

# An Erotic Jousting Poem by Antonio de Velasco and Fadrique Enríquez: Àngela de Santàngel, her Suitors, and her Presence in the *Carajicomedia*

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## ABSTRACT

I propose to discuss an exchange of verses between Antonio de Velasco and his cousin Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral of Castile, published in the 1514 edition of the *Cancionero general*, concerning an erotic joust between a court lady and her six suitors who did not turn up to participate in the joust. This poem has already been analysed by Ian Macpherson, but I take his analysis further and identify the lady and her sixth suitor and offer a more exact timeframe for its composition. I also identify this lady as one of the court ladies satirised as a prostitute in the anonymous and highly obscene *Carajicomedia* and discuss her Jewish *converso* relatives.

## KEYWORDS

*Cancionero general*; *Carajicomedia*; *Juego trobado*; Celestina; jousting *invenciones*; erotic poetry; anti-Semitism; Inquisition; New Christians; Àngela de Santàngel; Antonio de Velasco; Fadrique Enríquez; Juan Alonso Pimentel; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; Bernardino Fernández de Velasco; Hernando de la Vega; Pedro Vázquez de Acuña; Acevedo; Juan de Mendoza; Luis de Milán; Lluís del Milà



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## RESUMEN

Propongo discutir un intercambio de versos entre Antonio de Velasco y su primo Fadrique Enríquez, Almirante de Castilla, publicado en la edición de 1514 del *Cancionero general*, sobre una justa erótica entre una dama de la corte y sus seis pretendientes que no aparecieron para participar en la justa. Este poema ya ha sido analizado por Ian Macpherson, pero llevo su análisis más allá, e identifico a la dama y su sexto pretendiente, y ofrezco un marco temporal más exacto para su composición. También identifico a esta dama como una de las damas de la corte satirizadas como prostitutas en la anónima y muy obscena *Carajicomedia* y hablo de sus parientes judíos conversos.

## PALABRAS CLAVE

*Cancionero general*; *Carajicomedia*; *Juego trobado*; Celestina; *invenciones*; versos eróticos; antisemitismo; Inquisición; *conversos*; Ángela de Santángel; Antonio de Velasco; Fadrique Enríquez; Juan Alonso Pimentel; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; Bernardino Fernández de Velasco; Hernando de la Vega; Pedro Vázquez de Acuña; Acevedo; Juan de Mendoza; Luis de Milán

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I wish to take a closer look at an exchange of verses between Antonio de Velasco (c.1455-1526), Lord of Arnedo, and his cousin Fadrique Enríquez (1460-1538), Admiral of Castile, that feature in the 1514 edition of the *Cancionero general* (14CG-128-129).<sup>1</sup> These verses, concerning an erotic joust between a court lady and her six suitors, were skilfully analysed by Ian Macpherson in a book of exciting essays that he co-published with Angus MacKay: *Love, Religion & Politics in Fifteenth Century Spain* (1998: 126-31).



Fig. 1. Lady with a distaff jousting, ms. Français 95, fol. 226r, Arthurian romance, late 13<sup>th</sup> century  
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It was customary for a jousting knight to tilt in the name of a lady who would inspire him with valour, and he would usually display her name by means of an *invención*, which had both a pictorial and a verbal component. An image, or *divisa*, might take the form of an elaborate crest attached to the jousting knight's helmet, or a striking emblem embroidered on his garments, his scabbard, or the trappings of his horse. An inscription, or *letra*, might be displayed on the hem of his dress, or on cloth draperies (*paramentos*), or on small wooden boards (*rótulos*), or perhaps even on scraps of paper distributed to the spectators. In the best examples of this genre, the *invención* could only be properly understood when it was read, heard and seen: “C'est l'alliance de l'image et du texte qui fait sens. Texte et image ne sont rien l'un sans l'autre” (Vigier 2007: 215). “The object”, as Macpherson

1. All ID numbers and sigla for texts cited in this paper are from Brian Dutton (1990-1991). This paper was delivered at the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland (AHGBI) Conference in Durham on 10 April 2019. I wish to thank the anonymous reader who urged me to revise my article; and I wish to express my gratitude to Sagrario López Poza for some last-minute comments.

explains, “was to express an idea, or an emotion, as concisely and economically as possible, ideally by drawing attention to a hitherto unsuspected relationship between image and word” (Macpherson & McKay 1998: 104). Erotic jousting, which is a parody of the real thing, was frequently depicted in the margins of medieval manuscripts: the lady is usually armed with a distaff, while her male opponent, if he is chivalrous, goes unarmed (Fig. 1). In French and Flemish manuscripts from the late thirteenth century onwards, one finds many such examples of women depicted jousting, and Antonio de Velasco, in his humorous jousting poem, was probably aware of this artistic tradition.<sup>2</sup> Spinning and weaving were sources of female independence and empowerment, hence a potential threat to male authority, and the fantastic idea of women engaging in the typically male sport of jousting obviously tickled the imagination of both clerics and courtiers.

As Macpherson has pointed out in another chapter of the same book mentioned above, entitled “Secret Language”, the language of jousting was “tailor-made for innuendo”, with words such as *encontrar*, *lanças*, *cabalgar*, and *tela*, this last designating the central barrier separating the horses in the lists, a piece of cloth, or a woman’s hymen, which, of course, is linked to many ambivalent words connected with spinning, such as *tejer* and *tejedora* (Macpherson & McKay 1998: 93). This type of polysemia, which is an essential feature of fifteenth-century *cancionero* poetry, provided readers and listeners with the pleasure of attempting to solve a riddle, and enabled a poet to convey his message without the risk of being charged with gross impropriety; above all, it offered the poet an opportunity to display his wit, or *agudeza*, the quality so admired by Gracián in the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup>

Macpherson briefly discusses two other erotic jousting poems, or *Justas de amores*, both composed in the late fifteenth century and both singularly lacking in *agudeza*: Tristán de Estúñiga’s “Soñava que vi justar” (ID 6752; 11CG-968), addressed to some nuns, not one of whom wished to accept him as her suitor; and Juan del Encina’s far from subtle “Pues por vos crece mi pena” (ID 4469; 96JE-72), inviting a lady to joust with him at night, to place her *tela* at his disposal, and to keep it intact.<sup>4</sup>

The jousting verses by Antonio de Velasco and Fadrique Enríquez are entirely different in style from that of these two earlier works, and much more interesting: they combine the tone of a slanging match, such as one finds in the old Galician-Portuguese satirical tradition of *escarnio e maldizer*, with that of a guessing game, such as Pinar’s *Juego trobado* (Boase 2017), challenging the reader to decipher the identity of the lady for whom the suitors, or jousters, are competing. Even the identity of the suitors is half-concealed, which explains why Macpherson overlooked the presence of one of them.

Before citing these verses, it should be briefly mentioned that there is a fourth erotic jousting poem by Alonso de Acevedo, “De las damas que justaron” (LB1-356; ID S1034), associated with a series of poems about festivities that took place in Murcia later, probably in 1508 (Boase 2020). This work is similar in style to the work that we are discussing and, even more surprisingly, it has an identical rhyme scheme, with an opening three-line *estribillo* *ABB* and six seven-line stanzas rhyming *CDDCCBB*. Furthermore, I agree with Macpherson that the “don Antonio” in stanza 4 of this poem, who is described as a spectator, “can be identified with some confidence as Antonio de

2. See images in “The Emasculating Distaff” <<https://go.uv.es/boa7K4Z>> [accessed 29-04-2022]. Cf. Boase 2017, fig. 58; and Shartrand 2019.

3. “La primorosa equivocación es como una palabra de dos cortes y un significar a dos luces. Consiste su artificio en usar de alguna palabra que tenga dos significaciones, de modo que deje en duda lo que quiso decir”, says Gracián (Correa ed. 1969, 2: 53).

4. Here is a typical excerpt: “Por eso mandad poner / a mis servicios la tela / en lugar donde candela / no hayamos menester, / y allí veréis mi poder”.

Velasco" (Macpherson & McKay 1998: 130 n29).<sup>5</sup> Don Antonio knows full well, we are told, that it is better to tilt at the joust of marriage rather than at the "other joust" ordained by the Devil, which, I suggest, may be a clue that Antonio de Velasco's erotic jousting poem was performed, or recited, in honour of the lady's marriage, or engagement to marry.

*Otras suyas [de Antonio de Velasco] a una dama de la Reina, porque, teniendo seys servidores, en unas justas que se hizieron no salió ninguno d'ellos a justar:*

Pues que con seys servidores  
no ponéys tela, señora,  
no soys buena texedora.

Si tela queréys ordir,  
póngala el de Benavente.  
Hartará toda la gente  
de plazer y de reyr.  
Mandalde luego escrevir  
que venga a justar, señora.  
No soys buena texedora.

El Almirante desseo  
que viniesse aquí a justar;  
no le podríen encontrar  
sin hazer encuentro feo.  
Todos diríen: "No le veo".  
Quexars'íen de vos, señora,  
que no soys buena texedora.

Embiá por el de Saldaña  
qu'es ombre de mucha fuerça,  
qu'el de Haro no s'esfuerça  
en el cuerpo ni en la maña,  
que, si el diablo n'os engaña,  
no los ternéys más de un ora.  
No soys buena texedora.

