

**An Anonymous Poem of Anti-Semitic Invective (MP2-226) against Antonio Franco  
(c. 1455-c. 1507), Chief Accountant of the Catholic Monarchs:  
Identifying the Author and the Historical Context**

Roger Boase  
(Queen Mary, University of London)

My purpose in this paper is to examine a poem of anti-Semitic invective (ID 2042: MP2-226),<sup>1</sup> to identify the author of this poem and to investigate its historical context. This poem has only survived in a manuscript of fifteenth-century poems copied c. 1560 (Madrid, Palacio Real 617), but it seems to reflect the climate of increasing intolerance that existed in Spain immediately prior to the establishment of the Inquisition, and it is very different in tone from poems written in the old Galician-Portuguese tradition of *escarnio y maldecir*, which involve an exchange of insults between poets.

Here is the poem:

*Dos coplas que imbió un cavallero de los de Guzmán al duque de Medina Sidonia  
porque una su parienta se avía cassado con Antonio Franco:*

Señor muy esclarecido,  
¡ay de mí!,  
que la sangre me á dolido:  
aquel Rabí,  
yo le vi  
en Toledo justador.  
Más parecía arrendador  
que adalí.  
¿Sabé, vuestra señoría, quién es él?  
¡Quién es él!  
Hijo del Franco García  
de Ysrael.  
¡Ó, Emanuel:  
matárasnos antes todos,  
que la sangre de los Godos  
ensuçiara tal mançel!

*(Two stanzas that a knight of the Guzmán family sent to the Duke of Medina Sidonia because a relative of his had married Antonio Franco: “O very illustrious lord! / O dear me! / It has pained my blood! / That rabbi, / I saw him / jousting in Toledo. / He looked more like a tax farmer / than a military commander. / Do you know, your lordship, who he is? / Who he is! / The son of García Franco / of Israel. / O Emmanuel! / May you kill us all / before the blood of the Goths / is sullied by such a bastard!”)*

Let us first introduce the jouster who was the butt of these jibes. Antonio Franco (c.1458-c.1507), Lord of Villafuerte, was Chief Accountant of the Catholic Monarchs, and a wealthy man who, in 1500, was able to lend money to the Catholic Monarchs for military expenditure.<sup>2</sup> He fought against the Moors at Granada and against the French in Roussillon.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was delivered at a conference on “Iberian (In)tolerance: Minorities, Cultural Exchanges and Social Exclusion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era”, an LHP-Funded Postgraduate Students-led Conference, with the collaboration of King’s College, London, at Bush House, King’s College, on 9 November 2018. All ID numbers and sigla for texts cited are from Brian Dutton (1990-1991).

<sup>2</sup> For further details, see Boase 2017: 647-662.

He was the eldest of the three sons of García Franco (d. 1487), an alderman of Valladolid, and María de Sarabia (d. 1521), and he belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Jewish origin in the Kingdom of Castile. His paternal grandfather, Diego González de Toledo (d. Valladolid 1462), Lord of Préjamo and Villafuerte, known as Doctor Franco, had been Chief Accountant to Juan II of Castile. His maternal grandfather, Pedro de Cartagena (1387-1478), had been the son of the scholar Pablo de Santa María, Bishop of Burgos, formerly Sh'lomoh Hallevi, Chief Rabbi of Burgos. From his parents he inherited many properties: Villafuerte, a magnificent and well-fortified castle, built c. 1473 in the Valley of the Esgueva, east of Valladolid; Préjamo, in La Rioja, near Logroño; and several villages near Cerrato, in the bishopric of Palencia; the abandoned village of Santa María de Garón, near Dueñas, with its surrounding orchards and vineyards, also near Palencia; a house in Valladolid, in the district of San Salvador; and several properties, including Palacios de Río Pisuegra, in the bishopric of Burgos (Cantera Burgos 1968: 17-18).

Antonio Franco was the commander of the troops charged with the task of punishing the rebellious aristocrat Rodrigo Osorio, Count of Lemos, and recapturing the castle of Ponferrada in May 1507, and it is possible that he died in this military encounter.<sup>3</sup> Fernández de Oviedo's manuscript at this point is barely legible, but it seems that these events occurred after Queen Isabel's death when King Fernando was in Naples (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 408 n735). Antonio Franco had certainly died by 1509 when his wife is designated a widow in a legal document.<sup>4</sup> He was succeeded by his son Gonzalo Franco, who c. 1506 married Doña Brianda de Mendoza, daughter of García de Mendoza, brother of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, first Duke of El Infantado (Cobos & Castro 1985). Gonzalo Franco's second wife was Doña Marina de Porres, Lady of Arbusinos, and Chief Lady-in-Waiting to the Queen of France (Memorial de AFG).

