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ANOTHER LOOK AT GUEVARA'S POEM *A UNA PARTIDA QU'EL REY DON ALFONSO FIZO DE ARÉVALO*

OTRA MIRADA AL POEMA DE GUEVARA *A UNA PARTIDA QU'EL REY DON ALFONSO FIZO DE ARÉVALO*

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ABSTRACT

There are good reasons for taking another look at Guevara's *A una partida qu'el rey don Alfonso fizo de Arévalo*. Brian Dutton, Ana María Rodado Ruiz, Óscar Perea Rodríguez and Vicenç Beltran concur that the poem concerns the departure of Isabel of Castile's brother, Prince Afonso *el Inocente*, from Arévalo between 1465 and 1468, and this is now generally accepted. However, Patrick Gallagher (1968: 190), in his edition of the poetry of Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, expresses the view that the king in question is Afonso V of Portugal, who, after marrying his niece Juana *la Beltraneja* in Plasencia, had spent two months in Arévalo in the summer of 1475, plotting with noble dissidents to overthrow Enrique IV of Castile. Gallagher's opinion, if incorrect, deserves at least to be refuted.

KEYWORDS: Prince Alfonso of Castile; Afonso V of Portugal; Guevara; Isabel of Castile; Juana *la Beltraneja*; Juan Pacheco; Rodrigo Alonso Pimentel; Pedro de Villandrando

RESUMEN

Hay buenas razones para efectuar otra aproximación al poema *A una partida qu'el rey don Alfonso fizo de Arévalo* de Guevara. Brian Dutton, Ana María Rodado Ruiz, Óscar Perea Rodríguez y Vicenç Beltran coinciden en que el poema se refiere a la partida



del hermano Isabel de Castilla, el Príncipe Afonso el Inocente, de Arévalo entre 1465 y 1468, y esto ahora es generalmente aceptado. Sin embargo, Patrick Gallagher, en su edición de la poesía de Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, expresa la opinión de que el rey en cuestión es Afonso V de Portugal, quien, después de casarse con su sobrina Juana la Beltraneja en Plasencia, había pasado dos meses en Arévalo en el verano de 1475, conspirando con nobles disidentes para derrocar a Enrique IV de Castilla. La opinión de Gallagher, si es incorrecta, merece al menos ser refutada.

PALABAS CLAVE: Príncipe Alfonso de Castilla; Afonso V de Portugal; Guevara; Isabel de Castilla; Juana la Beltraneja; Juan Pacheco; Rodrigo Alonso Pimentel; Pedro de Villandrando



Tomb of Prince Alfonso *el Inocente*,
Carthusian Monastery of Miraflores (Burgos) by Diego Gil de Siloé (CC)

Much research has already been done on Nicolás de Guevara's *A una partida qu'el rey don Alfonso fizo de Arévalo* (ID 0859; LB1-177, 11CG-233, 14CG-243).¹ But there are good reasons for taking another look at this poem. The first point to note is that it is a poem in which intertextuality is employed as a deliberate device: nine songs are cited, each identified by a first line. 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 the ceremonial departure of a well-known person (Tomassetti 2015), and I think 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

1 All ID numbers and sigla for texts cited are from Brian Dutton (1990-1991).

calls the «lost years of Spanish polyphonic song». 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),² and Pinar's *Juego trobado*, a card game that alludes to forty-six *canciones* and *romances*, which were almost certainly performed in 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 (Boase 2017; Knighton 2019; Boase 2020).

There has been some disagreement over whether Guevara's *A una partida* is concerned with Afonso V of Portugal (1432-1481), or with Princess Isabel's younger brother, Prince Alfonso *el Inocente* (1453-1468), the royal pretender, who adopted the title Alfonso XII when he set up court at Arévalo between December 1465 and June 1468, a court that was frequented by some talented poets, including Gómez Manrique, Jorge Manrique, Diego de Valera and possibly also Juan Álvarez Gato (Perea Rodríguez 2001). Dutton (1990-1991, VII: 48), Rodado Ruiz (1995), Perea Rodríguez (2001) and Beltran (2005) concur that the poem concerns the departure of Isabel's brother from Arévalo between 1465 and 1468. However, Gallagher (1968: 190), in his edition of the poetry of Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, expresses the view that the king in question is Afonso V of Portugal, who spent two months in Arévalo in the summer of 1475, shortly after his marriage to his niece Princess Juana, whose true father —so it was rumoured— was the royal favourite Beltrán de la Cueva,³ plotting with Castilian

2 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).

3 There is no space here to discuss the thorny issue of her supposed illegitimacy. But there is a revealing passage usually overlooked by historians in a letter cited by the Spanish ambassador in Brussels, who, in 1508, replaced Dr Rodrigo González de la Puebla as ambassador in London. In 1504, when Henry VII of England was looking for a new wife, Pedro de Vinciguerra, a gentleman in this king's service, addressed a letter to Manuel I of Portugal to inquire if Princess Juana was available for marriage. This letter contains the following passage: «el Rey [...] ha oído decir que V[uestra] al[teza] tiene en su reino y en su protección una buena señora, la qual indinamente dicen que es privada de su derecho reino, y tal

dissidents who would support her claim to the throne and would overthrow those who had declared their loyalty to Isabel of Castile. Although this theory is tempting, it is not ultimately sustainable for reasons that I shall explain in due course. I here build upon some research that I undertook thirty years ago on this confusing period of Spanish history when preparing a paper about a short and coherent series of poems in the *British Library Cancionero* (LB1-192-201) associated with King Afonso's courtship of Isabel of Castile when she was a young princess.