*Respuesta del Almirante:*  
¡Salga el cabo de Castilla  
con su lengua de picaça,  
y<sup>6</sup> don Antonio con su maça,  
puesto de pies en la silla,  
y será gran maravilla

5. The "don Juan" in the first stanza, who never witnessed the ladies jousting, was probably Juan de Ayala (d. 1540), sixth Lord of Cebolla, who in 1513 married Ana Girón (Boase 2020: 203). Note that the poet Acevedo was not, as Macpherson asserts, Hernando de Acevedo, but Alonso de Acevedo y Haro, Lord of Tejado, a native of Salamanca, son and heir of Luis de Acevedo, and Teresa de Haro, and a nephew of Alonso II de Acevedo y Fonseca (1476-1534), Archbishop of Santiago and Toledo. His wife was Mayor de Ávila y Toledo, daughter of the military captain and courtier Pedro Dávila. Acevedo and his wife, nicknamed Lobilla, both figure in the *Carajicomedia*, the former as a cuckold and the latter as a reluctant tart who was eager to avenge her husband's infidelities (Boase 2020: 194).

6. This conjunction, retained in all later editions of the *Cancionero general*, is deleted by González Cuenca (2004, 3: 82) because he assumes that the "cabo de Castilla" refers to Antonio de Velasco.

si le viéredes vos, señora!  
 No soys buena texedora.  
 Don Antonio, si a mí cree,  
 no saldrá aquí a justar,  
 porque lo que no se vee  
 no se puede bien juzgar.  
 Pues ¿por qué s'ha d' enamorar  
 el que a nadie enamora?  
 No soys buena texedora.

No puede aver sino falta  
 en don Antonio, el torçuelo,  
 porque a dos dedos del suelo  
 tiene la tela por alta.  
 Pues si al encontrar no salta,  
 no le veréys vos, señora.  
 No soys buena texedora.

*Fin*

Y pues no tiene manera  
 para justar el señor,  
 digo que será mejor  
 que le saquen por cimera,  
 pues su letra, la primera,  
 es del nombre de vos, señora.  
 No soys buena texedora.

(*Other verses* [by Antonio de Velasco] *to a court lady because, although she had six suitors, in some jousts that took place not one of them came out to joust*: “Since with six suitors / you do not use a *tela*, my lady, / you are not a good weaver. / If you want to weave cloth, / place it in charge of the man of Benavente, / for he will cram all the people / with pleasure and laughter. / Order them to write immediately / telling him to come and joust, my lady. / You are not a good weaver. / I want the Admiral / to come here and joust. / They wouldn’t be able to clash / with him without making an ugly encounter. / They would all say: ‘I don’t see him’. / They would complain about you, my lady, / that you are not a good weaver. / Send for the man of Saldaña, / because he is a man of great strength, / since the man of Haro doesn’t exert himself / in his body or in his cunning, / for if the devil doesn’t deceive us, / you will not detain them for more than an hour. / You are not a good weaver. / *The Admiral’s reply*. / May the supreme commander of Castile / ride out with his magpie tongue, / and Don Antonio with his club, / standing on top of his saddle; / and it will be a great miracle / if you can see him, my lady. / You are not a good weaver. / Don Antonio, if you believe me, / will not come out here to joust, / because what cannot be seen / cannot be properly judged. / Why then should one fall in love / with one in love with nobody? / You are not a good weaver. / There cannot be but deficiency in Don Antonio, / the fledgling hawk,<sup>7</sup> / because he deems the barrier high / if it’s two inches off the ground. / For if in the encounter he doesn’t jump, / you will not see him, my lady. / You are not a good weaver. / And since the gentleman / has no means of jousting, / I

7. The Admiral is named *torçuelo* on account of his small stature: it means a male goshawk fledgling, which, according to falconry lore, is usually the third to hatch out after its two larger sisters: “Los que saben de cetrería dicen que comúnmente la cría de los açores es de tres pollos: los dos primeros se llaman primas, y son hembras y grandes de cuerpo, y el torçuelo es menor que ellas y es macho” (Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, cited in González Cuenca 2004, 4: 83 n1). Note that predatory young male aristocrats were sometimes described as goshawks, and these are the type of birds feared most by Florencia Pinar’s partridges (Boase 2017: 731-32).

say it will be better / if they display him as a crest, / since his first letter (*letra*) is the same / as that of your name, my lady. / You are not a good weaver.”)

Who is this court lady, whose six suitors have failed to show up at the jousting barrier (*tela*), and who is accused of being a bad weaver? The metaphor of weaving is probably deliberately ambiguous: it could mean that she has not been good at scheming, or “networking”, to secure a marriage for herself, possibly on account of her pride or evasiveness, or that she is sexually promiscuous and has failed to keep her hymen (*tela*) in good repair.<sup>8</sup> The circle of this lady’s admirers, the approximate date when these verses were composed, the fact that her name, like that of “Don Antonio” –that is to say Antonio de Velasco– begins with the letter *A*, and finally, to clinch it all, the choice of refrain, all point –as I shall explain– to the Valencian lady Àngela de Santàngel, who, in 1506, married the aristocrat Pedro Vázquez de Acuña (c. 1466–1537), Lord of Villaviudas (Fernández de Oviedo, *Avallé-Arce* ed. 1989: 380), and became a court lady in the service of King Fernando’s second wife, Germana de Foix.

I believe that she can be identified as Angela, *La Esparteñera*, the Esparto-Grass Weaver, who figures in stanza 82 of the *Carajicomedia*, an anonymous and highly obscene work that was probably completed shortly after King Fernando’s death in 1516:

la Esparteñera, que bolsas saltea,  
por quien los rufianes mantienen requesta.

(The Espartograss-Weaver, who picks pockets, / over whom the pimps engage in disputes.)

On these lines the author has supplied the following exegesis (Varo 1981: 214–15):

La Esparteñera a sí mismo se llama Ángela; ésta tiene los ojos como candiles, las manos como anzuelos; juega de alivión continuamente, y tan sotilmente como si jugara de passa passa. Sigue burdeles; siempre ay sobre ella quistiones entre rufianes.

(The Espartograss-Weaver calls herself Angela. She has eyes like oil-lamps, hands like fish-hooks; she continually plays at pickpocketing, and she does it so subtly as if she were playing hand-ball. She follows brothels; there are always quarrels between pimps over her.)

Not only the first letter, but the first three letters of the name **E**sparteñera coincide with the first letters of the name of Antonio de Velasco’s *amiga*, or lady-love, **E**sperança d’Espés,<sup>9</sup> and therefore if the word *letra* in our jousting poem is understood to refer to a jousting inscription, then this is a further clue pointing to Àngela de Santàngel because one would expect Antonio de Velasco’s own *letra*, following the conventions of jousting at this time, to begin with the letter *E*, or with the word

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8. Sagrario López Poza suggested to me in a private communication that the poem does not necessarily imply that this court lady, whose suitors have so many defects, was a loose woman. But for another analysis of this poem and a study of the vocabulary of sewing, spinning, and weaving as a source of innuendo, see Macpherson & MacKay 1998: 126–30, 188–95. See the gloss of the popular *estribillo* “Quien bien hila y tuerce, / bien se le parece”, Alzieu *et al.* 1975: 133–35. “Poner la tela” is similar to the expression “mantener la tela”, to raise the tilt barrier in jousting (see Horozco, Alonso ed. 2005: p. 926).

9. She was daughter of the majordomo Ramon d’Espés and the court lady Isabel Fabra, and the wife of Angela’s brother Miguel Gerónimo Santàngel (Gamero Igea 2015: 215 n24; Boase 2017: 322–325, 490, 802). Antonio de Velasco also devised a game for her (14CG-123; see Boase 2017: 323).

“Esperanza”.

An *esparteñera* is a weaver (*tejedora*), of mats, rope-soled sandals (*esparteñas*, *alpargatas*; French *espadrilles*), ropes, rigging, fishnets, and other articles from *esparto* grass. The district of Orihuela, where Angela's father and her uncle Lluís had purchased land, has for centuries been renowned for these products. Therefore, while it is unlikely that she herself was a weaver or rope-maker, one may safely assume that she would have received a good income from the production and sale of this merchandise, much of which would have been exported abroad. This would explain how and why she acquired the nickname of *La Esparteñera*, and why the refrain “No soys buena tejedora” is appropriate because, in her case, it could have a literal meaning. At the same time, it has to be recognised that the *estribillo* derives from a popular refrain, which is found, for example, in Luis de Milán's *El Cortesano* (Escartí & Tordera 2001, 1: 327), and in *La justa*, a humorous *ensalada* by Mateo Flecha (1481-1553), in which the Holy Fathers, the godparents of Envy, sing that a good weaver does not need so many servants: “Si con tantos servidores / no ponéis tela, señora, / no soys buena texedora” (If with so many servants, / lady, you can't weave, / you're not a good weaver).<sup>10</sup> The same refrain occurs in Luis de Milán's *El Cortesano* (Escartí & Tordera 2001, 1: 327), except that the word *texedora* has been replaced by *burladora*, which means a loose woman rather than a jester; and Gonzalo Correas (1967: 304a) records the saying: “Xuanilla, ke no ponéis tela, nunca vos buena texedera”. The word *tela* occurs several times in the *Carajicomedia*, always in the context of erotic jousting. For example, in stanza 40, a married lady of Valladolid, named Lárez, the wife of Francisco de Aranda, spends her time “maintaining the tilt barriers for as many prick-adventurers as come, so that each may have as many encounters as possible”.<sup>11</sup>

The word *servidores* is, of course, another source of double-entendre because it can mean either servants or suitors. In this context, “suitors” is clearly itself a euphemism, because most of these gentlemen, as we shall see, are probably already married, and it is therefore a word that, as Juan de Valdés observes in his *Diálogo de la lengua*, has a lewd connotation, and one that he refrains from making explicit: “Servidor, aliende de su propia sinificación, que es común a las tres lenguas de que platicamos, tiene otra deshonesta” (Beyond its proper meaning, which is shared by the three languages that we speak [Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese], “servidor” has another lewd meaning). “No la digáis, que ya lo sé” (Don't say it, I know it already), replies Marcio discreetly (Montesinos 1969: 135). In the *Carajicomedia*, which puts things more bluntly, these competing suitors are transformed into pimps or *rufianes*.

