogstad. Julia Boffey and two American collaborators have recently begun work on a replacement, which, it is to be hoped, will build on Dutton's technical achievements and conceptual structure, as well as on the vast quantity of information in the original *Index*. Information about the Intavulare project may be obtained from Professor Ferrari, Facoltà di Lettere, Dip. Studi Romanzi, Università La Sapienza, Piazzale Aldo Moro 5, 00185 Roma, Italy, or from Professor Madeleine Tyssens, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Dép. d'Études Romanes, Université de Liège, Place Cockerill, 4000 Liège, Belgium.



poems. A detailed inventory of each anthology would make the catalogue so extensive that only the wealthiest scholars could think of acquiring it (at least until the price of CD-ROMS and the necessary hardware falls sharply). Such inventories are best left to those working in a single language, either as a comprehensive Dutton-style inventory for all the material in that language or as a single-manuscript volume of the type mentioned in note 38. I do not think it is unreasonably optimistic to suppose that at least a tentative union catalogue could be produced fairly rapidly. Without it, those of us who are interested in comparative medieval lyric studies will be working in, at best, the twilight.

Third, we need teams to work on editions of bilingual and multilingual *cancioneros*. *Segovia* is now much better known, thanks to Lama 1994, but a full edition and study would probably require the collaboration of specialists in the late medieval lyric of all five of the languages used and of at least one musicologist. A similarly large team would be needed for a full study of the *Pixérécourt Chansonnier*, though linguistically less varied anthologies could be covered by a smaller team, and those without music and confined to two languages might sometimes need only a single scholar. An adequate study of a multilingual poetic court, though it could occasionally be carried out by one widely read and linguistically talented scholar, is in general another obvious case for teamwork.

Fourth, editions and studies of the work of bilingual poets such as Avinyó, Nuno Gonzalez, Fernam da Silveira, and Torrellas, once rare, are now being undertaken with increasing and welcome frequency in Catalonia, and it is to be hoped that Portuguese scholars will follow this example. This task too could advantageously be done in collaboration, since there are not many scholars who are equally familiar with fifteenth-century Castilian and Catalan or with Castilian and Portuguese, lyric poetry and archival materials. (To avoid any misunderstanding I should add that many monolingual poets, indeed, the great majority, are also overdue for such monographic treatment and that where valuable contributions remain unpublished in theses and dissertations [e.g., Foreman 1969 on Quirós, V. Richardson 1981 on five early *Baena* poets, and Tillier 1985, 124–27 on Juan Tallante] they should be made accessible in a way that would protect the authors from plagiarism.)

Fifth, even though the percentages of bilingual poems, or poets, or *cancioneros* are relatively low—for instance, about 10–12 percent of all late medieval poetic anthologies within a given linguistic tradition seem to be to some extent bilingual (see the evidence in section 4)—they are high enough to make nonsense of any attempt to study the late medieval lyric tradition of any language in isolation.<sup>39</sup> My work, still obviously very tentative, on bilingualism

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<sup>39</sup> The same is, of course, true in other areas of research: A. I. Doyle observes that “it has been a common mistake to suppose that one can reach any reliable conclusions about books and their users in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by confining one’s view to books in one language only” (1983, 163).

has reinforced a conviction that has grown on me since I planned, in the early 1980s, the course on medieval lyric for the MA in Medieval Studies at Queen Mary and Westfield College. I do not claim any originality for this point of view: Peter Dronke and Stephen Reckert, in very different ways, have for many years been demonstrating with consistent brilliance the need for a multilingual approach to lyric (see Reckert 1993). Neither do I wish to join the depressingly long list of those who insist that before studying medieval literature one must first be familiar with some other subject. Of course it is possible to study many poems and many poets satisfactorily within the bounds of a single language. But if we want to study some poets, or any lyric tradition as a whole, a multilingual approach is inescapable. We cannot even, in most cases, confine ourselves to pairs of languages: as we have seen, Castilian exists side by side in *cancioneros* with Catalan, Italian, Latin, and Portuguese, in a different way with Galician, and occasionally with Arabic, Basque, English, Flemish, and French; French coexists with Basque, Castilian, English, Latin, and Provençal; English with Castilian, Flemish, French, Italian, Latin, and Welsh; Latin with Castilian, Czech, English, French, and German; and so on. The web of relationships in medieval European lyric cannot be cut at any point without distorting the pattern, and I am not sure that my restriction of that statement to Europe is justified.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to Mr. John Gornall for a copy of his unpublished paper, to Dr. Víctor de Lama for allowing me to use his dissertation (now published: Lama de la Cruz 1994) before its examination, and to Professor Jacques Joset and Mr. John Perivolaris for supplying me with elusive bibliographical items. Professor Vicente Beltrán, Dr. Roger Boase, Dr. Julia Boffey, Dr. Lluís Cabré, Dr. David Fallows, Professor R. Geraint Gruffydd, Professor Thomas R. Hart, Professor David Hook, Dr. Tony Hunt, Dr. Linda Paterson, Dr. Silvia Ranawake, and Dr. Jane Whetnall very kindly commented on the first draft of this paper, correcting many errors and providing me with invaluable information and bibliographical references. I have also benefited from the discussion of the second draft at the Conference, and especially from the information provided by Professor Michael Gerli and Professor Regula Rohland de Langbehn. In the final stage of transforming successive drafts into the published version, I have been greatly helped by the detailed comments and suggestions of the editors, Professor Gerli and Professor Julian Weiss. Their confidence that I could, with a little help, realize their Platonic ideal of a paper on bilingualism in the *cancioneros* was ill-founded, but it led me to the solution of a number of problems. For all this assistance, my heartfelt thanks.

*Reading Cartagena: Blindness, Insight and Modernity  
in a Cancionero Poet*

E. MICHAEL GERLI

*Veritas est aequatio verbi et rei*

**C**ancionero poetry's status as a philological phenomenon (e.g., the monumental textual work completed by Brian Dutton 1982, 1990–91), or simply as a social document recording the lyric musings of a declining medieval aristocracy (e.g., Boase 1978), has obscured the artistic merit, innovation, and intellectual complexity of many of the individual poets we find practicing it. Worse still, it has conditioned a repudiation of many of these poets as objects of serious intellectual, literary, and cultural interest. Until very recently, with few exceptions (notably Whinnom 1981, Macpherson 1985, and Weiss 1990), the only critical responses directed toward the majority of *cancionero* poets have been circumscribed to a negative, to a philological, or to a strictly sociohistorical one. When they are read, if they are read at all today, it seems that it is always as a duty. Seen only as the mouthpieces of an effete ruling class given over to the pursuit of abstract, mannered, verse, *cancionero* poets have been labeled little more than textual curiosities or practitioners of a "primitive" form of poetic discourse against which to measure the lyric flights taken by the revolutionary Boscán or the divine Garcilaso (Lapesa 1985), who boldly accommodated the themes and forms of the Italian Renaissance to Spanish letters.

Despite the philological enterprise, the exploitation of *cancionero* poetry as the black backdrop by which to contrast and construct the splendors of the Renaissance, or its depiction as a microcosm of the decline and crisis of the medieval world, none of these gestures accounts for several disconcerting facts: (1) that *cancionero* poetry was perhaps the single most persistent cultural activity in Spain during a period spanning nearly one hundred and fifty years; (2) that it remained the staple form of Spanish poetry almost into the seventeenth cen-

tury; and (3) that we persistently fail to appreciate its very status as an innovative art form, as literature, and as an intellectual pursuit. My purpose here is to illustrate the rich, unexplored literary and cultural possibilities offered by one of these poets, Cartagena, and to seek to articulate by way of this example the wealth of cerebral complexity, as well as the artistic, linguistic, and ideological significance of the poetry written by him and others at court during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. By beginning with the fundamental premise that the prevailing models governing the discussion of *cancionero* poetry often fail to take note of the interpretive criteria offered by the texts themselves, and by appealing to the texts themselves, it is possible to discover *cancionero* poetry's allure for the thoughtful modern reader and vindicate its condition as a significant literary idiom worthy of our interest.

Until very recently, despite the fact that Cartagena was one of the most copied poets in the various editions of the *Cancionero general*, we were not even assured of his identity. Indeed, as late as 1987 one leading contemporary specialist on Renaissance Spanish poetry (in his annotations to Cristóbal de Castillejo's "Reprensión contra los poetas que escriben en verso italiano") mistakes our poet for his maternal grandfather's brother, Alonso de Cartagena, the humanist bishop of Burgos (Rivers 1987, 52 n. 42). Yet during his short life (1456–86), and well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Pedro de Cartagena, our poet, was celebrated as one of the most inventive lyric voices of his age (see Avallé-Arce 1974a). Castillejo considered him one of the paradigmatic voices of the *cancionero* tradition, and he invokes him to counter the strange lyric heresies imported from Italy by Boscán and Garcilaso. At the same time Castillejo places Pedro de Cartagena in the company of Juan de Mena, Jorge Manrique, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, and Garci Sánchez de Badajoz (Rivers 1987, 52). Similarly, the poet Tapia, next to Santillana the single most copied poet of the entire *cancionero* corpus (Dutton 1982, 189–90, where he appears with 75 entries), pays lasting homage to the departed Cartagena by declaring that it was the latter's example that compelled him to write verse:

Por vos el dulce trobar  
 en mi mano titubea,  
 y por vos, a mi pensar,  
 mi trobar deve quedar  
 baxo y de baxa ralea.  
 Porque vuestras invenciones  
 y nuevas coplas estrañas  
 levantan lindas razones  
 que a los duros coraçones  
 abren luego las entrañas.  
 Y con vuestro seso neto  
 a mi seso le acaesce  
 como al simple lo discreto

como al bovo lo perfecto,  
qu'en mirallo s'embevesce. (11CG, fol. 152 r, v)<sup>1</sup>

Deferring to Cartagena's undisputed mastery of poetry, Tapia above all praises him for the novel inventiveness of his verse, the subtlety of his wit ("vuestro seso neto"), and the depth, novelty, and complexity of his thoughts. However, for Tapia this is not enough. In the same panegyric, he goes on to compare Cartagena to Santillana, just to conclude that as a poet Cartagena surpasses the marqués:

Que yo he visto coplas vuestras  
y d'aquel gran trovador,  
el marqués, que con sus muestras  
las más diestras son siniestras,  
pero vos leváis la flor. (fol. 152v)

Later, Garcilaso de la Vega, Fernando de Herrera, and Baltasar Gracián also distinguish Cartagena as a touchstone of poetic wit and virtuosity.<sup>2</sup> How can this be so? A brief look at one or two of Cartagena's compositions, I believe, will answer the question and oblige us to take more seriously Castillejo's, Tapia's, Garcilaso's, Herrera's, and Gracián's judgments.

Like many *cancionero* poets, though perhaps more than most, Cartagena exemplifies a profound preoccupation with language and the paradoxes posed by its utterance and understanding. He illustrates this at the level not only of written and spoken language itself, as we shall see, but of language in its broadest sense, by perceiving the material world as a text challenging readers to decode it. In his poetry everything is seldom what it seems. For Cartagena, understanding the meaning of visual and verbal texts implies intellectual effort, and as a result, ambiguous images and tropes of obfuscation are deliberately deployed in his compositions to illustrate the point and to test the wits and the linguistic acumen of his readers. Indeed, his preoccupation with interpretation and the possibility of misunderstanding is perhaps his major intellectual concern and certainly his most recurring and well-focused poetic motif. In all this he betrays an obsession with the contradictions of signification and the emptiness of language—the difficulty of establishing agreement between signs and their meaning—that seems to shape fifteenth-century Spanish courtly culture.

<sup>1</sup> All citations from the *Cancionero general* (11CG) are taken from Dutton's edition (1990–91).

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Herman Iventosch (1965, 221–27) ventures that Cartagena's "Entre el corazón y los ojos" (11CG fol. 86v–87r) may well have served as Garcilaso de la Vega's most immediate model for the composition of his Sonnet 10, "¡Oh dulces prendas por mi mal halladas!" In his 1580 *Anotaciones* to Garcilaso's poetry, Fernando Herrera cites Cartagena in his explanatory notes (see Gallego Morell 1972, 323); while Gracián (1969, 1:238–39, 253), though mistaking him for his great uncle Alonso de Cartagena, uses his verse as prime examples of poetic wit and conceit.

As I have argued elsewhere, the view that truth resides solely in linguistic perception seems to underlie the poetics of *cancionero* verse (see Gerli 1990–91), where the craft of poetry is conceived essentially as a counterfeit art (*fingir* and *fingimiento* are the terms most often used in formulating its theoretical definition) in both the allegorical as well as the constructive sense. Indeed, the notions of substitution, proxy, and counterfeit are so widespread in *cancionero* poetics that at certain moments the anxiety produced at the ersatz and surrogate nature of gestures, words, and images conspicuously becomes the object of a poem itself, as in Cartagena's imaginative "No juzguéis por la color." In "No juzguéis por la color," Cartagena seeks to disabuse some ladies, explaining that the red he and his gentlemen friends are wearing fails to reflect their inner gloom:

*Otra suya porque le dixeron unas damas que por qué dezía  
él y otros compañeros suyos que estavan tristes, que en su  
vestir publicavan el contrario porque ivan vestidos  
de grana, y Cartagena responde por todos.*

No juzguéis por la color,  
señoras, que nos cobría,  
qu'a las vezes el amor  
haze muestras d'alegría  
con qu'encubre su dolor.  
Por do nuestro colorado  
en su ser será muy cierto  
al sepulcro comparado,  
que de fuera está dorado  
y de dentro el cuerpo muerto.  
(11CG, fol. 88r)

In this composition, Cartagena plays not only with the idea of courtly love as a deceptive game but with the notion of the perils of interpreting texts that are seen, as well as written and spoken. Through his evocation of the essential duplicity of his brightly colored clothes, his ingenious verses insist that visual images and allegories must be uttered, as well as observed, in order to be more fully understood and that the red he displays, rather than a joyous mark of passion, is a red herring—an unstable emblem of a language *in rebus*, which fails to be mutually interchangeable with the language *in verbis*.

In his essentially semiotic conception of words and plastic images Cartagena leads us to understand that perception may only be a form of habituation and to realize new meanings and the possibility of dichotomy and contradiction in all signs. His confrontation with the values traditionally apportioned to the symbols and the language of love provide, really, a challenge to the worn pictorial tropes of medieval rhetoric (*typos*, *schema*, *figura*, *paradeigma*), which are implicitly shown here to be unreliably metaphoric, laborious, and essentially dishonest.

The ability of signs and language to mediate realities becomes dubious in Cartagena's poem, as both are perceived as unmetonymic and seen to pose problems of perception and interpretation rather than to constitute a medium for knowledge, communication, and consensus. In its gallant measured verses, Cartagena's composition becomes a form of rhetorical, literary, and pictorial iconoclasm, which teaches us to distrust the logocentric and pictocentric understanding of the universe. As he does this, he dramatizes the radical estrangement of the self from its visual and linguistic bonds to the world. Indeed, in his brief poem the world itself, no longer a mirror of divine truths and a repository of facts, becomes a fiction, and its portrayal now provokes anxieties in our desultory attempts to decipher it. The poem ends by fending off the surface enticements of visual perception and characterizing negatively what on the exterior seem to some as affirmative representations of joy and ardor. In one stroke, through this optical and verbal conceit, Cartagena seizes brilliantly the rhetorical, emotional, and intellectual feints, the perfidious role playing, at the heart of *cancionero* poetry and at the base of late medieval love theory and courtly ideology.

The dichotomy of sign and sense in Cartagena's clothing may be read as a metaphor for his conception of love poetry itself, where the colors of speech, the *colores rhetorici* of the medieval arts of composition, are themselves inferred to be unstable, illusory, and deceptive substitutes for what they are intended to mean. The poet, as Juan Alfonso de Baena (ed. Azáqueta 1966, 1:15), Álvarez Gato (ed. Artiles Rodríguez 1928, 54), and others insist, traffics in amorous illusions and is best when he is a fabricator of the real-seeming lies of love, since poetry itself is an artifice, "un fingimiento," in Santillana's words (ed. Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof 1988, 439). Cartagena understands this and, rather than conspire in the perjury of love and language, he prefers to rid us of their false representations by exposing their dangerous complicity. Language is thus employed to deconstruct not just the myth of the univocality of signs but that of the consubstantiality of love and eloquence. Cartagena introduces the problematics of perspective to the game of poetry as well as to the game of love, and he enacts the fundamental alienation of the linguistic self from its ties to the empirical world. Both visual and rhetorical colors, rather than clarifying, lead us to stumble among blinding illusions of passion that continually tempt us to grasp for false hopes and false truths, just to end by defrauding us. Language and art fail now to imitate feeling and understanding, and they become the field where anxious losing battles for the truth are waged.

Cartagena's "No juzguéis por la color" finds its origins in a discrete yet little-studied *cancionero* tradition, and doubtless stems from his meditation upon that tradition—the so-called courtly *invenciones*, which combined visual and material elements named *devisas* with *letras* or *motes* (texts intended to gloss ingeniously a plastic, visual image, often an item of clothing). Tapia, as we saw above, reserved special praise for Cartagena's mastery of *invenciones*. However, in "No juzguéis por la color" Cartagena boldly extends the art of the *invención* beyond the clever, epigrammatic gloss of a material thing to explore not the

analogous relationship between language and visual figures but the negation of one by the other and the contradictions posed by both. His poem leads to the realization that words and things belong to parallel but competing codes and that it is perhaps more possible to find ambiguity and juxtaposition in the reading of emblems than complementarity and understanding. Visual as well as verbal texts for Cartagena quite simply fail to be mimetic, as the meaning of his poem comes to rest upon the mutually contradictory relationship of images and their meanings—upon the inability of signs to embody the intentions we credit to them. In an astonishingly modern stroke, Cartagena's own self-portrait, symbolized in the red he wears, when seen, or rather exegetically read by the poet, is virtually deprived of its external representational content. It is consequently given meaning only by the context the poem gives it. In "No juzguéis por la color," the key to enlightenment and understanding paradoxically lies in withdrawing our gaze from the physical world. When we do so, we see the color in its correct referential perspective—he displays himself as a mere painted image offering only spurious insignias of love and cheer. His bright exterior in fact cloaks somber thoughts of pain, anguish, and visions of death. By denying visual perception its function, Cartagena constructs a view removed from the outer image but closer to the clarity of true vision, or revelation, which for him is essentially an emotional and intellectual enterprise.

The need to grapple with the paradoxes and antitheses of perception runs throughout the rest of Cartagena's poetry. In another composition, for example, he explores further the tension between the need to see and understand and the perils of sight, leading us deeper into the dim labyrinth of texts, images, and interpretation he constructs. This poem plays ironically with the iconography of the white dove. Doubtless recognizing the flying dove as a symbol of reconciliation, thought, meditation, and language, Cartagena tampers with its message of hope, love, and understanding, which for the medieval Christian always lay in its pictorial representation (the dove is of course the explicit sign of faith and the Pentecost, where God bestows the gift of tongues and the understanding of the Word, where He restores linguistic unity and sense through His love and the promise of the gospel). Indeed, here the dove's traditional meaning is inverted and finds its correct, vexing, and confounding sense only in the vanishing point of the suffering soul of the lover:

*Otra suya porque su amiga le mostró una paloma blanca  
que bolava, y él dízele lo que significa.*

El ave que me mostrastes  
dos diferencias figura  
que me ponen división;  
que si bien vos la miraste,  
su blancura y mi tristura  
dos contrariedades son.

Yet in this poem Cartagena is not content just with assigning a negative



value to the traditionally auspicious Christian image of the flying dove. He then goes on to restore the white dove's positive epiphanic sense, but only because in its contrary mirroring of his dark sadness it signals the joy he feels upon suffering for his lady:

Mas yo pierdo la querella  
de mí pues mi mal m'alegra,  
aunque mi ventura es negra  
no lo es la causa d'ella. (11CG, fol. 88r)

In this composition, Cartagena establishes the possibility of various perspectives and meanings and endows the white dove with an inescapable, dynamically changing, indeed manifold, sense whose multiple messages can only be adequately known within the context of his developing interpretation of it. His emphasis eschews sight and prior knowledge of symbolic meanings and shows the nature of understanding to be a process of unfolding revelation. Cartagena's poem on the drama of the dove thus stands independently as a monument to individual perception rather than as an example of a narrative sequence presupposing the flawless cooperation of image, text, and the reader that guides us along a firm course of easy comprehension to a universally understood conclusion. It establishes that the truth may be, and often is, misread and that it emerges only from an arduous, changing process of private perception lacking external guarantors. In short, his poem alerts us to the persistent necessity of interpretation.

Cartagena's awareness of ambiguity, dichotomy, and contradiction leads to its almost consuming pursuit in his verse and becomes one of the distinguishing marks of his lyric idiom. In another poem by him dedicated to "Un loco llamado Baltanás," for example, the composition's full malicious sense hinges not upon visual conundrums but entirely upon the equivocal aural homophony of "lo que os" and "locos":

Loc'os haze her hazaña,  
Baltanás mi buen amigo.  
Loc'os mata, loc'os daña.  
loc'os dizen, loc'os digo,  
loc'os fuerça, loc'os ciega,  
loc'os haze her tal obra,  
y loc'os el seso niega,  
y loc'os dexa os llega,  
por loc'os falta y no sobra.  
Assí que loc'os diría,  
y loc'os quiero dezir,  
y loc'os escribiría,  
y loc'os quiero escrever,  
es que deveys de comer  
cosas para la cabeça,

por qu'el seso que tropieça  
no va lexos de caer. (14CG, fol. 210v)

Here, Cartagena humorously probes the authority of spoken language, as the reader, depending on his temperament and inclination, is constantly challenged to succumb to, or deflect, the phonic enticement of fun at the expense of another—the irresistible allure of being interpretively mischievous and transgressive. Yet in all its flippancy and devilment, Cartagena's composition addresses important issues of discursive and textual authority. The verbal play, though clever and fun, deepens our awareness of the irony of language and calls attention to the fact that understanding is always at risk in unexamined texts. The interpretive instability of this linguistically deranged poem does nothing less than raise the fundamental issue of the nature of the truth and the awareness of the recurring, easy possibility of misreading it and toppling into misunderstanding.

In another context, for Cartagena poetry and eloquence are themselves deceptive and embody a mendacious discourse whose sole end is not praise but self-indulgence. Responding to his lady's request to expose the dishonest words of men, he places himself in the position of revealing the hidden truths that move the fraudulent "art" of displaying masculine *afición*:

No creáis que nadie pena  
si mucho lo ha encarescido,  
que dezir su razón buena,  
si bien miráis, se condena  
para ser menos creído.

For Cartagena, eloquence and truth exist in inverse proportions; words of love and anguish constitute empty gestures which, though visibly and audibly real, do nothing more than conceal fickle desire:

Fingen los desesperados,  
dizen lo que olvidan luego;  
éstos son los bien librados,  
que pensáis que van quemados,  
y ellos van libres de huego.

Accomplished players in a performance, well-spoken suitors enact a simulacrum of love before the world in which the truth is falsehood and lies are offered up as the truth:

Y por más disimular  
en plaça, donde ay más gente,  
allí comiençan negar,  
un negar qu'es afirmar,  
lo que por ventura miente.

Finally, in a notably wry reference to the deceitful measure of his own fluency,

Cartagena subtly alludes to two of the three poems that we have examined above. He concludes that insincere lovers:

... lo secreto  
 tienen sobre falso armado;  
 qu'el que más cierto es sugeto  
 ni troca blanco por prieto,  
 ni prieto por colorado. (11CG, fol. 87v)

In the end, for Cartagena the only reliable emblem of love remains linguistic confusion and the absence of eloquence, the inability to convey what the heart holds, made difficult by the desire to conceal emotion:

Qu'el que tiene pasión cierta  
 no ha de saber dezir  
 de qué manera padescce,  
 sin una ravia encubierta  
 d'un morir por encubrir. (11CG, fol. 87r)

Cartagena's poetry, then, becomes the locus for the formulation of a theory of the deceptions of the gestures both of love and of rhetoric. His poetic personality centers around the potential for hoax in language, passion, and even the images offered up by the material world. His verse becomes a point where the essential fraudulence of speech, image, and the visible displays of love meet, become one, and vanish into the distance.

The value of Cartagena's poetry stems from the conscious and persistent exploration of the uncertain dynamic that he establishes between signs and their meaning. In his compositions there is a deliberate deployment of illusive images indicating that the semantic congruence between *signans* and *signatum* can never be taken for granted in either of the arts of love or poetry. There is a recurring questioning of the notion that language can be duplicative—that its thoughts and objects are essentially connected to the words and signs used to portray them. Cartagena's poetry thus enacts a drama of perception in which things as well as utterances are rendered conventional, but especially those words and objects that, when taken at face value, are judged as illustrations of passion. In his expressions of courtly love, signs become detached from their real meaning, and they constitute a questionable medium for the grasping of the truth.

