

**The Songs in Guevara's *A una partida qu'el rey don Alfonso fizo de Arévalo*:
Do they help us to interpret this poem?**

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Figure 1: Tomb of Prince Alfonso, el Inocente, Carthusian Monastery of Miraflores (Burgos)

The poem that I wish to discuss, *A una partida qu'el rey don Alfonso fizo de Arévalo* (ID 0859; LB1-177, 11CG-233, 14CG-243),¹ is concerned with a boy who should by rights have become the ruler of Castile had he not died in mysterious circumstances before he reached the age of fifteen on 5 July 1468. His tomb is in the Carthusian Monastery of Miraflores, near Burgos, and above his tomb there is a beautiful alabaster sculpture of him kneeling in prayer (Fig. 1). Prince Alfonso (1453-1468), Prince of Asturias, often known as *el Inocente*, was the younger brother of the future Queen Isabel of Castile. He had been crowned king in Ávila on 5 June 1465 by the league of dissidents led by Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, and Juan Pacheco (1419-1474), Marquis of Villena, after the mock dethronement of his half-brother Enrique IV of Castile (1454-1474), and he adopted the title of Alfonso XII. This event, which took place in Ávila, came to be known as the “Farsa de Ávila”. Arévalo, a small town north of Ávila, which is mentioned in the rubric of Guevara's poem, was where the Portuguese lady Isabel de Avis, Prince Alfonso's mentally disturbed mother, lived until her death in 1496, and it was here that the prince set up court between December 1465 and June 1468 in defiance of his half-brother the king. It is thought that this sculpture of Prince Alfonso in the Monastery of Miraflores was

¹ All ID numbers and sigla for texts cited are from Brian Dutton (1990-1991). This article is based on a paper that I gave at the online conference of the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland (AHGBI), hosted by University College, Dublin, 29-31 March 2021.

executed between 1489 and 1493 by the Flemish artist Gil de Siloé (c.1440-c.1503). His life is inextricably linked to that of the former royal favourite Juan Pacheco, who was from a noble Portuguese family exiled to Castile after the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385), son of Alfonso Téllez Girón y Vázquez de Acuña and María Pacheco, daughter of the first Lord of Belmonte. There is a sculpture of him in the Hieronymite Monastery of Santa María del Parral, just outside the walls of Segovia, executed in 1528 by Luis Giraldo and Juan Rodríguez, which is strikingly similar to that of the prince (Fig. 2). The idea of having an upright figure in prayer rather than a recumbent one—which would have been more normal—was probably inspired by Siloé’s sculpture of Prince Alfonso. It would also seem that this sculpture of Pacheco is based on a pencil drawing from life done c. 1470. The drawing comes from a collection of drawings in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, compiled in the nineteenth century by the artist and art collector Manuel Castellano (which can be seen on the right).



Figure 2 (left): Alabaster Tomb Sculpture of Juan Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, by Luis Giraldo and Juan Rodríguez (1528), Hieronymite Monastery of Santa María del Parral, Segovia. (right): Juan Pacheco, pencil drawing, c. 1470, from a 19th-century collection of drawings, collected by Manuel Castellano, Biblioteca Nacional de España (Dib/16/19/143)

A una partida was written during a very turbulent period of Spanish history when the Iberian Peninsula was torn apart by civil war. Its author Nicolás de Guevara entered the service of Isabel of Castile long before she became queen as a member of the household of her loyal supporter and tutor Gonzalo Chacón (1429-1507), when she was a virtual prisoner in Ocaña, near Toledo, and he remained in her service throughout her reign.² He died in October 1504, the very year in which the queen herself died, and like her and so many others, he was probably also struck down by the plague. Both his parents came from the Basque region, but from the evidence of his autobiographical poem “La más durable conquista” (LB1-179), he himself was born in Castile in the market town of Medina del Campo. His father Pedro de Guevara, Lord of Ameyugo and Tuyo, Alcaide de Ocón, in the district of La Rioja, was an illegitimate son of Íñigo Vélez de Guevara, first Count of Oñate. His first wife was his cousin Gracia de Yarça, and his second wife was the court lady Leonor de Avendaño; they were both from Guipuzcoa (Beltran 2005 & 2009). It is possible that, early in 1464, when Afonso V of Portugal (1432-1481) made a secret pilgrimage to the Monastery of Santa María de Guadalupe (Pina 1790, I:

² For more details of his life, see Beltran 2005, Beltran 2009, and Boase 2017: 456-57.

517), Guevara attended a meeting that took place in the village of Puente del Arzobispo between the Portuguese king and Enrique IV of Castile and his half-sister Princess Isabel (1451-1504), who was then only thirteen years old, which resulted in a proposal of marriage.³ According to the chronicler Fernando de Pulgar, the princess said that she could not give a reply without first consulting the *grandees*, or peers of the realm (Liss 2004: 39). The King Alfonso mentioned in the rubric to the poem that we are discussing has sometimes been mistakenly taken as referring to the Portuguese king, who spent two months in Arévalo in the summer of 1475, with certain members of the nobility, in order to devise a military strategy for seizing the Castilian throne. This meeting took place shortly after his marriage to his niece Princess Juana, whose true father—so it was rumoured—was the royal favourite Beltrán de la Cueva. This was the opinion of Patrick Gallagher (1968: 190). Two reasons could be adduced to support of such a theory: first of all, the king is referred to as *alto*, but here one is bound to conclude that this adjective conveys the idea of greatness rather than that of physical height; and secondly, several of the songs cited are in the Portuguese-Galician language, although one must remember that the Queen Mother and most of her court ladies were Portuguese, and many of the songs cited date back to the late fourteenth century when Portuguese-Galician was the customary language of lyrical poetry in Castile. It is now generally agreed that Gallagher was wrong: Dutton (1990-1991, VII: 48), Rodado Ruiz (1995), Perea Rodríguez (2001) and Beltran (2005) all concur that the poem concerns the departure of Isabel's brother from Arévalo between 1465 and 1468.