While engaged in my research on Pinar's *Juego trobado*, a card game in verse completed in the summer of 1496, I discovered that Ángela de Santàngel was not the only court lady who figures in the *Carajicomedia*, and this discovery made me realise that, contrary to accepted wisdom, none of the women in this work are prostitutes: in fact many of them are identifiable as court ladies, or retired court ladies, most of them widows working in hospitals or doing other charitable work. They even, I believe, include Queen Germana de Foix (Boase 2017: 765). The sexually explicit nature of this misogynistic work is, I believe, not entirely gratuitous because one of the anonymous author's intentions, it seems, was to portray these women in the guise of prostitutes as a way of exposing the moral depravity and hypocrisy that prevailed in the Church and in the upper echelons of society at that time (Boase 2017: 760-83).

10. Pepe Rey (Knighton & Torrente 2007: 48) notes that such carnivalesque songs were frequently performed on Christmas Eve and observes that the drunken spinner has a major part to play in nativity scenes, although she does not figure in any passage of either the canonical or apocryphal gospels.

11. “manteniendo telas a quantos caragiventureros vienén, con tal que pase cada qual quantas más carreras pudiere” (Varo 1981: st. 40, 177). Cf. *La Lozana andaluza* (Damiani ed. 1969: 77). Tilting also became a common metaphor for sexual combat in English literature (Williams 1994, 3: 1391-92).



Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that the woman named Angela, described above, is the same person as the virtuous and pious lady depicted by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, a court lady in the service of Queen Germana, and the daughter of Mossén Jaume de Santàngel (1440-1512/13), who by 1500 had succeeded his brother Lluís de Santàngel (1439-1498) as financial secretary and royal accountant.<sup>12</sup> She is mentioned as one of the “foreign women” whose marriages were arranged to coincide with King Fernando’s marriage to Germana in Burgos in March 1506. Her marriage was reconsecrated in 1520 in the presence of the Emperor Charles V (see *Hidalguía* 1954), by which time she had changed her name to Beatriz, although Fernández de Oviedo, who knew the countess personally always refers to her as Angela. As a Valencian and a person of Jewish ancestry, descended from Noé Ginillo, a merchant of Calatayud, near Zaragoza, she was doubly foreign (Serrano y Sanz 1918: lxiv). Even her grandmother Brianda Martí and her father had had to face inquisitorial charges, as I shall shortly explain. The gentleman whom she married, Pedro de Acuña, was the second son of Lope Vázquez de Acuña (d. 1489), second Count of Buendía, Lord of Dueñas, and Inés Enríquez de Quiñones (d. 1488), King Fernando’s aunt, sister of Fadrique Enríquez de Quiñones, second Admiral of Castile. By a royal decree, dated 23 March 1527, Pedro de Acuña eventually became fourth Count of Buendía because his elder brother Juan de Acuña (d. 1528) and his niece Catalina de Acuña (1511-1541) were both mentally handicapped. It is evident that the bigoted chronicler of the Indies, with his expert knowledge of heraldry and noble pedigrees, disapproved of this marriage. A gentleman of good sense, he says, should know three things: he should know how to marry, how to live, and how to die. In his opinion, the count lacked this good sense because, although, in his opinion, the countess was a virtuous and chaste lady, he could, he says, have found a bride more befitting his person and rank in the Kingdom of Castile (Fernández de Oviedo, *Avalle-Arce* ed. 1989: 380).

Àngela de Santàngel had been for many years Pedro de Acuña’s mistress before she married him, probably because Queen Isabel never gave her consent to the match, so that she was, in this sense, a “mala tejedora”, and by the time of her marriage, which was two years after Isabel’s death, she was about forty-three years of age and beyond what was then regarded as the conventional child-bearing age,<sup>13</sup> which may explain why the couple had no children and why the family title eventually passed to Pedro’s younger brother Fadrique. I have been able to calculate Angela’s age from the testimony of two of the witnesses at the trial of her grandmother Brianda Martí, who was accused by the Inquisition of practising Jewish rites and customs over a period of twenty years: Angela must have been born c. 1463 because Isabel and Beatriu Martí, questioned by the Inquisition in January 1487, concur that, about sixteen years previously, they remember having seen her, when she was about seven or eight years of age, carrying white unleavened bread to the house during Holy Week (Benítez Sancho-Blanco 1992: 86). This house was in Valencia in the carrer dels Castellvins, or

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12. “Ya he dicho que era valenciana, e su padre era el escrivano de rraçiones del dicho Rrey Cathólico, llamado Sanctàngel” (Fernández de Oviedo, *Avalle-Arce* ed. 1989: 380). This page in the original manuscript is very hard to decipher. After the death of his elder brother Lluís de Santàngel in 1498, Jaume succeeded to his brother’s post of royal scribe. In Seville, on 27 January 1500, Jaume de Santàngel, *escribano de ración del rey*, received 195,000 *maravedies* in exchange for the payment of 520 gold ducats to Juan Claver, the Spanish ambassador in Naples, the first of a series of half-yearly payments (Andrés ed. 2004: no. 2724). For a portrait of Lluís de Santàngel, see Fig. 2. Jaume held the posts of Royal Cup-Bearer (1471), Bayle de Alicante (1479), Royal Scribe (1481), and Bayle de Orihuela (1491) (Boase 2017: 316).

13. In 1496, when Pinar’s *Juego trobado* was completed, Angela would have been thirty-three years of age, which is perhaps why stanza 33, or card 33, is allotted to her (Boase 2017: 313-37). One may add that, in numerology, this number symbolises perfection, and is thus appropriate for an angel (Schimmel 1993: 241). The proverb cited in stanza 33 also conveys the idea of her independence and self-reliance: “Buey suelto bien se lame” (The free ox licks itself clean).

carrer d'En Joan Boix, in the parish of Sant Tomàs; later, in 1470 or 1471, the family moved to the Plaça de Joan de Vilarasa (Ibid. 1992: 73).

Brianda Martí denied that she had a granddaughter named Angela,<sup>14</sup> and a year later, on 18 February 1488, when the evidence was published, she swore that she had always remained true to the Christian faith and repudiated all the charges against her, such as observing the Sabbath, avoiding pork, and adhering to other Jewish dietary regulations (Ballesteros Gaibrois & Ferrando Pérez 1996: 320-22). After publicly abjuring her errors, she was finally absolved and set free on 30 April 1488.<sup>15</sup>

One factor that may have swayed the judges was that by 1488 the brothers Jaume and Lluís de Santàngel had acquired enormous influence as merchants and financiers. In 1476 they became leaseholders of the salt flats of La Mata on the lagoon of Torrevieja, near Orihuela, south of Alicante, which their father Lluís de Santàngel *el Viejo* (1407-1476), a native of Daroca, had leased from the Crown since 1465, and in 1490 Jaume bought farmland at Redován near Orihuela. They invested in ships, and, as tax officials in Valencia, they monopolised the collection of tariffs on the import and export of goods between Spain and Italy, such as textiles imported from Lombardy and salt exported to Genoa. A third brother, Galceran (d. 1503), moved to Mallorca, where, on 14 April 1467, he married Graciosa Pardo (1446-c. 1472), daughter of Pere Pardo, a rich *converso* merchant, whose shipping and whaling business Galceran later inherited. Since Lluís and Jaume also worked as royal money-changers, money-lenders and accountants in the service of the Crown, they became the Rothschilds of their age. Moreover, since King Fernando's accession to the throne of Aragon in 1479 Lluís de Santàngel had held the post of Director of the Royal Mint in Valencia, Alcaide de la Ceca de la Moneda de València. Had it not been for his famous loan of 17,000 gold ducats to the royal treasury at a rate of 1.5% interest, given at the encampment of Santa Fe near Granada in April 1492, in order to finance the first voyage across the Atlantic in search of a route to the Indies, which was well over half the money required, Christopher Columbus would have been obliged to seek French royal patronage and Spain would have received no credit for the discovery of the New World. Without this assistance, Queen Isabel would not have been able to afford to sponsor such an enterprise because her treasury had been greatly depleted by the wars of Granada.<sup>16</sup>