Cartagena's elegantly subtle verse shows a deep mistrust of all sense experience, underlining the latter's ephemeral nature, while stressing that the network of correspondences between the language of imagery, the sounds of speech, and their referents may never be secured. Though on the surface Cartagena's poetry deals with the fifteenth-century conventions of courtly love, the acts of seeing, hearing, reading, and understanding in the poetry continually strain within a widening gap in which the verbal, the visual, and the intellectual experience is estranged. In dramatizing this struggle of perception, his verse thus speaks eloquently to our contemporary sensibilities.

While Cartagena's poetry was written over half a millennium ago, in reading it today, though we are far removed from the social triflings of love at court, we are ineluctably led to reflect self-consciously upon the limits of our own perception and to appreciate how precariously visual and verbal images still meet our eye and ear. The difficulties of perceiving the sense of things are repeatedly asserted in the poems we have examined in phrases like "no creáis . . . si bien miráis," as Cartagena creates a world that is constantly in need of close scrutiny and translation as a result of the ongoing transformations of meaning in it. Each of his poems somehow concerns a form of language (oral, visual, gestural), its discursive conventions, and its failure to tell the truth in confrontation with the need to know it. In his "mannered" love poetry, Cartagena speaks pointedly to the postmodern imagination by showing us how insight requires much more than simple seeing and believing and how it calls for judicious reflection on the demanding balance between the poles of the empirical and the spiritual world. Conjecture and interpretation, rather than representation, constitute the center and soul of the arts of love and poetry for Cartagena, and in them both, insight supplants vision as his verse becomes the setting for a conflict between signs and the thoughts and emotions they allegedly signify. As Patrick Gallagher remarks about Cartagena in his study of *The Life and Works of Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz*, he was in the vanguard of a new, highly intellectualized and intense poetry that flourished at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries "in which passion and poetic artifice were wedded: the school which refined the paradox and cultivated antithesis in order to express, ever more subtly, elegantly and ingeniously, the tensions of courtly love" (1968, 211). In reading him today, Cartagena is still capable of enacting a fervent struggle in which the poet, the lover, and the reader are made to feel pulled in several directions simultaneously.

The unmistakable self-conscious exploration of, and anxiety about, the mediatory role of language and text in Cartagena's poetry is not an anachronism imposed upon his compositions by contemporary readers. Rather, it reflects one of the most profound, yet still unexplored, intellectual predicaments in late fifteenth-century Iberia and is at the heart of many of the early academic and humanistic attempts to describe and formulate linguistic norms for the vernacular. To be sure, Cartagena was not alone in his heightened preoccupation with truth, signification, and the authority of language. His concerns were shared by many of his contemporaries and criss-cross fifteenth-century Spanish culture. They may be found in authors as diverse as Nebrija, Fernando de Rojas, Cartagena's learned great uncle Alonso de Cartagena, and Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. The latter, for example, exhibits serious misgivings that even historical discourse, with its responsibility to the truth, may often be fallacious. Struggling distrustfully against what he believes to be a mendacious tradition of historiographical texts, Pérez de Guzmán begins his *Generaciones y semblanzas* with a note of interpretive cynicism that undermines history's textual authority: "Muchas vezes acaesçe," he says, "que las corónicas e estorias que fablan de los poderosos reyes e notables príncipes e grandes çibdades, son avidas por

sospechosas e inçiertas e les es dada poca fe e abtoridat" (ed. Tate 1965, 1).

A reaction to the question of textual authority may also be found in the academy, where Nebrija, doubtless responding to an intellectual environment that openly began to challenge the broader notion of a logocentric universe, emphatically confronts the issue in his University of Salamanca *repetitio*, solemnly pronounced at the end of the academic year in 1486 (published in 1503). Invoking first the judgment of Quintilian ("litterarum figurae ad hoc sint excogitatae 'ut custodiant uoces'" ["letters were invented so as to "safeguard words"] *Instituto oratoria* I, vii, 31), Nebrija's orthodox dissertation goes on to portray the invention of words as a gift of Providence to humankind ("atque munus hoc litterarum, quod nullum maius ab homine uel potius diuina quadam prouidentia est inuentum . . ." ["and this gift of letters, the greatest invention of humankind, or rather of Divine Providence . . ." 34–35]) and concludes by raising the specter of the moral and civic perils that would ensue if such a truth were to be denied:

Primum disputationis nostrae fundamentum ab eo proficiscatur in quo plerique omnes facile consentiunt: litteras ea potissimum de causa fuisse excogitatas, ut per illas quasi per quaedam signa tum absentes uiui, tum posteros morituri certiores facere possemus iis de rebus quae ad priuatam publicamue utilitatem pertinerent. Nam quemadmodum Aristoteles tradit, eo modo litterae uerba humanis uocibus informata designant quo uerba ipsa res mente conceptas quae per ea significant. Quod si non quattuor haec ex ordine sibi inuicem consentirent—dico res conceptus uoces litterae—,interirent utique commercia et publica fides qua hominum societas continetur, interirent omnes artes et scientiae quae uitam humanam cultiorem reddunt, interiret denique hic ipse sacrarum litterarum splendor quibus ad christianam religionem instituimur et docemur. (ed. Quilis and Usábel 1987, 36)

[The basis of my disputation, which nearly all easily acknowledge, is this: that letters were invented above all so that we, the living, through them might be able to communicate with the dead and with posterity concerning those things that are both privately and publicly useful. Thus, as Aristotle teaches, letters signify the words uttered by the voice, the same way that words themselves signify the concepts that are expressed through them. However, if these four elements (i.e., things, concepts, sounds, and letters) did not concur, communication and public trust, which sustain human association, would collapse completely; the arts and sciences, which enrich cultural life, would collapse; and finally, the very splendor of Scripture, which equips and instructs us in the Christian religion, would collapse.]

Clearly, Nebrija's emphatic affirmation of the providentially ordained nature of language constitutes resistance to an intellectual and cultural milieu that was rapidly contradicting the ancient sacred truths of his assertions. For Nebrija,

the traditional bonds between words and things were undoubtedly being strained.

The latter half of the fifteenth century in Spain, as elsewhere, then, was haunted with questions of language and authority. This obsession was expressed not only in scholarly polemic but in the production of grammars and vocabularies (e.g., of Nebrija and Alonso de Palencia), as well as in implicit articulations of the problem in belletristic texts like Cartagena's. As lay culture experienced a veritable explosion of vernacular literacy and textuality in the form of poetry, theology, historiography, rhetoric, and philosophy—not to mention the burgeoning bureaucracy devised to govern an increasingly powerful monarchy and centralized state—language became a locus of inquiry, meditation, and anxiety in the early modern intellectual life of Iberia (see Lawrence 1991).

As Michel Foucault (1971) and Timothy Reiss (1982) have argued, the logocentric tradition of analogy that governed Western thought from ancient times until the beginning of the Renaissance was supplanted at the dawn of modernity by a system of conceptualization based on reason and individualized logical identity. Reiss describes an epistemological transformation involving the abandonment of an analogical discourse of associative patterning in favor of an order of thinking involving "the expression of knowledge as a reasoning practice upon the world" (1982, 30) in which the mind seeks to understand the world from the vantage point of its own autonomy. At the center of this intellectual and cultural revolution, ultimately culminating in the emergence of the Cartesianism in the seventeenth century, lies, as Foucault asserts, the realization of the dissociative, conventional nature of language and a heightened awareness of difference (1971, 17). By the end of the fifteenth century, linguistic practices of any kind, but especially reading and writing, provided within this new cognitive paradigm occasions to explore dissimilarities rather than to affirm the essential likenesses between all things.

Writers like Cartagena doubtless felt the heightened awareness of difference symptomatic of modernity, described by Reiss and Foucault, and came to explore ambiguity, verbal dexterity, irony, and the perfidy of linguistic expression in all their compositions. As we have seen, Cartagena in his courtly poetry actually explores the general problem of meaning or how intentions may be assigned to things that intrinsically do not possess them, reflecting in the context of courtly verse the broader intellectual question of language's ability to signify—the ineluctable enigma that lay at the heart of the new humanist ideology. In his ambitious, complicated verse, Cartagena always reverts to how initially beliefs, fears, hopes, passions, and desires—manifestations of subjectivity—are directed at, and projected upon, the world in order to portray, interpret, and understand it. While he does this, he also uncovers the intricacies and contradictions in the problem of its representation. In a word, Cartagena's poetry leads us to discern in it a challenging intellectual program whose end is the investigation of the process of the embodiment of meaning and ultimately of the meaning of meaning itself. The celebrity of Cartagena's verse in Spain

during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries doubtless stems from his success in probing and integrating the enigmas of love, language, imagery, and communication, plus his explicit demonstration that in order to understand visual, spoken, and written images, the mind needs to reconstitute itself in the seclusion of its own language.

If, after our brief examination of Cartagena's courtly verse—and by extension the rich literary and cultural prospects offered by *cancionero* poetry in general—we feel obliged to abandon the idea that literature is a reflection of reality, then we might want to consider the notion that texts fabricate and explore realities of their own. I feel certain that Cartagena himself would concur in this judgment, since the task of poetry for him, it would appear, was indeed just that: to underscore the errors that ensue from mistaking texts, reading, and experience for truth, actuality, and understanding, and the need to construct new intellectual realities grounded in the notion that all signs are speculative—despite the best evidence offered by our senses or our attempts to read them.

I will close with a remark made by Paul De Man, from whom I have taken part of my title. De Man notes that

prior to any generalization about literature, literary texts have to be read, and the possibility of reading can never be taken for granted. It is an act of understanding that can never be observed, nor in any way prescribed or verified. A literary text is not a phenomenal event that can be granted any form of positive existence, whether as a fact of nature or as an act of the mind. (1983, 107)

Fifteenth-century Spanish culture, the same culture that produced Pérez de Guzmán, Nebrija, the *cancioneros*, and Cartagena, understood this well and through this intuition placed itself squarely at the threshold of modernity.

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## V: Politics, Society, Culture



*Jews and Conversos*  
*in Fifteenth-Century Castilian Cancioneros:*  
*Texts and Contexts*

JULIO RODRÍGUEZ PUÉRTOLAS

There now exists relatively abundant scholarship on the role of Jews and *conversos* in fifteenth-century Castilian *cancioneros*, especially for the period extending from the *Cancionero de Baena* (c. 1426) to the appearance of the *Cancionero general* (1511). In it, one can find studies devoted to the larger philosophical and theological questions (which are a special feature in *Baena*) as well as to assorted doctrinal polemics in which Jews and *conversos* seek to engage Old Christian authors. Similarly, there is a series of studies that purport to represent the real or imagined social and physical characteristics of these two groups, their problems, customs—even dietary habits and taboos—not to mention the persecutions, racial and religious discrimination, and even pogroms.

The philosophical and theological themes of this poetry have been explored by Fraker (1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1974) and by Ciceri (1991), and the bitter—even coarse—polemics and insults directed against Jews and *conversos* have also been examined. There are also careful studies of one poet, a single *cancionero*, or a particular text relating to *converso* or judaic issues (some examples of such scholarship are cited below). Nonetheless, the greater part of this work can legitimately be characterized as fragmentary—in *medias res*—when measured against the larger historical context in which this poetry is found. That is to say, little effort has been made to place *cancionero* poetry within the larger historical coordinates of its production; to explore its thematic range (which extends from serious religious and philosophical questions to the most brutal representations of the Other—the Jew and the *converso*); or to clarify its broad chronology, which parallels closely the contradictory events of history itself, taking us in the span of a century (1391–1492) from initial public persecutions to final expulsion from the Peninsula. Indeed, little has been done to take full measure of the connection between *cancioneros* and Jews and *conversos*, which

extends well beyond 1492 into the cultural and social history of the Golden Age.

It is imperative, therefore, to attempt to situate the problematic of Jews and *conversos* in the *cancioneros* within a broad historical framework and to follow closely the evolution of the Jewish/*converso* question, that is, of anti-Semitism itself, during the social and political upheavals of the Trastamarian Dynasty. To be sure, upon close examination, it is easy to see that anti-Semitism may be traced as a latent theme as far back as the civil war between Pedro I of Castile and his half-brother, Enrique I of Trastámara (1360s). It is well known that during that struggle Trastamarian propaganda, intent upon proving Pedro's "illegitimacy," set in motion a defamatory campaign that proclaimed Pedro's Jewish origins and culminated in a series of popular ballads referring to the monarch by the contemptuous and allusive name of *Pero Gil*. Moreover, the Trastamarian rebels were not averse—with a helping hand from their French allies—to persecuting violently the Jewish population each time a town was taken during the civil war that brought them to power. This is the case, for example, with the city of Nájera (1360), whose siege is narrated with chilling detachment by Pedro López de Ayala, a turncoat and notable anti-Semite (traits that would later inform his *Libro rimado de palacio*):

Llegaron a Nájera, e hicieron matar a los judíos. E esta muerte de los judíos fizo facer el Conde Don Enrique [de Trastámara] porque las gentes lo facían de buena voluntad, e por el fecho mesmo tomaban miedo e recelo del Rey [Don Pedro], e se tenían con el Conde. (López de Ayala 1931, 106; for Jews and Castilian chronicles, see Gutwirth 1984)

Pedro's assassination at the hands of his half-brother in 1369 is said to mark the end of that civil war with the ascension of the bastard Trastamarian Dynasty; yet it is also the harbinger of a conflict between nobility and monarchy, which was to endure until the crowning of the last Trastamarian monarch, Isabel I, in the next century.

Leaving aside legal dispossession, brutal extortion, and other similar measures, institutionalized anti-Semitism, often bordering on terrorism, begins in Castile during the reigns of Enrique II (1369–79) and Juan I (1379–90), thanks to the preaching and actions of Ferrán Martínez, archdeacon of Eciija and canon and *provisor* of the archbishopric of Seville (Amador de los Ríos [1875] 1960, 449–55). There was, hence, a long-standing climate of official, anti-Jewish sentiment that led directly to the events of 1391 (now in the reign of the third Trastamarian king, Enrique III), which was subsequently adopted in all the Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula. The public anti-Semitic outcries of Fray Vicente Ferrer helped inflame the volatile atmosphere created by Ferrán Martínez and his Trastamarian patrons: the former embarked upon an anti-Jewish campaign marked by dark Apocalyptic themes and intimidation. Indeed, the spectacular conversion of Šelomó Ha-Leví, chief rabbi of Burgos, took place just in time, in 1390. Along with the rest of his family, he was transformed by the cleansing waters of baptism into the pious Pablo de Santa

María, later the bishop of that city (Serrano 1942; Cantera Burgos 1952). All this occurs against the backdrop of the political and social conflicts of Enrique III's minority, provoked mainly by the personal ambitions of his tutors and the regents of the realm.

In 1391, the Jewish communities (*aljamas*) of the Peninsula were bathed in blood and set afire by Christian mobs. The ancient *mudéjar* custom of multi-ethnic living (*convivencia*) had been forever abjured. The pogroms of 1391 were followed by a string—a veritable rosary—of conversions; more sermons from Fray Vicente Ferrer; new anti-Semitic laws, such as the measures adopted by the Cortes de Valladolid in 1405; and by new pogroms (Córdoba, 1406). Add to this the alleged poisoning of Enrique III by his Jewish physician, Don Mayr, vividly evoked in later anti-Semitic literature (Amador de los Ríos [1875] 1960, 495), and the historical events framing the Jewish/*converso* debates in the *cancioneros* become even more striking.

During the regency of Fernando de Antequera and Catherine of Lancaster (1406–19), uncle and mother of Juan II, there was a series of events that dramatically aggravated the existing tensions between Christians, Jews, and *conversos*. In 1410, for example, the rabbis from one of the synagogues in Segovia desecrated the Host. The guilty parties were hung, and their temple was expropriated and transformed into a Christian church: the Church of *Corpus Christi*. These events were followed by a failed attempt to poison the city's bishop, a plot said to be hatched by Segovian Jews to avenge the temple's confiscation (Amador de los Ríos [1875] 1960, 560–61). Shortly after, there ensued a new round of sermons from the indefatigable Fray Vicente Ferrer, who preached throughout the Kingdom of Castile (Cátedra 1994). His pulpit was a platform both for the anti-Semitic statutes adopted by Murcia in 1411 (Gutwirth 1984) and especially for the infamous *Ordenamiento sobre el encerramiento de los judíos e de los moros* (Valladolid, 1412), a veritable monument to legalized intolerance inspired by the Valencian friar and painstakingly drafted by the now bishop of Burgos, Pablo de Santa María (Amador de los Ríos [1875] 1960, 532–37; Gutwirth 1984).

In 1413, fast on the heels of all these events, the famous *Disputa de Tortosa* took place. In this public debate, under the supervision of Pope Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna), fourteen learned rabbis and one *converso*, Jerónimo de Santa Fe (the pope's personal physician and a former rabbi), competed over the relative superiority and eternal verities of Christianity and Judaism. As one might expect, the result was a spectacular triumph for Christian doctrine, which culminated with the conversion of a number of the debating rabbis (Pacios López 1957; Lasker 1977). Two years later, in 1415, Benedict promulgated a harshly anti-Semitic bull, while the following year Jerónimo de Santa Fe set in motion a campaign of flagrantly anti-Jewish literature with his *Hebraeo Mastix* (The Whip of the Jews). In time, and as a marvellous example of poetic justice, Micer Francisco de Santa Fe, one of Jerónimo's sons, was burned in effigy in Zaragoza after Micer Francisco's last-minute suicide in the cells of the In-

quisition prevented him from being burned *in vivo* (Amador de los Ríos [1875] 1960, 837).

Anti-Semitic pamphleteering was notably enriched in 1432 by the now-familiar *converso*, Pablo de Santa María, who published his *Scrutinium Scripturarum* (*The Scrutiny of the Scriptures*). Here, among other things, he explains and justifies the persecutions of 1391 on the grounds that

Dios excitó a la generosa muchedumbre [*multitudo valida*] a vengar la sangre de Cristo [*Deo ultionem sanguinis Christi excitante*], tomando por instrumento a un arcediano de Sevilla ignorante, mas de loable vida [*in litteratura simplex et laudabilis vita*], que predicaba contra los judíos, en defensa de los sagrados cánones. (Amador de los Ríos [1875] 1960, 577; see also 578–83)

It is significant to note that this text appeared in the reign of Juan II (1419–53) and that anti-Semitism continued to be rampant even during the rule of this relatively tolerant monarch. Shortly after the appearance of Santa María's *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, in 1435, the library of Enrique de Villena was burned, an act charged with anti-Semitism as well as with the well-known allegations of Villena's sorcery (Gascón Vera 1979).

All this, and much more, must be kept in mind to understand fully the significance of the debates one finds in collections like the *Cancionero de Baena*. In the seasoned but still-relevant words of the Count of Puymaigre, Baena's "curieux recueil" (Puymaigre 1873, 1:121–22)

fait profondément entrer dans la vie des Espagnols du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. . . . Ces chevaliers bardés de fer, ces moines dans leurs frocs, ces nobles dames avec leurs robes de brocard, ces juifs plus ou moins convertis, ces médecins arabes, ces professeurs de théologie, ces nonnes de Séville qui se prétendent plus belles que celles de Tolède, tout ce monde vit d'une vie qui se rapproche de la nôtre, s'amuse à de petits vers, célèbre le roi de la fève, demande des étrennes, propose et devine des énigmes, s'agite dans tous ces détails secondaires que néglige l'histoire et qui vous le montre sous un aspect vraiment humain. Dans le *Cancionero de Baena* tout se mêle d'une étrange façon.

In fact, when we read the *Cancionero de Baena* "muy lejos estamos del ahistoricismo . . . de la fresca primavera, atemporal y universal de los trovadores galaico-portugueses" (Blanco-González 1972, 40). This is because in many of the poems copied in Baena's collection we find ourselves "en la coyuntura exacta" of the moment (43); therefore, as Blanco-González continues:

Si se leen estos poemas sin sus conotaciones históricas, resultan áridos y vacíos; si se los encarna en su tiempo, cobran el colorido de La Historia, el ácido sabor de la medieval Castilla, su violencia, su incertidumbre, su feudalismo agresivo. (1972, 48)

In spite of everything, the final harmonious vestiges of the Castile of three religions may still be found in the *Cancionero de Baena* (Cantera Burgos 1967, 80–81). And paradoxically, at the same time, much of the evidence for this is found in the verses composed by *conversos*, which are filled with allusions to Pedro de Luna (Benedict XIII), the antisemitic patron of the *Disputa de Tortosa*—maecenas also of Fray Vicente Ferrer—and the promulgator of the virulent bull of 1415 (Cantera Burgos 1967, 79–80). But the true meaning of these poems cry out for further study: poems by Villasandino, Ferrán Manuel de Lando, and others that until now have been simply glossed over in silence. The question arises: just what do these allusive poems, some even dedicated to Luna and other brazenly anti-Semitic figures, tell us?

From another perspective, poems by Jews on Jews, and by *conversos* on *conversos*, are as abundant as they are complex, and also call out for specific and detailed sociohistorical analysis and contextualization, above and beyond what has already been said about them by a variety of literary critics and historians.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, in addition to what has been revealed by these critics, it is imperative that we pay special attention, as Blanco-González (1972) suggested, to occasional poems with clear historical settings; that is, compositions dedicated to kings, nobles, and various other characters and events. The same may be said for the material found in later *cancioneros*, right up to the *General* of 1511, all of which include poems of remarkable interest.

The questions, therefore, arise: how can one relate all this material to discrete historical and social, to personal—and sometimes changing—attitudes that take shape during the internecine struggles of Castile during the second half of the fifteenth century; to the intensifying confrontation between nobility and monarchy; to the rise of anti-Semitism and the manifestation of an overt hostility toward Jews and *conversos*; to clan, family, and class interests? Also, how does it all relate to the constable of Castile, Álvaro de Luna, and what he represents? What does the sum of all this mean in terms of the progressive loss of traditional values; of the timid but significant gains of the bourgeoisie, a class of little importance until then; of the material success, on the one hand, of *conversos* and merchants, and on the other, of the landed oligarchy?

In conjunction with the questions just raised and the events already enumerated, there is, too, a series of significant anti-Semitic as well as pro-*converso* events and texts that provide a notable backdrop for the poetry produced at mid-century:

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<sup>1</sup> For more general treatments, see the survey of satirical verse by Scholberg (1971, 303–60), Fraker's study of Judaism in the *Cancionero de Baena* (1966a, 9–62), and the brief introductory remarks of Rodríguez Puértolas (1968a, 50–51; 1981a, 18–20), and Gerli (1994, 24–26). For studies with a more specific focus, see Márquez Villanueva (1974, 1982), Cantera Burgos (1967), Rodríguez Puértolas (1986), Solá-Solé and Rose (1976), Rose (1983), Arbós (1983), Córdor Orduña (1986), and Ciceri (1991).

- 1449 The Toledo insurrection. Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium unitatis christianae* (favoring the *conversos*). The appearance of a virulent antisemitic pamphlet in the form of a putative letter from Juan II to a gentleman (*hidalgo*).
- 1450 Pedro de la Caballería's *Tractatus Zelus Christi contra Judaeos*.
- 1453 The public execution of Álvaro de Luna.
- 1459 Fray Alonso de Espina's  *Fortalitium Fidei contra Judaeos, Sarracenos*.

Just what can all this tell us about the civil war during the reign of Enrique IV (1454–74), in which the monarchy reaches the nadir of its disgrace, and the noble oligarchy achieves the peak of its power? The so-called *Farsa de Avila* (1465) recounted in the chronicles, in which Enrique is dethroned in effigy, signals the climax of this conflict, and it cannot be understood without recognizing the part played by Jews, *conversos*, and members of “new” aristocracy of obscure origins, such as the Girón and Dávila families. Nor can we ignore the bitter satire of texts like the *Coplas de la Panadera* (1445), the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* (1464) by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza, and the scandalous *Coplas del Provincial* (1465–66). In addition to all this, we have to consider another set of historical coordinates:

- 1465 The Hieronymite friar Alonso de Oropesa completes his pro-*converso* apology, *Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tuae Israel*.
- 1467 Racial and political riots in Toledo.
- 1468 The “Ritual Crime” of Sepúlveda.
- 1473–74 Uprisings and pogroms against *conversos* in Córdoba, Valladolid, Segovia, and Jaén (where constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo is murdered at the hands of “Old Christians”).