If the poem refers to Isabel's brother, then it was composed between 1465 and 1468. Prince Alfonso had been crowned king in Ávila on 5 June 1465 by the league of dissidents led by Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, and the former royal favourite Juan Pacheco (1419-1474), Marquis of Villena, after the mock dethronement of Enrique IV of Castile (1454-1474), an event that came to be known as the «Farsa de Ávila». Arévalo was where Isabel de Avis, Prince Alfonso's mentally disturbed mother, lived until her death in 1496, and it was here, on 17 November 1467, that his fourteenth birthday was celebrated with a theatrical entertainment devised by Gómez Manrique (ID 3379; MN24-101, MP3-96), in which his sister Princess Isabel and other court ladies, dressed up in magpie feathers to represent the Muses, made predictions about the glorious future awaiting the young prince, all of which were tragically proved false (Azcona 1964: 114-115). The names of these ladies were Mencía de la Torre, Elvira de Castro, Beatriz de Sosa, Juana de Valencia, Leonor de Luján, Isabel de Castaño and Princess Isabel's close confidant Beatriz de Bobadilla, the future «marquesa de Moya». These names are of some importance in our analysis of Guevara's *A una partida* because it would have been to these —or some of these— ladies that the gentlemen named in *A una partida* were addressing their farewell songs.

The prince left Arévalo on 30 June 1468 and travelled to Ávila to prepare to besiege Toledo, but in the village of Cardeñosa, near Ávila, he suddenly fell sick

señora es llamada la Reina Excelente, diciendo que era bastarda. Asy lo dice que ha hecho a causa que más deseaba el reyno para ella que no para su sobrina» (Gómez de Fuensalida 1907: 582).

after eating some trout and died five days later on 5 July. The chronicler Enríquez del Castillo reports that he died of the plague, although he did not display any of the usual symptoms: «ninguna señal de pestilencia en él parecía» (Morales Muñiz & Caro Dobón 2013: 298); and the scholars Juan Torres Fontes (1971: 187, 295) and Nancy Marino (2006: 129) agree with this assessment. Others, including the outspoken chronicler Alonso de Palencia, were convinced that he died of poison. In Palencia's opinion, he was murdered by the ruthlessly ambitious Juan Pacheco, who had encouraged the prince to prolong his stay in Arévalo despite the fact that, for a period of three months, many young people in this town had been dying of plague, and, he says, when it seemed that the prince was immune to the disease, he had recourse to poison as the most effective means of ending the boy's life (Morales Muñiz & Caro Dobón 2013: 301). The theory that he was murdered is supported by the chronicle of Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, the Governor of Jaén, which maintains that Lucas, Pacheco's bitter enemy, sent six messengers to Enrique IV, each by a different route, to warn him that Juan Pacheco, his brother Pedro Girón and their uncle Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, were engaged in a plot to murder him and his half-brother Prince Alfonso so that Pedro Girón, after marrying Princess Isabel, could seize the throne (Cuevas Mata *et al.* 2001: 255). Having failed to persuade Prince Alfonso to marry his daughter Beatriz, and following the death of his brother Pedro Girón on 2 May 1466 —whom in any case he could never have forced Princess Isabel to marry— it would seem that he decided to murder the young heir to the throne to whom he owed so much of his wealth and his powerful position as Marquis of Villena.⁴ The theory that Prince Alfonso was poisoned is further corroborated by a recent pathological analysis that revealed no evidence of bubonic plague bacteria in his coffin (Morales Muñiz & Caro Dobón 2013: 308).

⁴ Pacheco was elected Master of Santiago in Ocaña, without papal approval, on 29 July 1467 (Morales Muñiz 2013: 160, n. 9)

If, on the other hand, the poem is concerned with King Afonso of Portugal, whose military intervention in Castile occurred seven years later, then we have to explain briefly how the Portuguese king came to be involved in Castilian and Aragonese affairs. He was the son of King Duarte and Leonor de Aragon, and the brother of Queen Juana, Enrique IV of Castile's second wife. Enrique was determined that Afonso should marry Princess Isabel —who was also Afonso's cousin— and he hoped that his daughter Princess Juana would marry Afonso's son João, later João II of Portugal. At least this was Enrique's initial plan when, early in 1464, he met the Portuguese king in Gibraltar.

At Easter 1464, after a brief military campaign in North Africa, Afonso made a secret pilgrimage to the shrine of Santa María de Guadalupe and on his journey there, at El Puente del Arzobispo, near Talavera de la Reina, he met Prince Alfonso and his sister Isabel. Contemporary sources do not report that King Afonso visited Arévalo in that or in the following year. However, they do reveal that he spent two months in Arévalo in the summer of 1475. By then Isabel had been proclaimed Queen of Castile following the death of Enrique IV on 11 December 1474, and she had already been married to Prince Fernando for five and a half years. The Portuguese king had turned his attention to his niece, Juana *la Beltraneja*. In 1475 Juana was a pretty girl of thirteen,⁵ exactly the same age that Isabel had been when she had met Afonso in 1464. Afonso and Juana were betrothed at Trujillo, through representatives, on 12 May 1475. Shortly afterwards, at Plasencia, as guests of Álvaro de Estuñiga, Duke of Arévalo, and his wife Leonor Pimentel, and in the presence of Juan Pacheco's son Diego López Pacheco (1454-1529), who succeeded as second Marquis of Villena, Juan Pacheco's nephew Juan Téllez Girón (1457-1528), second Count of Urueña, and several other nobles, the couple were married and proclaimed King and Queen of Castile. This was on 30

5 There is a flattering portrait of her in one of the eleven leaves of an unfinished «Genealogy of the Royal Houses of Spain and Portugal», probably executed in the early sixteenth century by the Flemish artist Simon Benichius or Bening, after designs by Antonio d'Olanda (British Library, MS Add. 12531, Table 10), reproduced in Boase 1978, fig. 10 (i).

May 1475 (Puyol 1934: 184-185), or on 25 May, the Day of Corpus Christi (Bernáldez 1962: 49). After the wedding Afonso made his way to Arévalo, then under the control of Álvaro de Estuñiga, where he stayed for two months, conferring with some of the chief knights of the realm who had agreed to rally behind him: «desde aquella villa [Arévalo] toviese sus tratos con los principales cavalleros del reyno [...] donde estuvo por espacio de dos meses» (Pulgar 1943: I, 121). When, a year later, on 1 March, the Portuguese were defeated at the battle of Toro, the ill-fated princess was obliged to retire to a Portuguese convent, her marriage having been annulled by the Pope on the grounds of consanguinity.