However, in the late fifteenth century, the status of *conversos*, even with royal protection, was extremely precarious. In Zaragoza, on 18 August 1487, Luis Sánchez de Santàngel, the Treasurer of Aragón, one of Angela's grandfather's cousins, was beheaded and his body burnt for his alleged role in the assassination of the Inquisitor Pedro Arbués de Épila in the cathedral of Zaragoza on 15 September 1485. Following this event, a cloud of suspicion descended on all members of the Santàngel family. Many of them fled to France or were burnt in effigy (Motis Dolader 2008: 126). On 10 February 1488, Pedro de Santàngel, Prior of Daroca, who sought to protect his brother Luis Sánchez, was charged with perjury and had to do public penance. On 17 July 1491, Jaume de Santàngel was accused by the Inquisition of reverting to Judaism and had appeared in an *auto da fe* in Zaragoza, dressed in a *sanbenito*, despite his aristocratic connections: his mother-in-law, Joana de Centelles, was a sister of Francesc Gilibert de Centelles (1408-c. 1480), first Count of Oliva

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14. I do not know whether she was lying to protect her, or whether this is an indication that Jaume de Santàngel was not Angela's true father. It is possible that she was illegitimate. A jousting *invención* displayed by Pedro de Acuña, which I discuss later, certainly supports the contention that she was the daughter of Francina de Centelles, wife of Jaume de Santàngel.

15. For further discussion of the girl's parentage, see Boase 2017: 315, and Sloan 2009: 97).

16. There is a theory that Lluís de Santàngel made the acquaintance of Cristóbal Colón when he was studying in Naples in the period 1471-1477 and that Colón, who signed his name Colom, was not Genoese, but a fellow Catalan, the illegitimate son of Prince Carlos of Viana and a Mallorcan girl named Margarita Colom (Verd Martorell 2008: 237).

(1449).<sup>17</sup> In his case, however, King Fernando was able to intervene in order to obtain his release. Then, on 30 May 1497, not long before his death in February 1498, Angela's uncle Lluís not only received royal protection, but his children and grandchildren were all granted exemption from the charge of apostasy by means of a statute of purity of blood (Motis Dolader 2008). Angela's friendship and eventual marriage to a Castilian aristocrat must also have ensured that she received some degree of protection.



Fig. 2. Lluís de Santàngel (d. 1498), 19<sup>th</sup>-century painting, anon.  
CCo Museo Naval de Madrid <<https://go.uv.es/pNdTp4v>>

Let us now identify the suitors. The first suitor, “El [conde] de Benavente”, who makes people laugh, is Juan Alonso Pimentel, usually named Alonso Pimentel (d. c. 1528), the second son of Rodrigo Alonso Pimentel, fourth Count of Benavente.<sup>18</sup> He married Ana de Velasco, daughter of Bernardino Fernández de Velasco (1454-1512), third Count of Haro (1492), Constable of Castile (1493), and first Duke of Frías, and his first wife, Blanca de Herrera. He succeeded to the Benavente title after the death of his elder brother Luis Pimentel, first Marquis of Villafranca, in a tragic accident: on 27 November 1497, the marquis had gone with his father and his brother to Alcalá de Henares to present his condolences to Fernando and Isabel after the sudden death of their only son Prince Juan when the balustrade against which he was leaning gave way and he fell headlong into the courtyard below (Fernández de Oviedo, Pérez de Tudela ed. 1983-2002, 1: 131; Galíndez Carvajal 1851: 496-98). In the *Crónica burlesca del Emperador Carlos V* (Pamp ed. 1981: 154), a work completed c. 1527, but not printed until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Countess

17. This means that Serafín de Centelles y Urrea (c. 1460-1536), second Count of Oliva, to whom Hernando del Castillo dedicated the first edition of the *Cancionero general* in 1511, was Francina de Centelles' cousin.

18. His elder brother must be ruled out by the timeframe of the poem, which will be discussed later.

of Buendía –in other words, Àngela de Santàngel– is listed as one of the friends with whom Alonso Pimentel hopes to spend a quiet life.<sup>19</sup> Fernández de Oviedo, who knew the countess personally, always calls her Angela, although in a series of *motes* compiled by the Admiral of Castile *circa* 1496 (which I shall discuss later) and in official documents she is named Beatriz.<sup>20</sup>

The second suitor, the Admiral, who is so small that he would be invisible in the lists, is King Fernando's first cousin Fadrique Enríquez de Velasco (1457-1538). This gentleman succeeded his father Alonso Enríquez de Quiñones (1435-1488) as Lord of Rioseco and fourth Admiral of Castile in 1485. He was born in Aguilar del Campóo, north of Palencia, on Saturday 29 November 1460 (Sáinz de Baranda 1848: 46). He married Ana de Cabrera y Moncada (1459-1523), who inherited the title of Countess of Modica in Sicily. The marriage took place in Modica in January 1481 after Fadrique had been temporarily banished to Italy, ostensibly as a punishment for his unruly behaviour at court, but probably, in fact, to protect him from being assaulted by the vindictive and aggressively anti-Semitic Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán, whom he had seriously antagonised when flirting with the court lady Marina Manuel at a festivity one evening after a jousting tournament (Boase 2017: 653-56). His father had taken Antonio Franco, the Chief Accountant, and his brothers the poet Pedro de Cartagena (1456-1486) and Alonso de Sarabia, the great-grandchildren of Pablo de Santa María, Bishop, and formerly, Chief Rabbi, of Burgos, under his protection when they had aroused the enmity of Ramiro de Guzmán and his friends, and Fadrique, in establishing close links with the Santàngel family, was merely following in his father's footsteps. The Admiral died without issue on 9 January 1538 and was buried beside his wife and her sister Isabel de Cabrera, Countess of Melgar, in the Franciscan monastery, dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza, that he himself had founded in Medina de Río seco. His brother Fernando Enríquez (d. 1542) succeeded him as fifth Admiral of Castile.

To celebrate his position as Admiral of Castile, Fadrique displayed a dolphin as his personal emblem at a jousting tournament that took place in Salamanca in January 1487 (HCCG-509; García Arranz & López Poza 2021):

*Ell almirante trae por devisa el dolfín de la mar, y dize:*

La mejor vida es aquella,  
do'l fin es comienço d'ella.

*(The Admiral displays the device of a sea dolphin, and he says: "The best life is that in which / the end is its beginning.")*

Macpherson (1998: 61) points out that this *invención* is based on the rhetorical device of *traductio*, "whereby the sound sequence generated by the *divisa*, in this case a *dolfín*, is developed in the *letra* in a syntactical form which now spans three parts of speech: *do+el+fin*". One should add, however, that *fin* can mean 'goal' or 'object', and therefore the message of the dolphin can be read as "doy el fin del amar" ('I give, or express, the object of my love'). The object of his love is Ana, a lady whose name begins and ends with the same letter –its end is its beginning. This creates a circular image of eternity, like the snake that eats its own tail. So, the best life is both life at sea and his love for Ana de Cabrera. Furthermore, *fin* may mean 'death', and if read in this way, the Admiral is saying that the best life begins with death, a paradox which may be construed as a pious statement about the

19. This work could not have been completed before 23 March 1527, the date when Àngela de Santàngel became Countess of Buendía.

20. See, for example, Archivo de Simancas 1539.

afterlife, or a reference to married life that begins with the *piccola morte* of sexual union.<sup>21</sup> There is also an analogy between the capacity of the dolphin to save the lives of shipwrecked sailors and the redemptive power of Jesus Christ (García Arranz & López Poza 2021).

Many jokes were made at the Admiral's expense, but he seems to have been always ready to retaliate with good humour. The witty poet Juan de Mendoza (c. 1475-1523), son of Cardinal Mendoza's mistress Inés de Tovar, teased him about the sailor's hood (*papahigo*) that he wore as he was bidding farewell to the ladies of the court, probably in August 1496 when the Spanish fleet was about to set sail for Flanders from the port of Laredo on the Cantabrian coast, carrying the Infanta Juana, now Archduchess of Austria, to join her husband Philip the Fair, son of the Emperor Maximilian:

*Copla sola de don Juan de Mendoza, porque el Almirante, queriéndose partir de la corte, vino a despedirse de las damas con un papahigo:*

Aunque fuera un Colón,  
hallo por gran maravilla  
cómo pudo el de Castilla  
descubrir tal invención.  
No se passe sin castigo,  
si no, desde aquí adelante,  
nunca verán almirante  
las damas sin papahigo.

(Though he may be a Columbus, / I find it a great wonder / how this person of Castile / could find such a jousting's device. / This cannot go unpunished, / otherwise, henceforward, / the ladies will never see / an admiral without a hood.)

*Respuesta del Almirante:*

Siempre os vi, señor don Juan,  
armado d'espada y capa  
contra las cosas del Papa,  
por seguir las de galán.  
Y, pues es como lo digo,  
perdone mi papahigo  
el mal que avéys dicho d'él,  
que, si le soys enemigo,  
por estar el Papa en él  
ha sido, que no por él.