It goes, too, without saying that in the world of the *cancioneros*, it is the Cordobese *converso* Antón de Montoro whose tragicomic verse most keenly reveals his tormented personal life and the mistreatment of the ethnic and social group to which he belongs. The greater part of Montoro's verses is autobiographical; in it he speaks in equally explicit and ironic terms about himself as an object of discrimination and of scorn resulting from his *converso* condition. A painful case in point is the pathetic composition he dedicates to Isabel I, in which he summarizes his anguished life, asks for her protection from the violence occasioned by the persecutions in Córdoba during 1473–74, and concludes with a sinister note of humor, begging the queen to put off all further mistreatment “hasta allá por Navidad, / quando save bien el fuego” (ed. Ciceri and Rodríguez Puértolas 1990, 76), a clear allusion to the fires of intolerance set by reactionary racist forces. In his poetry, Montoro provides a perfect illustration of what Baruch Spinoza was to say later in the seventeenth century when confronting the question of anti-Semitism: “One should neither laugh nor cry, but, rather, understand” (cited in Aubery 1962, 374).



The year 1474 signals the beginning of the reign of Isabel I of Castile, after the death of her brother Enrique IV. Queen Isabel's succession marked the outbreak of a new civil war (this time with Portuguese intervention), which contested the rights of her brother's heir, the unhappy princess Juana, called *la Beltraneja* (the daughter of Beltrán) by her detractors who were determined to impugn her legitimacy and confirm the prerogatives of the dead king's sister. The Inquisition was established on Castilian soil in 1480. The war to take Granada commenced in 1478, with the active assistance and participation of many Jews, who provided logistical support, medical assistance, and consultants to the Castilian Crown and its troops. Despite rendering these indispensable services, the gradual conquest of Moslem cities was accompanied by the sacking of their Jewish quarters (for example, Málaga in 1485 and Gibralfaro in 1487). In the meantime, an inflammatory anti-*converso* and anti-Semitic pamphlet, the so-called *Libro del Alborayque*, circulated in Castile and Andalusia (in which, to be sure, the only proper name to appear is that of Diego Arias Dávila, *converso*, favorite, and chief accountant of Enrique IV, and an individual well known to readers of fifteenth-century Castilian literature, since he also surfaces in the *Coplas de la Panadera*, the *Coplas del Provincial*, in the works of Gómez Manrique, and in assorted *cancioneros*). The year 1490 witnessed another of the so-called "Jewish ritual crimes," the infamous case of the Niño de la Guardia (a case involving accusations against Jews of crucifying a Christian boy at Easter). Indeed, all levels of society were laying the basis for one of the most consequential events of the upcoming *annus mirabilis*: the royal edict commanding the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. In Portugal, this was followed by King Manuel I's wedding present to his bride, Isabel, daughter of the Catholic Monarchs: the expulsion of the Portuguese Jews in 1497.

The rest of the story of Iberian anti-Semitism is well known and provides the crux for the so-called Black Legend. However, the historical, social, and literary events occurring after 1492 cannot be fully explained unless we understand the situation outlined above. And perhaps, as far as literary issues are concerned, *cancioneros* provide a fundamental point of departure. It is important to underscore the fact that, despite everything, the 1492 Edict of Expulsion failed to achieve the religious unification of the Peninsula; neither did the conquest of Granada nor the mass "conversions" of Moslems and Jews. As I explained elsewhere:

The presence of an important middle-class *converso* group in Peninsular society and of an ever-increasing popular antisemitic sentiment which reached mythical proportions when it combined with an imagined Hispanic racial purity (purity of blood, honor, religion, anti-intellectualism, horror of commerce and the "mechanical" arts) produced an irrational belief in the superiority of a class and caste within a *divine* History, economy, and culture. (Rodríguez Puértolas et al. 1981b, 1:135-36)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I should add that in spite of popular stereotypes, Jews and *conversos* were not uniquely

Indeed, Américo Castro was able to speak ironically of the existence of a “porkophyllic and porkophobic” literature (*tocinófila* and *tocinófoba*) based on dietary prohibitions against pork present in texts throughout the Golden Age (Castro 1974, 25–32): that is, of a literary and historical meaning assigned to ham and bacon (“un sentido histórico-literario del jamón y del tocino”), whose roots may be traced directly to the *cancioneros*.

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A minor yet instructive example of the importance of the larger historical setting for understanding *cancionero* verse is provided by Mosén Diego de Valera (c. 1412–88), son of Alonso Chirino, the renowned *converso* physician. Courtier, military man, emissary of kings, political theorist, chronicler, and conspirator, Valera was also a poet, although for Menéndez Pelayo the latter activity produced, in accordance with this critic’s overall appreciation of the *cancioneros*, “versos pocos y malos” (1944, 2:237). Here, I can do no more than sketch the historical importance of Valera’s verse, and of the twenty-one surviving examples I shall mention only three.

The first of these is the *esparsa* with the rubric “Al señor conde don Alvaro, fecha el domingo de Pascoa ante de la presión del maestro de Santiago” (Torre y Franco-Romero 1914, 254–55). The addressee of the poem is Álvaro de Estúñiga, Valera’s master at the time of the poem’s composition, and Juan II’s chief bailiff, though in spite of the rubric not yet count, but heir to his father Pedro de Estúñiga. This poem is attested only in the *Cancionero de Gallardo* (MH1), which was compiled about 1454 and which contains several topical poems explicitly related to Luna and his recent downfall. Of interest here is that reference to Easter Sunday “before the imprisonment of the Master of Santiago” (i.e., Álvaro de Luna). The rubric seems to offer the prospect of an historical poem with political content: the arrest and downfall of Álvaro de Luna. However, it fails to keep that promise: it is little more than a eulogy of the Estúñiga clan, along with the expression of good wishes for the future. Yet, the discrepancy between what the rubric says and insinuates and the text itself is significant. To be sure, that Easter Sunday in 1453, Álvaro de Estúñiga was waiting with his troops at Curiel for an order from Juan II to go to Burgos and arrest the king’s hitherto favorite Álvaro de Luna. The order arrived while Estúñiga and the members of his household were dining, and hence,

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an urban bourgeois group. Kamen, for example, points out that “there was a considerable variety in the social position of Jews in the peninsula” and that during the fifteenth century Jews moved out into the countryside; many were peasants, not just involved in small trades and minor professions. Thus, by the end of the fifteenth century they were “no longer a significant bourgeoisie” (1985, 10–11).

a dos horas de la noche del domingo de Pascua, don Alvaro Destúñiga partió de Curiel . . . e dio el cargo de la gente de armas a mosén Diego de Valera. (*Crónica de Juan II*, 678)

The following day, Easter Monday, the conspirators arrived in Burgos; on Wednesday, Luna was taken prisoner by Estúñiga and his band, in the forefront of which was Diego de Valera. Don Álvaro was publically executed in Valladolid shortly thereafter.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, when Valera penned his brief and ostensibly innocuous lyrical felicitations to Estúñiga in celebration of Easter Sunday, it is clear that both knew full well what lay in wait for them in the coming hours and days. Valera's brief, seemingly occasional, composition is, in fact, a text implicated in irony and in tragic rather than happy circumstances, circumstances in which *conversos* played a decisive role—especially those, like Valera, who were closely identified with the centers of power and the vested interests of the traditional aristocracy and unlike other members of the same caste, such as Juan de Mena, who were staunch supporters of the new “bourgeois” policy articulated by the slain constable.

In light of all this, it is regrettable that Brian Dutton (1990–91, 1:478) gives 1422 as the date of Valera's poem, a year when Valera would have been approximately ten years old (though Dutton gave the correct date in his *Catálogo-índice*, 1982; see ID0393, with 1253 as an obvious misprint). It is, of course, the later historical events of 1453 that endow the poem's apparent insouciance with a certain sinister irony. Here is the complete poem:

El qu'en este santo día  
redimió el linage umano  
vos dé, señor, alegría  
e vos faga con su mano  
sienpre ser virtuoso  
dándovos luenga salud,  
pues vos fizo en juventud  
tan conplido de virtud,  
e vos faga tan famoso,  
seno de virtud e templo:  
de vuestra noble memoria  
quede a todos por exenplo  
ser por universa gloria. (MH1, fol. 383r)

Once Luna had been sacrificed, *mosén* Diego de Valera had no misgivings about writing verse with an openly partisan political agenda. Just like other poets of the time, he therefore pens his *Canción al maestre de Santiago*, which

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<sup>3</sup> The best account of these events and their political ramifications is by Round (1986). For Valera's role in the affair, see especially 32, 36–37, 44, and 87–88.

like the previous poem is found only in the *Cancionero de Gallardo*. However, much to his credit, Valera was not so callous as, for example, Santillana or Fernando de la Torre, whose stern verses on the same subject are implacably partial, even smugly vindictive. Valera appropriates the well-known Boccaccian motif of the fall of illustrious men (a *topos* that in contemporary Castile immediately conjured up images of Álvaro de Luna), as well as the *ubi sunt* theme, which had resonated earlier in the verses of poets like Ferrán Sánchez de Calavera (upon the death of Ruy Díaz de Mendoza) and would later be taken up by Jorge Manrique in his elegant elegy written on the death of his father. However, if we recall Valera's direct role as an active minion of "capricious" Fortune, even the most clearly identifiable *topoi* take on a menacing and cynical cast:

¿Qué fue de vuestro poder,  
grant condestable de España,  
pues ningún arte nin maña  
non lo pudo sostener?

...

¿Qué valió vuestro tener  
quando quiso la Fortuna  
derribar vuestra coluna  
sin poder vos sostener?

(Torre y Franco-Romero 1914, 251-52).

The third, and last, political composition by Valera I wish to explore is cast in the form of what is known as a *por qué* and which glosses the ills and turmoil of contemporary Castile. The poem doubtless belongs to the reign of Enrique IV, although it is difficult to date in the absence of concrete historical references. The *por qué*, or *per qué*, is a curious poetic genre whose first manifestation in Castile may be traced to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (died 1404) in the *Cancionero de Palacio* (SA7, compiled about 1440). Structured around a series of unanswered questions, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines it as a "defamatory libel" ("libelo infamatorio") and adds that similar compositions were called *pasquinades* in Rome, and "among us *perques* or *provinciales*" (Periñán 1979, 81-99).

Several of the questions Valera raises are truly audacious, and viewed as a whole his poem paints a bleak picture of contemporary Castile, which coincides with many other texts from the period that have similar social and political agendas:

Y ¿por qué tanto vandero  
dicen que'es nuestro señor?

...

Y ¿por qué los malos caben

donde no devien caber?

...

Y ¿por qué menos valemos  
sienpre sirviendo mejor?

...

Y ¿por qu'es tanto cayda  
la virtud en nuestra España?

It is interesting to note, too, that another *por qué*, which was written in the 1430s and which is also bitterly critical of the contemporary political situation, has also been attributed to another *converso*, Juan de Mena.<sup>4</sup> But whatever our reading of this particular poem, the undisputed fact that Mena champions an antinoble policy and the cause of Álvaro de Luna contradicts the stereotypical image of the *conversos* as a homogenous social group sharing a common political ideology.

In short, the poetry of *mosén* Diego de Valera provides a study in miniature of what still remains to be done as we consider the role played by Jews and *conversos* in the Spanish *cancioneros*. Far from being a simple task, this enterprise will doubtless be full of contradictions, surprises, and ambiguities, as well as revelations. The work that remains to be done is well beyond the scope of any formalist or folkloric approach, and it is imperative that we begin now to establish the unique links of a vast number of *cancionero* compositions to concrete historical and social events, and thereby uncover the larger historical significance of this considerable body of poetry. To complete this task it will be necessary, as in any other form of literary study, to eschew abstractions and clichés and to lay bare the ideological and social postulates of the poems and their authors in their *concrete* historical moment. It is, to be sure, a task calling for interdisciplinary collaboration between literary critics, historians, and sociologists. Yet it is one that will doubtless produce inestimable, and even startling, results.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The poem, "Por qué tan sin trabajo" is attested only in the *Cancionero de Gallardo* (MH1). Its attribution has been placed in serious doubt by its recent editors, Pérez Priego (1979, 262–67) and de Nigris (1988, 491–92), on both political and metrical grounds. However, my reprint of Pérez Priego's text and my defense of an attribution to Mena may be consulted in Rodríguez Puértolas 1981a, 171–79.

<sup>5</sup> Since this essay was written, Netanyahu (1995) published his book on the origins of the Inquisition in Spain. Though controversial, it is packed with documentary evidence concerning the period and personalities surveyed here, and it would need to be taken into account by any future research on Jewish and *converso* poets.



## Power and Justice in Cancionero Verse

REGULA ROHLAND DE LANGBEHN

### The King's Limits: Epistemological Considerations.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the political principles expressed in proverbial *florilegia* of the Middle Ages such as *Flores de filosofía* and *Libro de los cien capítulos*, reappear in numerous doctrinal works of the fifteenth century, especially in rhymed treatises like the collections of *Proverbios* by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Íñigo López de Mendoza, the future marqués de Santillana. As if his aim were to exhibit the conservative traditionalism of his thought, Pérez de Guzmán adapts the title of the initial chapter of the *Libro de los cien capítulos*, "El capítulo que habla de la ley e del rey," as a rubric to one section of his *Coplas de vicios y virtudes* ("De buen rey e buena ley," stanzas 174–81).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The present paper deals with materials that have been treated only marginally by Rodríguez Puértolas (1968a, 185ff. and 206–48) and Nieto Soria (1988, 152–64). My thesis is that both poets and *letrados* drew on ethical theory in support of strong royal power; it thus differs from the thesis of both these scholars, and above all from Nader's conclusions (1979). My thesis is strengthened in theoretical terms by Waltz (1993), who distinguishes between an "old world," where individuals necessarily accept as an ethical model and obligation the social place they were born into, and the "new world" of the modern era where mobility has become so great that our actions in the social game are what determine the role of each individual. The boundaries between these two worlds evolved throughout the fifteenth century. However, medieval schemes of thought still prevailed amongst the nobility of that period.

<sup>2</sup> On the literary and ethical traditions of the *Proverbios* by Pérez de Guzmán and Santillana, and their links with popular *refraneros*, see Le Gentil (1949, 452) and Round (1979). In establishing a network of relevant texts, Round pointed to the precedence set by Sem Tob, and to his list I would add the *Flores de filosofía* (ed. Knust 1878); López de Ayala's *Rimado de palacio*; and the *Libro de los cien capítulos* (which I have consulted in a photocopy of Santander, Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo, MS. 78, fols. 52–100). López de Guzmán continued the *sententiae* tradition in *Floresta de Philósofos* (ed. Foulché-Delbosc 1904b). For the most recent work on Santillana's *Proverbios*, though with no reference to sources, see Pérez Priego (1992) and (1993). Weiss (1991b) has studied Pérez de Guzmán's position, and concluded that his

Although he starts from this traditional ideological base, however, Pérez de Guzmán introduces important innovations into the civic problems that form the subject of this study. While his thirteenth-century predecessors failed to inquire into the origin of the law, Pérez de Guzmán proceeds to discuss its roots and sources. To be sure, he examines numerous questions and, in the context of monarchy, postulates that the king is not only the interpreter of the law but that the law is in fact his work. In addition, he argues that royal power should be measured in terms of personal merit rather than inherited position or courtly propriety: “Yo do esta excelencia / del rey sobre los derechos, / si el rey por notables fechos / meresce tal preminencia” (*Vicios*, stanza 180).<sup>3</sup>

Here emerges a thought that could possibly justify absolute monarchy, although in essence Pérez de Guzmán is referring to the righteous exercise of power based on personal morality—a problem that always threatens hereditary monarchies.<sup>4</sup> This view holds that royal power should not depend on the exercise of sheer force sustained only by hereditary rights (“non por singular potencia nin por sangre generosa”) but on personal merits related to the virtues inherent in the responsibilities of the royal condition, among them the capacity to make decisions: “E que sepa así escoger / que en él quede la sentencia” (*Vicios*, stanza 181).

Pérez de Guzmán’s ideal is that of a prudent and circumspect monarch able to direct the fate of his kingdom, as is stressed again in the passage on “Quién deve regir e quién servir”: “Aquel reino es bien reglado / en que los discretos mandan” (*Vicios*, stanza 197). This model is comparable to the one that Aristotle defends in his *Politics* (III, 14–18) and in more generalized terms in his *Nichomachean Ethics* (VI, 5–13; VIII, 10), a book that had a much wider circulation amongst the Castilian laity during the fifteenth century than the *Politics*.<sup>5</sup>

Fernán Pérez himself never had the opportunity to live under the rule of a king who lived up to his ideal image. Only Fernando de Antequera, while

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metapoetic passages define his personal and national identity in such a way as to express his individual interest in the struggle for power. Weiss argues that he presents “his own voice as ‘natural’ and ‘eternal’ rather than as the obvious product of an individual *parti pris*” (108). The ill faith that this evaluation presupposes is based on an ideological reading of the texts, which, according to Waltz’s parameters, would be anachronistic for the fifteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Quotations from Pérez de Guzmán’s verse are taken from *Cancionero castellano*, vol. 1, ed. Foulché-Delbosc 1912. For brevity of reference, I cite simply poem title and stanza number. In all subsequent quotations, I regularize orthography according to modern usage.

<sup>4</sup> For an interesting excursus on the need to adapt the rigid codes of law and chivalry according to circumstances and personal discretion, see Fernando del Pulgar’s portrait of Santillana, in *Claros varones de Castilla* (ed. Tate 1985, 99–100). See also Nieto Soria (1988, 157–59), whose examples, unlike the previous ones, come from authors who are not noblemen; this is an important difference, as we shall see.

<sup>5</sup> On the reception of Aristotelian ethics in later medieval Spain, see Pagden (1975) and Heusch (1991).



acting as regent of Castile, and then later as king of Aragon, closely approximated Pérez de Guzmán's paragon. Yet even King Fernando's character was not exempt from suspicion when, years later, Pérez de Guzmán composed the king's portrait in his *Generaciones y semblanzas*. In the intervening years, Fernando had been involved in the political tumult caused in Castile by his sons, the *infantes de Aragón*, and in his biography Fernán Pérez voices doubts about the legitimacy of Fernando's conferral of riches and titles in Castile upon his heirs. Though he makes allowances for the fact that experience has shown how "cada uno de los grandes que alcançan poder e privança, toma para sí quanto puede de dignidades, ofiçios e vasallos" (ed. Tate 1965, 12), doubts, once stated, remain at the very heart of his likeness of Fernando de Aragón. Similarly, in his sketch of Juan II, prudently composed after the king's death, Pérez de Guzmán wonders if God had assigned the throne to one so inept as Juan in order to punish the people of Castile. This monarch, though intellectually capable of absorbing any doctrine or advice (ed. Tate 1965, 38–40), had treated the affairs of the state with manifest disinterest, leaving decisions in the hands of Don Álvaro de Luna, his favorite. Pérez de Guzmán's ambiguous portrait of Juan II reflects this author's preoccupation with baronial insurgency and the process of social transformation that would lead the Castilian middle class to greater power in the fifteenth century. It also bears witness to his amazement at the voluntary conveyance of power from the crown into the hands of favorites, as practiced by Juan II and his mother, Catherine of Lancaster. It is clear that Pérez de Guzmán's criticism of the monarch fails to match his theoretical propositions on monarchy.

In fact, on several occasions Pérez de Guzmán expresses the conviction that education is more important than genealogy in building character. In his *Proverbios*, he declared in epigrammatic form that virtue is not hereditary (stanzas 62–63, 70), just as he defends this idea in a more discursive fashion in his *Coplas de vicios e virtudes*, stanzas 265–70. Indeed, there he argues that "si de la sangre la virtud descendiese / esto bastava a ser buena la gente, / e necessario « non sería que escriviesse / el moral Séneca" (*Vicios*, stanza 269). It should be stressed that the author does not refer to some innate excellence but specifically to the question of moral upbringing: the examples presented point not only to the fact that men and women from low or even illegitimate estate may become virtuous when brought up by good people but that he also knew of cases of nobles whom he saw "por desamparo o cura negligente / de sus mayores, venir entre tal gente / que resultaron torpes, nescios e viles" (*Vicios*, stanza 267). This point of view confirms that Pérez de Guzmán is convinced of the value of moral education and of the efficacy of ethical maxims to every person subject to divine rules "que honestad e virtuosas costumbres / todas descenden del padre de las lumbres / . . . / que dél nos viene todo óptimo don" (*Vicios*, stanza 270).

Juan II received an excellent education and, according to the testimony of Pérez de Guzmán cited above, profited by it and was able to understand fully his counsellors' advice. In spite of this, however, the king's personality did not

suit the responsibilities he inherited. He failed to perform his role as arbiter in the political and judicial arena when called upon to intervene in disputes that were closely linked to the exercise of his power. King Juan was deficient in a way that was not provided for in the ethical education prescribed by Pérez de Guzmán. The contradiction between theory and observed reality in Pérez de Guzmán (Romero 1945, 126) allows us to perceive the contradiction between personal inclination and the moral duties life imposes on kings as well as on others. Pérez de Guzmán stresses a rift between social image and personal practice. Political theory offered no remedy for this because success on the throne depended entirely on the personality of the heir himself.

During the late Middle Ages the difference between a virtuous personality and that of a good regent was not defined in texts devoted to the problem of royal education. Aristotle differentiates between prudence as the power of discrimination, and the virtues as the forces necessary to act honorably. However, this is not reflected in the medieval system of virtues: in the Middle Ages prudence is in fact one of the virtues. This accounts for the reticence to describe politics as a domain of the practical world as opposed to a system of moral values. Medieval authors deal only with the moral system, which accounts for every human action. Thus, the fourteenth-century collections of proverbs juxtapose chapters on monarchy with others devoted to the virtues and obligations of the common man, and they provide no ready synthesis for whomever was burdened with royal responsibility. The king's role is seen only from the perspective of his function as ruler, and the moral system only from the perspective of free will, vice, and responsibility. There is no distinction between the ethical character and the social condition of the king or the duties that concern him.

Waltz proposes the fundamental difference between "Old World" societies—whose individuals were determined by what he calls their "name"—which implies the existence of generalized and unquestioned rules of the social game (chess was a common image for feudal society), and "New World" societies, in which a radical mobility leads each individual to define himself in different simultaneous roles. Waltz's distinction leads us to believe that in the late-medieval nobility only an overqualified or neurotic person would reject the obligations inherent in his social station: "Ökonomische und politische Beziehungen sind von derselben Art und sind immer zugleich auch *moralische* Beziehungen. Jeder Mensch—jedenfalls solange er in der 'Welt' lebt—hat *einen einzigen Namen*, den er mit dem Eintritt in das erwachsene Leben übernimmt. Alle Namen, die er im Lauf seines Lebens erwerben oder verlieren kann, beruhen auf dieser Grundlage" (1993, 116, author's emphasis).<sup>6</sup> We are dealing

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<sup>6</sup> "Political and economic relationships are of the same kind and are always also *moral* relationships. Every person—at least in so far as he lives 'in this world'—has a *single name* that he receives in his adult life. All the names he can receive or lose throughout his life are based on this foundation."

with definite positions to which an individual has access by birth and that he has to learn to occupy—stations that, though they allow room for the development of individual personality, still require identification with the attitudes conventionally attributed to them. Each person was required to adjust to fixed social expectations, through concepts such as honor or virtue, which were instrumental in helping the individual to occupy the social space he was assigned by Providence, or in the case of ineptitude, determined his exclusion from it.

With reference to Enrique IV, Nicholas Round remarks: "Enrique, of course, was destined to have little choice; a *grande del reino* like Iñigo López had little enough" (1979, 228). The throne, coveted more than other honors due to the wealth and power that went with it, was liable to be occupied even by people who lacked appropriate qualifications since, as Pérez de Guzmán puts it in his *Generaciones*, "a los reyes menos seso e esfuerço les basta para rigir que a otros omnes, porque de muchos sabios pueden aver consejo" (ed. Tate 1965, 5). For Pérez de Guzmán, therefore, royal power depended on the discretion and the decision-making ability of whoever wore the crown (see *Vicios*, stanza 181, quoted above). In this respect his portraits of Enrique III and Fernando de Antequera prove very valuable. It is essential that the king accept his role and want to arbitrate the many disputes he is called upon to resolve. Failure to do this, as in the case of all the fifteenth-century Castilian monarchs before Isabel la Católica, meant rebelling against the only known and generally accepted rules within the power structure that determined the beliefs of that period. Therefore, before formulating the hypothesis that there were competing ideologies in Castilian politics of the fifteenth century, we need to gain a fuller conceptual understanding of monarchical power. To do this, we need to clarify exactly what beliefs were expressed and point out, as far as possible, the cracks and weaknesses within them.