There are three points to consider that may raise doubts about the identity of «el rey Alfonso». First of all, the Portuguese chronicler Nunes de Leaõ (1780) identifies several of the gentlemen mentioned in Guevara's poem as Portuguese sympathisers. Secondly, several of the songs that they sing are in Galician, a language closely akin to Portuguese. Thirdly, Guevara's description of the king («Al muy alto poderoso / justo bien y justo rey») hardly seems applicable to a fourteen-year old boy, who, according to a contemporary chronicler, recently identified as Juan de Flores (Gwara 1988), was of medium height (Puyol 1934: 88),⁶ and seems more consistent with Juan Barba's portrait of Afonso V of Portugal in a poem composed in 1468 in response to Guevara's *Sepultura de amor*: «primero el ilustre Rey copioso, / el qu'en Portugal manda, y prudente, / que ama justicia despues de valiente, / y obra los actos de Rey virtuoso». Here the Portuguese king is selected as one of the four judges, two male and two female, who are endowed with justice and an expertise in matters of the heart.⁷

6 When Prince Alfonso's skeleton was disinterred and examined in 2006, it was estimated that he was indeed of medium height, measuring 165 cm (5ft 5in), although he was still an adolescent and would have grown to about 180 cm (Caro Dobón & Fernández Suárez 2008; Morales Muñiz & Caro Dobón 2013: 306).

7 The second judge in Barba's poem was García de Toledo, Lord of La Horcajada, near Ávila, fifth son of the first Duke of Alba, García Álvarez de Toledo (d. 1488). This gentleman acquired the nickname *Mayor Don García* on account of the love that he had for his wife Mayor de Toledo, daughter of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (d. 1462), Lord of Oropesa, and Mayor Carrillo de Toledo (López de Haro 1622, I: 221-27). The fact that Don García is described as «un fijo del Conde de Alba de Tormes» is proof that this

To each of these points there is, however, an explanation or counter-argument. With regard to the first point, during the years of civil unrest in the middle of the fifteenth century gentlemen of noble rank frequently changed their political allegiances in an effort to further their own interests, whereas court officials, such as the poet Nicolás de Guevara, who depended on royal patronage did not have the same freedom to switch sides with impunity,⁸ and it is almost certain that in the years 1465-1468 Guevara was an official at the court of Prince Alfonso at Arévalo. We know at least that he entered the service of his sister Isabel of Castile long before she became queen as a member of the household of her loyal supporter Gonzalo Chacón (1429-1507) (Beltran 2005, 2009). Secondly, the adjective «alto» may be understood metaphorically: in *cancionero* poetry the use of «alto» in the sense of «alteza real», in phrases such as «alto rey» or «alta reina», is extremely common.⁹ Thirdly, it is hardly surprising that several of the songs cited by Guevara are in Galician when we bear in mind that these gentlemen were bidding farewell to Portuguese court ladies in the service of Prince Alfonso's mother Isabel de Avis. Besides, one must remember that Galician had long been the traditional language of lyrical poetry in Castile before Castilian gradually gained the ascendancy in the late fourteenth century.

Leaving aside «el rey Alfonso» for the moment, let us consider what we know about the other seven gentlemen. Rodrigo Alonso Pimental (c. 1441-1499), fourth Count of Benavente (1464) was the eldest son of Alonso Pimentel y Enríquez, third Count of Benavente, and María de Quiñones. After playing a leading role in the «Farsa de Ávila» in 1465, he held a prominent position as chancellor at the court of Alfonso XII and was the recipient of large sums of money from the prince (Morales Muñiz

poem was composed before 12 November 1469 when the title of duke was conferred on his father. The third judge was Guiomar de Castro, the king's mistress, who married Pedro Manrique, second Count of Treviño, later appointed Duke of Nájera. The fourth judge was Leonor de Quirós, who was the first wife of Cardinal Mendoza's brother Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, first Duke of El Infantado (Sitges 1912). It is also evident from this poem that at this time Guevara was a squire in the service of Juan Barba.

8 This is a point made to me by Vicenç Beltran in a private communication.

9 This is a point made to me by Isabella Proia in a private communication.

1987; Perea Rodríguez 2007: 248, n. 20), and was appointed as administrator of the estates of the Order of Santiago in León, Galicia and Andalusia (Morales Muñiz 1987). But, as Perea Rodríguez says, he —like his mentor Juan Pacheco— knew how to play a double game and was able to obtain favours from both sides. 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» (1973-1975, I: 313). «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). Therefore, one cannot rely on his apparent desertion of the prince's cause in 1466 as a sound means of dating the poem (Perea Rodríguez 2001: 43; Rodado Ruiz 1995: 169). His family had long been associated with Portugal: his father Alonso Pimentel had been a political refugee in Portugal in the years 1448 to 1453, where he had formed an acquaintance with King Afonso, and had helped to arrange the marriage of the latter's sister Juana with Prince Enrique of Castile, the future Enrique IV of Castile (Benito Ruano 1961: 34), which may partially explain the ambivalence of his son Rodrigo Alonso. The Portuguese chronicler Nunes de Leaõ (1780: 342) lists the Count of Benavente as a supporter of the Portuguese king's incursion into Castile in 1475, and indeed the count was one of the last to pledge his allegiance to Isabel just before the battle of Toro in 1476.