(I always saw you, Lord John, / armed with a sword and cape / against the affairs of the Pope, / pursuing those of the courtier. / And since it is as I say, / let my sailor's hood forgive / the rude things you've said about it, / for if you are its enemy, / it's because the Pope is in it, / and not for its own sake.)

The Admiral jokingly suggests that the only reason for Juan de Mendoza's disapproval of his *papahigo* is because this word contains the word *papa*, for it should be explained that the latter's decision to become a knight and a courtier greatly displeased his father, Cardinal Mendoza, who wanted him to pursue an ecclesiastical career. Incidentally, the *respuesta* is found in LBI (ID 0805,

21. Incidentally, *fin* is a key word linking several contemporary *invenciones* (Boase 2017: 708).

LBI-119) without the *pregunta*, with a rubric informing us that the Admiral of Castile wrote this poem because Juan de Mendoza and Antonio de Velasco made fun of the sailor's hood that he was wearing when saying farewell to the ladies.

Countless jibes were made mocking the Admiral's small stature, which seems to have been a characteristic trait of the Enríquez family. According to the chronicler Fernando de Pulgar (Tate ed. 1971: 89), his father Alonso Enríquez, third Admiral of Castile, had a small body and a handsome face and was a little short-sighted. Even the queen on one occasion made a joke at Fadrique's expense, warning Juan de Mendoza, who was waving a big fan to keep the room cool, to be careful lest the Admiral should fly into the air (Gómez Molleda 1955: 159). He was frequently compared to a monkey, *mono*, which seems to have become his nickname. This is illustrated in a joke recounted by Luis de Pinedo (1890: 255-56): the Admiral once sent a letter to the Count of Urueña challenging him to a duel, and after detaining the messenger for many days, the count replied: "Muy ilustre Señor: vuestra carta rescebí, que ni quiero matar mono, ni que mono mate a mí" (My noble lord, I received your letter, but I don't wish to kill a monkey, nor do I wish a monkey to kill me), and the narrator explains: "Porque el Almirante era muy pequeño". His friend and rival in love Antonio de Velasco, who was equally diminutive, elsewhere gives us the following satirical portrait of him (MP2-269; cf. TP2-49; Labrador *et al.* 1986: no. 318):

*Don Antonio de Velasco al Almirante, pintándole:*

De gatilla tiene el tono  
 quanto más alto se entona;  
 de la cinta abaxo es mona,  
 de la cinta arriba es mono;  
 patillas de macho toma,  
 y las piernas de vençejo;  
 algo tiene de conejo;  
 mucho tiene de paloma.

(He has a cat's pitch of voice / the higher he intones; / below the waist he is a female monkey, / above the waist a male monkey; / he has the little feet of a male creature / and the legs of a martlet; / he has something of the rabbit; / a great deal of the dove.)

It is hinted here that his dove-like qualities, hardly appropriate for his office, were inherited from his great-grandmother Paloma, a beautiful Jewish woman of Guadalcanal or Toledo, the mother of Alonso Enríquez (1354-1429), first Lord of Medina de Rioseco and first Admiral of Castile (1405). The father of this Alonso Enríquez was Fadrique Alfonso de Castilla (1334-1358), first Lord of Haro and Master of the Order of Santiago, an illegitimate son of Alfonso XI of Castile and the twin brother of Enrique de Trastámara.<sup>22</sup>

Monkeys, or apes, were frequently depicted as symbols of vanity and lust in marginal illuminations, which is why in Juan de Borgoña's fresco of the Day of Judgement in the Cathedral

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22. Avalle-Arce (1994: 15-18) cites Fernández de Oviedo's opinion that Alonso Enríquez was brought up by a Jewish servant named Paloma to protect the identity of his mother, who was a married noblewoman of Llerena, near Badajoz, the wife of one of his father's stewards: "puso el infante a criar / en poder de una judía; / criada fue del Maestre, / Paloma por nombre había". On the Jewish ancestry of the Enríquez family, see Macpherson & McKay 1998: 111. It is curious that the same division of the human body into "la cinta arriba" and "la cinta abajo" occurs at least twice elsewhere: in a passage condemning hooped petticoats by Queen Isabel's Confessor Hernando de Talavera and in Hernando de Baeza's account of the heraldic devices awarded to the Count of Cabra and the Alcaide de los Donceles after they succeeded in capturing King Boabdil (Boase 2018: 5-6; Baeza 2018: 86).

of Toledo, commissioned by Cardinal Cisneros and completed in 1508, the caption above the figure of Luxuria is held by an ape (Domínguez 2015: 65-66, and cover). But another explanation why this term of abuse was applied to the Admiral was that, in popular Spanish culture, there existed an association between Jews and apes that derives from Islam, traceable to a passage in the Qur'an (2: 65), in which Jews are reminded how God cursed some of those who persistently profaned the Sabbath by turning them into apes.<sup>23</sup> One reason why the anonymous author of the *Carajicomedia* mockingly transformed the name of Queen Isabel's favourite Franciscan confessor Fray Ambrosio Montesino (a person of recent Jewish ancestry) into Fray Bugeo Montesino, to whom he attributed one section of his work, is that the word *bugío* could mean a Barbary ape. It should be noted that the poet Comendador Román, who was almost certainly of mixed Jewish and Moorish ancestry, describes himself in self-mockery as "una figura de moro" and "una figura de bugío" (ID 0265; IICG-247, lines 25, 65; Boase 2017: 484 n41).

Antonio de Velasco's caricature of Fadrique Enríquez enables us to identify the Admiral's niece María de Cárdenas y Enríquez (c. 1475-1503), Countess of Miranda, as the recipient of stanza 43 of the *Juego trobado* because she is given a martlet or swift (*vencejo*) and a proverb that contains the word *monos*: 'Hízonos Dios / y ¡maravillámonos nos!' (Boase 2017a: 404-13). The traditional Greek scientific name for the family of birds to which the swift belongs is *apodidae* or "footless" because it has very short legs, which is why the heraldic martlet is often depicted without any legs (see Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Heraldic Martlet, or Swift, drawn by Graham Johnston CCo  
(Fox-Davies 1909: 244 fig. 465)

There is another poem on the same topic by Doctor Melgar (MP2-270):

Al Almirante no miren,  
que no le pueden mirar,  
y aunque çerca le tiren,  
no le podrán açertar.  
Es jota del abc,

23. Domínguez (2006: 67) notes that, during the reign of the Aghlabid dynasty in the ninth century, Jews in North Africa had to wear a patch in the form of an ape as a mark of their Jewish identity. Other Qur'anic passages are sometimes cited. The passage about those whom, it is said, God has cursed and turned to apes and swine (Surah 5:60) does not, as some claim, refer to Jews, but in fact to those who mock religion. Similarly, in Surah 7:166, God's curse 'Be as apes despicable!', is addressed to persistent sinners in general, not to Jews as such. Muhammad Asad (1980: 228-29), himself the son of a rabbi, points out in a footnote that this is a metaphor coined by God, analogous to "the ass carrying books" (62: 5), and adds that "the expression 'like an ape' is often used in classical Arabic to describe a person who is unable to restrain his gross appetites or passions".

y mínimo de natura,  
y porque módico fue,  
módica fue su bentura.

(They do not look at the admiral / because they cannot see him, / and although they shoot at him from close, / they won't be able to hit him. / He is the iota of the alphabet, / and in nature the least, / and because he was modest, / his luck was modest).

The adjective *módica* alludes to the title of the Admiral's wife (Countess of Modica) and the verb *miren*, the subjunctive of *mirar*, alludes to his niece's title (Countess of Miranda).

The third suitor, "el [conde] de Saldaña", is Diego Hurtado de Mendoza *el Grande* (1461-1531), second Count of Saldaña, third Duke of El Infantado (1500), and fourth Marquis of Santillana, son of Íñigo López de Mendoza (1438-1500) and María de Luna. This gentleman, who was renowned for his strength, pride and ostentatious wealth, was the first suitor's brother-in-law: he had married María Pimentel y Pacheco, Alonso Pimentel's sister, in 1491. She had previously been engaged to marry the courtier and poet Pedro Álvarez Osorio, second Marquis of Astorga, but she had been compelled to break off this engagement in 1486 as a result of family rivalries. It was probably this event that prompted the marquis to compose "Plega a Dios que alguno quieras" (ID 1084), in which the poet seeks revenge on his beloved for her indifference by wishing that she would fall in love with him when her love can no longer be reciprocated because, by then, he will be dead; and the *canción* "De vos y de mí quexoso" (ID 1959), in which he complains that his anger and pride, which make him tongue-tied, may be the cause of his death.<sup>24</sup>

There is an allusion to the Count of Saldaña in the willow-tree that does neither good nor harm in stanza 30 of the *Juego trobado*: "Vos tomad, que n'os espante, / un salze, qu'es verde y tal, / que ni haze bien ni mal", in other words, "que no hace daño" (that does no harm). The name Saldaña contains the first syllable of *salze* with the word *daña*. This name is introduced here because Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, second Count of Saldaña, third Duke of El Infantado, was the nephew of the court lady Beatriz de Mendoza y Enríquez (c. 1475-c. 1549), the recipient of this stanza, whose father was also named Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1417-1479), first Duke of El Infantado. As mentioned above, the *canción* "De vos y mí quexoso" in stanza 30 was originally addressed to María Pimentel, the Count of Saldaña's wife.