### The Univocal Nature of Ethical Thought

By definition, medieval justice in its public dimension is a royal and, to a certain extent, aristocratic attribute. This concept was disseminated amongst the laity by vernacular versions of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* and various Senecan treatises translated by Alonso de Cartagena. It was further reinforced by treatises on government, moral tracts such as Françesc Eiximenis' *De natura angélica* (Castilian translation 1434), memoirs like Panormitano's *Dichos y hechos del rey de Aragón* (1450), as well as by some key passages in sentimental romances.<sup>7</sup> In the *cancioneros* this issue appears both in didactic verse and in the

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<sup>7</sup> The *Llibre dels angels* by Eiximenis was translated for Santillana by Miguel de Cuenca and Gonzalo de Ocaña, BN Madrid MS. 10118. For relevant passages, see Book II, v, fol. 31v–32r and V, ii, fol. 97v. For Panormitano's *Dichos y hechos* I use the 1554 printing, fols. 52r–53r. With regard to the sentimental romance, situations like those described in the trials in *Cárcel de Amor* and *Grisel y Mirabella* echo concepts discussed by Pedro Díaz de Toledo in his glosses to Santillana's *Proverbios* 4 and 9. Justice, so far considered only theoretically, is

prose glosses accompanying important poems or collections of proverbs. Among the most noteworthy examples are Pedro Díaz de Toledo's glosses to the collection of proverbs attributed to Seneca, Santillana's *Proverbios*, and Gómez Manrique's *Querella de la gobernación*.<sup>8</sup> Lesser known, but equally relevant, are Gonzalo de Santa María's later glosses to the *Disticha Catonis*.<sup>9</sup>

The political thought encountered in all these texts is ethically framed, except in those cases where it refers to concrete circumstances. Its theory never adapts pragmatically to actual circumstances, nor does it seek to devise politically necessary measures.<sup>10</sup> Political reflection in these works, when it does refer to facts, favors satire: the author opts for one or another side of the political fence and mocks his adversaries or talks ill of them in his texts. Yet, an ethical reading reveals that deep down, regardless of the faction with which they are aligned, the political ideology of all these works is fundamentally rooted in one set of ideas. Usually, this fact is clearly and calmly expressed, so that this aspect of the message would seldom be misunderstood. Moreover, it forces modern scholars to argue that certain historical events coincide in appearance but not in their deeper meaning. In his book on royalty, Nieto Soria refers to this elusive phenomenon, when he states that

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now put to the test and made an integral part of the plot in prose fiction. These fictional experiments emphasize that judgment depends on the discretion of those who carry it out. If the king does not perform the virtue "epiqueya" (discussed below) and adheres merely to the words of the law, he brings about harmful and unfair resolutions that will drive society to ever-growing violence. On this issue, I agree with Lillian von der Walde Moheno, *Grisel y Mirabella de Juan de Flores*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1994; see the chapter "Amor y ley."

<sup>8</sup> For the Senecan proverbs, see especially Díaz de Toledo's glosses to "El irado haun el mal piensa que es consejo," (f. LIIIv), "Muchos ha de temer a quien muchos temen" (f. LXXXr), and "Desecha la crueldad e la ira que es madre de crueldad" (f. LXXVIIIv). I quote from the *Proverbios de Séneca con la glosa*, Seville 1495 (BOOST 2129). For Díaz de Toledo's *Glosas a la exclamación y querella de la gobernación de Gómez Manrique*, see *Cancionero castellano*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc (1915, 130-47); the same author's *Glosas a los Proverbios de Santillana* has been consulted in the *Cancionero del marqués de Santillana* (B.U.S. MS. 2655), ed. Cátedra and Coca Senande (1990).

<sup>9</sup> Gonzalo García de Santa María, *Catón en latín e en romance*, Zaragoza: Hurus [c. 1493], Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Incunabulum 401. E.g., stanza 112: " 'Iudicis Auxilium, sub inicua lege rogato': . . . Ca las mismas leyes, según se demuestra, codician ser con razón entendidas" (fol. dVv).

<sup>10</sup> Among the scholars who, as far as I could check, consider the question of different ethical models, Deyermond was the only one to locate clearly divergent patterns. He points to one model that corresponds to the alliance of the king with the bourgeoisie and the common folk that is found in the *Crónica de Dom João I*, by Fernão Lopes (1443); and there is a glimpse of a third position, the "ideal of civic humanism" derived from Italian models (Deyermond 1986, 181 and 189). Deyermond's sources belong to marginal social groups and represent new systems instead of competing aspects of traditional ones.

es posible incluso la coexistencia—a partir de una misma imagen—de dos interpretaciones absolutamente enfrentadas, justificando, por tanto, el intento de materialización de dos realidades políticas radicalmente opuestas. En este sentido conviene observar la presencia de lo que cabría valorar como una diferenciada visión estamental de cada una de estas imágenes, si bien hay que reconocer que se pueden encontrar excepciones en esta solidaridad estamental en la interpretación de cada una de ellas. (1988, 10)

What Nieto Soria describes as images are, in fact, the objective correlatives of ideas of regal superiority, sovereignty, and related concepts. Nieto Soria's scheme may also be applied to ethical considerations: it appears that caste interests, doubtless present and in need of a spokesman, were not articulated in any systematic philosophical way but only through the images encountered in factional debate.

It is in this light that we should reexamine the telling distinction made by Helen Nader (1979) between *letrados* and the nobility. She agrees with others in identifying an innovative and humanistic inclination among the nobility, as opposed to a continuation of scholastic erudition among certain *letrados*.<sup>11</sup> However, this distinction cannot adequately explain the differences in the ethical positions taken by individual members of each group. Nader suggests that the nobility may have considered historical change a consequence of the need to adapt to different circumstances, whereas for the *letrados* historical change was viewed as part of a providential design, as a righteous reward or punishment (1979, 130–31).<sup>12</sup>

Like all the forces and products of a decadent political world, the nobility, to preserve its position and privileges, was obliged to act as a conservative force. To do this it needed to vindicate acquired and intangible rights, to paralyze the legislative activity of the state, and strictly defend common law against any new rights or claims that might emerge. However, according to my read-

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<sup>11</sup> Kohut (1982a) considers Santillana's generation as the socio-cultural summit of humanism. Perhaps one could apply to early fifteenth-century Castile the conclusions reached by Rico for fourteenth-century Catalonia, where the noble estate was more humanistic than the *letrados* (Rico 1983). Lawrance (1986) has argued for the existence of fifteenth-century Castilian vernacular humanism; in this respect he was perhaps anticipated by Romero's comments (1945, 136) on the timidly humanistic spirit that enlivened the patriotic ideals of Pérez de Guzmán.

<sup>12</sup> This is similar to Penna's earlier argument that "como todas las fuerzas y los productos de fenómenos políticos en fase de decadencia, la nobleza, para conservar su posición y sus privilegios debía actuar como fuerza conservadora y, para hacer esto, debía reivindicar derechos adquiridos e intangibles, paralizar la actividad legisladora del estado y defender rígidamente el derecho consuetudinario en contra del derecho actual que tenía que desarrollarse" (1959, XIV).

ing, the texts do not provide the necessary basis for establishing a distinction of this kind. Moreover, analysis of this distinction is hindered by the conflicting interests within the very groups identified by Nader.

For example, in the case of Pedro Díaz de Toledo we have a *letrado* employed in the service of the marqués de Santillana; Fray Íñigo de Mendoza, on the other hand, represents an alliance between members of the two groups. To complicate matters further, we find hybrids of both groups: there was also the category of learned knight (i.e., Enrique de Villena, who is usually viewed as a true scholar [e.g., Weiss 1990], although he in fact belonged to the royal family). At the other end of the spectrum there were also clergymen from noble families, *letrados* by profession who, like Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza, nevertheless did not receive rigorous university training. A great number of the poems that address questions of power and justice come, in fact, from the very social group that Nader terms the "Mendoza family." To be sure, many of the prose texts are also associated with this house, as they were written by their secretaries or friends. The widely connected Mendoza family, related to nearly half of noble Spain, did not constitute a closed clan but one whose members procreated outside marriage, adopted and brought up people who were not their kin, and entered into alliances that they subsequently broke because of inheritance disputes or simply because their political affiliations changed. However, the bonds of kinship often softened clashes, preventing greater hostilities, and the ties of friendship and affection often prevailed, in the case of the poets "in the family," over the interests of the groups in dispute.

### Ideas of Justice in the *Cancioneros*

As before, during the fifteenth century the treatment of the theme of justice is linked to the goal of *personal* ethical development within a system of moral philosophy that encompasses the virtue of justice. Thus, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (*Confesión rimada*, stanzas 92–101) considers choler as a private vice without relating it to the administration of justice. And even when he favors benevolence when passing judgment on the young (e.g., *Vicios*, stanzas 75–85), one could say that he is attempting to shape general attitudes toward youth and that he is not referring to the attitudes of a judge in the official sense.

Nevertheless, justice constitutes the most important part of the precepts addressed to a ruler in his public capacity, and it is this aspect of justice that most concerns key passages in a series of verse treatises written during the reigns of Juan II and Enrique IV. Moral and historical texts alike treat topics related to the exercise of power. For the purposes of this discussion, the most important poems are Pérez de Guzmán's *Proverbios* (1425), the *Coronación de las cuatro virtudes cardinales*, the *Coplas de vicios y virtudes*, and *Confesión rimada*; Santillana's *Proverbios* (1437), and *Doctrinal de privados* (1453); Mena's *Laberinto* (1444), and his *Pecados mortales*, with the continuation by Gómez Manrique, and the latter's *Querrela de la gobernación*. To appreciate the role played by the theme of justice in them, the thematic panorama of these poems needs to be sketched; for the

sake of brevity, however, my discussion will not take into consideration their chronology or textual and thematic relationship.

All the passages I shall cite are simply a representative sample of themes found, with only slight modifications in all these works. It is possible that a detailed study of the differences between them would help to identify ideological fractures in the system that as yet I have been unable to discover. The roots of their ideas lie in the texts whose importance I have already emphasized: the paroemiologic collections and vernacular versions of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*.

In all instances we are dealing with the public version of the concept of justice, a part of political philosophy, as Pérez de Guzmán puts it in his *Coronación de las cuatro virtudes cardinales*. In this poem, when Prudence speaks (stanzas 21–33) she says:

Los decretos e las leyes  
de mi han el fundamento;  
los príncipes e los reyes  
que gobiernan con buen tiento,  
si yo non so su çimiento  
en vano escriven doctores;  
por demás, emperadores  
usan de su regimiento. (Stanza 23)

And Temperance (stanzas 48–61):

Yo mezclo la rigorosa  
justicia con la clemencia;  
enfreno la impetuosa  
fortaleza con sufrencia;  
amonesto a la prudencia. (Stanza 48)

As in the private sphere, justice in the ruler is easily affected by choleric inclinations; this is a commonplace cited by the three great poets of the reign of Juan II: Fernán Pérez (*Confesión rimada* stanzas 92–101), Santillana (*Proverbios*, stanza 28), and Juan de Mena (*Contra los pecados mortales*, stanzas 106–107).<sup>13</sup> However, when they deal with justice as a virtue of the ruler, the ideas of greed and favor also enter the picture. In Fernán Pérez's *Coronación* we read (stanzas 7–20):

Afección de las personas  
non turbe tu egualança,  
por çeptros nin por coronas

<sup>13</sup> For Santillana's *Proverbios*, with the author's own prose glosses, I follow the edition of Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof (1988, 216–67, at 232); for Mena's *Contra los pecados mortales* I have had to rely on Foulché-Delbosc (1912, 120–33, at 132); since his edition does not number the stanzas, I shall also add page references.

non se tuerçe tu balança;  
 nin pierdan su esperança  
 los pobres, por ser menguados,  
 ni se fazen más osados  
 los ricos por su abundança. (Stanza 9)

In this aggregate of ideas, the concept of enforcing the law while seeking the just mean between rigor and clemency is often related to the question of advice or counsel. In some isolated cases, the issue of judicial temperance is determined by the source of the law itself.

In this respect Pérez de Guzmán offers a very balanced view of the customs concerning the accused, both in the *Proverbios* and in *Vicios*. To cite just one example from the first text:

Es virtud e muy loable  
 la justicia executar  
 mas de natura amigable  
 no menos el perdonar.  
 La justicia fasta el cabo  
 todo el mundo asolaría  
 luengo perdón non alabo  
 que da del mal osadía. (*Proverbios*, stanzas 14–15)<sup>14</sup>

In a similar, though less tempered fashion, Gómez Manrique's continuation of Mena's *Pecados mortales* views the administration of justice from the angle of clemency (stanzas 236–37):

Pues no fieras con furor,  
 por que sea tu castigo  
 no ferida de enemigo,  
 mas corrección de señor;  
 otras vezes con amor  
 amonestando perdona,  
 por que sea tu persona  
 digna de perdón mayor.<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand, in *De vicios y virtudes* ("De reyes e juezes," stanzas 307–14) Pérez de Guzmán criticizes the common practice according to which honors were dispensed as favors by the ruler:

Sino ya por qu' el miserable  
 pueblo sea remediado,

<sup>14</sup> See also stanzas 18–19, 28, 31–33, 53, and 61–64.

<sup>15</sup> Since I have not had access to the more recent edition by Gladys Rivera, I quote Gómez Manrique's continuation from Foulché-Delbosc (1912, 133–52, at 148). As before, stanza numbering is my own.



mas por que remunerado  
sea el que a él es amado. (Stanza 312)

In his continuation of Mena's *Pecados mortales*, Gómez Manrique characterizes the inherently disinterested nature of Justice through an allegory in which Prudence passes judgment on Reason and Will (stanzas 220–22; Foulché-Delbosc 1912, 146). However, the profound social implications of not yielding to special economic interests are best illustrated in the concluding stanzas (259–60), where he summarizes the advice he has given to the rulers of the state:

Nunca dedes los oficios  
de justicia por dineros.  
Oíd con vuestros oídos  
de los pobres sus querellas,  
y mostrando pesar dellas  
consolad los afligidos;  
sean los malos punidos,  
los buenos remunerados;  
así seres bien amados  
delos vuestros y temidos. (Foulché-Delbosc 1912, 151)

In Santillana's *Proverbios*, dedicated in 1437 to Prince Enrique, the heir to the throne, we find a detailed discussion of the question of Justice. As so often in the tradition of *speculum principis*, the work is primarily concerned with the development of the prince's personal virtue, and in no way does the author confine himself exclusively to the specific tasks concerning the political education of such a distinguished personage.<sup>16</sup>

Within this panorama, justice is the only theme that takes up a large section of the *Proverbios* since, because it also occurs in passages devoted to love, fear, prudence, wisdom, and patience, it exceeds the stanzas that were expressly devoted to it (stanzas 24–27) and occupies a total of twenty-seven out of one hundred stanzas. This is a substantial proportion of the work, and its prominence is evidently related to the roles of judge and arbiter Don Enrique would later perform as a ruler.

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<sup>16</sup> His general moral system has been analyzed by Round (1979, 228), who chose to highlight only one of those passages (stanza 74) which impress us only when we remember that the poem was addressed to the heir to the throne. Although it is possible to detect references to specifically political events and motives, they are veiled in moral generalities. Still, Santillana goes beyond the usual scheme which, according to Lapesa (1957, 206–14) treats only the cardinal virtues. Santillana does not deal with certain other aspects of monarchical power, such as the call to unify the Spanish states or conquer Granada, tasks which other writers recommend to the future Enrique IV roughly around the same period: see Fernando de la Torre (ed. Díez Garretas 1983, 360); Ruy Páez de la Ribera's poems in the *Cancionero de Baena* (ed. Azáceta, 1966, nos. 295–97); and Gómez Manrique's *Regimiento de príncipes*, discussed by Le Gentil (1949, 1:449).

In essence, Santillana advises a conscientious handling of justice on the part of the monarch to garner the affection of his subjects. This notion is developed in *Proverbios* from the initial admonition “ama e serás amado” of the first stanza; it is subsequently amplified in stanza 5 and finally expanded in stanzas 6–9 with specific recommendations concerning the amicable way subjects should be treated, including advice against paying heed to slanderers (“novelleros,” l. 57) or judging rashly (“de continente,” l. 77). By contrast, Santillana recommends heeding good counsel and listening to the advice of the experienced. After an excursus on the importance of study (stanzas 13–23), he deals with the specific topic of justice (ll. 185–86), in which he recommends disinterested judgment (stanzas 24–25) and provides examples where a king or legislator himself has abided by the law (stanzas 26–27). Santillana warns against judgments passed in anger, and he counsels moderation in punishment (stanza 28). He recommends taking heed of a culprit’s sincere contrition (stanza 29) and counsels the exercise of clemency (defined as “amor / e caridad,” and contrasted with the “cruelty” of a pardon “contrario a la razón / de humanidad,” stanzas 30–32).

In this work, the theme of justice conforms to a very concise model, whose key elements would reappear years later in Santillana’s sonnet 33 (discussed below), confirming that we are dealing with the one of the author’s most deeply held convictions. Yet, while dear to Santillana, the ideas he develops are essentially topical and belong to a long tradition of which the opening stanzas of the *Proverbios* are but one more example.

Juan de Mena also included numerous admonitions to the king in his *Labyrinth of Fortune* (ed. de Nigris 1994, 65–185). Mena begins with an abstract definition followed by varied examples, disseminating his thoughts on justice throughout the work. His definition of justice is as follows:

Justiça es un çepetro qu’el çielo crió,  
 que el grande universo nos faze seguro,  
 hábito rico del ánimo puro  
 introduzido por pública pro,  
 que por igual peso jamás conservó  
 todos estados en sus ofiços;  
 es más: açote que pugne los viços  
 non corruptible por sí nin por no. (Stanza 231)

Concrete examples subsequently illustrate the point. For example, his flattering portrait of Juan II’s sister, Queen María de Trastámara (Alfonso the Magnanimous’s wife and regent in Aragon during his long sojourn in Sicily), places special emphasis on the quality of Justice:

así, con la mucha justiça que muestra,  
 mientras más reinos conquiere el marido,  
 más ella zela el ya conquerido:  
 ¡guarda qué gloria de España la vuestra! (Stanza 77)

While dealing with simony and rapaciousness in the Church, Mena's censure of adulation (stanzas 93–98) concludes with the following advice to Juan II:

La vuestra sacra e real magestad  
faga en los súbditos tal benefiçio  
que cada cual use así del ofiçio  
que queden las leyes en integridad. (Stanza 98)

Justice is mentioned in many of the stanzas that give moral weight to the work, as, for example, in the section devoted to peace-loving kings (stanzas 214–18) or in the conclusion of the episode devoted to the Circle of Mars:

Muy claro príncipe, rey escogido,  
de los que son fuertes por esta manera  
la vuestra corona magnífica quiera  
tener con los tales el reino regido;  
ca éstos más aman con justo sentido  
la recta justiçia que non la ganancia,  
e rigen e sirven con mucha constancia  
e con fortaleza en el tiempo devido. (Stanza 212)

Despite their poetic context, in these words we hear the voice of the *letrado* par excellence, whose concepts match in every essential respect the ones of the authors considered above, all of whom were interrelated and formed part of a small stratum of the Castilian nobility.

The most impassioned works by Gómez Manrique and Fray Íñigo de Mendoza, both of whom may be considered Juan de Mena's successors, belong to a younger generation of poets. They make clear their disgust at the civil strife in Castile during the reign of Enrique IV. Works like *Querella de la gobernación*, ethically glossed by Pedro Díaz de Toledo in his apologetic commentary, and the admonitions of Fray Íñigo de Mendoza to Ferdinand the Catholic, mark a new dimension in the debate on justice. They begin by reacting explicitly against the turbulent status quo, which is the specific source of their criticism. Rodríguez Puértolas (1968a, chapter 7) has demonstrated this in relation to the *Coplas de Vita Cristi*, and it is possible to find similar arguments in Gómez Manrique's *Querella*, written according to Pedro Díaz at the beginning of his career.<sup>17</sup> Fray Íñigo's criticism needs to be analyzed with care, because it is a clear instance of the "single image" that embraces contradictory facts described by Nieto Soria: it is directed against both the Montagues and the Capulets, as

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<sup>17</sup> On this poem, see Scholberg (1984, 31). I follow the edition of Foulché-Delbosc (1915, poem 415). Its early date is implied when Pedro Díaz names as established poetic authorities Pérez de Guzmán and Santillana, and alleges that Gómez Manrique "sy el tiempo le da logar a continuar e continúa, yrá en el alcançe a los caulleros nonbrados e publicará su yngenio de buenas e fructuosas cosas" (Foulché-Delbosc 1915, 132).

it were, because on no account does he ever support the king. To the contrary, Enrique IV was the object of such harsh censure that the text was actually redrafted, and a gloss was added about defamation and retraction (stanza 109). In other words, if there were factional interests at work here, according to Nader's system it would be right to include Fray Íñigo, at least at this point in his career, among the rebellious noblemen.

A preoccupation with the concept of justice is found in many of Fray Íñigo's poems. As presented in his *Dechado del Regimiento de Príncipes fecho a la señora reina de Castilla y Aragón* (ed. Rodríguez Puértolas 1968b), it is perhaps best understood in terms of the well-known conventions of judicial rigor. Here, the author advises the queen not to hesitate:

... con amor y pesar  
de degollar  
la oveja inficionada  
por guarecer la manada.  
No piense vuestra excelencia  
que es clemencia  
perdonar la mala gente. (Stanzas 7–8)

Fray Íñigo's counsel came to take on a more radical and explicit tone in his allegorical exposition on King Fernando's heraldic device found in the Franciscan's *Sermón trobado sobre el yugo y coyundas que su alteza trae por devisea*. In this work explicit absolutism inspires Fray Íñigo's plea to the monarchs to control the wayward Castilian aristocracy: "Tomad la lança en la mano, / sojuzgad vuestro reinado" (ed. Rodríguez Puértolas 1968b, stanza 18). And, arguing that the nobility needs to control and protect their own estates, he stresses that they also must subject themselves unconditionally to the power of the divinely ordained king:

Y pues son tan obligados  
por derecho y por virtud  
a someter sus estados  
al yugo, mansos, domados  
de la real celsitud. (Stanza 21)

Fray Íñigo develops this theme through bovine imagery associated with the yoke in the king's heraldic device, and he presents the battle of Aljubarrota as an uprising of the nobles against royal power. He then proposes to replace seditious followers with new, trustworthy ones:

araréis con los leales  
y a los ronceros cuirales  
dadles tras los colodrillos  
pues teneys hartos novillos. (Stanza 24)

In passages such as these, one can perceive what Nader argues was the posture taken by the *letrados* with regard to the subjugation of rebels. Finally Fray

Íñigo articulates an unsurprising defense of monarchical absolutism. His support of centralized power opposed to feudalism is not tempered by his subsequent admonitions to rule the kingdom with a steady and fair hand. According to Rodríguez Puértolas, that the Franciscan took sides at all is due to his place in society: "Mendoza no puede escapar a su condicionamiento sociológico e ideológico, pues les echa la culpa a los señores y no a los labradores . . . dirigiéndose contra los revoltosos que apoyaron al príncipe Alonso" (1968b, lxx).

Unfortunately, Nader does not mention this interesting member of the Mendoza clan in her book, nor does she define his place in society. Notwithstanding Rodríguez Puértolas' assertion, I personally doubt that it was Fray Íñigo's place in society that ultimately determined his partisanship. On the contrary, Fray Íñigo's ancestry is the same as that of those authors whose factional interest he contradicts since, as Rodríguez Puértolas tells us, he was related to both the Mendozas and the Cartagenas. Rodríguez Puértolas (1968a, 32) quotes a passage from Fernán Díaz de Toledo's *El Relator*, which asserted that by the middle of the fifteenth century even the most ancient families of the Castilian nobility descended from Jews. As Sicroff demonstrates (1960), many sources confirm the intermarriage of *conversos* and nobles which, as stated in Alonso de Cartagena's *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae*, was not only considered legitimate but was often admitted and used as evidence in discussions of ancient lineage.

Nobles and scholars alike expose the need for the prudent exercise of royal power through justice. The virtue of clemency is evoked in poems not only by magnates but also by *letrados* like Juan de Mena and by the royal counselor Pedro Díaz de Toledo. Fray Íñigo de Mendoza's position may be comparable to that of Pedro de Escavias, as described by Michel Garcia. Commenting on the *Coplas sobre las divisiones del reino*, Garcia expresses amazement "por el hecho de que los dos campos enemigos sean igualmente condenados por Escavias. No quiere distinguirlos en su poema; por el contrario los reúne en una sola jauría aulladora. . . . Juan II no es el único blanco al que Escavias asesta sus ballestazos: todos sus contemporáneos resultan culpables a sus ojos, culpables de la ruina de Castilla por fútiles motivos" (1972, xcvi). Bearing in mind the possibility that single images may have multiple interpretations, this should not be surprising if we accept that there just might have been (or that in fact there were) sectors of society, even among the rich, for whom ethics was more than a mere pretext. It is also possible to view all of them as "members of the nobility or obedient officers in their service," as di Camillo does (1991, 161), or to see a *letrado* like Pero Díaz de Toledo as "literary propagandist" of the nobility (Weiss 1991b, 96).

Although we have not dealt with actual censure of prevailing governmental practices, readers interested in social criticism may consult the various studies of Rodríguez Puértolas. Of course, the moral and political system sketched here appears also in poems that contain doctrinal matters as a secondary theme, among them those by Pedro de Escavias.

