

**Acevedo, his wife ‘Lobilla’, the *Carajicomedia*, the Princess of Salerno,  
and the Ladies of Murcia**

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**The identity of the poet Acevedo and his presence in the *Carajicomedia***

During the course of my research on the *Juego trobado*, a card game in the form of a poem by Gerónimo Pinar, completed in August 1496, I made the astonishing discovery that some of the court ladies who participated in this game—as well as many others, including Queen Germana de Foix, King Fernando’s second wife—reappear in the guise of prostitutes in the *Carajicomedia*, a highly obscene fantasy and a mock-academic parody of Juan de Mena’s *Laberinto de Fortuna*, completed two decades later (Boase 2017: 759-83). I also discovered that the *Juego trobado* offers us some clues about how to interpret a series of poems addressed to six ladies who took part in festivities in Murcia c. 1508 by Acevedo, one of the more interesting of the minor poets of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, whose work is found exclusively in the manuscript known as the *British Library Cancionero* (*Cancionero Ms. Add.* 10431; LB1-346-356, fols 93<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>).<sup>1</sup> Information gleaned from Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo’s *Batallas y quinquagenas* enables us to expand our knowledge of Acevedo and to identify his presence and that of his wife Mayor Dávila beneath the pseudonyms of “Alonso Lobos” and “Lobilla” in the anonymous *Carajicomedia*. These poems by Acevedo are not only remarkable in their own right but their historical context sheds some light on the dating of the *British Library Cancionero*, indicating that this anthology could not have been compiled before 1508.<sup>2</sup> His poem about the Princess of Salerno, “Yo no vi, por contemplaros” (LB1-346), was probably occasioned by the miraculous liquefaction of the blood of San Gennaro, patron saint of Naples, on 19 September 1507, as I shall later explain, and the title “El marqués de Vélez”, or “de los Vélez” (Marquis of Vélez-Blanco), attributed to the author of an *invención* (ID 0984, LB1-300), was not conferred on Pedro Fajardo Chacón (1478-1546) until 15 October 1507. The princess can be identified as Marina de Aragón (1479-1511), King Fernando’s niece and ward, to whom stanza 7 of Pinar’s *Juego trobado* is addressed. She acquired the title Princess of Salerno when, in late March 1506 in Valladolid, she married the Italian condottiero Roberto da Sanseverino and Montefeltro (1485-1509), third Prince of Salerno and second Count of Mársico (Boase 2017: 125-38). As the rubric to stanza 7 indicates, she was the lady whom Prince Juan was courting.

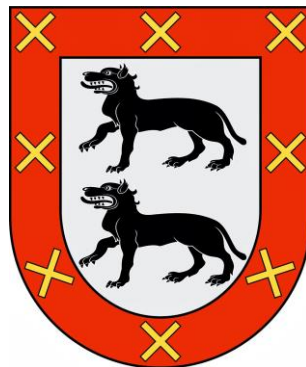
The poet Acevedo can be identified as Alonso de Acevedo y Haro, Lord of Tejado, a native of Salamanca, the son and heir of Luis de Acevedo and Teresa de Haro, and a nephew of Alonso II de Fonseca (1476-1534), Archbishop of Seville and Santiago. Acevedo’s emblem, according to Fernández de Oviedo, was artemisia, or mugwort, a herb used as a remedy against fatigue, with the *letra* “No hay cansancio ni fatiga / pues que en versos se mitiga” (1989: 31) (There is no weariness or fatigue / that may not be allayed by verse), which proves that he took pleasure in writing or listening to poetry. This same property of artemisia is mentioned in the *Testamento de Celestina* (Barcelona, 1597): “Artemisia es lo primero / para no sentir cansancio” (Lara Alberola 2006: 57). The letter A stands for Ávila as well as Acevedo because the poet’s wife was Mayor Dávila y Toledo. She was the daughter of the military captain and courtier

<sup>1</sup> All ID numbers and sigla for texts cited are from Brian Dutton (1990-1991). These poems by Acevedo, including a humorous poem about jousting ladies (LB1-356), are discussed in *Secrets of Pinar’s Game* (Boase 2017: 734-58). Quotations from the *Carajicomedia* are from Domínguez 2015.

<sup>2</sup> On the relationship between LB1 and 11CG, see Alvar 1991 and Moreno 1997.

Pedro Dávila,<sup>3</sup> Lord of Villafranca and Las Navas, and Elvira de Toledo, daughter of Pedro de Toledo, a cousin of García Álvarez de Toledo, first Duke of Alba (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: II, 15-16). Fernández de Oviedo portrays Mayor Dávila as a virtuous and respected lady, the split image of her mother, and one of the most beautiful ladies that he had ever seen (1983-2002: II, 32-33; 1989: 30).<sup>4</sup>

Alonso de Acevedo was known as Alonso *el Bobo* because he was considered rather simple-minded, untidy and slightly bashful (*encogido*). The young men of the court used to tease him because they envied him and did not think he deserved to have such a pretty wife (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 31). There is an additional reason for giving him this nickname. The emblem on the coat-of-arms of the Acevedo family is a single black wolf, and there is a saying “Cara de bobo, cabeza de lobo” (Face of a fool, head of a wolf). It should be noted that wolves figure on the coats-of-arms of both the Ayala and Acevedo families: the Ayalas have two black wolves, with their tongues hanging out, against a white or silver background (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: II, 83); and the Acevedos, a family of Portuguese origin long associated with the Ayalas, have on their coat-of-arms one black wolf, with its tongue hanging out (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 30). This explains why Fray Diego López de Ayala (c. 1480-1560), the secretary of Cardinal Cisneros, had a wolf’s head as his personal emblem, and it is to him, I believe, that the “cabeza de lobo” in the first stanza of Acevedo’s poem about festivities at Murcia refers (see below; LB1-349).



**Fig. 1: Coat-of-arms of the Pérez de Ayalas, two black wolves with tongues hanging out, drawn by Manuel Pardo de Vera y Díez, [heraldicanobiliaria.blogspot.co.uk](http://heraldicanobiliaria.blogspot.co.uk).**

The above information, as well as references to the wolf in several of his poems, enables us to identify Acevedo’s presence in stanza 60 of the *Carajicomedia*, which is ostensibly about Diego Fajardo’s pursuit of a remedy for his impotence, but which is actually a satirical work, mocking the king’s authority, lampooning the court ladies, and exposing the hypocrisy of the ecclesiastical élite. In view of what we know about Acevedo’s character, and his acquaintance with certain members of the Fajardo family who derived income from royal licences to administer brothels in Málaga and Granada, one can understand why he is so cruelly satirised as a cuckold, “este abominable cornudo”, with the antlers of a stag:

<sup>3</sup> He had a distinguished military career: he was the first to scale the walls at the fortresses of Olmedo and Sepúlveda, and was among the first to enter the gates of Tordesillas. He and his brother-in-law Alonso de Fonseca fought together against the Portuguese at Toro and Zamora (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: II, 26-27).

<sup>4</sup> Her father was the legal guardian of her cousin Inés de Ávila, the eldest daughter of Gonzalo de Ávila, Governor of Jérez de la Frontera, and his second wife María de Saavedra, daughter of Gonzalo de Saavedra, Comendador Mayor de Montalbán. Inés de Ávila and her husband, the artillery captain Francisco de Valderrábano, generally known as Francisco de Jérez, were in charge of the Muslim and Christian slaves in Seville who did dressmaking work for the queen in the years 1492-1493 (Domínguez Casas 1993: 226-27; Baeza 1955-56: II, 415).