Guevara's poem is a "citing poem", that is to say a poem in which the first lines of several songs are cited by various named gentlemen. It is a poem that illustrates the concept of intertextuality: nine songs are cited, each identified by a first line: nine gentlemen, including the prince and the poet-narrator, bid farewell to the court ladies whom they are leaving behind at Arévalo. Many of such citing poems were composed in the latter half of the fifteenth century as a way of creating a short narrative structure designed to commemorate an event, frequently an occasion when courtiers bid farewell to a well-known person. Most of these have been studied in detail by Jane Whetnell (1986), and the concept of intertextuality has been discussed recently by Isabella Tommasetti (2003). It can be assumed that the songs cited would have been performed by musicians and singers on these occasions. Indeed, David Fallows (1991) mentions Guevara's *A una partida* as an important source of information on what he calls the "lost years of Spanish polyphonic song", that is to say the years 1430-1470. Notable examples of this genre are Tapia's verses to mark the occasion of Mencía de la Vega y Sandoval's departure from the court, in which eight noble courtiers bid this lady farewell (ID 2046; 11CG-841, LB1-96),⁴ and Pinar's *Juego trobado*, a card game that alludes to forty-six *canciones* and *romances*, which were performed in late August of the year 1496 while the ladies of the court were awaiting suitable weather for the fleet to set sail that would carry Princess Juana to Flanders to meet her husband Philip "the Fair", son of the Emperor Maximilian. In this case, I wish to propose the hypothesis that the courtiers named in Guevara's poem were not merely singing farewell to the court ladies in Arévalo. There was, I believe, a specific lady whom Guevara had in mind, namely Juan Pacheco's daughter Beatriz, whom it was thought, for a brief time, had a good chance of becoming Queen of Castile. I think it can be shown—as I shall explain in due course—that the choice of songs supports the hypothesis that this poem for Prince Alfonso was composed for the benefit of Beatriz Pacheco—and, of course, to please her father—and that the poem was probably written and performed in the summer of 1466.

³ Guevara certainly visited the monastery of Guadalupe, as we know from his amorous complaint: *Llanto hecho en Guadalupe* (ID 0845; LBI-176, LB1-181, 11CG-232), and other poems.

⁴ This may have been in November 1488 when Mencía de Sandoval (1456-1515) left Valladolid after marrying her fourth husband, the Moorish prince Prince Fernando, an event that was marked by great festivities (Boase 2017: 250).

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to say a few words about the methodology of citing songs, which I have discussed at some length in my book *Secrets of Pinar's Game*. I discovered that, in each stanza of Pinar's *Juego trobado*, the song cited provides one clue (in this case one among four), which assists the reader, or listener, to identify a particular court lady who took part in the game. There are three different ways in which the songs cited were employed to identify a court lady: first of all, a song may have been composed for that lady or for her mother; secondly, the name of the lady for whom the song was originally composed may match that of the court lady; or thirdly, the text of the song may offer clues whereby we may identify the lady. This third form of textual analysis can be very complicated. For example, Margarita de Lemos (c. 1443-1520), the younger sister of Mencía de Lemos, the mistress of Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza (1428-1495), the recipient of stanza 15, is assigned the *canción* "Nunca pudo la pasión" (11CG-295; LB1-207; González Cuenca 2004: II, no. 284; Boase 2017: 494-95) not merely because of the phonetic resemblance between *limón* and Lemos but because the lemon-tree is a source of bitterness, *amargura*. The adjective *amarga*, which occurs in line 10 of her *canción*, "el dolor que tanto amarga", is a further indication that this song was addressed "a Marga[rita]".⁵ Although I have found that the songs cited by Guevara in *A una partida* definitely do not entail such elaborate word games, I suggest that they do point to the circumstances in which the poem was performed.

The names of some of the court ladies at the prince's court at Arévalo are revealed in a theatrical entertainment by Gómez Manrique (ID 3379; MN24-101, MP3-96), whose talent as a poet has been somewhat overshadowed by that of his more celebrated nephew Jorge Manrique. This is a work devised to celebrate the prince's fourteenth birthday on 17 November 1467, in which Princess Isabel and other court ladies, dressed up in magpie feathers to represent the Muses⁶—or eight of the nine Muses—made predictions about the glorious future awaiting the young prince, all of which were tragically proved false (Azcona 1964: 114-15). This event took place at the royal palace in Segovia when it was occupied by the prince's supporters (Liss 2004: 48). Why there were only eight ladies and not nine is unclear: the prose preface to this work mentions nine, but there are only eight court ladies whose predictions are known to us. The names of these ladies were Mencía de la Torre, Elvira de Castro, Beatriz de Sosa, Isabel de Castaño, Juana de Valencia, Leonor de Luján, and Princess Isabel's close confidant Beatriz de Bobadilla, the future "marquesa de Moya", and, of course, Princess Isabel herself. So, it would seem likely that some of the aforementioned ladies were among those addressed by the gentlemen named in Guevara's poem.

Apart from the prince, the gentlemen mentioned in the poem as follows: first, Rodrigo Alonso Pimental (1441-1499), fourth Count of Benavente (1464); second, Pedro de Villandrando (c.1442-1516), second Count of Ribadeo; third, Diego de Ribera (d. 1476), Prince Alfonso's tutor and Master of the Horse (*caballerizo mayor*); fourth, Sancho de Rojas (c.1430-c.1500), fifth Lord of Monzón and Cabia; fifth, Martín de Távara (d. c. 1517), a Portuguese gentleman, who later served as Queen Isabel's Steward (*maestresala*) in the years 1478-1486, and then travelled to Flanders with her daughter Juana *La Loca*, the Archduchess of Austria; sixth, "Miranda", who was either the poet Francisco de Miranda, a friend of Gómez Manrique, and a poet who glossed one of the songs cited, "Tan ásperas de sufrir" (PN13-21), or else Gómez

⁵ Incidentally, I have also identified Margarita de Lemos as the lady addressed in an anonymous jousting *invención* (ID 0934; 11CG-517, LB1-251), inspired by the iconography of St Margaret of Antioch, in which she is transformed into a martyr of promiscuous love, offering the visible part of her body to one lover and the lower concealed part to another. It is my belief that this *invención* was displayed at the magnificent tournament that the Duke of Alba organised for Fernando and Isabel in Valladolid, which began on 3 April 1475 (Boase 2018).