I suggest that when we consider the songs assigned to the Count of Benavente and the other gentlemen mentioned in the poem, we should bear in mind that it was in all their interests to curry favour with the former royal favourite Juan Pacheco, who had been appointed by Enrique IV as a custodian of Prince Alfonso and his sister Isabel, and who far exceeded Álvaro de Luna in his greed, cunning and thirst for wealth and power. Pacheco was able to extend his influence by creating a network of marriage alliances by means of his relatives and his numerous children, thirteen of them legitimate and at least six illegitimate. His master plan was to arrange two marriages: one between his brother Pedro Girón and Isabel of Castile and another between his daughter Beatriz Pacheco and Prince Alfonso (Liss 1992: 67). The first marriage, to

which Enrique IV granted his approval in 1466, never took place because Pedro Girón, having sought papal consent to pass the mastership of the Order of Calatrava to his illegitimate son Rodrigo Girón, so that he would be released from the vows of celibacy required by this order of chivalry —vows that in any case he had never kept— died suddenly in Villarubia, near Ciudad Real, on 2 May 1466, on his way to claim Isabel as his bride, either as a result of poison or quinsy (an inflammation of the throat or tonsils), an event that Isabel regarded as miraculous.¹⁰ The second marriage came to nought because, until death intervened, the prince was deeply opposed to it. His daughter Beatriz had been pledged in marriage in 1456 to the future Duke of Alba, but this contract expired without fulfilment. Juan Pacheco was determined that she should marry the royal pretender Prince Alfonso, but in May 1467, after Alfonso had firmly rejected this proposal, there was a plan, reported by Zurita, to marry her instead to Prince Fernando, the heir to the throne of Aragon, with the approval of his father and within a period of sixty days (Marino 2006: 123). Juan II of Aragon then changed his mind, preferring that his son should marry Princess Isabel of Castile. Beatriz later, in 1471, married Rodrigo Ponce de León, Count of Arcos and Marquis of Cádiz (Marino 2006: 177).

The Count of Benavente, who inherited his title in June 1464, had a key role to play in these marriage schemes because Juan Pacheco had arranged, with the assistance of his wife María Puertocarrero, Seventh Lady of Moguer, for his daughter María Pacheco to marry the count at Peñafiel in the winter of 1465 (Palencia 1973-1975, I: 156). Then 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, his son-in-law the Count of Benavente, Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, and Enrique Enríquez, Count of Alba de Liste (Palencia 1973-1975, I: 196-197). This was perhaps the occasion commemorated by Guevara's poem *A una partida*.

¹⁰ According to Alonso de Palencia (Palencia 1973-1975, 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.

On the other hand, in view of the fact that Juan Pacheco himself does not make an appearance, the poem may refer to a meeting organised by the Count of Benavente 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. I believe that the choice of songs cited may provide some clues. The Count of Benavente's song was originally addressed to a lady named Beatriz, whose father was named Juan: the rubric of «Loado seas amor» (ID 0663; PN1-33, SA7-328, MP2-281) indicates that it was composed by Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino on behalf of Pero Niño, in praise of Doña Beatriz, the daughter of Prince Juan, the future Juan II of Castile.¹¹ This means that *A una partida*, like Guevara's *Sepultura de amor*,¹² may be understood as a poem about a projected royal marriage.

The second of the seven gentlemen in Guevara's *A una partida* is Pedro de Villandrando (c. 1442-1516), second Viscount of La Illa and second Count of Ribadeo.¹³ He was the son of Rodrigo de Villandrando (1378-1448), first Count of Ribadeo, and his second wife Beatriz de Estúñiga, daughter of Diego López de Estúñiga, Lord of Monterrey, and Elvira de Viedma (Rucquoi 1987, II: Table VII). His father had fought in Africa during the conquest of Guinea and in France on behalf of Charles VII, and in 1431 Juan II of Castile had rewarded him with the county of Ribadeo on the Galician coast. He himself fought on behalf of Prince Alfonso against the troops of Enrique IV at the second battle of Olmedo on 20-21 August 1467 and at the conquest of Valladolid

11 This is the same kind of analogous reasoning by means of songs cited that makes it possible to identify the court ladies who participated in Pinar's game of cards, the *Juego trobado* (Boase 2017).

12 In my opinion, this poem was written shortly after Prince Isabel's cold reception of the Portuguese delegation at Ocaña in November 1468, bringing a proposal of marriage from King Afonso V of Portugal. I shall discuss this in a forthcoming article entitled «Consent in Love and Marriage in Songs Associated with Princess Isabel of Castile: A Feminist Issue?».

13 Rodado Ruiz (1995: 169) mistakenly identifies this gentleman as Rodrigo de Villandrando, first Count of Ribadeo. This is impossible because this gentleman made out his will in 1448 (Fabié 1882: 240-45), and in 1455, when Enrique IV of Castile married Juana de Avis, his son had already inherited the title (Perea Rodríguez 2007: 262 n131). It is the second Count of Ribadeo whose ugliness and obesity are mocked in the anonymous *Coplas de la Panadera* (ID 1945).

on 8 October 1467 (Palencia 1973-1975, I: 223, 236). Yet, curiously, he is later listed as a supporter of the Portuguese intervention in Castile (Nunes de Leaõ 1780: 344). This may be because his sister María de Villandrando y Estúñiga (d. 1509) married Diego Pérez Sarmiento, first Count of Salinas, who was a supporter of Afonso V of Portugal in the year 1476 (Nunes de Leaõ 1780: 370). The Count of Ribadeo was Governor of Galicia in 1477, held Marbella after its capture in 1486, was at the siege of Málaga in 1488, and fought in Roussillon at the end of the century (Perea Rodríguez 2001: 45-46).

Here again Guevara selected a song that seems to have been composed for a lady named Beatriz: Diego Gómez de Sandoval (1385-1454), Conde de Castrojeriz, probably addressed «Ó, ¡qué fuerte despedida!» (ID 0439; MH1-171) to his first wife—or future wife— Beatriz de Avellaneda. This *canción* also occurs in a citing poem by Gómez Manrique (1412-1490), «Pues mi contraria fortuna» (ID 3358; MN24-56, MP3-62), with the rubric *Clamores para los días de la semana*, which may well have been the inspiration behind Guevara's *A una partida*. In Gómez Manrique's poem there is a farewell song for each day of the week. The following lines are assigned to the third day of the week: «Ó, ¡qué fuerte despedida! / Ó, ¡qué trabajo es partir! / Ó, ¡quán malo es de sufrir! / ver enajenar mi vida / en poder de quien me olvida / en mi triste solitud, / recordando tu figura, / con una gran desmesura, / desfaziendo mi salud». This is also possibly a clue that Prince Alfonso departed from Arévalo on a Wednesday.