También de otra parte vi sublimada  
 llena de cuernos muy gran compañía,  
 y con los mayores vi que venía  
 Alonso Lobos, su frente ocupada.  
 ¡O gran cornamenta de más de braçada!  
 ¡O fino montero, miseria del siglo,  
 de ombre tornado en bravo vestiglio,  
 que a todos espantas y no te das nada!

(I also saw raised up on the other side / a great company full of horns, / and I saw among the biggest / Alonso Lobos coming forward, his forehead greatly burdened. / O great antler! More than an armful! / O fine huntsman! Calamity of the century, / transformed from a man into a monstrous vestige, / you scare everyone and you are unconcerned!)

Acevedo's wife Mayor de Ávila, dubbed Lobilla, the "little wolf", is later mocked in stanza 70 of the *Carajicomedia*:

Estavas Lobilla muy vengonçosa,  
 vendiendo la onra del triste marido,  
 de rezios cojones tu seso vencido;  
 quesiste ser puta, mas no desseosa.

(Lobilla was very "shameavengeful", / selling her sad husband's honour, / your prudence conquered by stout balls; / you wished to be a tart, but you were not keen.)

The author has playfully coined the adjective *vengonçoso* to convey the shamefaced way in which the wife sells her husband's honour and thereby avenges his infidelity. Her relationship to Alonso Lobos and her place of residence are revealed in the mock-pedantic prose exegesis:

This Lobilla is the patronymic that may be derived from the name of her husband Alonso Lobos. She lives in Valladolid near San Salvador.<sup>5</sup>

## The poetry of Acevedo

### 1. [Comiençan las obras] de Azevedo

#### Al milagro de la sangre, a la Princesa de Salerno

Yo no vi, por contemplaros,	Meditating on your beauty,
la sangre quando hervía,	the boiling blood I failed to see,
qu'estava elada la mía	for mine was frozen utterly,
de veros y no adoraros.	seeing, and not able to adore.
La gente toda que os vía,	It was you all the people saw;
en no ponerse en inojos	by not going down on bended knee,
todos con gran devoçion	all were filled with devotion
ante vuestra perfeçion:	as they witnessed your perfection:
muchos çiegos, pocos ojos,	many were blind and few had eyes

<sup>5</sup> "Esta señora Lobilla es nombre patromínico [sic] *dirivatur ab lo in nomine* Alonso Lobos, su marido. Reside en Valladolid, cabe San Salvador." The district of San Salvador was, it seems, a fashionable district, where Pedro de Cartagena's elder brother, Antonio Franco, lived (Cantera Burgos 1968: 18). There was also a royal chaplain in Granada named Alonso Lobo, son of Martín Lobo, in the years 1491-1503 (Torre 1954: 26), another possible target for ridicule.

ivan en la proçesión.

walking in that pageantry.

Text: ID 1031; LB1-346.

Rhyme scheme: *ABBAB CDDCD*.

This is the first poem in the pages devoted to the poetry of Acevedo. The “miracle of the blood” refers to the liquefaction of the clotted blood of San Gennaro, the patron saint of Naples, which was expected to occur annually on 19 September, the anniversary of his martyrdom. Januarius, a bishop of Beneventum, was decapitated in about the year 305 CE when the Emperor Diocletian was persecuting Christians, and his blood was collected and preserved in a sealed flask. The miracle was first recorded in 1389. If the blood remains solid, many people still believe that this is an omen of disaster. The failure of the miracle to occur at the time of King Fernando’s death in 1516 was, in the opinion of Fernández de Oviedo, a sign of impending wars (1989: 299-300). Fernández de Oviedo claims that he personally witnessed this miracle in 1500 and 1501.

It seems that Marina de Aragón was following in the footsteps of the court lady Catalina de Beaumont, who had witnessed this event in Naples in 1495, and whose husband Jacques de Grailly de Foix, Prince of Navarre, displayed a jousting *invención* concerning this event: a glass flask, with the enigmatic words “Mis lágrimas la imitan, / y sin veros no se quitan” (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 299-300), which is linked to the proverb assigned to Catalina, “La letra con sangre entra” (see Boase 2017: 169-70). The unmentioned object of *imitar* is *la sangre*: his tears are flowing like the blood in the vessel, and even when she is absent, they still flow. This perhaps refers to the flow of the lady’s menstrual blood. Paradoxically, it is not the liquefaction of this blood, but its failure to flow that would be for the lady the real miracle because it would be a sign of pregnancy. Evidently both ladies fervently prayed for the saint’s intercession that God would grant them a male heir. Obviously, Acevedo’s poem could not have been written before March 1506 because it was not until then that she acquired the title of Princess of Salerno, and it was almost certainly written before the birth of her son Ferrante Sanseverino de Aragón in 1508. King Fernando and his wife Germana visited Naples between the end of October 1506 and May 1507. I would suggest that Marina de Aragón witnessed the “miracle of the blood” in Naples on 19 September 1507, and Acevedo may at that time have been in her retinue.

The dating of this poem is in itself sufficient proof to refute the theory proposed by Manuel Moreno (2009: 75) that the poet Acevedo may be identified with his namesake Alonso de Acevedo y Ulloa, or Alonso de Zúñiga y Acevedo Fonseca (c. 1495-1559), third Count of Monterrey, son of Diego de Acevedo Fonseca (d. 1496) and Francisca de Zúñiga y Ulloa (d. 1484), second Countess of Monterrey. This gentleman, who married María Pimentel (d. 1530), daughter of Alonso Pimentel, second Duke of Benavente, and his first wife, the court lady Inés de Mendoza (Boase 2017: 138-42), would have been scarcely a teenager in 1507. His father, Diego de Acevedo y Fonseca, who was the illegitimate son of the Alonso II de Acevedo y Fonseca, Archbishop of Santiago and Toledo, and his mistress María de Ulloa (c. 1438-1506), Lady of Cambados, jousted at Medina del Campo in 1494, and died fighting in Roussillon on the French frontier in 1496 at the age of twenty-five at the Battle of Salses (Fernández de Oviedo: 1983-2002: II, 132, 331; 1989: 30, 76-77).

Acevedo’s poem “Yo no vi, por contemplaros” clearly betrays the influence of three compositions by other poets: “Gran belleza poderosa” (11CG-241) by Juan Álvarez Gato; “Una maravilla vi” (11CG-256), which is one of a series of three short poems that Diego de San Pedro addressed to a court lady, his *amiga*, possibly Gracia de Albión y Coscón (Boase 2017: 337-43), each on the occasion of a religious festival; and the *cançión* “Quien presume de loaros” (11CG-432), addressed to Marina de Aragón by the Valencian poet Luis Crespí de Valldaura, datable between 1504 and March 1506 when she resided at the Valencian “Court of the Sad Queens”, the two widowed queens of Naples, King Fernando’s sister and niece, both named Juana de Aragón (Madrid & Perea Rodríguez 2005: 1944-45), that is to say before she travelled

to Naples with her Italian husband. The first two poems are both concerned with the conflict between the worship of God and human passion, and employ some of the same rhyme endings.