⁶ The idea of dressing the girls in magpie feathers probably comes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book 5): Pierus, a Macedonian king, gave his nine daughters the names of the Muses, and when they dared challenge the supremacy of the Muses, they were punished by being turned into magpies.

de Miranda, Prior of Osma, a jurist and a chaplain in the service of Prince Alfonso, and —as we learn from the chronicler Alonso de Palencia— one of Juan Pacheco’s “sinister” satellites (Palencia 1973-75: I, 209-10, 281-82; II, 141);⁷ seventh, Morán, whose identity is likewise uncertain. The only known reference to this last person is in a poem that Juan Álvarez Gato addressed to Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña de Albornoz (1458-1508), Lord of Maqueda, a well-known Portuguese sympathiser, inviting him to call at Guadalajara on his return from Brihuega to engage in a session of *preguntas y respuestas* and to listen to “cançiones, devisas y motes bordados” (ID 3129; MH2-67). Pinto, which is mentioned in this poem, was one of the Lord of Maqueda’s properties, and a place also mentioned in Guevara’s poem “La más durable conquista”, where, according to the poet, his own fate was revealed.⁸ Finally, of course, there is the poet-narrator Guevara, whose choice of song, “¿Dónde estás que no te veo?” (which continues “¿Qu’es de tí, esperança mía?”), as the closing line for *A una partida*, may be explained by the absence of his *amiga*, and possibly also as a wry comment on the uncertain success of Prince Alfonso’s political aspirations. It should be noted that both the Count of Benavente and the Count of Ribadeo were jousters and thus well versed in the subtle art of conveying hidden messages by means of *invenciones* (Boase 2017: 689-90, 694-95, 700-03).

Let us then consider the women associated with the named gentlemen. By the summer of 1466, the Count of Benavente had already married María Pacheco, the eldest daughter of Juan Pacheco and María Portocarrero Enríquez, Señora de Moguer:⁹ they were married at Peñafiel in the winter of 1465 (Palencia 1973-75: I, 156). Although she is not mentioned in Gómez Manrique’s theatrical entertainment, she could have been one of the ladies present on the occasion celebrated by Guevara. It is significant, however, that the Count of Benavente’s song, “Loado seas amor” (ID 0663; PN1-33, SA7-328, MP2-281; Proia 2019: 1197-1200), which is found in the *Cancionero de Baena*, was originally addressed to a Portuguese princess named Beatriz: the rubric indicates that it was composed by Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino on behalf of Pero Niño (1378-1453), Count of Buelna, in praise of “Doña Beatriz”, that is to say Doña Beatriz de Portugal (1380-1446), Señora de Alba, daughter of Prince João de Portugal (1349-1397), Duke of Valencia de Campos, the eldest surviving son of Pedro I of Portugal and his mistress Inés de Castro. João de Portugal had sought refuge in Castile in 1380 after murdering his wife María Téllez, unjustly accused of treason. Pero Niño met Beatriz, his second wife, in Valladolid, and jousted before her in 1409, at a tournament organised by the regent, the king’s uncle Fernando de Trastámara, in the presence of the Queen of Navarre, the Queen-Mother Catherine of Lancaster, and many foreign ambassadors, during the regency of Juan II of Castile (1406-1419), and he married her in secret against the wishes of her guardian Fernando de Trastámara (later elected King of Aragon in 1412 by the Compromiso de Caspe). The latter —after detaining her in the fortress of Uruña for over a year— finally granted his consent to the marriage in 1410 as means of preserving peace (Beltrán 2013; Carbó 2009; Rabadé Obradó 2016: 687). This means that not only was this lady named Beatriz but also her father (like Beatriz Pacheco’s father) was named Juan, and (like Pacheco’s father) she was related to the Portuguese royal family. Furthermore, it is surely relevant to mention that Beatriz, Pero Niño’s wife, like Prince Alfonso and his sister Isabel of Castile, was determined to marry a husband of

⁷ Perea Rodríguez (2001) believes that Miranda refers to this gentleman, although in my opinion it is quite possible that it refers to Francisco de Miranda.

⁸ What the poet means by this cryptic remark is unclear.

⁹ For a full account of the life of Beatriz Pacheco, see Carriazo Rubio 2015. She should not be confused with her half-sister Beatriz Pacheco (d. 1491), who was older than her and illegitimate, daughter of Catalina Alfón de Ludueña, a widow of Madrid of noble birth. This daughter married María de Portocarrero’s half-brother, Rodrigo Portocarrero, Count of Medellín, who died in 1463 in a campaign against the Moors in Écija, leaving her a widow with six children; she then married Alfonso de Silva, Count of Cifuentes.

her own choosing.¹⁰ Alfonso and Isabel—and the poet Guevara— would almost certainly have been familiar with this episode from *El Victorial*, the flattering biography of Pero Niño by Gutierre Díaz de Games completed by 1448, a tale of chivalry and romance about a knight whose chief motivation is love: “amor es una verdad que mucho abiva e ayuda a los que por armas han de valer; e porque aquí veamos quién más ama a su señora e amiga [...]” (Díaz de Games 1997: 378-79).

The Count of Ribadeo eventually married Isabel de Castaño, who is mentioned as one of the girls who took part in the theatrical event organised by Gómez Manrique for the prince’s fourteenth birthday party. But this wedding did not take place until 1486, twenty years later, after the death of his first wife Inés de Vivero. She was his second wife and came with a dowry of 200,000 mrs (Solinís Estallo 2003: 254-55), although she failed to bear him any offspring. Here again, the song allocated to the Count of Ribadeo, “Ó, ¡qué fuerte despedida!” (ID 0439; MH1-171),¹¹ seems to have been originally composed for a lady named Beatriz: Diego Gómez de Sandoval (1385-1454), Count of Castrojeriz (1426), probably addressed this song to his wife—or future wife—Beatriz de Avellaneda (d. 1436), daughter of Diego González de Avellaneda, Señor de Gumieles, in the province of Burgos, and Inés de Cisneros (Salazar y Acha 2008: 48).

The song sung by Diego de Ribera, “Donzella por cuyo amor” (ID 0861; SV1-8), does not, at first sight, provide us with any obvious clues with regard to the circumstances of its composition. In Pinar’s *Juego trobado* this same song is allocated to the court lady Inés de Mendoza, daughter of Pedro González de Mendoza, sixth Lord of Almazán, later Count of Monteagudo (1476). Inés de Mendoza was briefly and secretly married to the Count of Benavente’s second son, Alonso Pimentel (d. 1530), but this gentleman repudiated her when the death of his elder brother in a tragic accident at a memorial service for Prince Juan in 1497 made him more socially ambitious, and after acceding to the title of Marquis of Villafranca, he married Ana de Velasco, the eldest daughter of the Constable of Castile (Boase 2017: 139-40). Inés de Mendoza was presumably allocated this song by Pinar in his *Juego trobado* because in Guevara’s *A una partida* Diego de Ribera addressed the song to Alonso Pimentel’s sister Beatriz.