For a *converso* who wished to protect himself from racial abuse and discrimination, there were by the late fifteenth century really only three choices: he could take holy orders; or he could enter royal service; or, in exceptional cases, if he was wealthy enough, he could marry into the aristocracy. This explains why Antonio Franco's mother had such an obsession with noble lineage, an obsession that is mocked in the following satirical lines from the anonymous *Coplas del Provincial*:<sup>5</sup>

Doña María de Sarabia,  
muger de Franco García,  
¿A cómo vale la rabia  
que tenéis por la hidalguía? (st. 122)

(Doña María de Sarabia, / wife of Franco García, / that craze for nobility, / how much is it worth?)

As the great-grandsons of Pablo de Santa María, Antonio Franco and his brothers Pedro de Cartagena and Alonso de Sarabia were extremely wealthy and well connected, and, furthermore, the two older brothers both managed to marry into the aristocracy. Antonio Franco in 1481 married Doña Isabel Osorio de Guzmán, daughter of Gonzalo de Guzmán, Lord of Toral

<sup>3</sup> Cantera Burgos (1968: 26-27) writes that he died on 9 April 1504, but he gives no source.

<sup>4</sup> On 12 March 1509 she sold some vassals in Villafañe, near León: "Extracto de la escritura de venta de unos vasallos en Villafañe, otorgada por doña Isabel de Guzmán, vecina de Valladolid, viuda de Antonio Franco, a favor de Martín Vázquez de Acuña, I señor de Matadeón de los Oteros" (M-53, fol. 179; Salazar y Castro 1964: 13).

<sup>5</sup> This work, written in 1465 or early in 1466, has been attributed to the chronicler Alonso de Palencia. This is unlikely because its anti-Semitic tone indicates a person of Old Christian stock (López Álvarez & Torrecilla del Olmo 1981). In another version, María de Sarabia's name is replaced by that of her sister Juana de Sarabia (Cantera Burgos 1968: 8-9 n14).

and Aviados (both properties in León), and María Osorio. His mother-in-law María Osorio was a daughter of Pedro Álvarez Osorio, Count of Trastámara, and a sister of Álvaro Pérez Osorio, first Marquis of Astorga (Fernández de Oviedo: 1989: 228). His younger brother, the poet, courtier and soldier Pedro de Cartagena (1456-1486),<sup>6</sup> on 8 March 1473, married Guiomar Niño, daughter of Pero Niño, Master of Ceremonies (*maestresala*) and Lord of Castroverde, and Isabel de Castro, daughter of Fernando de Castro y Guzmán, an alderman of Toledo and Lord of Loaces (Rucquoi 1987: II, 211).

In my opinion, the member of the Guzmán family who sent the two abusive stanzas to the Duke of Medina Sidonia was Isabel de Guzmán's brother Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán (c. 1461-1532), Lord of Toral, who detested the idea that his family would be linked in marriage to that of Antonio Franco and was enraged at the sight of this *converso* engaging in the noble art of jousting. The Duke of Medina Sidonia was presumably Enrique de Guzmán (d. 1492), Count of Niebla, and second Duke of Medina Sidonia (1468).

In these verses we find two stereotypical forms of anti-Semitic abuse. First of all, the poet says that Antonio Franco looks more like a tax farmer than a warrior, the implication being that Jews are avaricious, cowardly and genetically unfit to engage in chivalric activities. This tallies with the findings of Begoña Campos Souto (2006: 285, 288), who, in her study of anti-Semitic poems in the *Cancionero general*, found that cowardice was the most frequent charge levelled against Jews and persons of Jewish ancestry. Secondly, appealing to the myth that the kings of Spain had Gothic ancestry, he says that this son of a prostitute, *mançer*, will destroy the Guzmán family by sullyng their pure Gothic blood. Note that, in his use of the words *mançer* and *Immanuel*, this anti-Semite displays some knowledge of Hebrew and some understanding of Jewish messianic expectations. The word *mançer* comes from the Hebrew *mamzer*, meaning "spurious" or "illegitimate", the product of an incestuous or adulterous relationship. This is mentioned in the *Siete partidas*, the code of laws compiled by Alfonso *el Sabio* in the thirteenth century: "Ca los que son llamados mançeres nascen de las mugeres que están en la putería, et danse a todos quantos a ellas vienen".<sup>7</sup> *Emmanuel*, which in Hebrew means "God is with us", is one of the names of the Messiah predicted by the Prophet Isaiah (7: 14): a "young woman", *almah*, he says, understood by Christians to mean a virgin, will shortly give birth to a son and she will call him Immanuel.

Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán was extremely proud of his pedigree because he had succeeded to the title of Lord of Toral in León in 1477 when he was only nineteen years of age, and the Guzmans of Toral claimed to be the oldest branch of a family directly descended from Ramiro I of León (r. 859-879). According to Pedro Barrantes de Maldonado (1998: 9-12), author of a history of the House of Niebla c. 1541, the first Lord of Toral was a Breton nobleman, a brother of the Duke of Brittany, who married the daughter of Ramiro I (c. 790-850), King of Asturias. People gave him the nickname *Gotman*, a name later corrupted to Guzmán, because, when he fought against the Moors, his fellow countrymen would exclaim "¡*Got man!*", meaning "Good man!" in their tongue.<sup>8</sup> Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, in his portrait of Gonzalo Núñez de Guzmán, Master of Calatrava, offers the same pedigree, except that it is here assumed that *Godemán* was the Breton gentleman's surname.<sup>9</sup> In another version of the story, recounted by Fernández de Oviedo (1989: 226-27), this gentleman defeated the Moors near Roa, not far from Aranda del Duero, and received as a reward a castle in that region named

<sup>6</sup> Recent research into his life (Cantera Burgos 1968; Avalle-Arce, 1974; 1981) and work (Gerli 1998; Cartagena 2000) has resulted in an overdue reassessment of his stature as a poet.

<sup>7</sup> Part 4, Tit. 15 (4-5). There is here an attempt to give the word a Latin etymology from *manua* and *scelus*.

<sup>8</sup> Note that Barrantes de Maldonado regarded both Breton and English as Germanic languages.

<sup>9</sup> "E dizen que, entre otros, vino un hermano del duque de Bretaña, que llamavan Godemán, que en aquella lengua quiere dizir buen onbre. Este duque casó en el linaje del conde don Ramiro e, segunt esto, parece que errando el vocablo por Godemán dizen Guzmán" (Pérez de Guzmán 1998: 102-03).

Gudeman, which in the Breton language, so he tells us, means “nobility”. In the opinion of Fernández de Oviedo, who was both a snob and a loyal monarchist, Ramiro de Guzmán was a wise and intelligent knight, respected for his noble blood and good qualities, and it was only his involvement in the Comunero Uprising that tarnished his reputation.<sup>10</sup>

Incidentally, it is ironic that Antonio Franco’s great grandfather Pablo de Santa María played a leading part in the revival of the myth of the Gothic ancestry and the pure unbroken lineage of the Castilian kings in the early fifteenth century. For example, in his universal history, *Las siete edades del mundo*, he writes:

The noble kings who came to Castile were descended from the lineage of the Goths [...] We now know for certain that no nation could ever be their equal.<sup>11</sup>

This view is echoed by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, who writes, in his *Generaciones y semblanzas*, that “the blood of the kings of Castile has come down to our day for more than eight hundred years without any admixture”, and he adds that “this is something one cannot find in many other lines of Christian kings” (Hillgarth 2009: 130). During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, this opinion was repeated by the Bachiller Palma and by the *conversos* Diego de Valera and Fray Íñigo de Mendoza (Ibid.: 131-32).

It is curious that Ramiro de Guzmán chose to express his fears about the prospect of a racial stain on the reputation of the Guzmán family to a person who could scarcely claim to be a paragon of *pureza de sangre*. According to the testimony of Cardinal Mendoza y Bobadilla, Enrique de Guzmán was born out of wedlock: his mother Isabel de Meneses, who only married his father on his deathbed, was allegedly the daughter of a Portuguese baker or shoemaker of unknown lineage.<sup>12</sup> The dispute over his entailed estate of thirty-four million *maravedíes*, *el Mayorazgo de los treinta y cuatro cuentas*, was still unresolved and a source of litigation in the middle of the seventeenth century when Enrique Enríquez de Guzmán, Marquis of Tábara, brought a suit against Luis Enríquez de Guzmán, Count of Alba de Liste (Huarte y Echenique 1926: 21).