After his first wife's death in 1511, the Count of Saldaña, now Duke of El Infantado, married María Maldonado, the daughter of one of his servants, much to the scandal of his family. This woman, nicknamed La Salcedona, or La Maldonadica, appears in stanza 42 of the *Carajicomedia*, where—in another passage about erotic jousting—she is identified with the nymph Europa, whom the god Zeus seduced after he had taken the form of a white bull:

Vimos aquélla que Europa dixeron,  
la Salzedona, que sin tela justa;  
y es tal justadora, que no barahústa  
lança ni encuentro de quantos le dieron.

(We saw the one whom they call Europa, / "La Salzedona", who jousts without a tilt barrier; / and she is such a jouster that she doesn't ward off / a single lance or encounter given to her.)

24. For more information on the life and poetry of the Marquis of Astorga, see Boase 1998.



The fourth suitor, “el [conde] de Haro”, mocked for being a weakling with little skill in jousting,<sup>25</sup> is the first suitor’s father-in-law, Bernardino Fernández de Velasco (1454-1512), Constable of Castile, who on 20 March 1492, two months after the surrender of Granada, married Juana María de Aragón (1471-1522), the daughter of King Fernando’s Catalan mistress Aldonça Roig de Iborre i Alemany. She was the Constable’s second wife. His first wife, whom he had married in 1472, was the rich heiress Blanca Enríquez de Herrera, second Lady of Talaván (Boase 2017: 504).

Bernardino was a fashionable dresser and displayed fine jousting devices. In stanza 20 of Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz’s *Infierno de amor* (ID 0662; IICG-274), Bernardino, wearing silk and scarlet, cites the words “No juzguéis por la color, / señoras, que nos cubría” (LBI-115, IICG-159) (“Ladies, do not judge by the colour / that was covering us”), alluding to a poem by Pedro de Cartagena, written on Bernardino’s behalf, that exemplifies the importance of colour symbolism in dress and the deceptiveness of appearances: he compares himself to a gilded tomb, in response to some ladies who laughed at him because he claimed to be sad, yet wore a scarlet cloak.

The Constable’s embroidered device of feathers (IICG-522, LBI-246; Maceiras Lafuente 2015: no. 532), which Francisco Rico (1966) was the first to investigate, exploiting a pun on the word *pena*, ‘suffering’, from the Latin *penna*, ‘feather’, representing the sorrows that could no longer be contained in his heart, may have been displayed at a tournament that took place in Barcelona in 1493:

*El condestable de Castilla trae por devisa en bordadura unos penachos o penas:*

Saqué las del corazón,  
por que las que salen puedan  
dar lugar a las que quedan.

*(The Constable of Castile wore as an embroidered device some plumes or sorrows: “I drew them out of my heart / so that those that emerge may / make way for those that remain.”)*

This *invención* was originally conceived by the Constable’s brother-in-law Juan Alonso de Guzmán (1464-1507), third Duke of Medina Sidonia, in a long poem in which he advised jousting what to wear and what inscriptions they should display (IICG-799; Boase 2017: 720-21).

It seems that the key to understanding “Saqué las del corazón”, and several other contemporary *invenciones*, is to look for the letter *A* in the word *las*, sometimes alluding to the Constable’s daughter Ana de Velasco, wife of Alonso Pimentel, fifth Count of Benavente, and sometimes to his cousin Ana de Velasco, daughter of Luis de Velasco, Lord of Belorado, who married Alonso Carrillo de Peralta (c. 1475-1533), Constable of Navarre, a grandson of Alonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo.<sup>26</sup>

The Constable’s *letra de las penas* was imitated by others, including Juan Fernández de Heredia (1480-1549) and Pedro de Acuña (Boase 2017: 716-22). Even more influential was his *invención* of a waterwheel (*noria*), with buckets full of sufferings and empty of hope (“Los llenos de males míos, / d’esperança, los vazíos”, IICG-504; Maceiras Fuente 2015: no. 335). This device was well known in Italy and much admired by Paolo Giovio, who reproduced a version of it in the second edition

25. He seems, nevertheless, to have been a competent soldier, who commanded his father’s troops from 1487 until the fall of Granada in 1492, and who fought on the Perpignan frontier in the last years of the century (Perea Rodríguez 2007: 88-89).

26. See my discussion of Alonso Carrillo’s device of wolfsbane, *anapelo* (IICG-569), and Francisco de la Cueva’s device of a crane, *grulla*, with the words “A quien vela / todo se revela” (IICG-570, Boase 2017: 389-99), which can be read as “A quien ve l’A / todo se revela” (To the one who sees the letter *A* / all will be revealed).

of his *Dialogo dell'imprese*, published in Lyon in 1559 (Fig. 4; Casas Rigall 2013: 100; Boase 2017: 502). It is also found in a song collection belonging to Charles III, duc de Croy (López Poza 2020, divisa no. 421), and was imitated by Diego de Mendoza y Lemos (c. 1474-1536), first Count of Mélito (1506) and Viceroy of Valencia (1520), the second son of Cardinal Mendoza and Mencía de Lemos: “Los llenos de dolor / y los vacíos, de esperanza” (Maceiras Fuente 2015: no. 502; Riveiro González & López Poza, divisa no. 420). The text “Los llenos de dolor / vazío[s] de Speranza”, which is inscribed on a ribbon surrounding the image of Giovio’s waterwheel, clearly derives from Diego de Mendoza’s version of this *invención*. The idea seems to have originated in Jorge Manrique’s *invención* of a waterwheel with buckets full of tears that are raised from the heart to the eyes in a kind of hydrological cycle.<sup>27</sup>

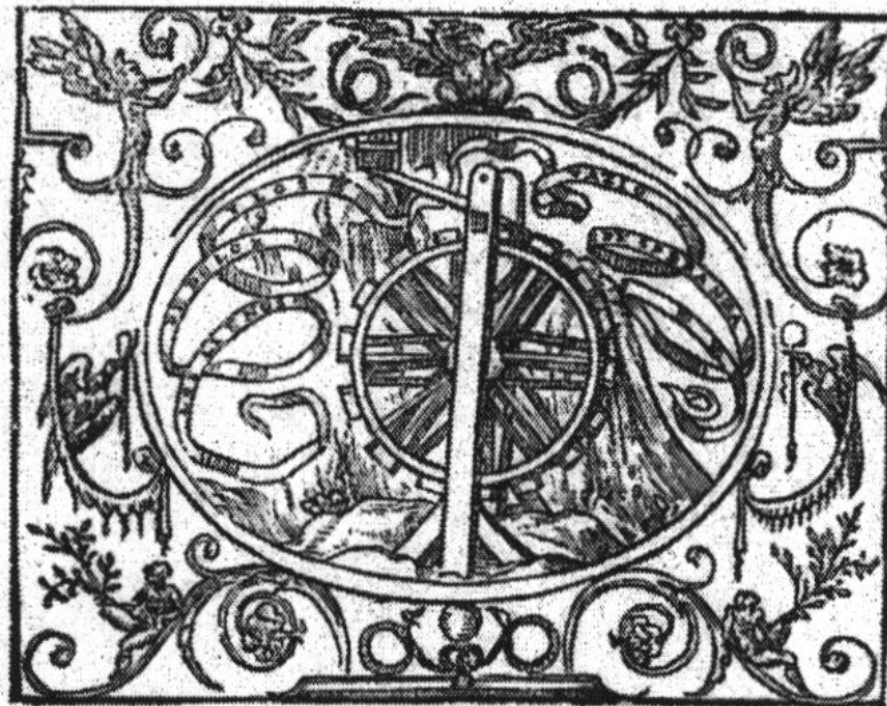


Fig. 4. Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* (Lyon: Guglielmo Roviglio, 1559)  
CCo <<https://go.uv.es/f5xEJD5>> (see also Boase 2017: fig. 36)

The fifth and sixth suitors, who are described in the Admiral’s *respuesta*, are “el cabo de Castilla / con su lengua de picaça” and “don Antonio”. Macpherson failed to notice that the Admiral is here alluding to two different jousters because, in his edition of the text, González Cuenca (2004, 3: 82) had deleted the conjunction *y* before “don Antonio”, even though it is retained in all later editions of the *Cancionero general*. The fifth suitor can be identified as Hernando de la Vega (1470-1526), Governor of Galicia (1515-1516), fifth Lord of Grajal de Campos, Comendador mayor de Castilla,

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<sup>27</sup> Jorge Manrique’s *invención* was probably displayed at the tournament that the Duke of Alba organised in Valladolid for Fernando and Isabel in 1475, and this image was used by Diego de San Pedro in his sentimental romance *Cárcel de amor*. Both *invenciones*, that of Jorge Manrique and that of the Constable, were evidently familiar to the author of *La Celestina*, judging by a speech made by the old procuress, comparing the world to a waterwheel, a physical embodiment of the Wheel of Fortune (Boase 2017: 500-502).

the son of Hernando de la Vega and Marina de Escobar. He is the author of a jousting *invención* of waves, illustrating his restlessness: “Éstas y yo no podremos / descansar, / por plazer ni por pesar” (ID 6379, IICG-553; Maceiras Fuente 2015: no. 218; García Arranz 2020: divisa no. 224). He fought at the battle of Toro against the Portuguese invading troops in 1476 and then in the wars of Granada, and was wounded at Pamplona during the annexation of Navarre in 1512. He married Blanca de Acuña, a younger sister of Pedro de Acuña, Àngela de Santàngel’s future husband. The term “cabo de Castilla”, chief of Castile, denotes his military status, while the magpie alludes to his title, because the adjective *grajal*, as defined in my Cassell’s dictionary (Peers 1959), means ‘belonging to crows, ravens, or magpies’, hence the verb *grajear* ‘to caw, as crows’, or ‘to chatter as magpies’.