Guevara was obviously closely associated with Pedro de Villandrando because he wrote a poem on his behalf addressed to the court lady Isabel de Castaño, whom he later married (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 384), accompanied by the gift of a swift or martlet (*vencejo*) (LB1-175):

Otras suyas, que enbió un vencejo, diciendo que era el alma del rrey de Ginea:

Este gentil mensajero,
alma del Rey de Guinea,
a la sazón que alborea
me vino por mensajero,
y mandó así sin engaño

si amase,
que de sombra de castaño
me guardase.
Qu'és un árbol que se viste
de qual viento se le antoja,
y tiene verde la hoja
y la fruta seca y triste.
Su sabor es de manera
que alarga.
Quando más dulce se espera
más amarga.

The swift, which migrates south to the African continent every winter and is almost black in colour, is a symbol of the lover's grief. The bird is identified as the soul of the King of Guinea, a sobriquet that the count inherited from his father, and one that was also most appropriate because he had inherited a dark complexion from his mother, Beatriz de Estúñiga, who was a *mulata*, or person of mixed black and white ancestry, as we know from a lawsuit between the Count of Salinas and the Marquis of Villena (Mendoza y Bobadilla 1999: 17-18; López de Haro 1622: 215). This history of mixed ancestry is one reason why, in Pinar's *Juego trobado*, his niece Marina de Sarmiento receives the proverb «Todo blanco no es harina» (Boase 2017: 156).

This is one of six poems by Guevara found in the *British Library Cancionero* (LB1) and nowhere else. Isabel de Castaño was a lady in the service of Isabel de Avis, Prince Alfonso's mother, and she played one of the Muses in Gómez Manrique's mask for the prince's birthday party, which we mentioned earlier.¹⁴ By 1486, after the death of his first wife Inés de Vivero, Isabel de Castaño had become the Count of Ribadeo's second wife with a dowry of 200,000 mrs (Solinís Estallo 2003: 254-255). Although he lived with her as man and wife for over twenty-five years, some of this time during the lifetime of his first wife, she bore him no children. By 1517, shortly before his death, he had obtained an annulment of his marriage to her by means of a papal bull in order to marry his mistress and former slave, an Arab princess, daughter of the ruler of

14 Óscar Perea Rodríguez (2001: 37) gives her name as Isabel Castañeda.

Tlemcen, who had taken the name Leonor Rodríguez, and it was thus that he hoped to legitimise his two children (Boase 2017: 700-703). Unfortunately, racism triumphed, and, in May 1535, the lawsuit over his inheritance that had begun in 1516, the year of his death, was finally decided in favour of his nephew Diego Gómez Sarmiento, second Count of Salinas, and henceforward third Count of Ribadeo (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 384; Perea Rodríguez 2004: 561; Urcelay Gaona 2009: 223, n. 293). The count's troubled marriage to Isabel de Castaño is reflected in two jousting *invenciones*, the first consisting of two knots, one tight and the other loose (ID 0953), and the second depicting a brazier with deadened embers (ID 6377). These were probably displayed in Salamanca in December 1486 or January 1487 (Boase 2017: 410, 700-703).

The third gentleman in Guevara's *A una partida* is Diego de Ribera (d. 1476), a gentleman of Asturian origin, whom Enrique IV appointed as Prince Alfonso's tutor in 1462 (Perea Rodríguez 2001: 46) and whom the prince himself appointed as Master of the Horse (*caballerizo mayor*) on 3 June 1466 (Morales Muñiz 1988: 347; Boase 2017: 470). He later entered the service of Isabel, and in 1469 was charged with the task of carrying a message to the king to inform him of Isabel's marriage to Prince Fernando (Palencia 1973-1975, I: 297). During the reign of Juan II of Castile, he had been Royal Chamberlain (*apostador mayor*) and Governor of Murcia. He had been responsible for the detention of Rodrigo Alonso Pimentel's father after the first Battle of Olmedo on 19 May 1445. In 1476, shortly before his death, he was appointed commander of the castle of Burgos, a post to which his son Andrés succeeded in 1477 (Castrillo Llamas 1997: 1457-1458).¹⁵ In view of the key role he played in the capture of Burgos castle in 1476, which was a decisive episode in the civil war, it is surely most unlikely that, only a year earlier, he would have been celebrating the honeymoon of Afonso and Juana *la Beltraneja*.¹⁶

15 Another son Pedro de Ribera (d. 1517), who married María de Medina (d. 1518), mother of the court lady Isabel de Ribera (Boase 2017: 349-351), succeeded him as Comendador de Cieza (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002, II: 228).

16 This is a point made to me by Vicenç Beltran in a private communication.

Although there are no poems clearly attributed to Diego de Ribera in the *Cancionero general* (1511), there are two longer poems of despairing love attributed to him in the *Cancionero de Salvá* (PN13), a manuscript compiled c. 1480: «El día se va pasando» (ID 2111, PN13-14), and «En peligro está mi vida» (ID 2112, PN13-15). He married Inés Enríquez, daughter of Pedro González de Mendoza *el Gordo* (1440-1504), sixth Lord of Almazán, first Count of Monteagudo, and Isabel de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, daughter of Diego López de Zúñiga, first Count of Miranda del Castañar (Boase 2017: 139). It is unlikely, however, that the *canCIÓN* «Donzella por cuyo amor» (ID 0861; SV1-8, MP4a-5; Boase 2017: 469), the song that he sings in Guevara's *A una partida*, was addressed to this lady.