Ramiro de Guzmán’s vitriolic diatribe against Antonio Franco is important as a means of establishing the chronology of the first series of jousts during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs and the *invenciones* that are linked to them, and, furthermore, it has to be understood within the context of the personal enmity that existed between Ramiro and King Fernando’s first cousin, Fadrique Enríquez (1460-1538), Admiral of Castile, son of Alonso Enríquez (d. 1485) and María Pérez de Velasco (d. December 1505), Countess of Haro, sister of the Constable of Castile. This is relevant because Fadrique Enríquez and his father, against whom anti-Semitic remarks were also directed, became patrons to Antonio Franco and his brothers.

<sup>10</sup> “Ramiro Núñez fue cavallero que por su perssona era muy acatado por las calidades e sangre e bondades que tuvo [...] fue muy sabio cavallero e de lindo entendimiento” (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 228).

<sup>11</sup> “Del linaje dellos [los godos] descendieron los nobles reyes que en Castilla vinieron [...] sabemos ya cierto que nunca jamás ninguna nación se les pudo igualar.” I here cite from Hillgarth 2009: 124, who gives a detailed account of this myth through history.

<sup>12</sup> “Enrique de Guzmán, segundo Duque de Sidonia, fue bastardo del Duque don Juan, al cual le hubo en una mujer baja, llamada Ysabel, que después la llamaron muchos historiadores del apellido de Meneses, hija de un tahonero portugués, de gente tan común y soez que no se ha sabido hasta hoy quienes fuesen” (Mendoza y Bobadilla 1999: 20); “Don Enrique de Guzman [...] fue hijo bastardo del Duque don Juan y le hubo en una Isabel que después de parida la llamaron de Meneses, hija de un Zapatero portugués que no se sabe de que linaje hera” (*Tizón*, 1848 edition, p. 6, cited in Huarte y Echenique 1926: 23-24). His eldest son Juan Alonso Pérez de Guzmán (1464-1507), III Duke of Medina Sidonia, “primogénito de Niebla”, figures in stanza 42 of Garcí Sánchez’s *Infierno de amor*.

The incident that sparked off this enmity seems to have been a trivial dispute about seating arrangements with the ladies at a festivity one evening after a jousting tournament.<sup>13</sup> Ramiro de Guzmán was courting the beautiful Doña Marina Manuel (c. 1462-1500), sister of the poet and diplomat Juan Manuel, second Lord of Belmonte, and was speaking to her on bended knee when Fadrique Enríquez asked him to make way so that he could speak to Doña María Zapata, sister of the court lady Juana Zapata. As he passed, Fadrique knelt down to address some words to Marina Manuel because his brother-in-law Gutierre de Sotomayor, the elegant Count of Benalcázar, was one of Marina's admirers.<sup>14</sup> Ramiro de Guzmán was filled with jealousy at the sight of Fadrique Enríquez kneeling at Marina's feet, but he at first contained himself because he was intimidated by the queen's presence. Then, knocked forward by the jostling crowd of courtiers, he bumped into Fadrique, who, in response, turned to the Master of Ceremonies Garci Laso de la Vega —father of the celebrated sixteenth-century poet— and angrily complained that such rudeness should not be tolerated. Garci Laso smiled at Ramiro, and Fadrique, realising that it was useless to complain, began cursing his adversary. Ramiro did not usually hear much of what was said because he was slightly deaf as a result of a childhood illness. However, on this occasion, as he came forward, he overheard Fadrique say that he would give fifty blows to “that foolish and indiscreet man of León” (“aqueel indiscreto y necio leonés”), to which Ramiro replied that he would give not fifty, but five-hundred blows in return.

Thus, a violent exchange of personal abuse irrupted between the two gentlemen, with Fadrique calling Ramiro a drunkard and a person of base lineage, and Ramiro calling Fadrique a Jew. Ramiro swore to the queen that he had never used “tal palabra”, and he had many friends at court to prove it, including Garci Laso de la Vega and Beltrán de la Cueva, who had been one of his father's close friends. The animosity between them further intensified when Fadrique sought to avenge the insult by arranging for his rival to be ambushed and beaten with sticks by three masked men. According to Pulgar, the queen was so furious that her trust had been broken in this way that she rode alone to the castle of Simancas, pursued by members of the royal guard, and ordered Alonso Enríquez, the Admiral of Castile, to hand over his son into her custody. When the admiral replied that he had no idea of his son's whereabouts, she ordered him instead to hand over the castles of Simancas and Medina de Ríoseco, which, says Pulgar, he did without a word of protest.