Sancho de Rojas married Catalina María Pereira, a Portuguese lady related to the Queen-Mother.¹² She is not mentioned in Gómez Manrique’s poem, but she was one of the young girls brought up in her household and therefore she could have been present on this occasion. The anonymous Galician song that he sings, “Ay donas, por quien tristura” (ID 0454; MH1-186), later glossed by Pedro de Quiñones, may also be linked—although indirectly—to another lady named Beatriz who was of Portuguese royal blood. It is narrated in the *Sumario de los reyes de España* that the song commemorates the memory of Leonor Teles de Meneses (c. 1350-c.1405), whose daughter, another Doña Beatriz de Portugal (1373-1420), in 1383, at the age of ten, married Juan I of Castile (1358-1390), the founder of the Trastamaran dynasty. Leonor Teles had abandoned her husband, the courtier João Lourenço da Cunha, Lord of Pombeiro, in order to marry Fernando I of Portugal (1345-1383). Lourenço da Cunha, after stirring up rebellion, was banished to Castile in the years 1379-1385, and it is thought that it was there and during this period that the song “Ay donas” was composed.¹³

¹⁰ “puso ella [doña Beatriz] voluntad de non casar sinon con quien ella quisiese” (Díaz de Games 2014: 483; cf. Fernández Riva 2020: 51; Rábade Obradó 2016: 691-92).

¹¹ In the *Cancionero San Román* (MH1), the poem simply has the rubric: *Don Diego Gómez de Sandoval*.

¹² Her name was Catalina Pereira (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 467), or María Pereira (García Carraffa 1947: 198-99), daughter of Diego Pereira, Comendador Mayor de la Orden de Santiago.

¹³ The story of “Gian Lorenzo” survived as a Castilian pseudo-historical ballad, which ends with the assassination of King Fernando and Lourenço’s recovery of his wife. It also well-known in the Sephardic oral tradition and is given a passing mention in the *Lusiadas* of Camões (Canto III). For more information, see Tomassetti 2003.

Martín de Távara never married, but on the evidence of Pinar's *Juego trobado*, stanza 14, where one encounters the *canção* "Tan ásperas de sofrer" (ID 0862; LB2-72, EM6-1, PN13-21, SV1-4-11; Boase 2017: 492-94), which is the very same song that he sings when departing from Arévalo, he was bidding farewell to the court lady Beatriz Enríquez de Noroña, or Brites de Noronha, another lady named Beatriz of Portuguese royal blood. It was probably in her name that Martín de Távara jousted at the magnificent tournament organised by the Duke of Alba for Fernando and Isabel during the first week of April 1475 (Sáinz de Baranda 1848: 92). She was the eldest of the four daughters of Rui Vaz Pereira *o Velho*, whose simple and elegant mansion in Lisbon can be seen in the photo below (Fig. 3), Lord of Cabeceiras de Basto, near Braga northern Portugal.¹⁴ She was of royal blood because her mother Brites Enríquez de Noronha (born 1395) was the daughter of Alonso Enríquez de Castilla (1355-c.1407), first Count of Gijón and first Count of Noroña, an illegitimate son of Enrique II of Castile and Elvira Íñiguez de la Vega, an illegitimate daughter of Fernando I of Portugal (Boase 2017: 171). She never married Martín de Távara: instead, she married Queen Isabel's Chief Steward, Ruy Díaz de Mendoza, third Lord of Morón. This may partially explain why Martín de Távara remained a bachelor. After travelling to Flanders with his sister Beatriz de Távara, Countess of Camiña, widow of Pedro Álvarez de Sotomayor (d. 1486) in the retinue of Juana, Archduchess of Austria, he as her *maestresala* and she as a *dama de honor* (Padilla 1846: 35-36), he retired to lead a quiet life in Seville without ever opting for a monastic life, which would have been the normal thing to do for a person in his condition (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002: III, 137; Boase 2021: 157-58).



Figure 3: *Quinta dos Lagares d'El-Rei*, Manor House in Alvalade (Lisbon) of Rui Vaz Pereira, *o Velho* (c. 1400-)

"¡Ay, que no sé remediarme!"¹⁵ (ID 0863; BL1-120 (1 line), MP2-115, MP4a-22, SV1-17), is allocated to "Miranda", whose identity is as yet a matter of dispute. This poem was cited by Juan del Encina (ID 1140, LB1-463, 4 opening lines) and by Luis de Vivero, brother of the poet Alonso Pérez de Vivero, Viscount of Altamira, in a *pregunta* addressed to Lope de Sosa concerning the latter's *amiga* (ID 6478; 11CG-695). Lope de Sosa has been identified as the second Lord of Prado, a knight who, in 1469, was in the service of Afonso V of Portugal, and who was appointed tutor to Jaime and Dionís, the two sons of the Duke of Braganza, when the duke was living in exile in Castile in the years 1486-1495, after which he served as one of Queen Isabel's chaplains in the years 1499-1503 (Beltran 2003). This exchange of verses, in which there is a play on the word *partida*, referring—in one sense—to the inner division of

¹⁴ Her elder sister Constança de Noroña married the Portuguese nobleman Fernando de Almada, second Count of Avranches, in 1463. Another sister, Isabel Enríquez de Noroña was the second wife of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, first Duke of El Infantado, and mother of the court ladies Beatriz de Mendoza and Ana de Mendoza (Boase 2017: 286). A third sister, María de Noronha, married the Neapolitan nobleman Pietro Lalle Camponeschi, the last Count of Montorio al Vomano, the maternal grandparents of Pope Paul IV.

¹⁵ Guevara or the editor, whether deliberately or not, has replaced "remediarme" with "repararme".

Reason and Desire, may allude to Guevara's *A una partida*. Lope de Sosa's *amiga* can be identified as his future wife, Beatriz de Sosa, who was one of the court ladies at Prince Alfonso's fourteenth birthday party in 1467, and she, I believe, was the lady addressed by "Miranda". In 1489 this lady is listed in Gonzalo de Baena's accounts as a governess (*aya*) in the service of the Infanta Isabel, Queen Isabel's eldest daughter. She was sent to Portugal in the company of an unnamed Portuguese squire, presumably Lope de Sosa, to prepare the way for Princess Isabel, who, in November 1490, would travel to Portugal to meet her first husband Prince Afonso, son of João II, after she had wedded him by proxy in Seville.¹⁶

As regards the short anonymous song assigned to Morán, "No queriendo, soys querida" (ID 0864; FN2-59, FR1-21, MP2-127, MP4a-9), given our present state of knowledge, it is impossible to link this song with any particular lady. It merely expresses the conventional theme of the unrequited lover who accepts his suffering on account of his beloved's great worth (*valer*).