The fourth person in Guevara's poem, Sancho de Rojas, can be identified as the fifth Lord of Monzón and Cabia, son of Juan Rodríguez de Rojas and María Enríquez, daughter of Alonso Enríquez, Admiral of Castile. He was a highly respected and well-spoken gentleman (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002, I: 472-473), and one of the noble dissidents who met in Burgos in 1464 (Galíndez de Carvajal 1946: 220; Zurita 1988: vii, 491; Palencia 1973-1975, I: 156). He played a part in negotiating Isabel's marriage to Prince Fernando and, on 18 February 1474, he was appointed as a permanent retainer (*continuo*) at the Aragonese royal court.¹⁷ He fought on behalf of the Catholic Monarchs against the Portuguese invasion in 1475-1475 and in the last phase of the wars of Granada. He, like so many of the others mentioned in the poem, married a Portuguese wife: she was a relative of Isabel de Avis, and another of those young girls who had been brought up in the latter's household; her name was Catalina Pereira (Fernández de Oviedo 1989: 467), or María Pereira (García Carraffa 1947: 198-199), daughter of Diego Pereira, Comendador Mayor de la Orden de Santiago. It can thus be assumed that the anonymous Galician song that he sings, «Ay donas, por quien tristura» (ID

17 ACA, *Maestre racional*, L. 939, fol. 94^v; see Perea Rodríguez 2001: 47.

0454; MH1-186), later glossed by Pedro de Quiñones, would have been addressed to her.¹⁸

The fifth gentleman, Martín de Távora, was a Portuguese gentleman who served as Queen Isabel's Steward (*maestresala*) in the years 1478-1486 (Boase 2017: 493). Perea Rodríguez (2001: 47) finds no documentary evidence that he was in the service of Prince Alfonso. However, he draws attention to the fact that he is listed as one of the jousting knights at the Valladolid tournament that was organised by the Duke of Alba for the Catholic Monarchs in the first week of April 1475 (Sáinz de Baranda 1848: 92),¹⁹ and that, on 3 July 1478, he was charged with the task of announcing the news of the birth of Prince Juan to the city of Seville (Mata Carriazo 1988: 101). Like Sancho de Rojas, we know that, on 30 December 1479, he was appointed as a retainer (*continuo*) at the Aragonese royal court.²⁰ In 1493 Cardinal Mendoza gave him a house and a bakery in Seville that the Inquisition had confiscated from a *converso* named Pedro López; when the inquisitors later judged that the charges of heresy should be dropped, the king wrote a letter, dated 29 September 1501, ordering that Távora should receive equivalent property in compensation (Gil 2000-2003, VII: 293; Villalba Ruiz de Toledo 1988: 233-234). He and his sister Beatriz de Távora, Countess of Camiña, widow of Pedro Álvarez de Sotomayor (c. 1430-1486), both travelled to Flanders in 1496 with the Infanta Juana, Archduchess of Austria, he as her *maestresala* and she as a *dama de honor* (Padilla 1846: 35-36). He received a payment of 100,000 mrs from Queen Isabel in the port of Laredo on 21 August just before embarkation (Andrés Díaz 2004: nº 575; Zalama 2000: 30). On his return from Flanders, he retired from the court and lived a quiet life as a bachelor in Seville, where he died at about eighty years of age; he

18 It may be noted that Sancho de Rojas was also related to the Count of Benavente because one of his aunts, Leonor Enríquez, was the count's grandmother.

19 This is further evidence that «el rey Alfonso» refers to Prince Alfonso, Isabel's brother: it is unlikely that, only a couple of months after the Valladolid tournament, he would have been fraternising with the Portuguese king.

20 ACA, *Maestre racional*, L. 939, fol. 106^v; see Perea Rodríguez 2001: 47.

is described as a courteous and pious gentleman who had been in love and who had no desire to become a friar (Fernández de Oviedo 1983-2002, III: 137); the date of his death is not specified, but it must have been after 1516 when his name last occurs in contemporary documents (Perea Rodríguez 2001: 48).

One should note that Martín de Távara figures in a poem by Pedro de Cartagena (ID 6126; 11CG-162) about three gentlemen who, after sadly bidding farewell to their ladies, exchange some words with the narrator, and these snatches of dialogue contain a smattering of Portuguese, Italian and Latin. This poem was probably written in the period 1475-1486, and obviously prior to 1486 when Cartagena died, struck down by a Moorish arrow at the second siege of Loja. The other gentlemen in this poem are Juan Manuel (c. 1447-1543) and «Don Jerónimo»; the latter may be identified either as the Valencian poet Jerónimo de Artés, son of the jurist Francés de Artes, or Gerónimo Pinar, author of the *Juego trobado*.

Otras suyas [de Cartagena] en que dize a las damas la pena que sus servidores tenían por partir de donde ellas quedavan, y dize primero don Jerónimo:

Don Jerónimo, perdido,
con esperança perdida,
pregúntele «¿Váis herido?».
Repondiome, como sin vida:
«¡Ollay!,
que no posso dezir lay,
qu'és mortal miña ferida».

Dize quál vido a Martín de Távara, maestresala:
Y vide luego a Martín,
llorando, cubierto el gesto.
Díxele: «Martín, ¿qu'és esto?».
Respondióme y en latín:
«*Consumatum est*»,
que dize, como sabés,
qu'és llegada ya mi fin.

De don Juan Manuel:
Pregunté a don Juan Manuel:

«DezÍ, señor, ¿Qué sentís?».
«¿Qué siento?», me dixo él.
«Poco pensáis qué pedís.
Lo que siento,
no lo fío del pensamiento.
¿Cómo haré lo que dezís?».

On the evidence of Pinar's *Juego trobado*, stanza 14, where the *canción* «Tan ásperas de sofrir» (ID 0862; LB2-72, EM6-1, PN13-21, SV1-4-11) is assigned to a court lady who may be identified as Beatriz Enríquez de Noroña, or Brites de Noronha, I believe that this could have been the Portuguese lady whom Martín de Távara is addressing in Guevara's *A una partida*.²¹ The fact that her name is Beatriz is certainly appropriate in the context. Beatriz de Noroña married Queen Isabel's Chief Steward Ruy Díaz de Mendoza, third Lord of Morón.²² She was the eldest of the four daughters of Rui Vaz Pereira *o Velho*, Lord of Cabeceiras de Basto, near Braga in the north of Portugal. She was of royal blood because her mother Brites Enríquez de Noronha (born 1395) was the daughter of Alonso Enríquez de Castilla, first Count of Gijón and first Count of Noroña, an illegitimate son of Enrique II of Castile and Elvira Íñiguez de la Vega, daughter of Fernando I of Portugal. Her elder sister Constança de Noronha married the Portuguese nobleman Fernando de Almada, second Count of Avranches, in 1463. Another sister, Isabel Enríquez de Noroña, a lady-in-waiting to Queen Juana, was the second wife of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, first Duke of El Infantado, and mother of the court lady Beatriz de Mendoza (c. 1475-c. 1549) (Boase 2017: 171, 286).