It should be stressed that the abusive use of the word *judío* is not mentioned in any of the surviving contemporary historical accounts, although from the evidence of *cancionero* poetry and Francés de Zúñiga's *Crónica burlesca del emperador Carlos V*, the fact that Fadrique's maternal great-grandmother was reputed to have been a beautiful Jewish woman of Toledo, known as Doña Paloma, was to lead to countless jibes about his Jewish ancestry and his diminutive stature (Macpherson 1998b). Fernando de Pulgar, in his laconic account, merely says that Fadrique felt aggrieved because Ramiro retaliated verbally in equal measure: “don Fadrique se syntió injuriado, porque Ramir Núñez se avía ygualado con él en palabras” (1943: I, 441). Barrantes de Maldonado, who, like Pulgar, was a New Christian, flatly refuses to discuss what happened on the grounds that it is well known and unsavoury.<sup>15</sup> Garibay does not record

<sup>13</sup> My paraphrase of these events relies on Avalle-Arce (1994: 30-64), who gives full details of this incident and its repercussions by drawing on both Fernando de Pulgar (1943: I, 441-44) and Garibay y Zamalloa (1628: II, lib. 18, caps 18-21, 620-29, or 1st edn, 1571: II, 1304-14). Garibay has supplemented Pulgar's brief account with information from an anonymous lost Latin source, possibly by Alonso de Palencia.

<sup>14</sup> Gutierre de Sotomayor, *El Conde Lozano* (the lusty count), married Teresa Enríquez, Fadrique's sister in 1480, and was killed by a poisoned arrow in 1484.

<sup>15</sup> “En el año de 1481 sucedió la cuestión que hoy a los que vivimos es notoria, que pasó entre D. Fadrique Henríquez [...] e Ramir Núñez de Guzmán, señor de Toral e de Tovar, que por ser notoria e no muy sabrosa a los que la pasaron, la dexo de contra” (Barrantes de Maldonado 1998: 458). Barrantes has here, it seems, been misled by Fernando de Pulgar. For reasons that are as yet obscure, Pulgar gives the false impression that the dispute

the unpleasant remark made by Ramiro Núñez, but he drops a few strong hints, informing his readers that it is repeated in old songs (*antiguos cantares*) and is a tradition with which courtiers are well acquainted (Avalle Arce 1994: 33-34). The truth is revealed in an anonymous *romance noticiero*, only a fragment of which has survived in an early sixteenth-century genealogical manuscript (Avalle-Arce 1994: 53), in which the narrator is the admiral himself:

Caballeros de Castilla, / no me lo tengáis a mal,  
 porque hice dar de palos / a Ramiro de Guzmán  
 porque me llamó judío / delante del Cardenal.

(Knights of Castile, / don't hold it against me / because I had Ramiro de Guzmán /  
 thrashed with sticks / because he called me a Jew / in the Cardinal's presence.)

The unruly behaviour of Ramiro Núñez and Fadrique Enríquez aroused Queen Isabel to such a fit of wrath, or so Pulgar tells us, that she banished both these hot-headed young men from the court for several years. Ramiro evaded capture for some months in the mountains of León, and then, in 1482, through his uncle Pedro de Guzmán's intervention, he allowed himself to be escorted south by Alonso de Quintanilla, the leader of the Santa Hermandad,<sup>16</sup> to the civilised environment of the palace of Zafra, near Badajoz, where he was detained for nearly a year under the supervision of his aunt Costanza Osorio, first wife of Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, second Count of Feria. Here he joined another troublemaker Rodrigo Enríquez Osorio (1459-1521),<sup>17</sup> the illegitimate grandson and eventual successor of Pedro Álvarez Osorio (1430-1457), first Count of Lemos (1457) (Gerbet 1979: 333). Ramiro then took refuge in Portugal and returned to Feria in 1485, although it was not until April 1489, through his mother's intercession, that he was able to recover his estates in León.<sup>18</sup> His enemy Fadrique Enríquez was first locked up in the castle of Arévalo, and then dispatched to Sicily for his own safety, where he married Ana de Cabrera y Moncada (1459-1523), the Countess of Modica and Viscountess of Bas and Cabrera.