### Critical Attitudes Towards Political Thought

Santillana's sonnet 33, addressed to Enrique IV and composed, according to the epigraph, when he was already in power, offers a miniature portrait of the prince as judge:

Con vulto alegre, manso e reposado  
oíd a todos, librad e proved:  
fazed que ayades las gentes en grado,  
ca ninguno domina sin merçed.  
Commoquiera que sea, comendemos  
estos dos actos vuestros por derecho.

(ed. Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof 1988, 72).

Santillana refers here to the administration of justice, which is commended "by right" to the lord, because it is a right, as the text says, to be governed by a just and kind ruler. María Rosa Lida (1952a, 277) sees the sonnet as a testimony of the magnate's self-interest, because such a weak king would assure Santillana greater personal domains within the feudal system.

Lida's reading is based on her underestimation of Santillana's poetic work. She reproaches him for his lack of concern with fame, considered as a guarantor of ethical beliefs. Lida takes for granted Santillana's image of society, in which royal power is significantly diminished. The power of the monarch would be weakened by the arrogance of a small sector of society constituted by the powerful noble families with kinship ties to the king, or by the families' function, who question *de facto* the monarch's right to rule to the detriment of its legitimate purpose. This view legitimizes a vision of absolutism according to which power is centered in the hands of the monarch and then subsequently passed down to the lower strata of society. God, the supreme power, would delegate absolute authority to the king "from above," and the latter, in turn, delegates to his subjects only those powers that are necessary for the right administration of the *res publica* (Ullman 1961, chapter 1). This image corresponds to the one drawn by Nader (1979, 21–35 and chapter 6) and said to be present in the historiography of the *letrados*: Pablo de Santa María, Alonso de Cartagena, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, Alfonso de Palencia, and Andrés Bernaldez. The political theory of these learned authors was confirmed, according to Nader, by a long-standing historical belief that legitimized centralist tendencies: "Thus the final object of the state to these writers became Hispania—the moral, political, and geographical recuperation of Spain under the leadership of the divinely inspired and appointed Castilian monarch" (Nader 1979, 24).

In the general terms outlined by Ullman (1961), the image of royalty by divine imposition is rivaled by another notion, according to which power emanates from below. The king's subjects delegate to the ruler the functions considered necessary for the wellbeing of the state. Since the subjects are the source of power, they are also authorized to control how it is used. The emanation of power from the lower strata could exist as a possible variant in the second group of historians identified by Nader (1979, 25), namely, the warrior

class, whose most notable exponents were Pedro López de Ayala, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, and Diego de Valera. Penna makes a statement that approximates Ullmann's vision and is similar to the restricted sense of Nader's model. He argues that the almost mystical respect for the law among the military and ecclesiastical oligarchies had a practical function, since it theoretically limited monarchical power (1959, xiv).

The noble historians, however, are neglected by Deyermond, who reinforces the centralist argument in his account of Mena's and Santillana's verse (1986, 178–80). Beceiro Pita (1986, 320) goes even further and implicitly contradicts Nader when she quotes a passage from the *Espejo de la nobleza* by Diego de Valera to illustrate the latter's autocratic concept of power. My own sources, however, suggest that Deyermond is correct in not distinguishing between them; perhaps Ullmann's second model may only be realized in the Iberian Peninsula in marginal texts such as the *Crónica de Dom João I*, to which Deyermond alludes. This is supported by Di Camillo's recent conclusion that the satirical compositions of the fifteenth century "parecen ser obras de eruditos ocasionadas por rivalidades de bandos y, por tanto, no son más que ataques personales entre los mismos detentores del poder" (1991, 168).

The noble historians, according to Nader, consider royal authority only from within the framework of the moment, and they rank moral and specifically political needs higher than loyalties or hierarchies, making personal actions and attitudes prevail over the king's position. The prevailing notion of justice provides important insight into the possible existence of these factions, if indeed they actually existed.

The issue has been extensively treated in Nieto Soria's book. He shows how Spain shares with rest of Europe traditional theories of monarchy, and he offers various illustrations of legal and literary texts where the figure of the anointed king is explicitly mentioned. In addition, Nieto Soria includes many examples like Fray Íñigo de Mendoza's verses that deal with the anointment of the Catholic Monarchs ("fuestes señores ungidos, / ungidos y prometidos / de aquesta mano de Dios" [ed. Rodríguez Puértolas 1968b, 318–46, stanza 11]). This image confirms the righteous independence of the united Castilian and Aragonese monarchies vis-à-vis their European rivals. The book shows how, because of its very nature, the image of the king ordained by God may be related to the legislator's or judge's. There are many passages in Nieto Soria's book where he adduces evidence against the positive construction of the king's image, but his study fails to track any sustained opposition to royalty, which might have confirmed Nader's thesis. Still, Nieto Soria provides one reason why such an opposition may be possible, since the formulation of certain facets of the the king's image, specifically the one defined as "poderío real absoluto" (1988, 124–27), appears only in documents concerning Juan II and Enrique IV. That is to say, the emphasis on "poderío real absoluto" appears precisely at the moment when royal power is weakest and always leads to new political revolts. The emphasis on "poderío real absoluto" must be regarded as a gesture more indicative of intention than fact, a detail that corroborates perfectly

Suárez Fernández's thesis (1964) that the Trastamaras furthered centralism. At the same time there emerges a rich prose literature on the subject, and we witness the flourishing of the moral and political treatises in the doctrinal poetry collected in the *cancioneros*, where the uncertainties arising from inefficient government continue to be treated. It is, of course, fair to wonder if these works were destined to improve the institution of monarchy or, as my renowned Argentine colleague suggests, to undermine its foundations.

If one wishes to locate Pérez de Guzmán's or Santillana's natural place in one of the two categories postulated by Nader, there is no doubt that they each belong to the second. At the same time, we must wonder about the extent to which their ideas on kingship were meant to provide a basis for a functional use of the monarchy, as Nieto Soria maintains (1988, 55, 110, 111), rather than constituting a challenge against absolutism. In such a case we would find that ethical conduct and political pragmatism would take priority over dynastic or ideological considerations. As one of the most powerful nobles in the realm, Santillana belongs to the king's entourage in addition to being a relative, albeit a distant one without a claim to the throne. Santillana's function as counselor, assumed in sonnet 33, allows him to measure closely the relation between the king's deeds and his attitudes. He thus determines that to have a king who "listens to everyone" and treats them "with mercy" is the "right of every subject."

The same ideas may be seen in contemporary texts, like the letters of Diego de Valera to three generations of monarchs or in the "Carta de Fernando de la Torre al rey nuestro señor, al rey don Enrique IV de este nombre."<sup>18</sup> Although de la Torre was a nobleman of a lower rank than Santillana, his epistle is similar to sonnet 33 in that his own stance proves as critical as Santillana's when he refers to "aquella osada, enojosa e desvariada letra, a quien Dios dé su gracia, que al muy alto e muy poderoso príncipe rey e Señor . . . escreví e presenté" (ed. Díez Garretas 1983, 340). To be sure, similar statements can be found in many previous and later texts. The justification of those exhortations is often rather implicit. On this subject it is worth quoting the "Exhortación a los reyes nuestros señores sobre el caso acaescido" (c. 1497) composed by Diego de Muros "III," one of Cardinal Pedro González de Mondoza's secretaries.<sup>19</sup> The "caso acaescido" refers to the attempt against the life of Ferdinand the Catholic in Barcelona in 1492 (see Suárez Fernández 1992, 139), which provides the occasion to remind the monarchs of the necessary qualities of a good ruler. The chief functions of the monarch are, according Muros, to

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<sup>18</sup> Valera's letters may be consulted in Penna (1959), especially numbers 1, 2, 4, and 9. For de la Torre's epistle, see Díez Garretas (1983, 343–60). For an example of their common audacity towards monarchy see Valera's letter 3.

<sup>19</sup> On Muros, see Nader (1979, 184); González Novalín (1972, 1975–76); and García Oro (1976). Although the last two scholars publish his treatise, I quote directly from BN Madrid I-1321bis (BOOST 2095). My own edition is forthcoming in *Atalaya* 6.



rule fairly and always look to “la común utilidad, libertad e virtud, e non la vuestra propia” (folio aIVv). Here we are dealing with a person without a noble title, a scholar and a theologian who was to become bishop of Mondoñedo (1505–11) and Oviedo (1511–24). He defends the conventional position in that he devotes the second chapter of the “Exhortación” to religion and justice, reserving the last three pages for counseling the use of moderate judgement (folios bIIv–bVr). Muros uses the technical term “virtud epiqueya,” rooted in a philosophical-judicial discussion dating back to the prologue of Cartagena’s translation of Seneca’s *De Clementia*.<sup>20</sup>

Muros’ disquisition is compatible with the notion of a royalty ordained by the grace of God (see Muros c. 1497, folio aIVv): this is Ullmann’s first model that, as Nieto Soria demonstrates, was ubiquitous in medieval Spain. We find that within such a conception of monarchy it is possible to think of civic life as a process regulated by the will of the sovereign and that the king’s free will is likely to be influenced by others. The possibility of bringing influence to bear upon the monarch inspires the authors to offer their ideas about the king’s role in the social order and to admonish him when he fails to respond to the requirements of equity, opulence, liberty, and the virtue of his subjects (e.g., Muros c. 1497, folio bVIv).

### Justice and Power in Glosses and Commentaries

The text of the *Proverbios* addressed to the future Enrique IV includes two commentaries or glosses, one of which belongs to Íñigo López de Mendoza and the other to Pedro Díaz de Toledo. The author’s glosses elucidate the learned allusions in his verse and explicate his literary and historical sources. In some instances, such as the case of Assuerus, they clarify the sense of the *exemplum*, while in others they reinforce the moral, as in the example of Lentus (stanza 26), whose gloss states that “non poco enxienplo es o deve ser a todos aquellos que de la vara de la justia han cargo” (ed. Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof 1988, 231).

Pedro de Díaz’s glosses are much more thorough, erudite, and explicit. For instance, he recasts the gloss on Assuerus, neatly narrating the biblical story and adding a moral where formerly readers had to find one between the lines.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, he enriches the conceptual dimension of the subject with technical

<sup>20</sup> Cartagena glosses *epiqueya* in the following terms: “quando ésta se fase con buena intención e donde e como se deve faser, tenprando las leys positivas e amansando su rigor con razonable igualdad, es acto de epiqueya, mas cresentar las penas allende de quanto la ley scripta dise, non es aquélllo epiqueya, ca la inclinación del que tiene ábito desta virtud es dado a menguar e ablandar las penas” (Cartagena BN Madrid, MS. 10139, folio 48r).

<sup>21</sup> We lack a critical edition of this important text; my quotations, cited by gloss number, are from Cátedra and Coca Senande’s transcription (1990) of Salamanca, Universidad MS. 2655 (Dutton SA8). This is the most authoritative *cancionero* of Santillana’s work, possibly compiled under his supervision for his nephew Gómez Manrique about 1456.

terms and notions such as “ley natural,” “razón natural” (gloss 2), “experiencia” (gloss 4), and “las leyes positivas” (e.g., glosses to 63, 69, 93). In addition, he frequently adds ideas of his own, as in the case of the right to resist the exercise of force, even if it implies refusing to abide by an unjust legal ruling (gloss 4):

A todo hombre segund ley natural esta cosa solicita e permissa de defender su vida de defender su azienda e de defender su honra por quantas vías e maneras él podrá, con çiertas modificaciones que los derechos ponen . . . que, si algund juez injustamente me condepna a padesçer en mi persona alguna lisi3n e daño e quisiere escutar en mi persona la sentençia que sin pena alguna mis parientes e amigos me pueden ayudar a resistir al juez e buscar manera de cómo yo libre mi persona e estado.

In this context it is important to recall the extensive passages narrating the well-known episode of Esther and Assuerus, which concludes with the assertion “como dize vna ley çeuil: Más santa cosa es dexar por penar el pecado del culpado que penar al inoçente e sin culpa” (gloss to stanza 9).

Pedro Díaz de Toledo also defends Gómez Manrique’s forceful criticism in the *Querella de la gobernación*. I quote only two passages among the many devoted to judicial concepts. They answer in similar fashion the question posed by the magnates: “¿Quál era cosa más conviniente al reino e a las comunidades, que se rigiesen por buen rey o por buena ley?”

Segund dizen los juristas, los reyes son sujetbos a la ley natural e a la ley divina; e aunque en algunos casos las puedan modificar e limitar, del todo non las pueden quitar; e aunque sean libres e sueltos de sujebçion quanto a las leyes positivas, honesta cosa farán de ser sujetbos, de se saver regir e gobernar por ellas. (ed. Foulché-Delbosc 1915, 139)

And Díaz de Toledo concludes that

aquesta ley general ha menester, para ser justa, que aya executor prudente e derecho e justo que aplique la ley a la yntençión del que la fizo; e a tal executor como aqueste llama Aristótiles *epieques*, que es palabra griega que quiere dezir templador de la ley; e la virtud por donde se faze este tenplamiento se llama *epiquexa*, que quiere decir tenprança e ygualdad de ley. (ed. Foulché-Delbosc 1915, 145)

The first of these examples confirms that the monarch is the one person who has the power to change the legal system, an observation found in an earlier author like Fernán Pérez de Guzmán.

### Conclusion

Power and justice, as they are dealt with in some poetic treatises and other compositions found in Castilian *cancioneros*, form part of a broad-ranging discussion manifested in nearly every literary genre cultivated in fifteenth-century Spain. Questions regarding the legitimate scope of monarchical power and the

righteous administration of justice are constantly brought forth, yet no new ideas are formulated, because in no case is royal power or the right of the king to his position ever questioned. However, due to both the number of texts in which these themes are elaborated and the critical treatment to which the monarch is exposed, we can observe a generalized concern among writers not to abolish the institution but to improve it.

Perhaps these authors, whose works were widely disseminated in *cancioneros*, did not write these texts solely moved by artistic inspiration but in the hope that their kings, often more fond of poetry than of the study of political treatises, would be better disposed to their reasoning if it was couched in works more closely suited to their inclinations. Poetry was, as Santillana put it in his *Prohemio e carta*, a vehicle "de mayor perfección e más auctoridad que la soluta prosa" (ed. Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof 1988, 440). It can be seen that the themes of power and justice, considered in the first half of the century as integral parts of a moral system, are treated in more concretely political terms from the reign of Enrique IV onward. In addition, the explanatory glosses, composed mostly by Pedro Díaz de Toledo, reinforce the role played by poetry in the discussion of political ethics, by clarifying its themes with newly adopted technical terms.

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*Male Sexual Anxieties in Carajicomedia:  
A Response to Female Sovereignty*

BARBARA F. WEISSBERGER

In their 1986 book, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, cultural historians Peter Stallybrass and Allon White lament the tendency to devalue popular or comic works, arguing that it distorts literary history. They reaffirm Bakhtin's contribution to cultural studies of the Middle Ages, namely, the notion that popular, carnivalesque culture is inseparable from official, high culture, the two being in fact mutually structuring and invading. But they recognize that application of Bakhtin has become mired in a debate among practitioners of New Historicism and cultural materialism over the political significance of carnival, that is, whether it is truly subversive of or ultimately contained by the status quo.<sup>1</sup> Stallybrass and White attempt to overcome the stalemate of the subversion-containment debate and render Bakhtin's insights more analytically powerful by insisting that a binary extremism has been fundamental to the entire process of cultural signification and organization in Europe since the Middle Ages (1986, 6–15). They focus on four cultural spheres in which a high/low hierarchy operates: geographical space, the social order, psychic forms, and the human body, but they pay special attention to the last one, insisting that discourse about the grotesque human body—multiple, bulging, over- or under-sized, protuberant and incomplete, its openings and orifices emphasized—has a privileged role in social classification (2–3).

The *Cancionero de obras de burlas* is a veritable treasure trove of grotesque realist discourse about the body, from the "Aposento en Juvera," in which a grossly fat man provides lodging for the entourage of the papal legation on its 1472 visit to Castile, to the "Pleyto del Manto," an account of a lawsuit to

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<sup>1</sup> For critiques of reductive Bakhtinian readings see chapter 6 of Gurevich (1988). Booth (1982) and Bauer and McKinstry (1991) provide feminist critiques of various aspects of Bakhtin's theory of the carnivalesque.

determine the preeminence of the *coño* or the *carajo*, to the longest poem in the collection and the subject of this essay, "Carajicomedia." It is, however, a treasure trove that remains largely unexplored, despite a spate of editions in the last two decades: two of the entire collection and two more of "Carajicomedia" alone.<sup>2</sup>

*Cancionero* studies have given us a vivid example of scholarly resistance to taking seriously "low" genres and styles in a recent reenactment of the hundred-year-old debate on "the meaning of courtly love." In *The Philosophy of Love in Spanish Literature*, Alexander Parker attributed the modern depreciation of Spain's medieval love lyrics not to any defective artistry of the works themselves but to the pervasive and pernicious influence of materialism in modern times (1985, 2). In *La poesía amatoria*, Keith Whinnom countered with a defense of *cancionero* poetry's merits by insisting on the validity of the very aspects Parker rejected, that is, the extent to which its idealized and idealizing language of love is rife with erotic double entendres.<sup>3</sup> Where Parker wanted to see a religious longing to unite with the divine, albeit misplaced onto a less worthy human beloved, Whinnom pointed to a lightly veiled desire to "yaçer con fembra plaçentera." Whinnom's spirited defense of the *cancioneros* led him to a general criticism of hispanomedievalists: "No creo que los medievalistas corramos el riesgo de infravalorar el idealismo de la Edad Media. Al contrario, me parece muy probable que lo hayamos sobrevalorado" (1981, 24).

Whinnom's groundbreaking work on the pervasive *amphibologia obscena* of fifteenth-century amatory verse, which began nearly thirty years ago (1966, 1968–69), has encouraged much-needed close readings of individual *cancionero* poems (see Deyermond 1978, Macpherson 1985, and Fulks 1989, to cite just three representative examples). But the resistance to its bawdiness is still very much in evidence, for example, in Macpherson's stated preference for poems in which the obscenity is less directly expressed, those in his view "designed not to offend, but to compliment the lady and to rejoice in an event of significance to both" (1985, 62). Both in its masculinist assumption that the *cancionero* poets represent women's experience in any way, much less equally with men's, and in its valorization of gentility over obscenity, Macpherson upholds the cultural superiority of idealism over materialism, of the "high" over the "low," and perpetuates the notion that the characteristic ambiguity of courtly love lyric is just good clean fun.

It would seem then that the obscenity of the *cancioneros* has been neglected not only out of scholarly *pudor* but also because it exposes the "ungentleman-

<sup>2</sup> For modern editions of the entire *Cancionero* see Jauralde Pou and Bellón Cazabán (1974), and the more accessible one by Domínguez (1978). The "Carajicomedia" alone is contained (without glosses) in Díez Borque (1977); the edition by Varo (1981) is the most useful.

<sup>3</sup> Although published in 1981, five years before Parker's, Whinnom's book was written with knowledge of that work.

ly" basis of courtly longing and lays to rest once and for all the traditional estimation of this literature as "pro-feminist."<sup>4</sup> Only recently have critics begun to examine the serious cultural function underlying the playfulness of Spanish courtly love lyrics.<sup>5</sup> Lacarra (1988), for example, notes the way in which the court poet's idealization of the *dama* actually upholds the ideology of masculine superiority even as it appears to overturn it. And Weiss (1991a) has skillfully analyzed the central role such verse played in the male courtier's creation and affirmation of his masculine identity before his peers and superiors, a social transaction in which females function as sexual and symbolic objects of exchange.<sup>6</sup>

The premise that the higher the value of the exchange object, the greater the status accrued to the courtier poet who puts it into circulation, puts into sharper focus the other perspective of this essay: namely, Queen Isabel and the representation of her power and gender in the literary creations of her aristocratic subjects. Very little has been written on this subject. R. O. Jones's 1962 essay "Isabel la Católica y el amor cortés" is useful for its overview of the numerous *cancionero* poets who encomiastically addressed the queen as the courtly beloved.<sup>7</sup> One common feature of such paeans is the sacrilegiously gendered maternal comparison of Isabel to the Virgin, as in the following verses of Antón de Montoro, written shortly after her accession to the throne: "Alta reyna soberana / si fuerades antes vos / que la hija de Santana / de vos el hijo de Dios / recibiera carne humana" (ed. Cantera Burgos and Carrete Parrondo 1984, 131). But Jones does not comment on the equal frequency with which the queen inspires paternal fear in the poets. Thus Álvarez Gato complains that the inequality of virtue and status between him and his beloved causes him to tremble in her presence "si quiero hablar no oso / si quiero callar no puedo; / como hijo temeroso / ante el padre rrencilloso / me cubro de vuestro miedo" (cited in Jones 1962, 61). Cartagena represents his courtly goddess as double-gendered, as simultaneously paternal and maternal: "Una cosa es de

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<sup>4</sup> Classic formulations of this view can be found in Oñate (1938) and Ornstein (1941); it persists in recent scholarship, e.g., Domínguez (1988, 31–45).

<sup>5</sup> The discussion of the masculinist ideology conditioning courtly lyrics is more developed for other European literatures, notably Provençal and Old French. See, for example, Burns (1985), Kay (1990, especially chap. 3), and Finke (1992).

<sup>6</sup> For feminist readings of individual female *cancionero* poets, see Fulks (1989) and Whetnall (1992).

<sup>7</sup> For documentation on the influence of chivalric literary and visual representations on Isabel's political formation, see Michael (1989). His approach does not take gender into account and assumes a naive conflation of art and life as well as an uncritical absorption of the masculinist chivalric ideology on the part of the queen: "Like the lives of their Trastámaran predecessors and Burgundian and Hapsburg successors, the lives Isabel and Fernando led were the books they read—and the tapestries they viewed—in which they splendidly acted out the roles that the literary chivalric code assigned to them" (110).

notar / que mucho tarde contesce / hazer que temer y amar / estén juntos sin rifar / porque esto a Dios pertenesce" (cited in Jones 1962, 57).

Clearly, these cannot be dismissed as mere courtly *topoi*, given Isabel's real as opposed to ascribed power. The *converso* Montoro makes pathetically clear the power the queen and her policies wield over one particular group in a poem Kenneth Scholberg has called "una de las protestas poéticas más impresionantes del siglo XV" (1971, 319). Here again, but more urgently, we find the construction of the monarch as feminine and forgiving, accomplished by assimilating her to the tradition of "Jesus as mother":

Pues, reyna de gran estado,  
 hija de angélica madre,  
 aquel Dios crucificado,  
 muy abierto su costado  
 e ynclinado,  
 dixo: "Perdónalos, Padre."  
 Pues reyna de auctoridad,  
 esta muerte sin sosiego  
 cese ya por tu piedad  
 y bondad  
 hasta alla por Navidad,  
 quando saue bien el fuego.

(ed. Cantera Burgos and Carrete Parrondo  
 1984, 134)

"Carajicomedia" also takes pains to construct Isabel's power in terms of gender and sexuality, albeit in a very different tone. I will base my analysis of this ambitious work on two theoretical propositions: first, that the critical separation of "high" and "low" culture and the accompanying devaluation of the latter distorts literary history (though not quite in the sense suggested by Whinnom [1966]); and second, that feminist criticism, premised on the inevitable association of gender and power, is uniquely qualified to address if not correct that distortion. To do so, I will confront "Carajicomedia" with the work it parodies, Juan de Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna*. The two poems neatly frame the life of Isabel, since Mena addressed his to Juan II two years before the birth of the daughter who would inherit his kingdom, and the anonymous parody, first appearing in the 1519 *Cancionero general*, was probably composed near the end of her life (Varo 1981, 80). Placing a text whose obscenity exemplifies the "low" style on an equal footing with Mena's epic, the epitome of the "high," reveals that they are both examples of the highly sexualized political discourse that was wielded alike by supporters and opponents of Isabel.

Carlos Varo's view that "Carajicomedia" is a libertarian defense of pleasure and a critique of political and moral repression in Isabelline Spain is undeniable (1981, 49). But it is possible to go beyond this formulation to show that in this case the carnivalesque critique, what Arthur Stamm calls "the radical opposition to the illegitimately powerful" (quoted in Stallybrass and White 1986, 19),



is profoundly affected by the gender of the illegitimately powerful one. The poem's marked anxiety about masculine sexual inadequacy becomes a response to female sovereignty, in itself an anomalous condition that inverts the entire medieval gender hierarchy. Finally, reading "backwards" and "upwards," I will argue that the sexual terms of "Carajicomedia" 's parody uncover the extent to which *Laberinto*'s own authorization of male sovereignty depends on more concealed, but no less urgent, anxieties about female sexuality and marriage. Thus the opposite poles of this poetic hierarchy together will be seen to affirm two primary tenets of feminist theory: first, as Gayle Rubin formulated in a now-classic essay (1975), that control of and traffic in women lie at the heart of social organization and political institutions; second, that relationships of gender and power in the family are elementary political forms (Bristol 1985, 178).