The sixth suitor Antonio de Velasco, who would be more usefully employed as an emblem on a jousting helmet, is the Admiral’s first cousin, Lord of Arnedo and Las Arenzanas in La Rioja, son of Sancho de Velasco and María Enríquez de la Carra. He is so small, says the Admiral, that it would be hard to see him even if he stood on top of his saddle, carrying his club or mace, and a two-inch jousting barrier would be too high for him. This gentleman assumed the title of Count of Nieva after marrying his first cousin Francisca de Estúñiga, Countess of Nieva, daughter of Diego López de Estúñiga, first Count of Nieva, and their son Diego López de Estúñiga succeeded to the title (Fernández de Oviedo, Pérez de Tudela ed. 1983-2002, 3: 63-65; López de Haro 1622, 1: 565-66).

On several occasions, Antonio de Velasco seems to have taken on himself the task of organising poetry events to entertain the court. For example, when the Spanish court was immobilised in Zaragoza in 1498 for three hot summer months, with a delegation of three hundred bored and restless Portuguese courtiers, awaiting the birth of a prince who would be the possible heir to the crown of both Spain and Portugal, Antonio de Velasco initiated a humorous sequence of verses, prompted by the appearance of a member of the Portuguese party, Manuel de Noronha, clad in bright yellow camel hose, not merely unfashionable, but inappropriate because of the heat and the fact that the colour yellow symbolises despair.<sup>28</sup> There are two entirely different versions of this series of verses, clearly independently recorded, one in the Portuguese *Cancioneiro de Resende* (16RE) and the other in the *Cancionero de la British Library* (LB1), and although the first poem in the series is by Pedro de Villandrando, Count of Ribadeo, the prominent role of Antonio de Velasco as “stage manager” is evident from the rubric in the Portuguese anthology.<sup>29</sup> He also devised a

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28. Isabel, the eldest daughter of Queen Isabel *la Católica*, who had married Manuel I of Portugal on 30 September 1497, became the legal heiress to the throne of Castile after the sudden death of her brother Prince Juan on 4 October 1497. She and her husband had entered Zaragoza on 1 June 1498, accompanied by a large Portuguese delegation, expecting that the Aragonese *cortes* would recognise their claim to become the joint heirs to the Kingdom of Aragon. Since the Aragonese were reluctant to recognise female rights of inheritance, it was hoped that this dilemma would be resolved by the birth of a male child. On 23 August Isabel did finally give birth to a son, christened Miguel, but she died that same day shortly after giving birth, and the baby died in Granada, on 20 July 1500, before reaching the age of two. For a full analysis of this series of verses and its historical context, see Macpherson 2002.

29. *De Dom Antoneo de Valhasco, esta[n]do el rrey nosso señor em Çaragoça, a humas çeroylas de chamalote que fez Manuel de Noronha, fylho do capitam da Ilha da Madeyra* (16RE-778). Íñigo López de Mendoza, one of the authors in this series whom Macpherson is unable to identify, was, I believe, the husband of the court lady Costanza de Ayala, the second son of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, first Lord of Colmenar (a title which he later inherited), Chief Huntsman of Enrique IV of Castile, and his first wife Francisca de Ribera (Boase 2017: 143). Alonso Pimentel, another participant in this word game, was not the first suitor of Antonio de Velasco’s erotic jousting poem, because the first suitor by 1498 had already inherited his father’s title, whereas this gentleman is not here accorded any title. This was the first suitor’s cousin Alonso Pimentel (c. 1482-1499), a wealthy young gentleman, famous for his horsemanship and his skill in composing *invenciones*, the only son of Juan Pimentel y Quiñones (d. 1527), Lord of Allariz, and Juana de Castro. He was the chief suitor of King Fernando’s niece Marina de Aragón, later Princess of Salerno. He died from two stab wounds that he received while attempting to break up a brawl in February 1499 at Ocaña (Boase 2017: 127-28). Macpherson’s theory that Corella, another of the authors in the series, was Micalet Corella, the masked man who led

card game for eight court ladies: one of these, as mentioned earlier, was his *amiga*, who would later become Àngela de Santàngel's sister-in-law.

Macpherson narrows down the date of composition of the exchange of verses about the six jousting suitors to "the first twelve years of the sixteenth century, with a *terminus a quo* of 1500, when Diego Hurtado de Mendoza became Count of Saldaña, and a *terminus ad quem* of 1512, when Bernardino de Velasco died without legitimate succession" (Macpherson & McKay 1998: 128 n25). Having identified the lady for whom the gentlemen are competing as Àngela de Santàngel, who married Pedro de Acuña in 1506, it is possible to conjecture that it was completed very shortly before that date, or on the occasion of her marriage, and almost certainly before 1508 when Acevedo composed his verses about festivities in Murcia. Macpherson has noted that these courtiers were united by ties of kinship as well as friendship and, I should add, that Pedro de Acuña was also closely associated with them by ties of kinship and marriage: Antonio de Velasco, Bernardino de Velasco and Fadrique Enríquez were all his cousins, while Hernando de la Vega was to become, or was already, his brother-in-law.

I mentioned earlier how Pedro de Acuña's jousting *invención* of a plume of feathers, symbolising the countless sufferings concealed in his heart, was closely modelled on Bernardino de Velasco's embroidered feathers:

*Don Pedro d'Acuña sacó un penacho de penas, y dixo* (11CG-561):

En secreto manifiestan ser  
sin cuento más que muestran.

(Secretly they show that / there are countless more not shown.)

It was probably on the same occasion that Pedro de Acuña's cousin Alonso Pérez de Vivero, second Viscount of Altamira, displayed a feather with the wonderfully elliptical inscription "Quien pena sepa mi pena / y avrá la suya por buena" (11CG-560, LB1-282) (Let she who suffers know my sorrow / and she will regard her own as good). Here again we see the friendly rivalry of cousins.

In another *invención* by Pedro de Acuña, the feathers are replaced by flames, framed in beaten gold (11CG-562; López Poza 2020):

*El mismo [Pedro de Acuña] sacó unos fuegos encendidos, bordados de oro de martillo, y dixo:*

De los fuegos encendidos  
qu'en mi corazón están  
sallen estos que aquí van.

(From the flaming fires / that are in my heart / these that are shown here emerge.)

These words were, I believe, addressed to Àngela de Santàngel because the sparks, *centellas*, thrown up by the fires indicate that she was the daughter of Francina de Centelles.

It is evident from a series of scurrilous *notes* that the Admiral of Castile wrote about his friends and their wives and mistresses, purportedly discovered in an inn, and inserted in the final folios of a fifteenth-century treatise on hunting, that by 1496 Pedro de Acuña had a mistress named in

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Joan de Borja, Duke of Gandia, to his death in the Rome Ghetto must be rejected: this murder, ordered by the duke's younger half-brother Cesare Borgia, took place on 14 June 1497, not 1498, and Micalet Corella remained in Italy where he himself met a violent death.

the rubric “Beatriz de Santángelo” (LB5-15-16), whom I believe may be identified as Àngela de Santàngel:

*Don Pedro de Acuña es muy pequeño:*

Mis servicios van perdidos,  
porque si vos me querés  
buscar no me hallarés.

(*Don Pedro de Acuña is very small*: “My services are lost, / because if you want to look for me / you will not find me”.)

*Doña Beatriz Santángelo, su amiga:*

Perdísteos al nacer,  
pues con toda mi verdura  
no’s dió cuerpo la Natura.

(*Doña Beatriz Santángelo, his friend*: “You lost yourself when you were born, / since, despite all my luxuriance, / Nature never gave you substance”.)

Immediately preceding these verses, one finds an entertaining portrait of Àngela de Santàngel’s brother, Miguel Gerónimo Santàngel, and his wife Esperança d’Espés, daughter of the Majordomo Ramon de Espés and Isabel Fabra (ID 6977-78, LB5-13-14):

*Santángelo es pequeño:*

Sin alas milagro fuera  
cuerpo en que *hay* tanta falta  
alcançar cosa tan alta.

(*Santángelo is small*: “Without wings it would be a miracle / for a body that is so lacking / to reach so lofty a thing”.)

*Doña Esperança, su esposa:*

No se cortó a mi medida  
él que por suya me tiene,  
aunque al nombre justo viene.