In “Gran belleza poderosa”, Álvarez Gato recounts how, on Good Friday, he watched his *amiga* making a rosary by tying knots in a silken cord and was so struck by her beauty that his passionate love (*ravia*) prevented him from paying heed to the account of Christ’s passion:

*Hoy mirando’os a porfía,  
tal pasión passé por vos  
que no escuché la de Dios,  
con la ravia de la mía.*

(Today, looking at you persistently, / I felt such a passion for you / that I did not listen to God’s passion, / such was my yearning.)

Similarly, when Diego de San Pedro listens to the story of Christ’s passion in church on Palm Sunday in the presence of the lady he loves, he is reminded of his own suffering (ID 6185, 11CG-254): “que lembrando la de Dios / nació el dolor de la mía” (for remembering God’s suffering / my suffering was born).<sup>6</sup>

The context of “Una maravilla vi” is Quasimodo Sunday, or Witsunday, the first Sunday after Easter, named after the opening words of the Introit (I Peter ii, 2): *Quasi modo geniti infantes, rationabile, sine dolo lac concupiscite ut in eo crucscatis in salutem, si gustatis quoniam dulcis Dominus* (“As newborn babes desire the rational milk without guile, that thereby you may grow unto salvation: If so be you have tasted that the Lord is sweet”).<sup>7</sup> The traditional Gospel reading for this day is a passage from the story of “Doubting Thomas” (John 20: 19-29): Thomas the Apostle doubts the reports that he hears about Christ’s Resurrection and is only persuaded to believe the truth when, with his own eyes, he sees the nail marks in Christ’s hands and feels them with his finger.

Here is Diego de San Pedro’s poem, composed on the occasion of Quasimodo Sunday:

***Otra suya el Domingo de Casimodo***

Una maravilla vi  
sobre quantas nos mostraron;  
grande ha sido para mí  
en ver que no os adoraron,  
pues estávades ahí.  
Muchos ciegos, pocos ojos  
vi en aquesta devoción:  
más se vence por antojos  
la vista que por razón.

(A miracle I saw / greater than all those shown to us; / strange it seemed to me / to see that they did not worship you, / since there you were. / Many blind people and few eyes / I saw in that act of devotion: / the sense of sight is more overwhelmed / by desires than by reason.)

There are many parallels between this poem and “Yo no vi, por contemplaros”. The occasion of each poem is a day that celebrates a miracle, that of Christ’s resurrection from the dead and that of the liquefaction of a saint’s blood. In each case, the congregation is blinded by

<sup>6</sup> Tillier (1985), who discusses this theme, reads “sembrando” for “lembrando”.

<sup>7</sup> This text is applied to infants newly baptised at Easter and to all humanity redeemed by Christ. Whitsunday, or Alb Sunday, is so called because on that day it was customary for the newly baptised to take off their white baptismal robes.

the miracle of the lady's beauty. Both poets, like the apostle Thomas Didimus, are persuaded, not by reason, but by the evidence of their senses. Note, moreover, the verbal analogies between the two poems and the end rhymes that they share:

*Diego de San Pedro*

**Muchos ciegos, pocos ojos**  
vi en aquesta **devoción**;  
más se vence por antojos  
la vista que por razón.

*Acevedo*

todos con gran **devoçión**  
ante vuestra perfeçión:  
**muchos çiegos, pocos ojos**,  
ivan en la proçesión.

Another poem that seems to have influenced Acevedo was a poem by Crespí de Valldaura on the disconcerting impact that the beauty of Marina de Aragón had upon her onlookers, a poem from which it may be inferred that painters had attempted to capture Marina's likeness:

*Otra suya a Doña Marina de Aragón*

Quien presume de loaros  
a ssí mismo desatina  
con la vista, por miraros,  
y el sentido'n contemplaros  
con razón se descamina.  
Vuestra virtud, guarnescida  
de lindeza, sola, una,  
y en real sangre texida.  
Loaros en esta vida  
no basta lengua ninguna,  
pues para bien blasonaros,  
socorra gracia divina  
y a la mano en pintaros,  
qu'el sentido en contemplaros  
con razón se descamina.

(Whoever presumes to praise you / becomes himself deranged / by the sight of looking at you, / and in contemplating you, / sense with good reason goes astray. / Your virtue is adorned / with elegance, singular, unique, / and woven with royal blood. / No tongue is capable / of praising you in this life, / because to blazon you properly / divine grace must come to the rescue / and aid the hand in painting you, / for in contemplating you, / sense with good reason goes astray.)

Here one finds the same rhyme in *-aros*, with the same key words *loaros / contemplaros* and *contemplaros / adoraros* as in "Yo no vi, por contemplaros", which suggests that Acevedo is alluding to, or seeking to improve upon, Crespí de Valldaura's *cançión*. However, instead of saying that reason is disturbed by the contemplation of her unique beauty and virtue, which no painter or poet could reproduce without divine grace, he says that he never noticed the miracle of the liquified blood because his own blood had frozen at the sight of the lady's divine perfection, and hence the worshippers who witnessed this miracle forgot to kneel in prayer. In other words, she, Marina de Aragón, rather than the phial of blood, had become the object of worship for the whole congregation.

2. **Otra, de Azevedo [to Juana de Ayala]**

Dama, lo que significa  
 los grillos y vos traellos  
 es que a todos çertifica,  
 quantos llegaren a vellos,  
 que se han de quedar en ellos.  
 Como en mi fe se notifica  
 otra sinificaçión:  
 por demás es de sentillos:<sup>8</sup>  
 que ha de ser andar a grillos  
 demandaros galardón.

Lady, what these fetters state,  
 and why you are wearing them,  
 is that they prove to everyone,  
 to all who come to look at them,  
 that to be fettered is their fate.  
 But for me as I pledge my faith,  
 they signify something else:  
 that to feel sorry is useless,  
 for to demand from you a favour  
 is to chase crickets through the grass.

Text ID 1032; LB1-347.

Rhyme scheme: *ABABBACDDC*

This poem is composed as if it were a verse commentary on a jousting *invención*, in a style reminiscent of Pedro de Cartagena's verses on the seven opening *invenciones* in the jousting section of the *Cancionero general*. Manuel Moreno (2009: 78-79) assumed that this lady had an image of shackles, or fetters, embroidered on her dress, and suggested that this could be compared with the devices worn by the ladies of the Aragonese-Neapolitan court that are depicted in Vázquez's *Dechado de amor* (ID 6914, 14CG-1044). I believe, however, that this poem is addressed to Juana de Ayala, a lady who was shackled during her temporary bouts of insanity. If this is the case, then the poet merely wished to make a joke—or wished to flatter the lady by creating an illusion—that the fetters were worn as a jousting device.

Fernández de Oviedo remembers having seen Juana de Ayala, the second daughter of Pedro de Ayala, Chief Constable of Toledo, sister of the court lady Costanza de Ayala (Boase 2017: 142-46), when she had lost her wits and was kept in fetters, although he had been told that she later recovered.<sup>9</sup> He also informs us that this lady was married in Madrid to a gentleman from Cuenca, named Jorge Ruiz de Alarcón (d. 1544), Lord of Valverde and Fuentecilla.