«Tan ásperas de sofrir» was cited by two Portuguese poets, Diogo Marquam (16RE-284) and Fernão da Silveira (16RE-1-58), who was a Portuguese ambassador at

21 I am not convinced that this *canción* was addressed to a lady named Leonor del Río, whose first husband was Bernardino de Arellano, son of the first Count of Aguilar, and whose second husband was Beatriz de Noroña's grandson Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, fifth Lord of Morón. It is nonetheless still possible that Leonor del Río was the lady represented by Martín de Távara's emblem of a mighty river (Boase 2017: 170-174, 492-494).

22 His parents were Ruy Díaz de Mendoza y Arellano, first Count of Castrogeriz, and Beatriz de Silva, daughter of Álvaro Pérez de Guzmán, tenth Lord of Orgaz.

the Castilian court, and it was glossed by Fray Íñigo de Mendoza (EM6-1) and Francisco de Miranda (PN13-21). The fact that this song was glossed by Francisco de Miranda, a friend of Gómez Manrique, could be taken as an argument for identifying this poet with «Miranda», the sixth gentleman in Guevara's *A una partida*. Yet this is not certain because Perea Rodríguez (2001: 48) has made a persuasive case for identifying this gentleman as Gómez de Miranda, Prior of Osma, a jurist and a chaplain in the service of Prince Alfonso, and —as we learn from Alonso de Palencia— one of Juan Pacheco's «sinister» satellites. From this chronicler we know that he entered the service of Isabel of Castile in September 1469 after the pact of Toros de Guisando, and that, in 1474, after supporting the nomination of Alfonso de Cárdivas, Comendador de León, as Master of Santiago, he was elected Prior of San Marcos de León, despite some opposition (Palencia 1973-1975, I: 209-210, 281-282; II: 141).

The gentleman named Miranda sings the *canción*, «¡Ay, que no sé remediarme!»²³ (ID 0863; BL1-120 (1 line), MP2-115, MP4a-22, SV1-17), which, in its formal perfection and simplicity, and in the sentiments expressed, resembles «¿Dónde estás que no te veo?». 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, second Lord of Prado, a nephew of Rui de Sousa, Lord of Sagres,²⁴ is first mentioned as a squire in the household of Afonso V of Portugal in 1469; in the years 1493-1496, he was tutor to Jaime and Dionís, the two sons of Don Jaime, Duke of Braganza. It is possible that Lope de Sosa's *amiga* was Beatriz de Sosa, who had been one of the court ladies at Prince Alfonso's fourteenth birthday party in 1468, and who may thus have been the lady addressed by «Miranda» in Guevara's *A una partida*. In 1489, this lady was appointed as a governess (*aya*) in

23 Guevara or the editor, whether deliberately or not, has replaced «remediarme» with «repararme».

24 This gentleman made a fruitless diplomatic expedition to Castile in March 1476, on the eve of the battle of Toro, and led a Portuguese delegation to Castile in 1494 to sign the Treaty of Tordesillas. He died in Toledo in 1498 (Beltran 2003: 53).

the service of Isabel de Portugal, Queen Isabel's eldest daughter, and she was sent to Portugal in the company of an unnamed Portuguese squire 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 (Beltran 2003: 51-53).

In his *pregunta*, Luis de Vivero draws upon a common theme of courtly verse, namely the inner division between Desire and Reason: he says that he is torn apart, with Desire wishing him to remain and Reason to leave, and his soul makes him despair by saying: «¡Ay, que no sé remediarme!». His play on the word *partida* and his closing words could be interpreted as an allusion to Guevara's *A una partida*. Lope de Sosa, in his *respuesta*, replying according to the rules of the game in the same rhyme scheme (ABAAB CDCDD), demands an apology and makes it clear that he disapproves of his friend's relationship with a lady who cannot offer him any reward, although, at the same time, he does not wish his friend to go away.

Pregunta de don Luys de Bivero

Están en tanta quistión
de verme puesto en partida
el desseo y la razón
que de triste el coraçón
desespera de la vida.
Desseo quiere qu'esté;
la razón quiere llevarme.
Ell alma, en qu'está la fe,
dize por desesperarme:
¡Ay, que no sé remediarme!

Respuesta de Lope de Sosa, porque sabía que le yva bien con su amiga

Quien no'spera galardón
razón es que se despida,
porque amar es confusión
y el servir obra perdida.
Mas quien no tiene porqué,
como vos, de preguntarme,
diga assí: «Señor, pequé.

Plégate de perdonarme,
porque pensé d'apartarme».

As regards the seventh person in *A una partida*, the only known reference to Morán is in a poem that Juan Álvarez Gato addressed to Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña de Albornoz, Lord of Maqueda, 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):

A vos a quien todos y todas os dan
en todas las graçias la cumbre y la seña,
«aquestos que comen, señor, vuestro pan»,
Antonio y Acuña, Migolla, Guzmán,
Corral, Benavides, Pantoja, Morán,
Herrerias, Solana, Henaute, Luruena,²⁵
y Zúñiga y Paez y Torre y la Huenta,
Buytrón y el del Toro que nunca sosiega,
los Álvarez, ambos que aquí están presente,
Alcayde del Corlo, con estos consiente,
del Çid, Mandayona, de Pinto y Brivega [Brihuega] [...]
cançiones, devisas y motes bordados
serán conosçidas, serán estimados.

This gentleman, Alfonso de Carrillo, Lord of Maqueda, was a nephew of his namesake the Archbishop of Toledo, and a Portuguese sympathiser.²⁶ He was renowned for his generosity and reckless extravagance. Pinto was one of his properties and a place mentioned in Guevara's autobiographical poem «La más durable conquista», where, according to the poet, his own fate was revealed. The short anonymous song assigned to Morán, «No queriendo, soys querida» (ID 0864; FN2-59, FR1-21, MP2-127, MP4a-

25 This must be Ludueña, to rhyme with «seña», perhaps the poet and courtier Hernando de Ludueña.

26 He declared his support for Afonso of Portugal before he entered Castile in 1475 (Bernáldez 1962: 49). It was as a result of his Portuguese sympathies that in 1468 Prince Fernando promised that if he succeeded in marrying Isabel, he would give the town and fortress of Maqueda to his Steward, or *maestresala*, Gutierre de Cárdenas (Zurita 1988: 594).