There are thus only two songs in *A una partida* that are definitely not associated with the *name* Beatriz: "No me plaze, ni consiento" (ID 0860; 11CG-233),¹⁷ which are the words spoken by Prince Alfonso; and Guevara's own song, "¿Dónde estás que no te veo?" (ID 0669; SV1-10, 11CG-176, 16RE-241, 16RE-284, MA1-3, MP2-112), words that demand a musical accompaniment ("si tañeren, cantaré"). Leaving aside the prince's *canción* until the end, let me say a few words about "¿Dónde estás que no te veo?" With the exception of "Nunca fue pena mayor" (ID 0670), this was the most popular courtly Castilian song of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. It was glossed or cited by at least twelve poets. Since stanza 12 of Pinar's *Juego trobado* would appear to be assigned to the court lady Mayor de la Cueva, I proposed the theory that Guevara himself may have composed this *canción* at the request of his patron Gonzalo Chacón for Mencía de Mendoza y Luna, Mayor de la Cueva's mother, who married Beltrán de la Cueva in 1462 when she was a mere child of about thirteen years of age (Boase 2017: 488). This is therefore a song originally addressed to a girl who, like Beatriz Pacheco, was very young ("Mas tal es tu fermosura / en tu tierna juventut").¹⁸ We are told, however, that the thoughts of the poet-narrator dwell elsewhere with a lady in a distant land.

Let us now consider what we know about Juan Pacheco and his marriage schemes. The gentlemen named in Guevara's poem were probably all associated in one way or another with the former royal favourite, who had been appointed by Enrique IV as a custodian of Prince Alfonso and his sister Isabel, and who, in his greed, cunning and thirst for wealth and power, far surpassed the more celebrated Álvaro de Luna who had dominated Spain during the previous reign. Pacheco sought to extend his influence by creating a network of marriage alliances by means of his relatives and his numerous children, at least twelve of them legitimate and five illegitimate (Carriazo Rubio 2015: 4; Franco Silva 2009: 161). Commenting on the way that he managed to negotiate an accord between Enrique IV of Castile and Juan II of Navarre in May 1457, Alonso de Palencia says that Pacheco had his eyes set on a hundred sons-in-law for each single one of his daughters.¹⁹ Elsewhere (Ibid. II, 42), with reference to the death of María de Portocarrero in the summer of 1471, he observes that he used each of her six daughters as a lure, or hook (*anzuelo*), to bring young noblemen under his authority.²⁰ In March 1463, in Bayonne, he and his uncle Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, as representatives of Enrique IV, had even betrayed the king's trust by negotiating a peace treaty with Louis XI of

¹⁶ For a full account of what is known about Lope de Sosa, see Beltran 2003.

¹⁷ Or "No me plaze, no consiento" (LB1-177).

¹⁸ In 1466 Beatriz Pacheco would have been only about eleven or twelve years of age.

¹⁹ Palencia 1973-1975: I, 94-96: "[Pacheco] tenía puestos los ojos en cien yernos por cada una de sus hijas".

²⁰ Ibid. II, 46: "valiéndose de cada una de sus hijas como de anzuelo, [el maestro] se iba atrayendo las voluntades de los más nobles jóvenes que, unos por la realidad, otros por la esperanza de futuro enlace, todos iban sometiéndose a su obediencia".

France that was more advantageous to the French king than to the interests of either Castile or Aragon, on the secret understanding that Pacheco's second son Pedro de Portocarrero would marry the French king's illegitimate daughter Jeanne,²¹ and that the archbishop's illegitimate son Troilo would marry Pierres de Peralta, Constable of Navarre (Marino 2006: 95-97). His master plan was to arrange two marriages to seek control of the Castilian crown: one between his brother Pedro Girón, Master of Calatrava, and Isabel of Castile; and another between his second legitimate daughter Beatriz Pacheco and Prince Alfonso. It was agreed in April 1466 that Pedro Girón would provide Enrique IV with 3,000 horsemen and 20,000 gold doubloons, and would hand over Prince Alfonso, in exchange for permission to marry Princess Isabel (Liss 2004: 47). However, this marriage never took place because Pedro Girón, having sought papal consent to pass on the mastership of the Order of Calatrava to his illegitimate son Rodrigo Girón, thereby releasing himself from his vows of celibacy—vows that of course he had never kept—died suddenly on 2 May while on his way to claim Isabel as his bride. Whether his death occurred as a result of poison or due to a natural inflammation of the throat is still uncertain, but Isabel, it is said, regarded this event as a miracle.²² The second marriage came to nought because, until death intervened, the prince was deeply opposed to it.

It seems that Pacheco expected his son-in-law, the Count of Benavente, to assist him in the implementation of his ambitious marriage schemes. Pacheco organised a truce at Arévalo during the months of March and April of 1466 when he and his wife and his daughter Beatriz attended a meeting with Prince Alfonso, the Count of Benavente, Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, and Enrique Enríquez, first Count of Alba de Liste (Palencia 1973-75: I, 196-97). Since Pacheco does not make an appearance in *A una partida*, it is possible that the poem refers to a meeting organised by the Count of Benavente a few months later, in the summer of 1466, when his father-in-law was absent in Andalusia dealing with matters associated with the estates of his deceased brother Pedro Girón. Like his mentor, the Count of Benavente knew how to play a double game and was able to obtain favours from both sides, and this duplicity admittedly makes it difficult to rely on his apparent desertion of the prince's cause in 1466 as a very sound means of dating the poem (Perea Rodríguez 2001: 43; Rodado Ruiz 1995: 169).²³ For this reason, Alonso de Palencia had a low opinion of his trustworthiness: “trabajaba con mayor destreza en dejar a los dos partidos igualmente burlados” (1973-75: I, 313).

Beatriz Pacheco (c.1455-1511) had no sooner been born than her father set about looking for a suitable husband for her. On 15 January 1456, in Ávila, Juan Pacheco pledged to marry her to Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, son of “don García”, the eldest son of the Duke of Alba, but this contract, which would involve an exchange of a dowry of 20,000 gold florins for an *arras*, or bride-price, of 8,000, expired without fulfilment (Carriazo Rubio 2015: 4-5). He then conceived the more ambitious project of marrying her to Prince Alfonso of Castile. Whether as a consequence of censorship, or self-censorship, this project is not discussed in the chronicles of Castile, but it is mentioned by the Aragonese chroniclers Gerónimo Zurita and Fernández de Béthencourt in connection with an alternative plan to marry Beatriz to Prince Fernando of Aragon. Zurita informs us that it was Pacheco's failure to arrange for Prince Alfonso to marry Beatriz that drove him to this alternative, which would enable him, like a puppet-master, to play off Enrique IV against his half-brother Prince Alfonso. In Tarazona, on 1st May 1467, Juan II of Aragon signed a contract for his son Prince Fernando to marry Beatriz

²¹ This marriage, to be celebrated when the bride and bridegroom came of age, never actually took place.