The word *grillos* means both fetters and crickets, and the poet exploits this ambivalence. One interpretation of the lady's emblem is that all those who set eyes on her become her prisoners or shackled slaves. Another, playing on the expression “andar a grillos”, or “chasing crickets”, is that to ask for a reward from her would be a frivolous and futile pursuit, a waste of time. This idiom is found in stanza 5 of the anonymous *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* (Burgos, 1485?): “¿Sabes, sabes? El modorro / allá donde se anda a grillos / burlan de él los mozalvillos / que andan con él en el corro” (Do you know? There where the dullard wanders, hunting crickets, the beardless youths who surround him are mocking him). Fernando de Pulgar (1958), in his gloss of this stanza, comments on the manner in which Enrique IV wasted his time and neglected his royal duties:

In this stanza he [the author] continues to express what the populace feels about the king's negligence, and it means that he goes in search of crickets. Of those who take

<sup>8</sup> Dutton: “de mal es más de sentillos”; Rennert (1895): “de males más de sentillo”. But I have taken the liberty of amending it, influenced by the *invención* assigned to Acevedo's cousin Pedro Pimentel Maldonado. The Comunero leader has a painting of himself, seated, with fetters on his feet, awaiting his execution, with the *letra*: “Por demás es el cuydado / de bivar al condenado” (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 219), meaning that caring about life is useless for a man condemned to death.

<sup>9</sup> “la cual se le trastornó el seso o enloqueció; y lo ví con grillos diciendo desatinos, aunque después me dixeron que havía sanado” (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: III, 155).

part in some business without expecting from it any fruit or outcome, we are wont to say that they are hunting crickets.<sup>10</sup>

It is appropriate that Acevedo, whose heraldic device was a wolf, should employ this idiom because it occurs in the proverb: “Cuando el lobo anda a grillos, ni hay para él ni para sus hijos” (García de Castro 2006: 398) (When the wolf hunts for crickets, there is neither enough for him, nor for his offspring).<sup>11</sup> The poet is thus saying indirectly that he, like a wolf pursuing crickets, expects no favours and is resigned to go hungry.

The rest of the poems by Acevedo in the LB1, even including the next one addressed to the wife of Don Fernando, form a coherent series connected with festivities at Murcia.

### 3. A su esposa [María de Ayala] de don Hernando, porque se partía

<p>Sospirando parte el señor don Fernando, contra sí tan enemigo, que, aunque va, no va consigo, a Vuestra Merçed dexando. En la pena d’esperalle hay esta consolaçión: que, pues dexa el coraçón, ha de bolver a buscallo y vos, señora, guardalle. <i>Responde ella:</i> No se puede partir él sin coraçón, yo lo fío, porque allá me lleva el mío, y aún mi alma va con él. Y el que dexa, si allá tarda, <i>guardalle será</i> mi fiesta,<sup>12</sup> que lo que más caro cuesta con más cuidado se guarda.</p>	<p>With a heavy heart, my lord Fernando must depart; he battles with himself so much that though he goes, he goes not whole, being from Your Grace apart. In the pain of expectation, there is this consolation: since he leaves behind his heart, he will have to come back for it, and you, lady, will care for it.</p> <p>He is unable to depart, I swear to God, without a heart, for he carries mine away, and even takes my soul today. And if he tarries, my own feast will be to keep his heart so dear, for what is got at greater cost is kept with a much greater care.</p>
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Text: ID 1033; LB1-348

Rhyme scheme: ABBACDDCC EFFEGHHG

### 4. A las señoras de las fiestas en Murcia

<p>[A doña Ana de Girón] ¿Sois humana? Dezid, señora doña Ana, porque en esto dubdo yo. Bien supo quien os crió</p>	<p>Are you human? Tell me, Ana, if you can, for I suspect it is not true. He who created you well knew</p>
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<sup>10</sup> “En esta copla continúa el sentimiento que tiene el pueblo por la negligencia del rey, y quiere decir que anda a grillos. A los que andan en alguna negociación, que ni se espera fruto ni efecto, solemos decir que andan a grillos.”

<sup>11</sup> This is similar to another proverb: “La raposa cuando no halla qué comer, busca grillos” (Correas 2000: 85) (When the vixen finds nothing to eat, it searches for crickets).

<sup>12</sup> Following Manuel Moreno, I have amended this line, “mi fiesta sera guardalle”, to accord with the rhyme scheme. For the same reason, the last word must be “guarda”, not “garde”.



lo que hizo y lo que gana.  
Lindo robo,  
¡con qué cabeza de lobo  
gana Dios entre las gentes!  
Los ángeles excelentes  
se sienten d'esto que trobo.

*A doña Catalina de Lisón*

¿Soys vos divina,  
señora doña Catalina?  
¡O qué ymagen es la vuestra!  
¡Hízooos Dios para su muestra!  
¡Mirad de qué fuerdes dina!  
Su traslado,  
tan o lo propio sacado  
qu'adoraros no es arrisco.  
¡O, cuán bienaventurado  
es el señor don Françisco!

*A doña Lucreçia*

¿Quién se preçia,  
señora doña Lucreçia,  
ante vos de gentil dama?  
Si lo es, o se lo llama,  
vuestro preçio la despreçia,  
porque es tal  
vuestro gesto angelical  
que boláys hasta los çielos,  
y de acá, de todos buelos,  
soys el águila cabdal.

*A doña Yseo*

Lo que yo, señora, creo,  
señora doña Yseo,  
es que Dios por su interese  
os hizo y quiso que fuese  
lo hermoso ante vos feo.  
Ved agora, ¿qué sentís?,  
dezid, señor don Luis,  
del cargo en que soys a Dios,  
¿qué tenéys que dalle vos  
pues tanto de Él reçebís?

*A doña María de Ayala*

Ved qué cosa es cada día,  
señora doña María,  
mi coraçón dize: ¡Ayala,<sup>13</sup>  
Dios la guarde y Dios le vala

what he did and what he gained.  
Exquisite plunder,  
with a wolf's head like that  
God is winning over the people!  
Even the excellent angels  
regret what I now versify.

Are you divine,  
lady Catalina of mine?  
God made you an image so fine—  
so worthy of high esteem—  
as a sample of His design!  
It is drawn  
with such a faithful likeness  
that worshipping you is no risk!  
O with what luck and good fortune  
is my lord Don Francisco blest!

O Lady Lucrecia, dear,  
who can boast when she is near  
of being a noble lady?  
Whether she is, or is so called,  
your worth diminishes hers, I fear,  
because your face  
is so angelic that you soar  
up high into the heavens above,  
and from there, in all your flounces,  
you have the royal eagle's grace.

I believe, if I may be so bold,  
my lady Doña Isolde,  
that for his own profit God  
made you, wishing that in your presence  
beauty would turn to ugliness.  
Look now, tell me what you feel?  
Tell me, my lord, Don Luis, sir,  
about the duty you owe to God.  
You who receive so much from Him,  
what do you have to offer Him?

Look what a thing it is each day,  
my lady, Doña María,  
when 'Ay Allah!' may heart does say:  
'May God guard her and protect her

<sup>13</sup> This could be written as an appeal to God: "Ay Allah!"

de tomar loca porfía!  
Yo no sé qué me diré;  
si digo no acabaré  
de loaros, que lo fundo,  
porque todo el bien del mundo  
todo está en Vuestra Merçé.

from catching the struggling lunacy!  
I know not what to say;  
if I began, I would not cease  
to extol you to your face,  
since the good of the world entire,  
all of it, is in Your Grace.