From Garibay's account we learn that when Ramiro failed to gain access to the castle of Arévalo, where Fadrique Enríquez was kept under close guard, he planned instead to murder Fadrique's father, the Admiral of Castile. He sent a gentleman named Álvaro de Valderas as a spy to the court to find out about the admiral's movements. Antonio Franco's father, García Franco, who, only a few days previously, had married his eldest son Antonio Franco to Ramiro's sister, became suspicious after befriending Álvaro de Valderas, and warned the admiral that his life was in danger. The admiral in gratitude offered to take two of García Franco's sons into his service (Avalle-Arce 1994: 41). These two sons would have been Pedro de Cartagena and his younger brother Alonso de Sarabia (Cartagena 2000: 21), which would explain why they both fought with the Enríquez clan in the wars of Granada. Incidentally, Fadrique Enríquez, who succeeded his father as fourth Admiral of Castile in 1485, followed his

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between Ramiro Núñez de Lara and Fadrique Enríquez, the Admiral's son, took place at court festivities in 1481, not 1480. See Boase 2017: 655-59.

<sup>16</sup> The Santa Hermandad, a rural police force, was established at the instigation of the Chief Accountant Alonso de Quintanilla in 1476.

<sup>17</sup> He had served as a page in the household of Alvar Pérez Osorio (d. 1471), first Marquis of Astorga, father of the poet Pedro Álvarez Osorio (c. 1462-1505), before entering the household of the Count of Feria, whose wife Costanza Osorio was the poet's aunt. She refers to Rodrigo as her *criado* and *pariente* (Gerbet 1979: 333). Here he acquired some skill as a musician (Boase 1998). He was legitimised by a papal decree and succeeded as second Count of Lemos in 1486 after the Catholic Monarchs intervened and forced him to relinquish his claim to the royal castle of Ponferrada (Macpherson 1998c).

<sup>18</sup> As a leader of the Comuneros in León, he was defeated on 23 April 1521 at Villalar, and once again he lost his estates and had to live in exile in Portugal until the Emperor Charles V pardoned him in 1527 (Avalle-Arce 1994: 60-64).

father's example by befriending *conversos*, including members of the Valencian Santàngel family.<sup>19</sup>

I have demonstrated that the incident that provoked dissension between Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán and Fadrique Enríquez could not have occurred at a festivity at Valladolid in 1481, as has hitherto been thought, but in Toledo or Medina del Campo in 1480. A royal tournament did indeed take place in Toledo in December 1479, or January 1480, to celebrate the recent birth of the Infanta Juana, which occurred on 6 November 1479,<sup>20</sup> and further festivities must have occurred in Toledo to mark Prince Juan's investiture as the heir to the Crown of Castile on 6 February 1480 and the ratification of the peace treaty between Spain and Portugal a month later on 6 March.<sup>21</sup> So, it is unlikely that the author of the poem of vituperation was lying when he claimed to have seen Antonio Franco jousting in Toledo. We also know that the Duke of Medina Sidonia was expected to attend the Council held in Toledo in 1480 between 14 January and 28 May. He had excused himself from attending on the grounds of ill health, and he had sent a knight and a man of letters from Sanlúcar de Barrameda to Toledo to represent him (Barrantes de Maldonado 1998: 457). As he had been unable to travel to Toledo, he was evidently keen to have news of the jousting.

It was in Toledo, in 1480, probably just prior to his marriage, that Antonio Franco displayed a jousting *invención* that consisted of an image of a bell and a belltower, with the following inscription (11CG-487, LB1-238):

De la vida que perdí,  
tal memoria se ganó,  
que la fe que no murió  
queda tañendo por mí.

Pedro de Cartagena adds a mocking commentary:

Campanario y campana  
que detrás d'aquéstos vi,  
a lo que de él conocí  
es su fe ser sacristana.  
Mas bien parece que mana  
tal razón d'ombre discreto,  
y de quien ama perfeto,<sup>22</sup>  
pues dize qu'en muerte gana.

Antonio Franco wished to depict himself as the conventional martyr of love, whose selfless service will be a bell keeping alive the memory of his fidelity after he has died, or after he has died metaphorically "at the hands of the lady he loved" (Macpherson 1998a: 47). It is as if he is speaking from beyond the grave, having died as a result of his devotion, and all that remains is the tolling bell to remind people of his undying faith in her.