²² According to Alonso de Palencia (1973-75: I, 204), Isabel, then aged fifteen, passed a day and a night without eating or sleeping, beseeching God that either she or he might die so that they might never marry, and her prayer was granted. Curiously, Juan Pacheco himself eventually died in 1474 of a fever and an inflammation of the throat (Marino 2006: 164-65).

²³ “Like Pacheco, the young count was seemingly in support of one side in the conflict, while actively pursuing accord with the other” (Marino 2006: 122).

within a period of sixty days through the mediation of Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, and Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral of Castile. It is not clear whether this scheme was dropped because Juan II changed his mind, preferring that his son should marry Isabel of Castile, which was Zurita's opinion, or whether the proposal lapsed because Pacheco was still hoping that he could arrange a marriage between Beatriz and Prince Alfonso.²⁴ It seems clear that, by August 1467, "Pacheco had decided that Alfonso XII of Castile would be a preferable match for his own daughter Beatriz" (Liss 2004: 53). After Prince Alfonso's death in 1468, it was not long before a suitably rich and powerful husband was found for Beatriz: in Segovia, on 20 March 1471, she was married by proxy to Rodrigo Ponce de León (d. 1492), Count of Arcos and Marquis of Cádiz, and after his untimely death in 1492 as a result of wounds received at the siege of Granada, she successfully managed her husband's estates until her death in Carmona in 1511 (Marino 2006: 123, 177; Carriazo Rubio 2015: 31-33). The only alleged image of this lady is a burlesque portrait of a thick-lipped crowned lady, with a lascivious four-legged creature to one side and above her two horns of plenty, or cornucopia, carved on the capital of a pillar in the chapel of the Hospital de la Misericordia, in Arcos de la Frontera (Fig. 4), a hospital that she and her husband founded in 1490 for the care of sick women and abandoned children (Carriazo Rubio 2015: 202-205).



Figure 4: Alleged Portrait of Beatriz Pacheco in the chapel of the Hospital de la Misericordia, Arcos de la Frontera

There is still disagreement about the cause of Prince Alfonso's death. It has been long been assumed that the prince probably died as a result of the plague, and Nancy Merino agrees with the historian Juan Torres Fontes (1971) that this is "the undramatic truth of the matter" (2015: 129 n36). However, Palencia accuses Pacheco of giving the prince a dish of poisoned trout, while Enríquez del Castillo reports that his corpse did not display any of the usual symptoms of plague, and a recent pathological analysis of his disinterred skeleton revealed no evidence of bubonic plague bacteria in his coffin (Caro Dobón & Fernández Suárez 2008; Morales Muñoz & Caro Dobón 2013: 308), all of which corroborates rumours that he was indeed murdered. In my opinion, Juan Pacheco decided to murder the young heir to the Castilian throne because, by 1468, Alfonso had become an obstacle to his further advancement and the prince had nothing more to offer him. Through the prince's generous support, he had been elected

²⁴ "Era tan grande el ánimo del marqués de Villena o su ambición, que pues no podía casar a su hija con el príncipe don Alonso que él había hecho tomar título y la posesión de rey de Castilla, le parecía que no estaría mal casada su hija con el príncipe de Aragón, y que no le convenía tomar menor seguridad que ésta para tener en su poder y mando al rey don Enrique y al príncipe don Alonso su hermano y valerse contra los dos si tal necesidad se ofreciese en cualquier mudanza de tiempos" (Zurita 1990: vol. 7, libro xviii, cap. 10). The source of Fernández de Béthencourt (1897-1920), II, pp. 186-87, was probably Zurita. Franco Silva (2009), who is so thorough and meticulous, does not mention any planned marriage between Prince Alfonso and Beatriz.

Master of Santiago.²⁵ But there was little chance that a rebel army could defeat the troops loyal to Enrique, and if Pacheco were to achieve a reconciliation with the king, as planned, he would be obliged to relinquish his position as Master of Santiago in favour of Alfonso.²⁶ In any case, Alfonso, after refusing to marry his daughter Beatriz, had moved beyond Pacheco's sphere of influence.

As we have shown, nearly all the songs selected for inclusion in Guevara's poem *A una partida* point to the name Beatriz, whether by the author's design or by the joint decision of the gentlemen concerned. Finally, it will be noted that Prince Alfonso expresses his rejection of this proposed marriage in the words that are assigned to him, "Ni me plaze, ni consiento", and these words (although not the song itself) may be understood as stressing the need to respect the principle of consent as the foundation of marriage. Consent was the central theme of a series of poems on folios 62r-64v of the *British Library Cancionero* (LB1-192-201), which, I have argued, were composed or compiled for the entertainment of Princess Isabel of Castile in the years 1465-1468 (Boase 2006). Furthermore, as I have explained more fully in a separate article (Boase forthcoming), which focuses on the theme of consent as a requirement of marriage in certain *canciones*, when Isabel spoke to the Portuguese delegation in Ocaña in November 1468, she was—whether consciously or unconsciously—echoing her brother's words spoken two or three years earlier, making it clear that she would never agree to marry King Afonso of Portugal. In the words of Pedro d'Escavias (Sitges 1912: 404), "a la Princesa non placía dello" [It did not please the Princess]; in the words of Diego Enríquez del Castillo (1994: 318), "en ninguna manera no lo entendía hazer, ni consentir en ello" [in no way did she intend to do it, nor did she consent to it].²⁷ It seems that there was a secret agreement between brother and sister that each would accept only a partner of his or her own choosing, and we certainly know that, at Arévalo, shortly after 7 December 1467, Alfonso and his supporters gave Isabel a document that supported her right to marry a husband of her own choice (Liss 2004: 49-50). It thus seems evident that the songs cited in *A una partida* do indeed shed some light on an episode in Spanish history that has been shunned by chroniclers in the service of Isabel of Castile.

²⁵ On 9 June 1467 Prince Alfonso signed a document calling for a chapter meeting of the Order of Santiago in Ocaña to elect Juan Pacheco as Master; he was duly elected, without papal approval, on 29 July 1467 (Merino 2015: 124; Morales Muñiz 2013: 160, n9).