*A doña Catalina de Ayala*  
Pues agora determina,  
señora doña Catalina,  
quien bien os mira, si vee,  
de poner con vos la fe  
y de Dios la desatina.  
Dezid ¿qué's lo que se gana  
con la señora doña Ana?  
Pierde en vuestra diferençia,  
que herís de pestilençia,  
sin dexar persona sana.

Consider—Have you not seen her?—  
lady Doña Catalina:  
whoever looks at you and sees  
will place his faith in you indeed,  
instead of praying to his Maker.  
Say, in what way do you excel  
the lady Ann, please can you tell?  
There is this one difference:  
you wound with a pestilence,  
that leaves nobody feeling well.

Text: ID S1034; LB1-349-354.  
Rhyme scheme: *AABBACDDC* etc.

### 5. Otras suyas a la partida de doña Lucreçia

¿Quién bien pensara,  
O, señor Diego de Lara,  
a quien cuento mis enojos,  
que la gloria de mi ojos  
al alma tanto penara?  
Señor [mío], socórreme,  
aconséjame y váleme,  
qu'es un fuego el que me llaga,  
donde la vida se apaga  
para qu'el alma se queme.

Who would have thought,  
O my lord, Diego de Lara,  
to whom I recount my woes,  
that the glory of my eyes  
would cause so much grief to the soul?  
My lord, please come to my aid,  
advise me, I beg you, protect me,  
for what afflicts me is a fire,  
a fire which snuffs out the life  
in order that the soul may burn.

Ved, señor, ¿qué os parece  
de cómo el sol escureçe?  
qu'el partir mata la vida,  
[qu'es el dolor de la partida],  
que todo el mundo amorteçe,  
que la noche y el día  
todo va por una vía.  
Que sentís vos, coraçón,  
todo el Viernes de Pasión  
y no hay Pascua de Alegría.

What do you think, O my lord,  
is not the sun now growing dark?  
For parting is killing the life,  
and the grief of bidding farewell  
is deadening the whole world,  
so that whether by night or day  
all is going the same way.  
What you now feel, my heart,  
is all the Passion of Good Friday  
and there is no Easter of Mirth.

Text: ID-S1034; LB1-355.  
Rhyme scheme: *AADDACCDDC EEFFEGGHHG*.

These festivities took place in Murcia at Easter time, probably in the year 1508. They were organised by Hernán Sánchez de Zafra (d. 1522), second Lord of Castril, the illegitimate

and only son of the royal secretary Hernando de Zafra (1460-1507). It was then that Hernán Sánchez had received orders to prepare for the conquest of Oran in North Africa and had to bid farewell to his wife. One might have expected that Pedro Fajardo Chacón (1478-1546), Marquis of Los Vélez (15 October 1507), whose position as Adelantado de Murcia was confirmed on 24 July 1503, would have been present on this occasion. His absence may be explained by the fact that at this time he was in Castile: he married his second wife Mencía de la Cueva, daughter of Beltrán de la Cueva, first Duke of Albuquerque, in Segovia in February 1508.

Two of the ladies who took part in the festivities at Murcia, Doña María de Ayala and Doña Lucrecia, can be identified by clues that derive from Pinar's *Juego trobado*. It becomes clear that the lady who addresses Don Fernando in the first composition cited above (LB1-348) is María de Ayala, to whom a later stanza is addressed (LB1-353). A key word in the charming exchange of verses between Don Fernando and his wife as she bids him farewell is the verb *guardar* (LB1-348). She says that her husband will guard her soul, just as she will guard his: "y vos, señora, guardalle", "guardalle será mi fiesta", and "con más cuidado se guarda". This same verb is found in the Acevedo *copla* addressed to Doña María de Ayala: "¡Dios la guarde!" In stanza 9 of Pinar's *Juego trobado*, another lady with the surname Ayala, Costanza de Ayala, is given a pear-tree because it produces fruit that may be preserved: "porqu'es fruta que se guarda".<sup>14</sup> One should also note that María de Ayala is the only lady at the festivities addressed as "Vuestra Merced", and this same formal and polite form of address is employed in the stanzas about Don Fernando's departure.

The reason for the choice of the verb *guardar* is that Hernán Sánchez de Zafra inherited from his father the position of Royal Guard. In Madrid, on 8 January 1470, Enrique IV had appointed Hernando de Zafra as his Royal Guard, and the Catholic Monarchs renewed this appointment in Madrid on 10 April 1476. When, in Toro on 16 October 1476, Queen Isabel confirmed the annual payment of 12,000 mrs in rents from Becerril de Campos, near Palencia, to Hernando de Zafra's wife Leonor de Torres (first granted by Enrique IV in Segovia on 2 November 1473), she referred to Hernando de Zafra as *mi guarda* (Ladero Quesada 2005: 15, 18). Hernando de Zafra drew up his will on 12 April 1507 and, four months later, on 17 August, he died of plague (Lafuente Alcántara 1846: IV, 174).

It should be explained that there were close ties of kinship between Hernando de Zafra and the Ayalas of Toledo. The "magnificent" Hernando de Zafra rose from humble origins to become extremely wealthy. He was born in Zafra in Extremadura, near Badajoz, of plebeian parents and as a vassal of the Count of Feria.<sup>15</sup> From his position as Royal Guard, he rose to become King Fernando's secretary, auditor and general factotum, responsible for paying and supplying the troops fighting in Italy and in Roussillon (Ladero Quesada 2005: 41). By 1476 he was married to Leonor de Torres, an illegitimate daughter of the royal secretary Diego García de Salamanca. She always signed her name as Leonor de Torres, but Fernández de Oviedo refers to her as 'doña [...] de Ayala',<sup>16</sup> and makes it clear that she was born out of wedlock (1983-2002: II, 179-80). Bearing in mind that María de Ayala, the lady who married Hernando de Zafra's only son, was his wife's niece, the daughter of Diego de Vitoria, and that the court lady Costanza de Ayala (d. 1505) is given a bustard (*abutarda*) in stanza 9 of Pinar's *Juego*

<sup>14</sup> She is also given a bustard (*abutarda*), which I believe is a reference to her namesake Constanza de Ayala, whose illegitimate daughter, Leonor de Torres, was the mother of Hernán Sánchez de Zafra. The name Costanza, or Constanza, is also linked to the verb *guardar* because it denotes constancy. The court lady Costanza de Ayala was the eldest daughter of Pero de Ayala (d. 1489), Comendador de Paracuellos and Chief Constable of Toledo, and Constanza Zapata, daughter of Ruy Sánchez Zapata, second Lord of Barajas. She married Iñigo López de Mendoza, Lord of Valcornete, a brother of the Duke of El Infantado.

<sup>15</sup> "Nació basallo de el conde de Feria e de gente de honestos parientes plebeos" (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: II, 179).

<sup>16</sup> There is a blank here in the manuscript.

(Boase 2017: 145), it may be surmised that the mother of Leonor de Torres was Constanza Manuel, or Constanza de Ayala, daughter of Diego García sixth de Toledo, Lord of Segurillo, Cervera and Mejorada, and Elvira de Ayala, daughter of Diego López de Ayala (c. 1420-1497), second Lord of Cebolla. Constanza Manuel was the first wife of the Royal Chamberlain (*apostentador mayor*) Diego López de Ayala, third Lord of Cebolla and Villalba (Molénat 1997: 375-76), and her sister-in-law Catalina Manrique, wife of Diego García VII de Toledo, was the poet Gómez Manrique's daughter. Constanza Manuel died at the hands of her husband, or upon his orders (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: II, 85), no doubt when he discovered her infidelity, and the Royal Chamberlain then married Beatriz de Guzmán, sister of Estebán de Guzmán, Lord of Santa Olalla and Orgaz (Boase 2017: 674-75), whose memory, as I have demonstrated, was kept alive by Diego de San Pedro in his sentimental romance about Arnalte y Lucenda (Boase 2016).