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<sup>19</sup> I discussed this in a paper entitled "An Erotic Jousting Poem by Antonio de Velasco and Fadrique Enríquez: Ángela de Santàngel, her Six Suitors, and her Presence in the *Carajicomedia*", delivered at the AHGBI Conference in Durham on 10 April 2019, to be published in *Magnificat Cultura i Literatura Medievals*, 9 (2022).

<sup>20</sup> Fernández de Oviedo mentions this tournament in connection with an *invención* displayed by Pedro de Castilla, the governor of Toledo, who was the brother of Sancho de Castilla, Prince Juan's tutor: "En las justas de Toledo, año de 1480, quando nació la reyna doña Juana, madre del Emperador" (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: III, 208).

<sup>21</sup> The court did not visit Toledo in 1481 and therefore no royal joust was held there in that year.

<sup>22</sup> The rhyme dictates this amendment from *perfecto* to *perfeto*.

It is possible that the *campana* and *campanario* may be decoded as referring to two ladies: Ana de Cabrera, the lady to whom Fadrique Enríquez was engaged to marry, and Isabel de Guzmán, the lady whom the jousting would marry. Both words contain the name Ana, and, if the word *campana* is translated into English, the bell and belltower both point to the name Isabel. One cannot assume that educated Spaniards at that time would have been ignorant of the meaning of the English word “bell”, which would have been no less familiar to them as the word “man”. Cartagena’s “ombre discrete” is synonymous with “good man”, and, as we have already shown, this was believed to be the origin of the name Guzmán. Further doubts on this score may be dispelled by my discovery that the *invención* “Éste, triste más que hombre”, in Diego de San Pedro’s *Tractado de amores*, refers to Estebán de Guzmán (Boase 2017: 676).

In 1486, Queen Isabel ordered 150 bells, engraved with the royal coat-of-arms, to be delivered to Spain from England, as part of her mission to spread Christianity in the newly conquered territories of Andalusia. Juan Barba devotes six stanzas of his verse chronicle to this subject (Cátedra 1989: 296-98, stanzas 394-99). Most of the money to pay for these bells was obtained from the sale of goods expropriated from *conversos* whom the newly established Inquisition found guilty of reverting to the beliefs or rituals of their former faith. This explains why the task of sending agents to England to purchase the bells was given to Luis de Mesa, an alderman of Segovia and a receiver of goods from Judaizers in Seville and Cádiz (Cátedra 1989: 119).

In the minds of New Christians, bells would thus have been associated with proselytising and religious persecution. This being so, for a *converso* such as Antonio Franco, bells and belltowers would have been more than simply a means of expressing his amorous anguish. From the point of view of the Inquisition, Judaism was, to use Antonio Franco’s expression, “la fe que no murió”, the faith that did not die, whereas, from the point of view of anyone opposed to the Inquisition, one could say that the bells were keeping alive the memory of those who died as victims of persecution or torture. Indeed, Antonio Franco himself, as one of the two attorneys of Valladolid who attended the Council of Toledo, which aimed to curtail the royal grants and concessions issued by Enrique IV of Castile, would have been obliged to witness the humbling of his own wealthy parents: it was then that his father García Franco and his mother María de Sarabia lost their right to an annual payment of 180,000 *maravedíes* of tax revenue (Cátedra 1989: 293, n28; Matilla Tascón 1952: 120-23). Only a year later, in Seville in 1481, 300 men and women were burnt at the stake, convicted of reverting to their former Jewish beliefs or practices (Pulgar 1943: 439). This was the first of a wave of burnings of “relapsed heretics” that occurred in different cities in subsequent years.

Cartagena seems to imply, in his sarcastic commentary on his brother’s *invención*, that death may bring benefits to the survivors: “dize qu’en muerte gana”. Antonio Franco would have had little chance of marrying Isabel de Guzmán had her father not died prematurely, and as the first-born with the right of primogeniture, which he had gained from the death of his relatives, particularly from the death in 1478 of his grandfather Pedro de Cartagena, son of Pablo de Santa María, Bishop of Burgos. Furthermore, as an attorney in Valladolid, it is likely that he himself played a role in the confiscation of goods from those “reconciled” as penitent “Judaizers” to cover the costs of the Granada wars and to raise money to pay for new church bells.

This investigation has shown how information derived from literature, when combined with the evidence of more conventional historical sources, can offer us a window into the past, into the world of human emotions, and into the perennial nature of religious and racial prejudice and intolerance. In this case, a neglected anonymous poem has enabled us to expand our knowledge of a key moment in the history of European anti-Semitism.



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