My reading of "Carajicomedia" is admittedly paradoxical, for on the face of it we might well expect a carnivalesque text like "Carajicomedia" to celebrate Isabelline power as an instance of the "women on top."<sup>8</sup> As I later suggest, a possible answer to the paradox lies in Isabel's own self-fashioning as the restorer of patriarchal religious, moral, and social values to Spain.

"Carajicomedia" is a fine example of the carnivalesque style in almost every sense. On a most fundamental level it accomplishes a thoroughgoing inversion of the hierarchy of upper body over lower body. This is all the more striking because of the remarkable care taken to preserve the sonorous metrical regularity and rhyme scheme of the original *arte mayor*, even as every "high" element of the original's content is debased. Thus, Mena's majestic first line, "Al muy prepotente Don Juan el segundo" (stanza 1) becomes the equally impressive "Al muy impotente carajo profundo" (p. 150).<sup>9</sup> Only after letting the metrical identification of Juan II with a flaccid penis sink in does the poet go on in the second verse to assign the member to its rightful owner, the poem's protagonist, Diego Fajardo.

The classical allusions so prominent in Mena's poetics are similarly debased. Thus, in the second stanza, Mena's Virgilian evocation "Tus casos falaces, Fortuna, cantamos" (stanza 2) is altered but slightly to read "Tus casos falaces, Carajo, cantamos" (p. 152). Similarly, Mena's proud affirmation that the deeds of the Cid and Castile's other martial heroes are equal to those of the Romans, but are forgotten "por falta de auctores" (stanza 4), allows the parodist to insist that Diego Fajardo's heroism "en amores" matches that of the Cid "en batallas" and that his fame is "dañada . . . por ser de sus obras los coños autores" (p. 153). This is not, alas, a recognition of female *auctoritas*, of some early modern

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<sup>8</sup> The phrase "woman on top" is a term used by Davis (1975) in her discussion of festival gender inversions in late medieval France.

<sup>9</sup> All references to *Laberinto* in the text are to stanza numbers; I quote from Vasvari Fainberg's edition (1976). References to "Carajicomedia" are to page numbers in the Varo edition (1981). The exact stanza-to-stanza correspondence between the two works breaks down in stanza 48 of the parody.

“écriture féminine.” It is a mock-lament over the inadequacy of the phallus, not as pen, but as penis. Generically, then, the “Carajicomedia” inverts a classic epic into an elegy, a lament for the death from old age of Diego Fajardo’s penis (although, as we shall see, it does have a mock-epic ending).

The transcodings characteristic of carnival are also in evidence in this text. The poet in *Laberinto* has a vision of the allegorical wheels of time past, present, and future containing seven astrological circles that reveal to him the cure to Castile’s moral and political ills. Diego Fajardo’s search for a cure for his “carajo cansado” begins with a similar vision of three “wheels,” two round and still and one long and motile, that suddenly appear between his legs. But his visionary journey through the seven astrological circles takes place on a purely spatial plane, specifically, Castile and Aragon, beginning with stanza 58, “La orden primera de la Luna, aplicada a Valladolid” (p. 193). Guiding him on his tour is a grotesque counterpart to Mena’s beautiful young Providencia: “una puta vieja, alcahueta, y hechicera” (p. 155; the influence of *Celestina* obviously extends beyond the work’s title). Fajardo’s urgent plea to this *senexa* makes explicit the sexual disorder that will inform the entire work:

Dame remedio, pues tú sola una  
eres a quien pedirle me atrevo,  
pues resucitas y hazes de nuevo  
lo muerto, lo viejo, sin dubda ninguna.  
Pon mi potencia en cuerno de luna,  
las venas del miembro estiendan, engorden,  
vayan mis hechos en tanta desorden,  
que no dexé casa que no tenga cuna. (p. 155)

As will become clear when we turn to *Laberinto*, Diego Fajardo’s elusive goal is to accomplish exactly what Mena exhorts Juan II to prevent: the bastardization of Castilian bloodlines. Thus Mena’s urgent “e los viles actos del libidinoso / fuego de Venus del todo se maten” (stanza 114) is turned upside down in Fajardo’s libertine “Hodamos de forma que fama tengamos” (p. 226).<sup>10</sup>

On a material level “Carajicomedia” debases the status of *Laberinto* as equal in wisdom and philosophical *auctoritas* to the classical epics, a status created in part by the poem’s medieval and Golden Age commentators like Hernán Núñez and El Brocense.<sup>11</sup> “Carajicomedia” comes with its own version of the famous Hernán Núñez glosses, complete with Latin quotations from the *Putas Patrum* (p. 155), biblical references (“Inter natus mulierum non surrexit maior puta vieja que María la Buyça” [p. 163]), and citations of *auctores* like “Putarco en la *Corónica de las ilustrísimas Bagassas*” (p. 193).

The heroes and heroines of ancient Greece and Rome and contemporary

<sup>10</sup> I address the issue of genealogy at greater length below.

<sup>11</sup> See Weiss (1990, chap. 4), for discussion of the role of commentary in the creation of an “intellectual nobility” in the late Middle Ages.

Castile that Mena views in the House of Fortune are replaced in “Carajicomedia” by a horde of Spanish *putas*. The awed protagonist’s task is to relate their virtues, to individualize and immortalize them. So we meet the miracle worker Ana de Medina, “en cuyo coño se pruevan llegar / carajos elados, s’encienden de fuego” (p. 180). And Gracia, of whom the gloss says “Publica su coño ser ospital de carajos, o ostal de cojones” (p. 180). In all, sixty-six whores are named in the poem, an entire “estirpe de putas atán luxuriosa” (p. 179) that mocks the Gothic “stirpe de reyes atán gloriosa” (p. 43) Mena proudly claims for Spain.

Fajardo’s attitude toward his Celestinesque guide and the horde of whores she leads him to is, however, profoundly ambivalent. As such it exemplifies an aspect of carnival that undermines the essentialist view of festivity as populist and subversive. This aspect is that, as Stallybrass and White note, “carnival often violently abuses and demonizes *weaker*, not stronger, social groups—women, ethnic and religious minorities, those who don’t belong—in a process of *displaced abjection*” (1986, 19). On the face of it, certainly, many of Fajardo’s “vidas putescas” seem to celebrate female sexual appetite. An example is the story of Francisca de Saldana, who marries a certain Arab named Catamaymón. When her family objects, she answers with a saucy “más quiero asno que me llene que cavallo que me derrueque” (p. 186), a bawdy take on the proverb “más quiero asno que me lleve que cavallo que me derrueque” (p. 186). But the joke also betrays a simultaneous masculinist projection of the primacy of the penis and the corresponding fear of its inability to fill the void of the vagina. The reiterated allusions to the menacing size of the whore’s vagina and its engulfing capacity makes this clear; for example, Francisca de Laguna bears the telling moniker Rabo d’Azero [Iron Ass] (p. 170) and La Napolitana is similarly noted for her “rabadilla, que tenía muy hundida y tan grande como una gran canal de agua” (p. 171). And several of the anecdotes are darker in tone. There is, for example, the comeuppance Mariflores gets when she insults two stablehands:

Pues travando d’ella los dos, la metieron en casa del Almirante . . . y metida en una cámara cavallar, convocaron toda la familia de casa, y luego de presente se hallaron por cuenta veynte y cinco ombres de todos estados, bien apercebidos; y, prestamente desatacados, començaron a desbarrigar con ella hasta que la asolaron por tierra y le hicieron todo el coño lagunajo d’esperma. (194)

The story ends with the leader of the group calling in two black stableboys, at which point the panicked Mariflores runs off, to the merriment of all. Although both tales are racist as well as racy, the former puts the extraordinary sexual prowess attributed to the Arab at the service of female pleasure, while the latter uses the similar prowess attributed to blacks to enhance the sadistic humor of a gang rape.

I am aware that the “horizon of expectations” for humor among the early sixteenth-century audience of “Carajicomedia” may have made no such dis-

inction between these two jokes. But the degree of explicit misogyny in the work is beside the point I wish to make, which is the inadequacy of Fajardo's erection to deal with so many aggressively insatiable females. As he whines to his guide:

Pues do ay tantas putas, ninguna obedece  
carajo ninguno que no sea muy loco;  
para esto te llamo, señora, y invoco,  
qu'el triste del mío de cuerdo padece. (p. 165)

The old whore provides a temporary solution by taking Fajardo firmly (and literally) in hand, but it is a losing battle. Before accepting his forced retirement, however, the hero summons up the strength for one more fight. In an hilarious mock-epic battle between the "carajos" and the "coños" reminiscent of the battle of Carnal and Cuaresma in *Libro de buen amor*, the poet parodies stanza by stanza Mena's stirring account of the battle between Christians and Moors at Gibraltar, led by the ill-fated Conde de Niebla. The well-armed warrior and his troops charge forward "dando empuxones, a modo de guerra" (p. 227), but the soldiers are met not with fear but with delight:

Los coños, veyendo crecer los rabaños,  
y viendo carajos de diversas partes  
venir tan arrechos con sus estandartes,  
holgaron de vello con gozos estraños. (p. 227)

Fajardo's forces do not exactly die from drowning, as Niebla's did, but they are engulfed when "los floxos carajos a entrar se tornaron, / los coños hambrientos así los tragaron, / que ninguno d'ellos ni canta ni llora" (p. 229). This debacle brings to an obvious climax the poem's accumulated references to the all-devouring vagina. It also strengthens the parallel, made explicitly in the opening invocation, between Fortuna and Carajo. As Niebla's military power is subject to the unpredictability of the seas, so Fajardo's sexual power is subject specifically to the insatiability of the vagina and more broadly to the instability of sexual roles. The array of libidinous women who populate the hapless Fajardo's vision, be they compliant whores ("Madalenica . . . la qual nunca dio esquivia respuesta" [p. 214]), or savvy procuresses ("Mas la sabia mano de quien me guiava / viendo mi floxo carajo perplexo, / le sova, le flota le estira el pellejo" [p. 168]), express not a "metafísica del placer" (Varo 1981, 47) but a fear of the uncontrollability of the feminine: "Pues do ay tantas putas, ninguna obedece / carajo ninguno que no sea muy loco; / para esto te llamo, señora, y invoco, / qu'el triste del mío de cuerdo padece" (p. 165). As I will show in what follows, this fear of the uncontrollable, unstable power of the feminine—the ever-present threat of the *críca* to the *carajo*—is a response to the absolute power of one particular female, represented as "the mother of all whores" ("la prima de todas las putas del universo" [p. 198]).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> I am indebted to Julian Weiss for pointing out the importance of the "Carajicomedia"

The first scholar to connect the demise of Diego Fajardo's *pixa* and the politics of the Catholic Queen was Alfonso Canales, who in 1974, by a stroke of scholarly fortune, was able to identify the protagonist of the parody. He was the son of Alonso Fajardo, a priest and a hero of the Reconquest of Granada. In 1486, in recognition of his assault on Ronda, Isabel and Ferdinand granted Alonso a privilege "para que pudiese establecer mancebías en todos los pueblos conquistados y que se conquistasen."<sup>13</sup> Soon he owned brothels throughout the former Kingdom of Granada, including a particularly lucrative one of one hundred prostitutes located in Malaga (p. 74). In 1492 that city initiated a protracted legal fight against the abuses of the *putero* Fajardo and his henchmen.<sup>14</sup> Upon his death Alonso bequeathed this valuable property to the son who had accompanied him on his military missions, Diego Fajardo.

It was left to Carlos Varo to note that of the some five dozen prostitutes who parade through "Carajicomedia" no fewer than eight are *tocayas* (name-sakes) of Isabel. Each of them furthermore bears an epithet that associates her with the queen, for example, the "ramera cortesana" Ysabel de León (189), or Ysabel la Guerrera "amiga de Fajardo" (172). This plethora of Isabelline prostitutes could be coincidental, but their coinciding on at least two occasions with explicit references to the queen is not. Varo suggests that these are in fact "guiños de complicidad" directed at Isabel and that if proven, "las implicaciones políticas de la 'Carajicomedia' darían a la parodia un sesgo y una intención en los que hasta ahora las ediciones anteriores del *Cancionero de burlas* no habían reparado" (p. 172).<sup>15</sup> But the editor cannot fully accept his own con-

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poet's use of the Conde de Niebla episode and of the Carajo/Fortuna parallelism. Mena develops the comparison between the "desordenança" of fortune and the unpredictability of the seas in stanzas 11–12.

<sup>13</sup> Cited by Canales (1976, 74) from a document in a nineteenth-century lawsuit to recover the property for the Fajardo family. After Diego Fajardo's death, his devout widow, Leonor de Mendoza, convinced her son Luis to cede her the brothel. When she obtained Papal bulls to convert the *mancebía* into a *beaterio*, her son objected and enlisted the help of the Mercederian Friars to oppose the plan. So great was the scandal that followed that in 1519 (the date "Carajicomedia" first appeared in print) Charles V intervened, ordering the "beaterio de Magdalenas Arrepentidas" to be placed under royal protection.

<sup>14</sup> Galán Sánchez and López Beltrán (1984) study this litigation and later Fajardo family lawsuits over the property.

<sup>15</sup> Some of these implications have been noted by Márquez Villanueva (1987). First, the Catholic Monarchs, in spite of their reputation as highly moralistic rulers, did not face squarely the problem of unchaste clergy (the ascribed author of "Carajicomedia" is Fray Bugeo Montesino, an obvious allusion to Isabel's favorite preacher, Ambrosio Montesino). Secondly, Isabel and Ferdinand's "progressive" policy toward prostitution treated it as another source of royal revenues and a reward for the loyal service of their courtiers (446). Lacarra discusses ways in which royal officials profited from prostitution during this period, e.g., from the "derecho de perdices," a tribute exacted from all prostitutes by decree of the monarchs in 1476 and 1498. In her opinion, it was Fernando who was largely responsible for these

clusion, namely, that the poet really does call the queen “la prima de todas las putas del universo . . . la fragua de los carajos . . . la diosa de la luxuria, la madre de los huérfanos cojones” (p. 198). He hastens to reassure his readers that

la acusación, no exenta de desvergonzado atrevimiento, no tiene la más remota justificación histórica, pues, al contrario, la reina castellana fue modelo como mujer y como esposa. El primer testimonio en este sentido nos lo ofrece el historiador oficial de los Reyes Católicos, Hernando del Pulgar, con nobles y enérgicas palabras: “dio de sí un gran exemplo de casada, que durante el tiempo de su matrimonio e reinar, nunca ovo en su corte privados en quien pusiese el amar, sino ella del Rey, y el Rey della.” (p. 74)

The mention of Pulgar here is particularly apposite if we keep in mind what New Historicism has demonstrated, that historical texts are no less constructions than fictional texts.<sup>16</sup> From this perspective, Varo’s own apologia for the queen belongs to the simultaneous and contradictory historiographical construction of Isabel as “perfecta casada” and “mujer viril” that Pulgar, Alonso de Palencia, and other *cronistas* initiated as part of a campaign to discredit her rival’s claim to the throne and justify her own accession.<sup>17</sup>

Isabel’s disputed succession to the Castilian throne and the subsequent difficult consolidation of her power are intimately associated with the manipulation of what might be called a “discourse of impotence.” Enrique IV’s rumored homosexuality, his putative inability to control the sexual appetites of his wife, and the resulting supposed illegitimacy of their daughter are issues that have been debated by historians for more than five hundred years.<sup>18</sup> This is not the place to delve into the many ways that Isabel’s propagandists—we must assume with her full approval, if not instigation—took political advantage of these unproven sexual deviances. Here I can only reiterate what I have suggested elsewhere, that one of the new queen’s most pressing tasks, at least in the early years of her reign, was the reassertion of patriarchal values in

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“normas impositivas y represivas,” since they were identical to ones that had been in effect in Aragón for a century (1993, 39–40). For a feminist treatment of prostitution in early modern Spain, see Perry (1990).

<sup>16</sup> Montrose in particular skillfully analyzes New Historicism’s acknowledgment of the “historicity of texts” and the “textuality of history” (1986, 305). His work on the literary construction and reproduction of the power of Elizabeth I of England in the historical documents of her reign provides a stimulating model for similar much-needed studies on the Catholic queen.

<sup>17</sup> At the same time, as Tate (1994) demonstrates in the case of Palencia, the official chroniclers were ambivalent about Isabel’s “prurito de dominar” (as well as that of other noblewomen, like Beatriz de Bobadilla and Leonor de Pimentel).

<sup>18</sup> See Eisenberg (1976). For the most balanced modern view of these matters, see Azcona (1964).

Castile, values that had been allegedly inverted by the impotence (figurative or literal) of her father and half-brother.<sup>19</sup> But how was she to achieve these goals, which had to include the restoration of legitimacy and male dominance in the royal family and by extension in the nation, while claiming absolute power for herself?<sup>20</sup>

One answer, perhaps the crucial one, is that she had to marry. Impossible for her was the strategy adopted by the other Elizabeth, who successfully propagated the belief that the inviolability of the English body politic depended on the inviolability of her physical body. Elizabeth I skillfully replaced the queenly obligation to insure the monarchic succession with the princely obligation to nurture the state.<sup>21</sup> Isabel chose a less impregnable position in marrying Ferdinand, presenting herself simultaneously as queen consort and queen regnant. Her very public insistence on the equal status of the two monarchs, as evidenced by the "capitulaciones de matrimonio,"<sup>22</sup> was due not only to the long-standing Castilian-Aragonese rivalry but also to the traditional inferiority of woman in marriage.

Another strategy used by Isabel to forge a nation-state and impose her power on it was her extirpation, through the Inquisition and her much-vaunted religious reform movement, of contaminating feminine or effeminate elements in Spain: Jews, witches, homosexuals, or Muslims. Diego Fajardo's ambivalence toward the carnivalesque heroines of "Carajicomedia"—he admires, despises, but mostly feels threatened by their libidinal energy—is more than a criticism of the hypocrisy of the clergy and nobles who profit sexually and financially from the traffic in women, more than a critique of the queen's complicity in it. It is a continuation of a discourse that Isabel and her supporters so effectively used against Enrique IV and Juana of Castile. But in "Carajicomedia" it is her ally rather than her rival who is accused of impotence. This comic turning of the tables is an attack on Isabel's perceived masculinity, manifested in her anomalous status as female sovereign and in her unauthorized assumption of the virile, authoritarian role Mena tried to fashion for her father in *Laberinto de Fortuna*.

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<sup>19</sup> I explore this further in my "La construcción de la femineidad de Isabel la Católica," presented at the XI Congress of the Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Irvine, Calif., August, 1992; submitted for publication.

<sup>20</sup> See Jordan (1987), for sixteenth-century British political writers' rejection of gynocracy as an inversion of the traditional, divinely sanctioned gender/power hierarchy.

<sup>21</sup> Marcus describes the various strategies Elizabeth used to reinforce the sense of her "body politic" as male by, e.g., dwelling on her virginity; referring to herself as *prince* rather than *queen*; appealing to her composite nature—the frailty of her female "body natural" combined with the strength of her "body politic"; giving her famous Armada speech in martial costume (1986, 138–39). The effects of this self-fashioning on contemporary writers, principally Shakespeare, have been studied extensively.

<sup>22</sup> The document is reproduced in Puyol (1934, 80–84); Ferdinand reneged on it.

The influence of Mena's poem on Isabel's moral and political education is a commonplace of Spanish literary history. Menéndez y Pelayo saw Isabel's reign as the fulfillment of Mena's utopic vision: "[Mena] puso sus sueños, sueños de poeta al fin, en el débil y pusilánime D. Juan II; pero aún en esto ¿qué hacía sino adelantarse con fatídica voz al curso de los tiempos, esperando del padre lo que había de realizar la hija?" (quoted in Clarke 1973, 9). In her study of *Las Trescientas* as classic epic, Clarke romantically concurs:

Isabel la Católica could hardly have failed to know well and from her earliest years the most important poem of her century. . . . She could hardly have failed to be impressed by the poet's vision of an expanded and unified Spain, a vision that may have been instrumental in moving her to the generosity and the courage necessary for the national expansion that took place under her reign. (9)

There were, however, significant obstacles to the daughter's fulfillment of her father's destiny. Not the least of these was her gender. As Constance Jordan has noted, women, whose domestic and political subordination was considered divinely ordained, were not deemed fit to rule in the early modern period (1987, 421–22). We find evidence of the inconceivability of female sovereignty in the *Laberinto* itself, in the Circle of the Moon. Although Mena praises the virtues of Juan II's first wife, María of Castile, he can only conceive of her ruling "si fuesse trocada su umanidat, / segund que se lee de la de Ceneo" (stanza 76).

Circumstances made it possible for Isabel to achieve the inconceivable, to assume the throne of Castile as a woman. As I have discussed, those circumstances had much to do with the perceived sexual laxity Mena decries in his poem. In the space remaining I will use the transgressive perspective of "Carajicomedia" to briefly examine what has gone unremarked in *Laberinto*: its pervasive preoccupation with chastity, or more precisely, with male control of a female sexuality perceived as threatening to the sociopolitical order.

It is no accident that two out of the seven circles in Fortune's wheels are dedicated to the virtue of chastity. Mena's praise for the second exemplary woman in the Circle of the Moon, María of Aragon, wife of Alfonso V *el magnánimo*, is telling. He acknowledges her success as guardian of the realm while her husband was engaged in the conquest of Naples, but he reserves his real enthusiasm for the rare female virtue of sexual self-control:

Muy pocas reinas de Grecia se falla,  
que limpios oviessen guardado los lechos  
a sus maridos demientra los fechos  
de Troya non ivan en fin por batalla  
mas una Esiona es ésta sin falla,  
nueva Penelope aquesta por suerte. (Stanza 78)

More problematically praiseworthy, at least for the modern reader, is the masochism of the third and final woman placed in the circle, the famous María



Coronel, who rather than sully her husband's bed "quiso con fuego vencer sus fogueras" (stanza 79) by thrusting a firebrand in her vagina.

The political motivation for the extensive treatment of chastity becomes clear in the final stanzas of the circle. There the poet exhorts Juan II to "la vida política siempre zelar, / por que pudiciçia se pueda guardar" (stanza 81), and calls for the nobility to live chastely so that "en vilipendio de muchos linages, / viles deleites non viçien la gente" (stanza 83). While it is true that Mena goes on to define *castidad* as the avoidance of any vice, it is equally clear that he finds female adultery particularly disturbing. The necessary link between monogamy, patrilinear inheritance, and monarchy studied by Georges Duby (1983) for medieval France is clearly drawn here for Castile as well.<sup>23</sup> In this way the most important political poem of the Trastamaran dynasty attributes the interruption of Castile's national mission and the disorder of the state to the weakening of feudal patriarchy. Mena's gendered agenda becomes even more obvious in the Circle of Venus, which complements the first circle in its praise of those who "en el fuego de su juventud" (stanza 100) turn vice into virtue through the sacrament of marriage. But the third circle is mostly concerned with attacking those responsible for the "muchos linatges caídos en mengua" (stanza 100): the adulterers, fornicators, committers of incest, and especially, homosexuals (stanza 101).

Mena's preoccupation with "el amor ilícito" is not confined to the appropriate circles of Diana and Venus but obtrudes at other moments as well. In the Circle of Apollo, for example, after extolling the prudence of ancient philosophers, prophets, and astrologers, he condemns their negative counterparts, the necromancers and witches. Figured here is the infamous Medea (stanza 130) but also the less well known Licinia and Publicia, Roman adulteresses who murdered their husbands with poisoned brews. Their crimes provoke an outburst that, as María Rosa Lida notes (1950, 290), is a grotesque misapplication of the Sermon on the Mount. Christ's injunction not to let one's left hand know what one's right hand is doing when giving alms becomes an admonition to husbands to apply a swift and secret remedy should they even suspect their wives of sexual misdeeds (stanza 132). We can only guess what kind of remedy is implied.

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<sup>23</sup> Of the movement toward centralization and consolidation of power within the family unit in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a movement that benefited the church and the monarchy, Aronstein notes that "the move to patrilinear descent both obscured and strengthened the woman's role in the generation of the family; while it effectively reduced her to the mere conduit through which one male passed on his name and his inheritance to another, it also produced an increased anxiety about chastity and potential betrayal. A man could not choose his heir, by law that right fell to the oldest born within his marriage. What if his wife, sold by her family and purchased by himself, claimed the right to traffic in herself?" (1991, 119).

That Mena views the family as a microcosm of the state becomes clear in the advice he gives the king as patriarch at the end of this circle:

Magnífico príncipe, non lo demande  
 la grand honestad de los vuestros siglos  
 sufrir que se críen mortales vestiglos  
 que matan la gente con poca vianda;  
 la mucha clemencia, la ley mucho blanda  
 del vuestro tiempo non cause malicias  
 de nuevas Medeas e nuevas Publicias;  
 baste la otra miseria que anda. (Stanza 135)

As a husband must control his unruly wife, so a king must control his disorderly subjects.