Pinar, in stanza 9 of his *Juego trobado*, and Acevedo, in several of his poems, allude to ladies of the Ayala family. Pinar, addressing the court lady, Costanza de Ayala, cites "Desconsolado de mí", a *canción* by Diego López de Haro on the death of his first wife Leonor de Ayala, which Diego López had later glossed for Costanza Dávalos, the Countess of Quirra, who was descended from another Toledo family related to the Ayalas.<sup>17</sup>

The first of the six ladies of Murcia can be identified as Ana Girón, the daughter of Alonso Téllez-Girón (d. 1527), first Lord of Puebla de Montalbán, and Marina Vélez de Guevara. This means that Diego de San Pedro's patron Juan Téllez-Girón (1456-1528), second Count of Urueña, was her uncle. Later, in 1513, Ana Girón married Juan de Ayala (d. 1540), sixth Lord of Cebolla, son of Diego López de Ayala (d. 1514), fifth Lord of Cebolla (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: II, 85). He is probably the "don Juan" who was not present to witness the "joust of love" (LB1-356), a poem that I shall discuss later. Ana Girón's admirer is, I believe, Fray Diego López de Ayala, who broke off his engagement to marry her after discovering his religious vocation. This is what is meant by God's robbery of the wolf's head. Fray Diego, the illegitimate son of Fernán Pérez de Ayala, Comendador de Yegros, and Bernadina de Guzmán (López de Haro 1622: 118; O'Conner 2011: 12), worked as a secretary for Cardinal Cisneros (1436-1517), and was his close friend, as is evident from the letters that he received from the cardinal during the period 1508-1517, and which he himself edited (Jiménez de Cisneros 1867). He had entered the household of Cardinal Cisneros as a page in 1496 when the cardinal became Archbishop of Toledo, and he was promoted to the position of *vicario* in 1509 (Domínguez 2015: 197). After a brief period in 1517 when he was ambassador in Brussels, he returned to Spain with the Emperor Charles V and then retired to Toledo, where he dedicated himself to literary pursuits, collaborating with Diego de Salazar in translating Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, entitled *Laberinto de amor* (Seville 1541), and with Blasco de Garay in translating Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (Toledo 1546) (Muñiz Muñiz 2003).

The "don Francisco" in the stanza addressed to the second lady, Catalina de Lisón, is not "San Francisco" (Dutton & Roncero-López 2004: 641): he can be identified as Francisco de Castilla (d. Seville c. 1560), Governor of Baza, Guadix and Almería, the seventh and youngest son of Alonso de Castilla y de Drochelín *el Santo* and Juana de Zúñiga (d. Valladolid 1486), Lady of Villavaquerín. He was a grandson of Pedro de Castilla, Bishop of Osma and Palencia, and a great-great-grandson of King Pedro of Castile. He gave up his habit as a knight of Alcántara in order to marry his second cousin Catalina de Guevara y Lisón, daughter of Jofré

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<sup>17</sup> Incidentally, the association between the Ayalas and Murcia can be traced back to the reign of Alfonso XI, when Pedro López de Ayala was Adelantado de Murcia, whose niece Constanza de Ayala, daughter of Fernán Pérez de Ayala, married Pedro Vélez de Ayala, Lord of Guevara.

de Lisón,<sup>18</sup> Comendador de Socovos in the Order of Santiago, and Isabel de Guevara, a granddaughter of the Count of Oñate. They had a daughter Isabel and three sons Diego, Juan and Sancho, Abbot of Cabanas and chaplain to the Emperor Charles V.

Francisco de Castilla was closely associated with Hernando de Zafra because Baza, where he served as Governor, was Hernando's main place of residence. In the years 1518-1519 he was Governor and Chief Justice of Baza, Guadix, Almería, Purchena, Vera and Mojácar (Crespo Muñoz 2007: 152, 1531, 1565), and was the author of a report on the damage done by the earthquake that struck Vera and Mojácar on 9 November 1518 (Olivera Serrano 1997). He then became a minister in the Royal Council of Felipe II.

He may possibly be identified as the *galán* who composed the following *invención* (LB1-306):

*Otro sacó unas lisonjas*  
Las cinco letras primeras  
del nombre d'esta ynvención  
me salen del coraçón.

(Another [joust] displayed some lozenges: / the first five letters / of the name of this device / emerge from my heart.)

The pun on the word *lisonjas*, which in the pictorial *divisa* signifies diamond-shaped heraldic lozenges, and in the *letra* flattering praises (*lisonjas*) emerging from the lover's heart, alluding to the name Lisón, is evidently modelled on the embroidered *invención* of plumes displayed in Barcelona in 1493 by Bernardino de Velasco, the Constable of Castile: "Saqué las del coraçón, / por que las que salen puedan / dar lugar a las que quedan" (11CG-522; LB1-246; see Rico 1990: 189-230; Boase 2017: 716-719). Exploiting the pun on *pena*, meaning sorrow or feather, a fashionable neologism in Spain, Portugal, Italy and France, from the Latin *penna*, feather, the Constable's message is that he has to make his sorrows visible as feathers because they cannot be contained any longer in his heart. The line "Las cinco letras primeras" echoes a line in Juan Manuel's *romance* "Gritando va el cavallero", referring to the adjective *casta*, chaste, the five first letters of the chestnut tree, *castañar* (11CG-455, line 69; Boase 2017: 591).

Crimson heraldic lozenges figure in the coat-of-arms of the old Norman family of Montague, which became in Catalonia Montagut and in Aragon and Castile Monteagudo. This explains why the jousts Enric and Luis de Montagut both display lozenges in their *invenciones*. These *invenciones* must, I believe, have been addressed to a lady named Lisón, either Catalina de Lisón or Lucreçia Lisón Fajardo, the third lady in the Murcia festivities (11CG-582; 11CG-583):

*Enrique de Montagudo sacó por cimera un manajo de lanças con los fierros*  
*hazia sí, y los paramentos de unas lisonjas de oro y de carmesí, que son sus*  
*armas, y dixo*

Do la libertad perdí  
no puedo sino perderme,  
que si quiero defenderme,  
mis armas son contra mí.

(Enrique de Montagudo displayed on the crest of his helm a handful of lances with the points turned inwards, and the trappings were some gold and crimson lozenges, which

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<sup>18</sup> He was the son of Alonso de Lisón, an alderman of Murcia and Comendador de Socovos in the Order of Santiago, and Elvira de Soto (Cascales 1775: 432). He received property in Guadix on 2 June 1491, valued at 39,750 mrs (Ladero Quesada 1993: 117).

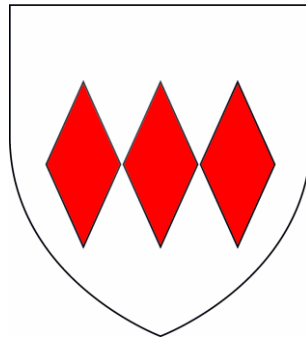
*are his arms, and he said: “Where I lost my liberty / I can do nothing but lose myself, / for if I wish to defend myself, / my arms are against me.”*

*Otra suya a una lisonja*

No tocando en lo de Dios,  
no hay lisonja para vos.