²⁶ Morales Muñiz makes this point in her thesis (1988), which is summarised by Franco Silva (2011: 324 n847), although the latter keeps an open mind about the possibility of Pacheco's involvement on Prince Alfonso's death.

²⁷ It was shortly after Isabel's cold reception of the Portuguese delegation at Ocaña that Guevara composed his *Sepultura de amor*, another poem that seems to allude to a projected royal marriage that never took place.

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Appendix**The Text**

A una partida qu'el rey don Alfonso fizo de Arévalo by Guevara (ID 0859; LB1-177, 11CG-233, 14CG-243)

Recontar si mal sentí
la razón me lo refrena,
pues no doy a nadie pena,
ni me pena nadie a mí.
Mas, señoras, por serviros
daré cuenta cuáles fueron
los galanes con sospiros
que penando se partieron
y las cosas que dixerón.

Al muy alto y poderoso
justo bien, y justo Rey,
vi venir con sana ley
d'amador ledo, pensoso;
y con pena que sintía
de partir, le vi tormento,
y dezir Su Señoría
con esquivo sentimiento:
"Ni me plaze, ni consiento".

Al señor de Benavente
vi venir solo, pensando,
su presencia publicando
no pasión por açidente.
Y, de ver cómo pensava,
allegueme sin temor,
y escuché que sospirava
y cantava con dolor:
"Loado seas amor".

Al conde de Ribadeo,
como firme enamorado,
vi venir desconsolado,
n'olvidando su desseo,
ni negando su memoria
su mortal cruda herida,
mas cantando, no con gloria,
con boz alta y dolorida:
"¡Ó, qué fuerte despedida!"

Començando el caminar,
vi a Diego de Ribera,
con angustia lastimera
crudamente sospirar.
Y aun le vi malenconía

bien embuelta con dolor,
con las cuales en porfía
discantava su rencor:
“Donzella por cuyo amor”.

Y Sancho de Rojas vino
con alegres presumpciones,
contemplando en sus passiones,
arredrado del camino;
pregunté cómo venía.
Respondióme: “Sin holgura”;
no lo vi con alegría,
mas dezir con amargura:
“¡Ay donas! ¿porqué [he] tristura?”.

Martín de Távara, cierto,
vi venir triste, lloroso,
con dolor tan congoxoso,
qu’es hablar con ombre muerto.
Y de ver su mal cruel,
por quitarle su sentir,
caminé lo más con él
do de amor le oí dezir:
“Tan ásperas de sufrir”.

A Miranda vi vestido
de tormentos, sin compás,
de bolver mirar atrás
con dolor de ser partido.
Quando bien lo ove mirado
de le ver quise espantarme,
que le vi todo turbado,
y cantando, sin mirarme:
“¡Ay, que no sé repararme!”

Vi venir más a Morán
tan penado y sin plazer,
que pasión me fue de ver
un dolor de tal afán.
Los ojos baxos, pensando,
le vi llorar la partida,
do cantava sospirando
con angustia no fengida:
“No queriendo, soys querida”.

Estos son los lastimados
del dolor de ser partidos,
cuyos gozos son gemidos,
cuyas vidas son cuydados.

Cada qual de quién *ha*²⁸ penas
no le sé, ni sus heridas,
pero sé que sus cadenas
de ser vuestro son venidas.

Pues, señoras, por mesura,
pues acá n'os oluidaron,
sepa yo cuáles quedaron
de vosotras con tristura,
por que sepan, pues afanan,
sin erraros ni mentiros,
cuáles son los que se ganan
o se pierden por serviros.

Y a la tal pregunta mía
respondedme sin engaño,
por que Amor no dé más daño
o menor mal en porfía;
que del mal de las ystorias
de partir de allá sin vicio,
dicho os he cuántas memorias
conos[scí] [e]n vuestro servicio.

Si de más tenéys cuidado,
preguntaldo, que, contento,
como aquel que bive esento,
serviré a todas de grado.
Vílos todos ser leales,
y conséj'os bien querellos,
por que vuestros crudos males
no den culpa de perdellos.

Y, en el fin, señoras, pid'os
c'os membréys de sus membranças,
porque viénd'os con mudanças
no rebuelen de los nidos.
Y acordaos de sus cuydados,
qu'es amor sabrosa llaga:
los servicios bien pagados
juros son de quien los paga.

Cabo.

Yo de mí no cuento guerra,
por que Amor no me desvele,
vale más que, si me duele,
mi dolor es lexos tierra;
mas con esta sola fe,
que, jamás niego, desseo,

²⁸ Amended by Perea Rodríguez (2001: 56 n86).

si tañeren, cantaré
con el dolor que poseo:
“¿Dónde estás que no te veo?”

Poems Cited**1. El rey Alfonso** (ID 0860; PN13-41, MP4a-18)²⁹

Anonymous *cancion* glossed by Gómez de Rojas c.1480

No me plaze, nin consyento
 que por mi mal sospiréys,
 pues vuestro sospirar es
 acresçentar mi tormento.
 Bien quiero, señora mía,
 no ser de vos olvidado,
 que, sy lo fuese, sería
 de todo punto penado.
 Mas de la pena que siento
 no quiero que vos membréis,
 pues se çierto que avrés
 de mis males sentimiento.

2. El Conde de Benavente (ID 0663; PN1-33, MP2-281, SA7-328; Proia 2019: 1198-1200)³⁰

Esta cantiga dizen que fizo el dicho Alfonso Álvarez al conde Don Pero Niño por amor et loores de la dicha Doña Beatriz

Loado seias Amor
 por quantas coytas padesco,
 poys que non vejo a quien ofresco
 todo tempo este meu cor.
 Eu vy tempo que bivía
 en lindez e syn pessar,
 adorando noyte et día
 lo que non posso olvidar.
 Fortuna fuy trastornar
 a carreta de aventura,
 que non es nin fue segura,
 nin será en un tenor.
 Nau me quexo de ty agora,
 Amor, sy padesco mal,
 pues me distes por señora
 noble vista, angelical,
 a quien fuy et soy leal
 et seré syn dudamento,
 maguer que sufro tormento
 longe, syn fazer error.
 Amor seas ensalçado,
 pues me mandaste servir
 buen paresçer, acabado
 en fablar et en reyr.
 Bien me puedo enfengir

²⁹ González Cuenca 1996: no. 33. Variants in MP4a: 1 non [...] consiento; 2 sospireis; 4 acreçentar; 6 non; 7 si; 9 yo siento; 11 pues vuestro sospirar es; 12 acreçentar mi tormento. Line 10 amended: nonbres (PN1-33).