9), expresses the conventional theme of the unrequited lover who accepts his suffering on account of his beloved's great worth (*valer*).

Finally, Guevara, the narrator, whose thoughts dwell elsewhere with a lady in a distant land, sings to the accompaniment of music, «¿Dónde estás que no te veo?» (ID 0669). This was the most popular courtly Castilian song of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, with the exception of «Nunca fue pena mayor» (ID 0670). It was glossed or cited by at least 12 poets. In *Secrets of Pinar's Game* (Boase 2017: 157-160, 488), it is demonstrated that the court lady to whom this song is assigned in stanza 12 of Pinar's *Juego trobado* was Mayor de la Cueva (1476-1556), the third child of Beltrán de la Cueva (c. 1439-1492), first Duke of Albuquerque (1464), and his second wife Mencía de Mendoza y Luna (c. 1449-1476), and the youngest daughter of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, first Duke of El Infantado. The apricot-tree, *albercoquero*, is a clue that her father is Duke of Albuquerque, and the rock-thrush, *solitario*—which can also mean a «hermit»— is a clue that her surname is Cueva (because caves are the traditional abodes of hermits). It may thus be inferred that this song was assigned to Mayor de la Cueva because it was originally addressed to her mother Mencía de Mendoza, and that Guevara may have composed it himself on behalf of his patron Gonzalo Chacón.²⁷ His choice of this song as the closing line for *A una partida* may be interpreted as a wry comment on the uncertain success of Alfonso's political aspirations.

Let us now return to the words spoken by «el rey Alfonso» at the end of the first stanza: «Ni me plaze, ni consiento» (ID 0860). This song is appropriate for two

27 If, as seems doubtful, Juana *La Betraneja* had really been the daughter of Beltrán de la Cueva, then Mayor de la Cueva and Princess Juana would have been half-sisters. It was on 30 May 1462, during festivities at the palace of Guadalajara in the king's presence to mark Juana's birth—festivities that included jousting and bullfighting—that Beltrán married Mencía (Layna Serrano 1942, II: 116, 225; Ladero Quesada 1990: 261; Arteaga y Falguera 1940). The song emphasises the girl's tender youth («Mas tal es tu fermosura / en tu tierna juventut...»), and one should note that at the time of her marriage, when I believe that this song was composed for her, Mencía was thirteen years of age, the same age as Isabel of Castile would be when she met the Portuguese king two years later, and the same age as Juana *La Betraneja* in 1475.

lovers bidding each other farewell, but if the first line is taken out of context, it could be interpreted in a totally different light, especially bearing in mind the possible implications of the phrase «con esquivo sentimiento», indicating aloofness rather than merely shyness on the part of the young prince and hinting that marriage should be based on mutual consent. I share Patrick Gallagher's conviction that the words «Ni me plaze, ni consiento» were almost the exact words used by Princess Isabel after her brother Alfonso's death when, in October 1468, she rejected King Afonso of Portugal's proposal of marriage, and this conjecture is entirely consistent with research that has been done on the cycle of poems in LB1 associated with his courtship of Princess Isabel of Castile (Boase 2006). But this does not prove that *A una partida* is concerned with the Portuguese king's departure from Arévalo in 1475, but that Isabel was actually echoing the words that her brother Alfonso had spoken in 1465 when he refused to marry Juan Pacheco's daughter Beatriz. This, however, is a topic that I shall discuss more fully in a separate article (Boase 2021).

It thus seems certain that «el rey Alfonso» refers to Prince Alfonso, who claimed the title of Alfonso XII of Castile, and that Nicolás de Guevara's aim was to perform a public service for the benefit of his young master during a chaotic period of Spanish history by composing this sad poem commemorating his departure from Arévalo, with a group of his courtiers who had been secretly collaborating in an ambitious marriage scheme devised by the king's former favourite Juan Pacheco. Guevara would no doubt have been opposed to this scheme. However, as indicated by the words «¿Dónde estás que no te veo?», he would have had few illusions about the prince's chances of defeating Enrique IV of Castile or outwitting Juan Pacheco.

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APPENDIX

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 quáles fueron
los galanes con sospiros
que penando se partieron
y las cosas que dixeron.

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 quales en porfia
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 en tristura?».

Martín de Távara, cierto,
vi venir triste, lloroso,
con dolor tan congoxoso,
qu'és 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 sofrir».

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 cuydado,
preguntaldo, que, contento,
como aquel que bive esento,

28 Amended by Perea Rodríguez (2001: 56, n. 86).

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,
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: 1199-1200)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,
poyos 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

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.

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

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)

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

¡Ay donas! ¿por qué tristura?
pero penso noite día
non vejo como sería
partida de mi a rencura.

Que nunca salgo de un val
fermoso, bien arvolado;
pensando muy desigual,
paso mi vida cuytado;
achegueme a un poblado
do me apartó mi ventura;
vy estar la flor de altura
por quien grant cuyta sofría.

Vila estar en un pumar
con otras muchas señoras,
donas de alto lugar,
cogiendo rosas e flores,
tomando muytos 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».
Querría saber de grado:
«¿Quáles son vuestros dolores?
o, ¿si soes enamorado
de alguna d'estas señores?».

Respondí: «Grandes rencores
paso, fuerte pena e dura,
pues perdí la fermosura
de la vuestra señoría».
«Pareçedesme apresurado»,
dixo ella en tal figura,
«que avredes amargura
e grant cuyta todavía».

«Sy vuestra merçed non cura
mi cuyta, 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

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).

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
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.

32 Juan de León was appointed a cantor in the Cathedral of Córdoba on 6 September 1499, and, 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 Música (MP4a), who may have been in the service of Cardinal Mendoza (Knighton 2001: 339).

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'és 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: 568-569), 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.