*(Another by him concerning a lozenge: “Without referring to what pertains to God, / there is no flattery for you.”)*

Enric de Montagut and Luis de Montagut, also author of an *invención* on the column of Hercules (Boase 2017: 643), can be identified as the sons of Luis de Montagut, Chief Justice of Valencia (Perea Rodríguez 2007: 260 n12). The lozenges in Enric’s own coat-of-arms (*armas*) have become like lances (*armas*) turned against him; and if he seeks to praise the lady, he cannot avoid using language normally reserved for the worship of God (*lisonjas*), which is precisely what Francisco de Castilla does in the words attributed to him by Acevedo addressed to Catalina de Lisón.



**Fig. 2: Three crimson lozenges, or fusils, coat-of-arms of the Norman knight William de Montagu (c. 1285-1319), II Baron Montagu, and that of his son William de Montague (1301-1344), I Earl of Salisbury, King of the Isle of Man, Count of Sarum, favourite of Edward III of England (1312-1377).**

Curiously, there are close parallels drawn from the language of fine art and Neoplatonic philosophy between the stanza for Catalina de Lisón and a poem by the Valencian poet Comendador Escrivà,<sup>19</sup> published in the 1514 edition of the *Cancionero general* (14CG-446):

Hízoos Dios en este suelo  
trasladada de un dechado,  
que no hay d’él otro traslado  
sino el que quedó en el cielo.

<sup>19</sup> Ivan Parisi (2009a, 2009b) is probably correct in identifying Comendador Escrivà as the Valencian poet Baltasar de Romaní (c. 1485-1547), Baron of Beniparrell, who completed a translation into Castilian of a series of poems by Ausiàs March on 10 March 1539, dedicated to the Duke of Calabria Fernando de Aragón, formerly Viceroy of Valencia (1526-1536) (Escartí 1997). He was possibly also the author of the anonymous *roman à clef* *Questión de amor* (1513) (Ravasini 2008). He was born in Cagliari, Sardinia, c. 1485, the second son of Eiximén Pérez Escrivà de Romaní, Viceroy of Sardinia, by his fourth wife, the Sardinian Catarina de Sena, and was brought up at Beniparrell south of Valencia. His relative Pope Alexander VI made him a knight of Santiago in 1506, presumably when he was twenty-one years old. After 1519 he dropped the name Comendador Escrivà when, following the death of his elder brother Jaume Escrivà, he became involved in a lawsuit with his cousin Joan Ram Escrivà i Montpalau over the inheritance of his great-great-grandmother Elisenda de Romaní, Baroness of Beniparrell. He lost the case at the court of appeal in Valladolid on 22 November 1524 because Elisenda had specified in her will, drawn up in Valencia on 16 December 1398, that any claimant who belonged to a religious order would be excluded from the succession. His change of name was clearly intended as a means of improving his chance of winning the case. Eventually, in 1584, the court ruled in favour of the poet’s son Dídac i Gaspar Escrivà de Saavedra.

Ni sabe dizir qué vido  
 quien vee tal perfición,  
 porque no *hay* comparación  
 al qu'en vos ha conoscido.  
 Por do digo, sin recelo  
 de jamás ser reprochado,  
 que soys vos sola el traslado  
 d'aquel dechado del cielo.

(God created you on this earth / drawn from a model / of which there is no copy, / except the one that remained in Heaven. / Nor does he who sees such perfection / know how to say what he saw, / because there is no comparison / for anyone who has known you. / Wherefore I say, without fear / of ever being reproached, / that you are the sole copy / of that model in Heaven.)

Catalina de Lisón inherited from her grandmother María de Guevara an orchard, with bath-houses and a palace, known as the Alcázar Seguir (*al-qasr al-saghír*), or Small Palace, that the Arab rulers of Murcia, the Banu Hud, had constructed in the thirteenth century, and on 8 March 1525 Francisco de Castilla, through the mediation of the canon Juan de Ayala, sold this property for 60,000 mrs to the nuns of Santa Ana, who founded the Monasterio de Santa Clara (Navarro Pedreño 2004: 42-44).

The third lady at the Murcia festivities, Lucrecia Lisón Fajardo, was a daughter of Gonzalo Lisón Soto and Mencía Fajardo Piñero, and a granddaughter of both Alonso de Lisón Quesada, Pedro Fajardo's cousin, and Alonso Fajardo *el Bravo*, Governor of Málaga (Torres Fontes 1970: 167). The clue to identify her is the royal, or golden, eagle (*águila caudal*), the only bird mentioned in this series. In stanza 22 of the *Juego trobado*, this same bird is given to Leonor Manrique (1486-1535), daughter of Juan Chacón (1452-1503), Adelantado de Murcia, and his first wife Luisa Fajardo. This bird indicates that Lucrecia is related to the Fajardos and plans to marry a gentleman associated with the Marquis of Aguilar. She married Alonso Fajardo Soto, Comendador de Moratalla, Lord of Polop and Benidorm, son of Diego Fajardo Heredia, known as Diego de Soto, Comendador de Moratalla, and Isabel de Soto. She is given a royal eagle because her future father-in-law Diego de Soto lived under the protection of his cousin Garci Fernández Manrique de Lara (d. 1546), third Count of Osorno, and Marquis of Aguilar de Campóo (1480) (Torres Fontes 1970: 152), one of whose heraldic emblems was a black eagle. He is the Diego de Lara who bids farewell to her at the end of the festivities at Murcia (LB1-355).



**Fig. 3: Heraldic Emblem of the Marquises of Aguilar de Campóo**

Diego de Soto and Diego de Vitoria, the receiver general of the Inquisition and one of the first jurymen in Christian Granada, are mentioned several times in the royal accounts as persons engaged in the task of collecting taxes from the Muslims of Granada and Córdoba. On 10 February 1496, in Tortosa, Diego de Soto received a payment of 30,000 mrs “para su ayuda de costa” (Andrés Díaz 2004: no. 205). On 29 February Diego de Vera, Governor of Galicia, is paid 20,000 mrs to cover the costs of his visit to Granada in the company of the Comendador de Moratalla (Ibid: no. 231), and on 28 June 1498 Diego de Soto was paid 200,000 mrs, and Diego de Vitoria 100,000 mrs, for their joint work in collecting tribute from the Moors of Granada (Ibid: no. 1836). It is significant that Diego de Soto worked closely with Diego de Vitoria because the latter’s daughter, María de Ayala, was the lady who married Hernán Sánchez de Zafra.

By 1522 Hernán Sánchez de Zafra had died, because in Granada, on 10 December of that year his widow left 100,000 mrs to her daughter Leonor de Acuña for her marriage to Francisco Carrillo in accordance with her late husband’s will, and by 12 April 1527 she had come to an agreement about the division of Hernán Sánchez’s estate with his son Fernando de Zafra, who was then third Lord of Castril and an alderman of Granada (Ladera Quesada 2005: 129). This estate included houses and agricultural land in Málaga, Velez-Málaga, Ronda, Marbella and Guadix (Ladero Quesada 1993: 128, 140, 144, 177, 190).