³⁰ This song was probably set to music by Francisco de la Torre, first listed as a chaplain and cantor in the Aragonese royal chapel on 1 July 1483 (Knighton 2001: 345). He composed music for the song that precedes it in the manuscript, “Damos graçia a ti, Dios” (ID 3683; MP4a-17, SG1-171), celebrating the fall of Granada in 1492.

que amé gentil fygura,
 més si ella de mí non cura,
 muerto so yo, pecador.

[*Final st. in MP2 and PNI:*
 Amor, siempre oy dezir
 que qualquier que te sirviese
 devía muy ledo bivir
 por gran cuita en que se viesse.
 Quanto si por esto fuese,
 yo me pongo en tu poder,
 que si merezco en perder
 tu sejas mi juzgador.]

3. El Conde de Ribadeo (ID 0439; MH1-171)

Canción de Don Diego de Sandoval

Ó, ¡qué fuerte despedida!
 ó, ¡qué pena es partir!
 ó, ¡quán malo es de sufrir,
 ver enajenar mi vida!

Ved si es pena desigual
 partir sin ser apartado,
 y muy grand dolor mortal
 amar y ser desamado.
 Pues mi persona es perdida,
 con razón puedo dezir
 que's muy malo de sufrir,
 ver enajenar mi vida
 en poder de quien m'olvida.

4. Diego de Ribera (ID 0861; SV1-8)

Canción de Diego de Ribera

Donzella por cuyo amor
 sin vergüença ni temor
 he penado y siempre peno;
 pues soy vuestro amador
 non me fagáys ser ageno.

Con vida fuerte y penada,
 vos serví tan sin medida
 que me soys más obligada
 que a persona d'esta vida.
 Por ende, mi buen debdor,
 vos faze muy grande amor;
 dalde pago presto y bueno,
 [pues soy vuestro amador.]
 Señor, es de aver ageno.

5. Sancho de Rojas (ID 0454; MH1-186) glossed by Pedro de Quiñones (ID 0453); cited by Hug de Rocabertí, *Gloria de amor*, c. 1450; Camões, *Lusiades*, Canto III (Tomassetti 2003: 52n12, 66-69)

Courtly Galician ballad (*romance*), anon., extracted from the gloss of Pedro de Quiñones

¡Ay donas! ¿por qué [he] tristura?
pero penso noite [e] día
non vejo como sería
partida de mí a rencura.

Que nunca salgo de un val
fermoso, bien ervolado;
pensando muy desigual,
paso mi vida cuitado.
Acheguéme a un poblado
do me apartó mi ventura;
vi estar la flor de altura
por quien grant cuita sufría.

Vila estar en un pumar
con otras muchas señores,
donas de alto lugar,
cogiendo rosas et flores,
tomando muitos sabores,
que de mí non avían cura,
salvo una; por su mesura
quiso saber dó venía.

A gran afán le faley
como onbre desacordado:
“Señora, de cas del Rey,
trayo camino tirado”.
“Pareçéme apresurado”,
dixo ella en tal figura,
“que avredes amargura
et grant cuita todavía.

Querría saber, de grado:
quáles son vuestros dolores,
o si soes enamorado
de alguna d’estas señores?”
Respondí: “Grandes rencores,
paso, fuerte pena et dura,
pues perdí la fermosura
de la vuestra señoría”.

[“Sy vuestra merçed non cura
mi cuita, señora mía,
muy triste muerte segura

espero de cada día”.]

6. Martín de Távara (ID 0862; LB2-72, Aubrun 1951: no. 72; SV1-4-11 (4 lines), PN13-21, EM6-1)

Canción, with rubric *Otra*³¹

Tan ásperas de soffrir
son mis angustias y tales,
que de mis *esquivos* males
es el remedio morir.
Fatigan mi triste vida
y fazen crescer mis daños
dolor, affán sin medida,
sospiros, lloros estranyos,
soledat, grave gemir,
cuydados, ansias mortales,
que de mis *esquivos* males
es el remedio morir.

7. Miranda (ID 0863; MP2-115, SV1-17, MP4a-22)

Canción, set to music by Juan de León³²

¡Ay, que no sé remediarme,
cativo, ni defenderme,
si tú, que puedes valerme,
ya delibras de matarme!

¡O, mis secretas pasiones!
¡O, pública desventura!
¡O, llave de mis prisiones!
¡O, cabo de fermosura!
¿A quién yré a quexarme?
¿A quién yré a socorrerme,
si tú, que puedes valerme,
ya delibras de matarme?

8. Morán (ID 0864; FN2-59, FR1-21, MP2-127, MP4a-9)³³

No queriendo, soys querida,
por mi mal de mí en tal grado

³¹ Citations: Diogo Marquam, “Por verdes em que cuidado” (16RE-284); Fernão da Silveira, “Foy graça notaya bem” (ID 7684), last line “es el remedio morir” (16RE-1-58). Glosses: Francisco de Miranda, “Quánt bravas son en ferir” (PN13-21), *refrán*: “Es el remedio morir”; Íñigo de Mendoza, “Yo siento dentro un ferir” (ID 8106, EM6-1).

³² Juan de León was appointed a cantor in the Cathedral of Córdoba on 6 September 1499; a month later, was able to join the singers of the two royal chapels in Granada (Knighton 2001: 334).

³³ The words were set to music by Moxica, or Múgica (MP4a), who may have been in the service of Cardinal Mendoza (Knighton 2001: 339).

que jamás no se me olvida
por vos pasión y cuidado.
Mas vuestro valer ser tal
me haze ser satisfecho
más contento con el mal
que otro con el bien hecho.

9. Nicolás de Guevara (ID 0669; SV1-10, MA1-3, MP2-112, 11CG-176, 16RE-241, 16RE-284)³⁴

¿Dónde estás que non te veo?
¿Qu'es de tí, esperança mía?
Que a my, que verte deseo,
mill años se me faze un día.
Mas tal es tu fermosura
en tu tierna juventut,
que con tu gentil figura
me fieres y das salut.
Comigo mesmo guerreo
si te desamar podría.
A la fin cativo creo
de quedar de tu señoría.

³⁴ The words were set to music by Juan Cornago, a Spanish Franciscan who, after serving as chief almoner at the Aragonese-Neapolitan court from 1453 to 1475 (Atlas 1985: 62-69; Pope 1954; Pope & Kanazawa 1978: 568-69), moved to Spain to enter the service of García Álvarez de Toledo, first Duke of Alba, and was later appointed a cantor and chaplain at the court of the Catholic Monarchs in the years 1477-1481.