The foregoing has shown the extent to which Mena connects the decline of Castile's noble families, the stagnation of the Reconquest, and the general civil unrest of the times to a loss of *pudiçia*, "virtud nesçesaria de ser en la fembra" (stanza 131). No doubt I might have posited the interrelatedness of power, gender, and sex in *Laberinto* without the carnivalesque aid of "Carajicomedia," but my point here is that the existence and popularity of the "low" text absolutely compels such a reading of the "high": the politics of impotence and sexual license expose the politics of virility and sexual control.

At the same time, it is necessary to reiterate that "Carajicomedia" 's transgression of "high" culture is profoundly contradictory. True, the parodist mocks the masculine, authoritarian, repressive values that Mena urged on the weak king. But he simultaneously attacks the dangerous appropriation of those same values by Isabel, both in her anomalous status as female sovereign and in her virile self-fashioning. In this sense, the poem's contestatory aim is deeply compromised.

I will conclude by recalling the image that graces the cover of Carlos Varo's excellent edition of "Carajicomedia": an Iberian ithyphallic bronze. Whether expressive of the post-censorship euphoria after the death of Franco or intended to encourage idle bookstore browsers to part with their money, is not this statuette of a man with an erection nearly as long as he is tall also an ironic overcompensation, an unwitting admission of the enduring cultural power of impotence?

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## *Cultural Studies on the Gaya Ciencia*

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Few students or teachers in the humanities can be unaware that an interdisciplinary conglomeration known as “cultural studies” has lately come to the forefront of current humanistic scholarship, especially in the study of contemporary culture. The arrival of cultural studies in the wake of so many other critical models—semiotics, structuralism, reader-response, post-structuralism, the French Freud, deconstruction, New Historicism, and so forth—might incline the more cynical (or the overworked) among us to dismiss this new methodology as another seasonal change in theoretical wardrobe decreed by the designers of academic fashion. However, the development of cultural studies in fact antedated these later trends and the field had produced a very extensive body of scholarship well before its ascendancy in the United States. Consequently, it would be hard to deny its increasing importance and even harder to find nothing of value or interest in its diverse range of concerns. Indeed, for anyone curious about fifteenth-century Castilian literature, cultural studies may offer some particularly useful perspectives for analyzing the poetic craft known in that era as the *gaya ciencia* and usually called today the “*cancionero* lyric.” In this essay I want to review some of those perspectives, describe their value for understanding the *gaya ciencia*, and suggest in conclusion how their application encourages us to rethink our own involvement in the teaching and study of Castilian literature. Obviously, this brief survey can only deal very generally with two fields as broad as cultural studies and the *gaya ciencia*. For that reason I have avoided frequent references to theorists of cultural studies and will discuss in detail only a few passages from the *Cancionero de Baena* for purposes of illustration. The other essays in this volume offer excellent detailed guidance for readers new to study of the *cancionero* lyric; to those interested in exploring scholarship from cultural studies, the works cited by During (1993), Easthope (1991), Hall (1980), Johnson (1987), and C. Nelson (1991) offer excellent points of departure.

### ***Gaya Ciencia* and Multidisciplinary “History”**

The claim that cultural studies can help understand fifteenth-century Castilian

*gaya ciencia* may seem implausible to anyone familiar with the focus on contemporary questions that characterizes most cultural studies. Engagement with current affairs—either in the lived experience of real subjects or in actual exercises of social and political power—is virtually a defining feature of this field. Studying the past certainly limits this engagement, but I suspect that insistence on this distinction indicates the still evolving theorization of cultural studies and must change as the field considers arguments from the philosophy of history or the methods of social history. Cultural studies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century medievalism already face the methodological problem of understanding the historical alterity of the Middle Ages, which scholars like Jauss (1977) and Patterson (1987) have explored for medieval studies. My conclusion will suggest some specific ways that application of cultural studies to the *gaya ciencia* engages current academic, political, or social questions, thus fulfilling the obligation to analyze *cancionero* lyric “then and now, there and here.”

As it happens, works from cultural studies do regularly appeal to “history,” but they use this term to mean contemporary context rather than past events. Cultural studies characteristically gives close attention to the particularity, complexity, and specificity of culture. This concern for context has fostered an aggressively interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and even antidisciplinary perspective. Its objects and techniques of investigation borrow freely from all fields of the humanities, arts, and social sciences. This eclecticism is clearly a virtue for many scholars in cultural studies, who prefer to resist dogmatic theorizing in favor of employing whatever disciplinary methodologies are necessary to produce knowledge. At the same time, it promotes careful critical analysis of the social, political, or economic conditions involved in any discipline’s definition of its objects and procedures. The deliberately interdisciplinary scope of cultural studies thus reinforces awareness of the field’s engagement with contemporary society. This interdisciplinary concern for historical context seems imperative to developing our understanding of the *gaya ciencia*. The need to consider the larger social, political, or economic implications of the *cancionero* lyric ought to be patent from Juan Alfonso de Baena’s well-known characterization of this art in the prologue to his great anthology:

Es vna escriptura e conpusción muy sotil e byen graciosa, e es dulce e muy agradable a todos los oponentes e rrespondientes d’ella e conpone-dores e oyentes; la qual çiençia e avisaçión e dotrina que d’ella depende e es avida e rreçebida e alcançada por graçia infusa del señor Dios que la da e la enbía e influye en aquel o aquellos que byen e sabya e sotyl e derechamente la saben fazer e ordenar e conponer e limar e escandir e medir por sus pies e pausas, e por sus consonantes e sílabas e acentos, e por artes sotiles e de muy diuersas e syngulares nonbranças, e avn asy-mismo es arte de tan eleuado entendimiento e de tan sotil engeño que la non puede aprender, nin aver, nin alcançar, nin saber bien nin como deue, saluo todo omme que sea de muy altas e sotiles inuençiones, e de

muy eleuada e pura discreçión, e de muy sano e derecho juyzio, e tal que aya visto e oýdo e leýdo muchos e diuersos libros e escripturas e sepa de todos lenguajes, e avn que aya cursado cortes de rreyes e con grandes señores, e que aya visto e platicado muchos fechos del mundo, e, finalmente, que sea noble fydalgo e cortés e mesurado e gentil e graçioso e polido e donoso e que tenga miel e açucar e sal e ayre en su rasonar, e otrosý que sea amador, e que siempre se preçie e se finja de ser enamorado; porque es opynión de muchos sabyos, que todo omme que sea enamorado, conuiene a saber, que ame a quien deue e como deue e donde deue, afirman e disen qu'el tal de todas buenas dotrinas es doctado. (ed. Azáceta 1966, 1:14–15)

Baena's characterization of *gaya ciencia* requires us to relate poetic composition to a very wide range of nonpoetic skills. Some very useful historical scholarship already provides the ground for understanding this relationship. Historians since Huizinga (1970) and Elias (1983) have recognized that courtly literature somehow depends on the social or political conditions of court society. Hexter (1979b) argued in a well-known essay that fifteenth-century nobles already appreciated the importance of education, especially literary training, as an instrument of social influence and "means whereby men nobly born should win a place in the service of the princely commonwealth" (64). Hexter's article, originally published forty years ago, includes terms that anticipate those of current cultural studies. For example, he suggests that if we believe "knowledge in some measure is power," then we are obliged to examine very carefully the "social appropriation and distribution of these very valuable scarce goods" (45), which late medieval courtiers produced and consumed. The issues identified by Hexter in this way anticipate arguments suggested more recently by social theorists such as Giddens (1979), Bourdieu (1991), and Chartier (1985, 1993). Refinements to Hexter's basic argument appear in studies by Bumke (1991), R. F. Green (1980), Jaeger (1985), Oostrom (1992), and other scholars. Many of their arguments probably apply broadly to all the aristocratic courts of later medieval Europe. So Aldo Scaglione concludes his survey, *Knights at Court* (1991), with the claim that progressive refinement of all courtly skills resulted from "knight/courtiers constantly operating under the creative stress of a need to justify their social function by serving the power structures at the same time that they were seeking their own personal ennoblement by rising to a privileged status of free, refined agents" (1991, 310).

To understand how those functions, structures, or agents contributed to the *gaya ciencia* described by Baena, we clearly need much more extensive information regarding the social, political, and economic conditions of the fifteenth-century Castilian court. Cultural studies has often adapted ethnographic methods for acquiring such information; any useful attempt to create a cultural perspective on the *cancionero* lyric will undoubtedly require us to undertake an "ethnography of the *gaya ciencia*."

### *Gaya Ciencia* as Relationality

Simply amassing more historical evidence about the poets or audiences of *cancionero* lyric does not in itself, however, constitute cultural studies of the *gaya ciencia*. The fundamental concern for context requires as well a scrupulous attention to social relationality, that is, to all the manifold dependencies, intricacies, hierarchies, alignments, divisions, overlappings, or articulations that exist among the culture of individuals or groups. Race, class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and age are among the most basic relations, but their organization in a particular culture is always complexly specific. Exponents of cultural studies typically refuse any reduction of these multifarious relations, whether by deterministic formulas of cultural materialism (such as the economic determinism fostered by “vulgar Marxism”) or by expressive summations of an entire era (such as the idealizations of *Geist* nourished by German Idealism). All relations are interactive, mediating one another as cause or effect while retaining their specificity and irreducibility. Hence cultural studies strives to demonstrate or at least to question the heterogeneous, diverse, and “decentered” relations that organize the apparent “unities” in a culture.

Analyzing the manifold social, political, or economic relations involved in the *gaya ciencia* obviously requires investigations that go well beyond the limits of conventional literary history or criticism. Most importantly, this relational analysis requires us to abandon an exclusive focus on the literary text as center of our interests and to consider instead with equal (if not greater) attention all those nonliterary practices mentioned in Baena’s characterization of the *gaya ciencia*. In short, we must be willing to investigate poetry on a par with other social, political, or economic activity. Adherence to a strictly literary perspective has led some scholars to question the propriety of Baena’s attention to courtly pastimes (e.g., Weiss 1990, 48–50) or to compare his prologue disparagingly with descriptive texts such as the *Crónica de Don Pero Niño* (Kohut 1982b, 126–27). At best isolating objects of literary analysis in this way allows very limited conclusions. At worst, it leads us to regard the composition of so many *canciones*, *dezires*, or *coplas* simply as an end in itself. This perspective inevitably generates paradox, as when Azáceta claims that chance must have played a major role in the composition of most *cancioneros* because each one seems to be the fruit of its own circumstances rather than a product of identifiable literary principles (1966, 1:xxxiv). A strictly literary conception of the activities of Baena or his contemporaries ultimately leads to rejection of their social, political, or economic function. Thus, Moreno Hernández exhaustively studies the poetry produced by writers associated with Archbishop Alonso Carrillo but concludes that these lyrics were merely “an ephemeral ideological prop” for the prelate’s political intrigues (1985, 19). This characterization of these texts as unimportant and association of their transience with political ideology neatly illustrate the complete subordination of nonliterary to literary relations. Cultural studies of the *gaya ciencia* must reject this perspective to understand how composing lyrics was a “signifying practice” whose “meaning” was not limited to literary values but included the whole inventory of “sym-

bolic capital" suggested in Baena's inventory of courtly skills and virtues.

Finally, we should recognize that all these relations apply to Baena's prologue itself. His comments on the *gaya ciencia* were not only an objective description but a motivated, contingent attempt to represent activities that were likewise motivated and contingent. Potvin has cogently argued for the need to re-insert the *cancionero* lyrics into their historical context (1989, 9). The kind of relational analysis advocated in cultural studies not only decenters literary texts as objects of investigation but also resists reading those texts (or any representations) as mere expressions of other social, political, or economic activity. Texts and other representations are no less specific, irreducible, or factitious than other cultural products or practices. Reading them chiefly as expressions of other ideas or activities not only limits our understanding of those ideas or activities but may even lead us to treat the texts as expressions of our own interests. For example, the principles of organization that Azáqueta finds in Baena's anthology are remarkably coincident with those of modern philology: chronology, esthetic merit, theme, content, genre, stylistic "school," and rhetorical intention (ed. Azáqueta 1966, 1:xxxiv). Certainly it is optimistic to imagine that the authors of *cancionero* lyrics were especially concerned to represent their thoughts or circumstances as documents for study by modern scholars. A utilitarian attitude toward these texts as "evidence" is comparable to the attitudes of early twentieth-century anthropologists toward "primitive" cultures. Cultural studies can help us to regard the *gaya ciencia* instead as a complex practice involving diverse interests, causes, and effects, which we engage from our own equally complex circumstances. Our objects of inquiry thus never come to us fixed, transcending time and space thanks to some force such as "tradition," but become immanent in our investigations through the ongoing production and reproduction of those objects.

### ***Gaya Ciencia* as Practice, Discourse, and Form**

The attention to contextual relations and refusal to accept any representations simply as expressions of that context allow cultural studies a very wide domain of investigation: "culture" includes virtually the whole range of a society's customs, arts, values, beliefs, institutions, and so forth, in all their symbolic and material manifestations. The correspondingly broad terms "practice," "discourse," and "form" commonly serve to name these objects of study in cultural studies. The unexamined epistemological or ontological status of these objects might trouble theorists (like deconstructionists) more accustomed to arguments based closely on speculative philosophy, but the wide application of terms such as "practice," "discourse," and "form" aptly serves the interdisciplinary scope of cultural studies. Moreover, each term involves some fundamental assumptions about culture as a field of inquiry. First, the category of practice adopts a broadly anthropological view of culture as any activity, from individual behaviors, associations, and representations to collective customs, institutions, and languages. This concern for praxis obviates evaluating the truth or adequacy of an activity in favor of asking what it does or how it

functions. It helps resist reliance on texts or other representations and instead maintains attention to the active relations that constitute the cultural experience of human subjects. Second, the characterization of some activities as "signifying practices" or "discourses" (a term especially promoted by the theories of Michel Foucault) helps avoid dichotomous divisions between word and deed or form and content and favors description of behaviors as systems of meaning without relying on literary terms such as "style," "imagery," or "rhetoric." Third, the term "forms"—applied to objects ranging from language, texts, and media to modes of experience, ideologies, and myths—discourages regarding these objects only as signs. Even when they result from signifying practices, it treats them as levels, structures, or patterns—"formations," as it were—that are immanent in practice or discourse. While paying attention to cultural forms, one must not, however, forget that they always exist thanks to diverse causes and effects; forms do not act on their own, apart from their conditions of existence. Consequently, analysis of any cultural form always involves a certain abstraction, an operation that demands methodological self-awareness to avoid the facile reductions of cultural materialism or the insuperable structuralist dichotomies of signifier and signified.

Discussion of the *gaya ciencia* in terms of practice, discourse, or form hardly seems problematic. After all, it is obvious that composition of court poetry was a practical activity and a mode of discourse that involved manipulation of conventional forms. Scholars working from Marxist perspectives have long insisted on the practical import of this poetic craft. For example, Julio Rodríguez Puértolas suggested in 1968, in his first anthology of social poetry (1968c), that this lyric served as a means of "intervention" in contemporary affairs. Nonetheless, his explanation of this engagement did not go much beyond asserting a meaningful relationship between contemporary conditions and cultural representations. He observes only that political and social events notably influence the thought of intellectuals and writers in the fifteenth century (1968c, 48). This seems clear in specific situations such as the death of the Castilian heir Prince Juan in 1497, which many court poets lamented in verse (Mazzochi 1988). Less obvious are the wider relations that enabled, fostered, or required the "influence" of social and political events on particular literary acts. Roger Boase's 1978 monograph, *The Troubadour Revival*, marks a major advance in efforts to treat the *cancionero* lyric as a mode of social and political practice. Boase's ultimate argument is that the *gaya ciencia* was an exercise in archaism, adopted as "a response by the dominant minority to the disintegration of medieval values and institutions" (1978, 151). The functional purpose of this response remains somewhat unclear, however: did it actually serve to resist disintegration? to construct alternative values and institutions? to address a subordinated majority? The correlation of literary with social or political practices and forms needs at the very least to differentiate explanations based on the "expression" of subjects' "interests" from those based on a "response" to structural social tensions (Geertz 1973).

Still, these hesitations do not alter the fundamental value of Boase's attempt



to analyze the nonliterary functions of the *cancionero* lyric. Indeed, he emphasizes the practical character of this discourse more generally in observing that “the composition of love poetry was a sign of good breeding, a means of contending for favours and one of the most popular forms of entertainment. It was essentially a non-professional activity in which all those who attended the court were encouraged to participate” (1978, 152–53). Weiss has extended even further this argument regarding the practical function of the *gaya ciencia*; he concludes that the aristocracy’s enthusiasm for literary composition “was encouraged by a blend of social and political factors: not just literary fashion, but also by the spread of lay literacy amongst a baronial class anxious to use the written word as a means of enhancing social status and gaining political influence” (1990, 233). Cultural studies is designed to analyze the production of that status or influence, as well as all the other collective relations that might be involved in these lyrics.

### ***Gaya Ciencia* as Production and Transformation**

Boase’s analysis of the *gaya ciencia* as a revival of earlier literary discourse also suggests another fundamental concern of cultural studies: the conditions of production, circulation, transformation, appropriation, representation, reception, assimilation, or self-production through which culture exists. As it happens, Boase’s explanation of these conditions for the *cancionero* lyric relies heavily on appeal to “tradition” which operates as a virtually autonomous force for maintaining that discourse. That is, his argument assumes that some functions, value, or conception of the original troubadour lyric necessarily remained available to later users. Scholars of cultural studies would likely decry this assumption as an instance of the “productivism” often found in the work of cultural materialists. That is, it presumes that conditions of production determine subsequent use of a product. If the sense of particular poetic forms, styles, or vocabulary remains constant, this involves cultural production; it does not occur automatically. As it happens, analysis of the *arts de trobar* suggests that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poets did not recognize the linguistic or literary “traditions” that we identify today (see M. D. Johnston 1977, 1981). Cultural studies on the *gaya ciencia* will always seek to explain its production (including apparent revivals or repetitions) as an effect of determinate conditions in every time and place that the product appears.

Moreover, this explanation would treat a text like Baena’s *cancionero* not only as a literary “product” but as a moment in the “production” of the *gaya ciencia*. This productive character is probably easier to appreciate in the royal clerk’s anthology than in an individual poem, since this kind of compilation so readily displays its constructed nature. Baena evidently compiled his collection over a period of years, an exercise in literary “processing” that modern scholars might consider less satisfactory than a single, neatly delimited act of composition. Baena’s dedication to his volume suggests the intersection of cultural practices responsible for this somewhat diffuse process. His *cancionero* presents

escriptas e puestas e asentadas todas las cantigas muy dulçes e graciosa-mente assonadas de muchas e diuerssas artes, e todas las preguntas de muy sotiles inuenciones, fundadas e respondidas, e todos los otros muy gentiles dezires, muy lymados e bien escandidos, e todos los otros muy agradables e fundados proçessos e requestas que en todos los tiempos passados fasta aquí fisieron e ordenaron e composieron e metrificaron el muy esmerado e famoso poeta, maestro e patrón de la dicha arte, Alfonso Aluares de Villasandino, e todos los otros poetas, frayles e religiosos, maestros en theología, e cavalleros e escuderos, e otras muchas e diuerssas personas sotiles, que fueron e son muy grandes desidores e omnes muy discretos e bien entendidos en la dicha graçiosa arte. De los quales poetas e dezidores aquí adelante por su orden en este dicho libro serán declarados sus nonbres de todos ellos, e relatadas sus obras de cada vno bien por estenso. El qual dicho libro, con la graçia e ayuda e bendición e es-fuerço del muy soberano bien, que es Dios nuestro Señor, fiso e ordeno e compusso e acopiló el indino Johán Alfonso de BAENA, escriuano e seruidor del muy alto e muy noble rey de Castilla Don Johán, nuestro señor, con muy grandes afanes e trabajos e con mucha diligencia e afec-tión e grand deseo de agradar e conplaser, e alegrar e seruir a la su grand Realesa e muy alta Señoría. (ed. Azáceta 1966, 1:3-4)

The compilation of so many individual lyrics associated with this general "art" reminds us that the *gaya ciencia* is already an organized cultural practice, whose ongoing production Baena selectively represents through an anthology of its products. His endeavor also illustrates how cultural production typically involves some transformation in the products circulated. At the very least, Baena's great anthology requires a certain operation of "abstraction" that manipulates time and space by collating so many poems composed in different circumstances. More importantly, he performs this task as a royal clerk rendering a service to his monarch, a complex act of production whose results depend on various relations of duty, patronage, favor, reward, and authority. Equally complex relations determine the transformations that occur at every level of circulation, from private acts among individuals (such as the direct exchange of poems) to public acts among larger groups (such as the *jochs florals* or publication of the *Cancionero general*). Even reading Baena's anthology involves some degree of private or public transformation in the products that it circulates, insofar as any reading submits them to new uses as entertainment, models of courtly skill, and so forth.

This view of culture as a process of continuous transformation rejects the kind of self-sufficient unity that literary criticism often assumes in texts, authorial intentions, traditions, styles, genres, or themes. Cultural studies instead fosters attention to all those features of repetition, adaptation, assimilation, hybridization, negotiation, and so forth that literary analysis may well regard as "mis-readings" or even "mis-takes." Attention to these concrete transformations allows a fuller understanding of the *gaya ciencia* than do broad categories

like "humanism," "scholasticism," "medieval," "Renaissance," or "Pre-Renaissance," since these categories allow little diversification. There is in fact scant "explanation" in the claim that any literary practice in this era "supone un estudio, inseparable de la tradición retórica y filosófico-teológico que enlaza lo clásico pagano a lo judeo-cristiano a lo largo de la Edad Media" (Moreno Hernández 1985, 45). Rather than admiring the longevity of the cultural forms inherited from antiquity, cultural studies would seek to analyze the significance and conditions of that inheritance for the practitioners of the *gaya ciencia*. The circulation of cultural forms may undergo abrupt alterations according to diverse circumstances of class, gender, race, sexuality, ethnicity, age, and so forth. The need to understand these alterations has popularized concepts like Roger Chartier's principle of "appropriation," which focuses attention on how diverse sectors of a society use the "same" cultural products in different ways. This perspective would certainly apply to the relationships between *gaya ciencia* and other uses of vernacular literacy in religion, commerce, or political affairs. Especially interesting would be consideration of the seemingly paradoxical ways in which *cancionero* lyrics use discourses of love and spirituality. The social significance of this usage is probably much more complex than a simple devotion to courtly love as a kind of "secular religion" (see the arguments of Gerli 1981).

### **Gaya Ciencia as Power**

Cultural practices, discourses, or forms do not appear, circulate, and change thanks to some transcendent "will to culture." Rather, they exist dynamically thanks to manifold, particular relations, such as order, regulation, domination, or subordination, which we commonly regard as exercises of power. These relations are perhaps most obvious when they involve the unequal distribution of cultural products among different groups or individuals, but cultural studies assumes that any practice, discourse, or form arises from and generates relations of power. Potvin has recently analyzed the strictly textual relations through which poets accomplish "une affirmation de son pouvoir par la prise en charge de son propre texte à travers le processus dorénavant renversé de l'écriture/lecture" (1989, 61).