## 6. Otras suyas [Una justa de amores]

De las damas que justaron  
bien parece y justo fuera,<sup>20</sup>  
que justicia se hiziera.  
Caso nunca acaecido  
fuera damas justiciar,  
mas mucho menos justar,  
que ni fue visto ni oydo.  
Todo *ha* sydo bien reydo  
y más fuera  
sy don Juan aquesto viera.  
Ahorren los servidores  
sus penas y sus afanes,  
que no es bien que los galanes  
penen por los justadores.<sup>21</sup>  
Justa de tales primores  
mucho mejor fuera  
si nunca nadie la viera.  
Nunca más en fiesta entro,  
ni con damas vó a dançar;  
pensarán que vó a justar  
y matarme *han* de un encuentro.  
No andaré fuera ni dentro  
sin testera,  
pues la justa anda tan fiera.

Concerning the ladies who jousted,  
it seems only right and just  
that they should be brought to justice.  
It is a case unprecedented  
for ladies to be prosecuted,  
least of all because they jousted,  
a thing not seen or heard before.  
It was all much cause for a laugh,  
and would have been much more so  
had Don Juan been there to see it all.  
The suitors are saving up  
their sufferings and their toils,  
for it is not right for young courtiers  
to suffer for the sake of jousters.  
It would indeed have been better  
if such an exquisite joust  
had not been seen by anyone.  
Never again shall I enter a feast,  
nor shall I dance with ladies;  
they will think that I want to joust  
and will kill me in the first thrust.  
I shan’t go inside or outside  
without a bridle head-piece,  
because the jousting is so fierce.

<sup>20</sup> Dutton & Roncero López (2004: 643) alter the meaning of this line: “bien parece injusto fuera”.

<sup>21</sup> This line alludes to the proverb “Penan (or Pagan) justos por pecadores” (The innocent suffer for the sins of the guilty).



Pregunten a don Antonio,  
 qu'esta justa fue a myrar,  
 si fuera mejor justar  
 la justa del matrimonio:  
 la una ordenó Dios,  
 la otra ordenó el Demonio,  
 de manera  
 que la otra no s'espera.  
 Otro mal se nos revela  
 a los tristes servidores:  
 que tan nuevos justadores  
 romperán luego la tela,  
 y si llega al arandela  
 lança fiera,  
 será muy mala carrera.  
 En este mundo traydor  
 todo se nos va trocando:  
 ver una dama justando  
 ¿qué hará su servidor?  
 Pongan a tal justador  
 por letra de su çimera:  
*Dama que justa que muera.*

Let them ask Don Antonio,  
 who went to look at this joust,  
 if it wouldn't be better to tilt  
 at the tournament of marriage:  
 for the one is by God ordained,  
 and the other by the Devil,  
 which means that from the other  
 there is nothing to be gained.  
 Another problem becomes clear  
 to the sorrowful suitors:  
 that these jousting beginners  
 will soon break the barrier,  
 and if a fierce lance pierces  
 up to the hilt,  
 it will be ruled a bad blow.  
 In this treacherous world of ours  
 everything is upside down:  
 if a lady now ajousting goes,  
 what will then her suitor do?  
 Let the jouster then place high  
 on his helm the following words:  
*Let the jousting lady die.*

Text: LB1-356

Rhyme scheme: *ABB CDDCCBB* etc



**Fig. 4: Ladies jousting, © The British Library Board, Queen Mary Psalter, c. 1310/20, Royal MS 2B.vii, fol. 197'.**

This “justa de amores” may be compared with three earlier erotic jousts: a satirical and fanciful poem by Antonio de Velasco, completed in 1506 or slightly earlier, about a court lady whose six suitors fail to turn up at the tilting bar, with an accompanying response from his cousin Fadrique Enríquez, fourth Admiral of Castile (ID 6820-21; 14CG-128-129), which, it should be noted, has the same rhyme scheme as that adopted by Acevedo (*ABB CDDCCBB* etc), with an opening three-line *estribillo* and stanzas of seven lines; Tristán de Estúñiga’s “Soñava que vi justar” (ID 6752; 11CG-968), published in the *Cancionero general* (1511); and Juan del Encina’s “Pues por vos crece mi pena” (ID 4469; 96JE-72), published in Salamanca in 1496 in his own collected works. The “don Antonio” who is mentioned by Acevedo as a spectator was probably Antonio de Velasco (Macpherson & McKay 1998: 130 n29), and, as mentioned earlier, the “don Juan” who never witnessed the ladies jousting was Juan de Ayala, sixth Lord of Cebolla, Ana Girón’s future husband. By contrasting “the joust of marriage

ordained by God” with jousting ordained by the Devil, Acevedo makes it clear that the jousting in his poem is a metaphor for sex outside marriage. But both poems operate simultaneously at several levels of meaning, with well-known sexual double-entendres such as *justar*, *tela*, *lança* and *tejer*, although, in the case of Acevedo’s poem, it would seem on the face of it that perhaps the Murcian ladies did actually take part in jousting and for that reason are deemed worthy of punishment by a court of law.

I do not intend to cite or to analyse the erotic jousts of Tristán de Estúñiga and Juan del Encina because they are facile and far from subtle, and are not closely linked to the poetry of Acevedo. In these poems, which have been well studied by Ian Macpherson (Macpherson & MacKay 1998: 94-97), the euphemisms are blindingly transparent and there is not much sense of fun. Encina urges a young lady to prepare herself for a joust at night, when it is cooler, and to place her tilt-barrier (*tela*) in a place where he can show his services and his power, and she is told to take care that the *tela* is intact. Even the dull listing of the allegorical virtues assigned to each of the two jousters as arms in the combat cannot alter the reader’s initial understanding of the opening stanzas. As Macpherson says, “the poem is so heavily weighted on the side of the sexual suggestion that the innocent meaning of the key terms virtually disappears” (Ibid 97). The finest of these erotic jousting poems is undoubtedly the exchange of verses between Antonio de Velasco and Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral of Castile, but this requires a detailed analysis and is the subject of a separate article (Boase 2019).

Acevedo is clearly a poet who deserves to be better known. However, as I have shown, in order to interpret his poetry correctly, one not only has to identify key words, but one has to be on the look out for proverbs, heraldic emblems and *invenciones*. Like Pinar’s *Juego trobado* and much *cancionero* poetry, his compositions are designed above all as courtly entertainment. What they have in common is a ludic function, sometimes combined with some degree of satire. As in the case of *invenciones*, the fun of the game for contemporary readers or onlookers was to decrypt the names that the poet has half-concealed in his text, and this is a game that we can still enjoy today, although of course it now requires a considerable amount of research. The fact that Acevedo’s poetry is exclusively found in the *British Library Cancionero* (LB1) and that there are links between his poetry and Pinar’s *Juego trobado* lend support to my theory that Pinar and his celebrated sister Florencia had family connections in Murcia (Boase 2017: 813), and it is possible that Pinar may have even have played a part in the compilation of the *British Library Cancionero*.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> In its orthography and editorial procedure one may perceive the influence of the poet and musician Juan del Encina, who is designated as “*el actor d’este libro*” (ID 1138, LB1-460). However, Bustos Táuler (2012) has convincingly demonstrated by textual analysis that Encina could not have been the compiler of the collection in its final stage as proposed by Roy Jones (1961) (Boase 2017: 628-29, n1).

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