However, understanding the social production and circulation of the *gaya ciencia* requires a much wider-ranging study of the relations of power that it involves. Literary histories of the *cancionero* lyric typically describe its place in fifteenth-century Castile by invoking a broad dichotomy like "popular" and "learned," which defines cultural levels that somehow "interact" or "interfere" with one another (e.g., Deyermond 1981 or Marcos 1986). This dichotomy is probably not very satisfying to any of us today, especially when fifteenth-century authors already found it difficult to construct social models based on only three estates. Cultural studies excels in analyzing how societies organize their practices, discourses, and forms of culture. For example, a large body of scholarship applies Mikhail Bakhtin's arguments regarding heteroglossia, the dialogic imagination or carnival. His model seems particularly applicable to

scurrilous or parodic lyrics such as the *rimas azurras* (Cano Ballesta 1986). Still, the Russian theorist's analyses rely on some very reductive distinctions between popular and official culture (see the discussions by Flannigan 1990 and Gurevich 1988, 176–94). It seems necessary to recognize that variable distinctions between the “popular” and the “learned” are themselves cultural forms that occur through relations of power in specific contexts and must undergo continuous reproduction. Much work in cultural studies has investigated how differences in race, gender, class, ethnicity, or sexuality organize that production in particular contexts. The role of these differences in the *gaya ciencia* is obvious in several respects. First, a fundamental distinction of class obviously sustains the association of the *gaya ciencia* with the court and aristocratic society. Baena's dedication and prologue assume that association. He specifically invokes the social order of the court when characterizing the audience for his *cancionero*:

Ca sin dubda alguna, si la su merçed [i.e., the king] en este dicho libro leyer e en sus tienpos deuidos, con él se agrada e deleytará e folgará e tomará muchos conpotes e plaseres e gasajados. E avn otrosí con las muy agradables e graçiosas e muy singulares cosas que en él son escriptas e contenidas, la su muy redutable e real persona auerrá rreposito e descansso en los trabajos e afanes e enojos; e otrosí desechará e oluidará e apartará e tirará de sí todas tristesas e pesares e pensamientos e afliçiones del spíritu, que muchas de uezes atraen e causan e acarrean a los príncipes los sus muchos e arduos negoçios rreales. E assí mesmo se agrada e folgará la realeza e grand señoría de la muy alta e muy noble e muy esclareçida reyna de Castilla doña María nuestra señora, su muger, e dueñas e donsellas de su casa. E avn se agrada e folgará con este dicho libro el muy ilustrado e muy graçioso e muy generoso príncipe don Enrrique, su fijo, e finalmente en general se agrada e folgará con este dicho libro todos los grandes señores de sus reynos e señorías, asý los perlados, infantes, duques, condes, adelantados, almirantes, como los maestros, pryores, mariscales, doctores, caualleros e escuderos, e todos los otros fidalgos e gentiles ommes, sus donseles e cryados e ofiçiales de la su casa real, que lo ver e oyr e leer e entender bien quisieren. (ed. Azáqueta 1966, 1:4–5)

This passage offers an excellent opportunity to contrast the emphases of literary history or criticism and of cultural studies. Literary analysis of this passage readily recognizes its use of rhetorical *gradatio* and *congeries*, adherence to commonplaces of exordial decorum, or allusion to conventional doctrines of literature as recreation for the spirit (well analyzed by Olson 1982). Nonetheless, the effect of *gradatio* only occurs through representation of real or imagined distinctions in social, political, and economic status. Baena's representation tells us little unless we also investigate the advantage, interests, or control—in short, the power—involved in identifying *gaya ciencia* with these levels of court society. Inflections of power by class appear in many *cancionero* lyrics that include personal invective regarding social origins. These works contribute

to a voluble discourse of nobility, lineage, and virtue among fifteenth-century Castilian aristocrats. In several cases, class distinction attaches itself literally to a writer: the artisan origins of Antón de Montoro earned him the sobriquet of "el Ropero" (see Lope 1990; Gerli 1994–95); similarly, the humble background of the minstrel Juan de Valladolid evidently induced the derisively ironic identity of "Juan Poeta" from his contemporaries (analyzed by Battesti-Pelegrin 1990 and Rubio González 1983–84). The condensation of these distinctions into nicknames perhaps shows how these differences required constant reproduction in a context where they might otherwise disappear, thanks to the opportunities for social, economic, and political mobility available at court.

These nicknames and invective were only a few of the practices available to social agents engaged in constant efforts to break, realign, reorganize, and advance their groups, interests, or status. Models for analyzing these efforts already exist in recent literary scholarship: perhaps *cancionero* invectives contribute along with heraldry or marriage rituals to the "symbolic production" of aristocratic alliances (Bloch 1983, 75–76); or perhaps these alliances are the narratological "Subject" of the invectives, just as family appears to be in some romances (Vitz 1989, 103–4). Cultural studies can extend these insights regarding literary representation into broader analyses of all the discourses and forms of power involved in invective.

Struggle involving racial difference is another area where Castile seems to excel—if that is the right word—compared to other societies of later medieval Europe, thanks to the dual circumstances of the ongoing Reconquest and anti-Semitism. Invective involving race occurs throughout the *cancioneros*, especially in verses denouncing the perversion and perversity of Jews (Rose 1983). A relationship between literary culture and race most notably appears in lyrics that identify racial origins with inept poetic talent. However, these identifications do not merely show that *conversos* or *moriscos* were considered poor poets but also implies some social, political, or economic disadvantage for them. That is, the act of denouncing others as *conversos* or *moriscos* does not by itself damn them: rather it makes them and their writing subject to evaluation according to the relations of power organized by those racial distinctions. An obvious but important aspect of this discourse is the writers' own acceptance of those relations and distinctions: very few of them write in defense of being a *converso* or *morisco*. This agreement enables their mutual invective, which thus functions both as a means of reinforcing their group identity and of disputing their relative status within that group. Studying the racial insults in *cancionero* literature could contribute substantially to cultural studies on anti-Semitism in fifteenth-century Castile, especially because these texts would diversify the narrow focus on theological literature usually found in historical studies of the subject (e.g., Cohen 1982). At the very least, investigating these issues regarding the *gaya ciencia* could help advance our understanding of the *converso* question beyond the point where Américo Castro left it.

Finally, distinctions in gender must have played a fundamental role in the

relations of power that define production of the *gaya ciencia*, to judge from the very limited number of women who contributed to the *cancioneros* (about half a dozen in Pérez Priego's anthology, 1989). The virtual absence of courtly women poets desperately needs further investigation and explanation, as Whetnall argues (1992). We probably will not learn much about the organization and performance of gender in Castilian court culture by scrutinizing the few extant texts of women writers for more bio-bibliographical data. Florencia Pinar has told us all she is going to tell (Fulks 1989; Snow 1984). On the other hand, a wide range of very suggestive theories concerning gender in courtly love and culture offer some new perspectives on this limited material. Arguments by Bloch (1991), Diamond (1989), or Finke (1992) could readily apply to cultural studies of *cancionero* verse. Finke suggests, for example, that the feminine roles defined in the literature of courtly love effectively excluded the intervention of female poets because courtly love constituted an "euphemerization" of the economic power that only men contested (1992, 42).

At the same time, cultural studies offers an opportunity to advance investigation of the practices and discourses called "courtly love" beyond their literary forms. For example, Bratosevich (1984) explains well how Santillana's *serranilla* to the Moçuela de Bores organizes fictions of social difference but still concludes that the Marqués's poem ultimately closes upon itself as a self-referential artifact, insofar as its entire perspective is courtly. However, as soon as we ask whether this closure applies to the fictions of difference in gender, we recognize an opening for analyzing both the ideology of courtly love in the poem and the relations of power that in fact enable Santillana's representation. Thus, it becomes possible to ask how the sexual conflict represented in the poem was already a social relationship, which the text reproduces and transforms in its representation. What circumstances made it possible for a noble like the Marqués to write such a characterization of an encounter with a peasant girl? The question seems almost naive. Yet, answering it involves much more than simply defining the structures of representation in one lyric; it leads us to consider the relations of power that were conditions of this representation as well.

Ultimately, analyzing how class, race, or gender organize relations of power in the *gaya ciencia* can help us to escape a reductive definition of its practitioners as autonomous "authors." Even in cases where we possess substantial biographical information about an individual's other endeavors—or perhaps especially in those cases—literary history and criticism typically treat any individual who writes as an "author" and then, if possible or necessary, adds qualifying categories like *letrado*, *converso*, petty noble, aristocratic, plebeian, and so forth. Even Potvin's excellent attempt to study the exercise of power in the *cancioneros* maintains this essentialized ideal of the "poet" (1989, 29). Cultural studies can help us avoid this reduction, which tends to obscure the particular conditions involved in any exercise of the *gaya ciencia*, especially in the production of "occasional" poetry. This reduction not only effaces the differences between kinds of literary actors, it assumes the fact of their agency, as though they were

completely self-motivating subjects. Lingering Romantic notions of the poet as individual creative genius perhaps encourage this view. In any case, its difficulties become obvious when we consider categories of authors that did not exist at all—or scarcely existed, such as “women writers,” “peasant poets,” or *morisco* troubadours. These nearly oxymoronic categories force us to consider what social, political, or economic relations were powerful enough to exclude them. At the same time, we must also ask what relations were powerful enough to sustain those practitioners of the *gaya ciencia* who did exercise its discourse.

### *Gaya Ciencia as Ideology*

The discourse, practices, or forms that enable individuals to make sense of experience, explain their material conditions, or “give meaning to life” typically receive the label “ideology” in cultural studies. Theories of ideology are as diverse as the interests of the field and often emphasize different functions or relations. Some focus on the complex ways that ideologies relate social agents to their conditions of existence. In working with literary materials from the *gaya ciencia*, we might find useful the definition offered by a literary scholar such as Easthope, who characterizes ideology as “the degree to which a text carries out a particular ideological manoeuvre, namely, the transformation of a sense of social being into a version of personal consciousness” and thus concentrate our analysis on this “strategy for reworking social and ‘objective’ modes as personal and subjective” (1991, 132). Baena’s anthology performs an ideological manoeuvre of this sort in its presentation of Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino. The rubrics that introduce the selection of Villasandino’s writings identify him and his work as the epitome of the *gaya ciencia*:

Aquí se comiençan las cantigas muy escandidas e graçiosamente asonadas, las preguntas e rrespuestas sotiles e bien ordenadas, e los desires muy limados e bien fechos, e de infinitas inuençiones que fiso e ordenó en su tienpo el muy sabio e discreto varón, e muy syngular conponedor en esta muy graçiosa arte de la poetría e gaya ciencia, Alfonso Aluares de Villasandino, el qual, por graçia infusa que Dios en él puso, fue esmalte e lus e espejo e corona e monarca de todos los poetas e trobadores que fasta oy fueron en toda España. (ed. Azáceta 1966, 1:171)

It is interesting to notice that this manoeuvre consists in equating Villasandino and his work with the perfection of the *gaya ciencia*. The other poems that Baena compiles presumably offer less accomplished examples of this art. This implicit hierarchy of achievement is explicit in the courtly poetic contests, such as the *jochs florals*, which Enrique de Villena describes in his *Arte de trobar* (ed. Sánchez Cantón 1919). This zeal to define preeminence in the *gaya ciencia* and to celebrate perfection with ceremonial awards suggests that both this literary activity and courtly protocol help sustain a common ideology. Hence, we might ask, for example, whether homologous relations governed the exchange of verse invectives and the *letras de batalla* that arranged armed duels.

These relations remain largely unexplored, but we might assume that the composition of courtly lyric involved competition for a status above and beyond the benefits gained from the exercise of literacy alone.

From a strictly literary perspective, Baena's celebration of Villasandino seems an overt exercise in "canon formation." Considered as an ideological manoeuvre, this celebration also uses the individual figure of Villasandino to "personify" all the general differences in class, gender, and race involved in defining a courtly poet. Through this personification, Baena's anthology and many subsequent Castilian *cancioneros* are able to represent the *gaya ciencia* as a personal practice undertaken by individual subjects endowed with particular talents and status. Thus Villasandino's preeminence is not due to his invention of the *gaya ciencia* or some other aetiological fiction that we might regard as a function of literary "tradition." Rather, this "monarch" of poets serves chiefly as an ideological hat rack for displaying the "crown" that all his subjects covet. Later pretenders include Imperial, Mena, Santillana, or Pérez de Guzmán, who seize the throne of literary preeminence thanks to their own efforts and to the industry of interested supporters like Pero Díaz de Toledo (Weiss 1990, 129–30). These poets and their admirers successfully intervene in the production of the *gaya ciencia* through glosses, *cancioneros*, commentaries, and other resources of literary re-production. The celebration of Villasandino by Baena or of Santillana by the dutiful *letrado* Díaz de Toledo perhaps illustrates an argument from Pierre Bourdieu: professionals who administer delegated power—like clerics or intellectuals—tend to idealize the practices that they themselves exercise, thus setting these practices into social or political positions above their own (1991, 196). The circulation of these idealizations provide experiential depth in time and space for their group identity. Finally, the elevation of these vernacular *auctoritates* drawn from the nobility coincides with the demise of the *juglares* from lower social levels. We recognize broadly that by the early fifteenth century the *letrados* and other literate courtiers were dispossessing the *juglares* of the moral, cultural, and economic distinctions that previously legitimated them as poetic artisans in courtly society. The career of Juan de Valladolid offers a late, but virtual paradigm of the relations and conditions involved in this struggle between the *juglares* and the new practitioners of *gaya ciencia*.

In short, Baena's celebration of Villasandino should inspire us to consider more carefully and broadly how the *cancioneros* contributed to the circulation of courtly ideology. The great anthologies produced relations of cultural power that enabled some social agents to advance while compelling others to retreat. They especially achieved this by promoting individual practice of the *gaya ciencia* and recognition of this discourse as a worthwhile courtly achievement. These two aspects are not identical: indeed, recognizing the ideological construction of these lyrics requires us to distinguish the value of each compositional product from the value recognized for their production in general. These two aspects mutually reinforce one another: writing lyrics manifests courtliness, and courtliness is a prerequisite of lyric virtuosity. This conjuncture would seem circular were it not for the diversely constructed relations of



power that each element involves. The ideological strength of this identification evidently displays the "dual structuration" identified by Anthony Giddens (1979, 69) as a fundamental principle of social systems: practicing the *gaya ciencia* reproduces (indeed, fortifies) the very relations that sustain the practice.

### **Gaya Ciencia as Subjectivation**

Finally, much work in cultural studies has explored the complex and fundamental question of "subjectivation," that is, the conditions and relations in which individual subjects attain their practical identities. Many analyses especially stress how relations of power and configurations of ideology affect individual experience, rather than discuss power and ideology as collective "structures of domination" or "value systems." Studies based on the theories of Louis Althusser (1971) particularly emphasize how the production of ideology in consciousness constitutes "subjects." This subjectivity may be as contradictory, divided, or conflicted as the practices, discourses, or forms involved in that ideology. Even analyses that do not follow Althusser still reject traditional conceptions of an unchanging "human nature" or of a radically autonomous individual subject in favor of arguments that treat "subject positions" as both consequences of self-production and effects of social production. Hence, cultural studies is broadly concerned with the subjective function of all practices, discourses, or forms and their interrelations. Literary texts rarely enjoy a central or self-contained place in these relations but more often contribute to the circulation of culture, including forms of subjectivity, that occurs in all social production.

Cultural studies on *cancionero* literature would therefore require investigating a much wider range of subjectivating forms in language, signs, ideologies, discourses, myths, and so forth. Many forms of this kind circulated in the historical context of the *gaya ciencia*, where they constantly recombined and modified one another. Surely one of the most difficult forms to understand is the broad circumstance that subjects themselves regard as their "experience," since this typically involves a myriad of coincident relations functioning at many different levels. Somewhat easier to recognize are the practices, discourses, or forms that allow subjects to position themselves in specific relations of power. It is not difficult to see that many *cancionero* lyrics perform the kind of "self-fashioning" that Greenblatt (1980) studied for sixteenth-century England. Weiss examined how *cancionero* love lyric manifests the "self-conscious use of poetry to create and ceremoniously act out an identity" (1991a, 254). Greenblatt's "New Historicist" arguments emphasize the fundamentally oppositional character of this discourse, beginning with the basic distinction of self from other. Cultural studies offers even broader perspectives for analyzing the diverse and complex relations that inform this positioning. Baena's anthology includes many diverse examples: Claudine Potvin has calculated that roughly one third of all the pieces in his *cancionero* involve one poet writing against another (1989, 53). The correlation of literary distinction with other economic, social, or political distinctions presumably creates status, authority, or pres-

tige—in other words, positions a subject to advantage—but these correlations are scarcely easy for us to recognize five hundred years later. We readily imagine that differences in race, gender, or class will involve major disparities in the relative power of any subject's position, as noted above. The contribution of other distinctions to positioning a cultural subject remains less obvious. For example, the various claims regarding certain poets' divinely endowed poetic skill, *gracia*, and schooling continue to prompt scholarly debate (see Fraker 1966a, 63–90; Lange 1971, 94–103; Weiss 1990, 25–40). The interrelations of these very particular forms all require much broader investigation for us to understand the “subject of poetry” produced by the *gaya ciencia*.

The *cancioneros* certainly offer much useful material for pursuing such inquiries, especially in their occasional lyrics. Each of these texts gives a particular construction of its historical context, along with its contingent relations of power, configurations of ideology, and subject positions. In effect, every occasional poem provides us with a point of departure for exploring the coincidences of its construction with other relations, configurations, or positions. As an example, we might consider three related poems by Villasandino and Francisco de Baena. Their rubrics represent their occasional context thus:

[No. 104] Este dezir a manera de disfamaçión fyzo e ordenó el dicho Alfonso Aluares de Villasandino contra vna dueña deste reyno por manera de la afear e deshonnrar por rruego de vn cauallero que gelo rogó muy afyncadamente, por quanto la dicha dueña non quisso açeptar sus amores del dicho cauallero. (ed. Azáceta 1966, 1:210)

[No. 105] Este dezir de rrespuesta fyzo e ordenó por la dicha dueña Françisco de Baena, escriuano del adelantado Diego de Ryuera, al dicho Alfonso Aluares de Villasandino a la sobredicha rrequesta de deshones que fyzo a la dicha dueña, la qual respuesta va por los consonantes del dicho Alfonso Aluares. (ed. Azáceta 1966, 1:213)

[No. 106] Este de rreplaçión fyzo e ordenó el dicho Alfonso Aluares de Villasandino contra el dicho Françisco de Baena a la su respusta que le dio al su dezir primero qu'él fyzo contra la dicha dueña; la qual repliçión va muy bien fecha e muy bien ordenada e por los mismos consonantes que primero començó en su dezir. (ed. Azáceta 1966, 1:216)

This exchange of poems illustrates well how exercise of the *gaya ciencia* involves positioning a subject according to multiple levels and types of relations. First, the text presents the first two lyrics as courtly services rendered by Villasandino and Francisco de Baena on behalf of others. Such service was evidently a common practice, but the relationship involved remains unclear. Should we regard the unnamed lady and gentleman as patrons of Villasandino and Francisco de Baena? Did the poets gain any remuneration beyond an opportunity to display their courtly skills? What ideology explained this practice? Villasandino's reply especially leads us to consider the value of his performance as a servant. Francisco de Baena's response on behalf of the lady

includes several lines evidently directed to Villasandino himself: a reference in line 16 to rustic dalliances in Illescas (Villasandino's home town) and various allusions to poor speaking. Consequently, Villasandino replies directly to Francisco de Baena, denouncing the latter's versifying skills. In this way, the surrogates in this exchange (Villasandino and Baena) position themselves as literary antagonists, thereby mimicking the sexually antagonistic relationship between the principals whom they serve (the spurned gentleman and offended lady). This positioning involves not only a homologous relationship but similar terminology: Baena and Villasandino direct toward one another the same kind of scurrilous insults that they craft for their patrons. Thus, this exchange recalls Pierre Bourdieu's arguments regarding the "political mimesis" practiced by subordinates, in which "by pursuing the satisfaction of the specific interests imposed on them by competition within the field, [they] satisfy in addition the interests of those who delegate them" (1991, 181). This competition typically involves symbolic strategies that range from outright insult to the award of official names or titles (ed. Azáceta 1966, 1: 238-42). Through these strategies, competitors in a field distinguish themselves legitimately and work to restrict the number and scope of their competition at any moment. The exchange between Villasandino and Baena evidently involves this sort of strategy for positioning themselves as literary servants. At the same time, their poems presumably provide strategies for the gentleman and lady whom they defend to satisfy their interests as well, although understanding the relations involved in their duel by poetic proxy certainly requires investigating the specific conditions of many other courtly practices (such as the conduct of rivalries) that remain little known.

However, we can broadly appreciate the contribution of ideology to these strategies in the ways that these poets or rivals attempt to represent their individual opponents according to general social types ("easy woman," "bad poet," "rustic squire," "uncouth courtier" and so forth). The "positioning" accomplished through this strategy is one of the most obvious features in *cancionero* polemical lyrics. Careful study of this "positioning" can usefully connect textual forms (such as genre, style, or wordplay) with the intersections in their authors' and readers' subjectivities and identify their function as devices for creating relations of subordination, domination, respect, submission, and so forth. This function implies a much larger field of practice in which this kind of "personalizing" invective operated to represent class conflicts or sexual aggression as well-known types or norms of individual behavior. These types or norms called into play by the text would be the object of "cultural studies" on courtly love or politics in the *gaya ciencia*. In short, texts like these offer one kind of evidence for studying the formation of collective and individual identities, by abstracting the social forms through which individuals sustain themselves subjectively. Careful analysis of this "in-formation" helps us to recognize the contending relations involved in their distinctive subject positions.

Ultimately, however, the difficulty in understanding the burlesque allusions, sexual euphemisms, and indecent slang in these three poems also reminds us

that their texts do not allow us direct access to a unitary, transcendent level of meaning, which we can recognize just as easily in other texts or objects. Rather, meaning always occurs through diverse signifying practices, which we must labor to understand as well. Reducing those practices to the general Bakhtinian function of "carnival" and then differentiating them by types of insult (as proposed by Potvin 1989, 47–64) does not really acknowledge that diversity. This kind of reduction especially tends to obscure how subjects position themselves through the reproduction of their forms: each poem may offer a further transformation of the stylistic devices, allusions, and even discursive positions involved in their polemics.

### Conclusion

The issues reviewed in this essay at best name only some basic points of departure for exploring much broader and more complex problems of fifteenth-century Castilian society. The difficulty of investigating these historical problems is, as noted already, a common objection to pursuing cultural studies about the more distant past. This difficulty prevents, some scholars would argue, fulfilling the engagement with contemporary issues that cultural studies ought to include. However, I think that it is fairly easy to see how the investigation of *gaya ciencia* proposed here involves us in two related and highly contested contemporary problems: the first is the struggle over definitions of culture and literature in our academic institutions; the second is the reorganization of national culture in the Spanish state since Franco. Engagement in these two areas "here and now" almost inevitably results, I would argue (or hope), from undertaking cultural studies on the *gaya ciencia* "there and then."

First, cultural studies as an academic discipline is already deeply engaged in current debates over multiculturalism, the value of mass or "popular" culture, and the preeminence of the literary canon (or "high" culture generally) in the United States. This engagement is likely to affect anyone attempting serious work in cultural studies, even on medieval Castilian court lyric. For academic scholars, the *gaya ciencia* epitomizes all the difficulties now recognized in teaching and studying a body of "literature" understood normatively as "great books." Simply put, how does one explain teaching or studying the *Cancionero de Baena* in the company of classics such as the *Poema de Mio Cid*, *Don Quixote*, or *La casa de Bernarda Alba*? Even the simplest explanation based on "universal human values," "importance for development of a tradition," or "representation of its era" must confront precisely the questions that cultural studies put in the foreground, such as the social distribution of "low" or "high" culture and the production of cultural ideology necessary to produce categories like "literature," "tradition," or "representation." Of course these questions extend to the works of Per Abbat, Miguel de Cervantes, and Federico García Lorca as well. Exactly how do we explain the immanence of human values, tradition, or historical information in *any* texts circulated among different audiences over many centuries? Perhaps we can safely ignore these questions in teaching literature to our students; after all, they must accept our syllabi and curricula

almost wholly "structured in dominance," to use the famous phrase of British cultural studies pioneer Stuart Hall. However, addressing these questions becomes more urgent when we must offer our scholarly work to potential publishers or to institutional promotion and tenure committees. Medieval Hispanists tempted to pursue cultural studies on the *cancionero* lyric must be prepared to defend their work to colleagues who insist on defining their disciplinary enterprise as the study of literature. Even academic scholars whose teaching duties include courses on "culture or civilization" may find that this traditional pedagogical category does not readily accommodate cultural studies.

Second, cultural studies on the *gaya ciencia* certainly demands as well some critical assessment of the assumption that Castilian remains the national language and literature of Spain since the death of Franco. Most North American foreign language pedagogy has failed almost completely to consider the implications of the reorganization of the Spanish state into *autonomías*. As it happens, the *Cancionero de Baena* is not a monolingual text. When we spare our students the labor of reading its Galician lyrics, how do we justify this arbitrary construction of "literature" to colleagues from Santiago de Compostela? At the very least, Baena's preference for Galician over Catalan precedents of the *gaya ciencia* should compel us to analyze our own construction of "Spanish literary tradition" for the Iberian Peninsula. More broadly, the perspectives of cultural studies can help maintain awareness of how our professional interests depend upon, resist, or benefit from the contemporary struggle to reorganize cultural power in the Spanish state. Ultimately, our study of the *cancioneros* as cultural products should draw us to examine our own ideological construction of "national languages," if not the categories of "nation" and "language" themselves.

The *gaya ciencia* is certainly not the only historical problem that lends itself to analysis through cultural studies. Its explicit definition according to class differences, evident function as an exercise of social power, and apparent claims to literary value do make it an especially tempting object for study for investigations of this kind. Moreover, Alan Deyermond has suggested that the extant corpus of *cancionero* verse may well exceed the combined corpus of similar English, French, and German lyric (1980, 96). If this is so, then this situation alone should inspire our curiosity about the circumstances of such copious production, circulation, and reproduction. The interdisciplinary scope of cultural studies ensures that any conclusions about the *cancioneros* will probably have considerable value for scholarship beyond the field of later medieval Castilian lyric. Indeed, the match of cultural studies with the *gaya ciencia* may offer Hispanists a felicitous opportunity, as the poets might have said, to guide the wheel of scholarly fortune in medieval studies.



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