(*Doña Esperanza, his wife*: “He who claims me as his / was not cut to my size, / although he just reaches as far as my name”.)

The Admiral is amused by the discrepancy in height between Miguel Santàngel and his wife, and between Pedro de Acuña and his mistress. Assuming that the Duke of Gandia –mentioned in another *mote* in this series, together with his mistress Teresa Bazán– was Joan de Borja (1474-1497), son of Pope Alexander VI (Roderic de Borja) and Vannozza Catanei, then these verses were written between 1493 and 1496: the Duke of Gandia married María Enríquez de Luna, King Fernando’s first cousin, in September 1493, and he was assassinated in the Rome Ghetto on the night of 14 June 1497, allegedly by order of his half-brother Cesare Borgia.

Esperança d’Espés was courted by Antonio de Velasco and by Diego de Castilla, second Lord of Gor, who was the son of Sancho de Castilla, Prince Juan’s tutor (López de Haro 1622, 1: 156-57).

This explains why, in Garci Sánchez de Badajoz's *Infierno de amor*, a work that celebrates the great lovers who fought in the wars of Granada, the stanza for Antonio de Velasco<sup>30</sup> begins "Passava mal sin medida / don Antonio de Velasco, / y el esperança perdida" (Don Antonio de Velasco / suffered a malady beyond measure, / and his hope was lost), and why Diego de Castilla, in Stanza 28 of the *Infierno*, "deseando, / muy penoso", sings the well-known song, "¿Dónde estás que no te veo? / ¿Qué es de ti, esperança mía?" (ID 0669).

Among the eight ladies for whom Antonio de Velasco devised a card game, there is both a lady named "la dama d'Espés" and a lady named Esperanza (14CG-123, sts 2 & 6):

-Toma, bivo: te lo dó.  
 -¿Para dó?  
 -Para la dama d'Espés.  
 -¡No miras qué linda es!  
 -Bien parece dó nasció.

(Take, I live: I give it to you. / For whom? / For the lady of Espés. / Don't you see how pretty she is!  
 / It is clear where she was born.)

-Toma, bivo: te lo dó.  
 -¿Para dó?  
 -Para ver al Esperança.  
 -Mira que nunca se alcança:  
 su nombre nos engañó.

(Take, I live: I give it to you. / For whom? / To see Esperanza. / Look she can never be reached: / her name deceived us.)

These two ladies are, I believe, Ana d'Espés and Esperança d'Espés, both daughters of Ramon d'Espés and Isabel Fabra. On 15 October 1515, Ana married Blasco d'Alagón, first Count of Sástago (1511), who died on 10 May 1529.

The poet suggests that the courtiers have been misled by Esperança's reputation, or by the hope that she has inspired. The Admiral of Castile, in the *mote* that he wrote about her, expresses this same idea of Esperanza as an unattainable name, although he does so in a more scurrilous way: her husband, who is very short, can hardly reach her name, or fame, or that part of her anatomy for which she was notorious. Similarly, in the *mote* on Pedro de Acuña, the Admiral makes a pun on his name, bearing in mind that *cuna* means a cradle, place of birth, or lineage, introducing an obscene double-entendre: he is so small that he looks like a baby whom his mistress has just delivered; or her private parts, *toda mi verdura*, have failed to give him an erection.<sup>31</sup> Note also that the coat-of-arms of the Counts of Acuña always has nine blue *cuñas* (quoins, or wedges) facing downwards on a golden background, and a silver border with five blue shields (Figs 5-6).

30. This is Stanza 29 in Gallagher's edition (Gallagher 1968: 105). For a discussion about the confusion in the sequence of stanzas, see Boase 2017: 531.

31. See notes 115, 169, on *natura*, and notes 152, 164 on *cuerpo*, in Álvaro Alonso's edition of the *Carajicomedia* (1995). The use of *servicio* as a euphemism for sexual intercourse is well established (Macpherson & MacKay 1998: 202). Note that the name Espés contains the name Esperanza, *spes*, and that the line "Bien parece do nasció" also refers to the "place of birth", *cuna*.

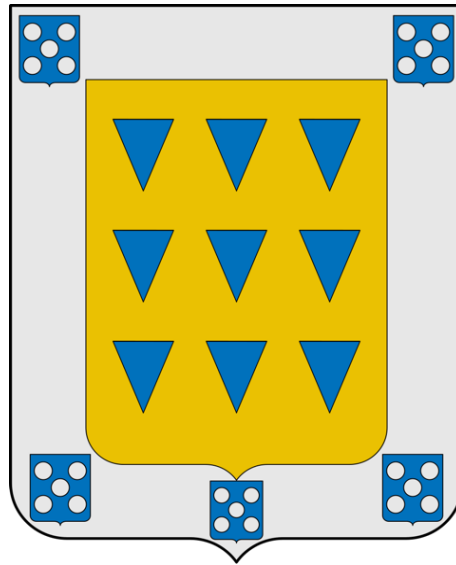


Fig. 5. Acuña Family Coat-of-arms: Nine Quoins, or Cuñas, on Golden Background, CC-BY-SA Manuelfb55 <<https://go.uv.es/rE53ybD>>



Fig. 6. Acuña Coat-of-Arms of the Counts of Buendía above the door of the church of the Hospital de Santiago Apóstol in Dueñas (Palencia), CC-BY-SA Eleldanense <<https://go.uv.es/oaKLsDi>>

Esperança d'Espés and her mother-in-law Francina de Centelles both figure in a card game devised by Luis de Milán for ladies at the Valencian court of Germana de Foix in *El cortesano*, published in Valencia in 1561 (Escartí & Tordera 2001, I: 601-02):

Toma, bivo: te lo dó.  
 A doña Sperança d'Espés,  
 que muger fue de Sanctángel,  
 que por ella tuvo el ángel,  
 pues en todo un ángel es;

y ella, su d'Espés por él,  
 pues tuvo gran esperança,  
 que parió como un pinzel.  
 Toma, bivo: te lo dó.

Para su suegra Centellas,  
 que fue del Conde d'Oliva,  
 de su boca la saliva  
 que sale fue para las bellas.  
 Provisión fueron sus minas  
 de sal, pues fue tan salada  
 que mejor fuera nombrada  
 doña Francisca Salinas.

(Take, I live: I give it to you. / For Lady Esperança D'Espés, / who was the wife of Santàngel, / and by her he had an angel, / for in everything she is an angel, / and she was made plump by him; / since she had great expectation, / she gave birth as if she were a paint-brush. / Take, I live: I give it to you. / For her mother-in-law Centellas, / who was related to the Count of Oliva, / the saliva that came out of her mouth / was salt for the beautiful ladies. / Her salt-works were a source of income / so that she had such a salty wit / that it would have been better / had she been named Francisca Salinas.)

Here there is an allusion to the salt-works, *salinas*, of La Mata that provided the Santàngel family with a good source of income. Francisca Salinas refers to Francisca Enríquez, whose entire fortune derived from salt, wife of Sancho de Rojas, second Marquis of Poza, the eldest son of Juan de Rojas y Castilla, and the court lady Marina Sarmiento (Boase 2017: 153-57), daughter of the Count of Salinas.

Luis de Milán is the author of verses about Àngela de Santàngel and Esperança d'Espés in his *Libro de motes*, published in Valencia in 1535. In this witty parlour game, a card is drawn at random, and the lady reads it out, and the gentleman has to reply. Esperanza is a lady whose name inspires confidence, but whose deeds are not to be trusted, whereas Àngela is an angel and unique (Vega Vázquez 2006: 67, st. 52):

Buscaréis por estas damas,  
 si hay Àngela alguna,  
 y dezilde: "Sola una".  
 Àngela,  
 ángel es, ángel será,  
 y a quien ella es el bueno  
 siempre está de gloria lleno.

(You will look among these ladies, / if there is any Àngela, / and tell her: "Only one". / Àngela, / she is an angel, she will be an angel, / and the one to whom she is the good [angel] / is always filled with glory.)

In her commentary on these verses, Vega Vázquez (2006: 224) identifies Esperanza as Esperança d'Espés from Lleida in Catalonia, daughter of Ramon de Espés, King Fernando's Majordomo, or of his brother Gaspar de Espés, Viceroy of Sicily, who were both among the small group of Fernando's companions when, as a young prince, he secretly travelled to Castile to marry Isabel. She expresses doubts about the identity of Àngela because, in *El Cortesano*, two Àngelas are mentioned: Àngela de Aragón y Milán, Countess of Almenara, and Àngela de Santàngel, Countess of Acuña. However, she herself has unwittingly solved the riddle by citing the first stanza of a poem by Juan de Mena:



Más clara que non la luna  
 sola una  
 en el mundo naçistes,  
 tan gentil que non ovistes,  
 nin tuvistes,  
 competidora ninguna.  
 Desde niñez en la cuna  
 cobrastes fama e beldad,  
 con mucha graçiosidad  
 que vos dotó la Fortuna.

(Brighter than the moon / you were born into the world / unique, / so gracious that you never had, / or possessed, / a single rival. / Since your childhood in the cradle / you acquired fame and beauty, / with the enormous gracefulness / with which Fortune endowed you.)

This stanza not only contains the line “sola una” but also, once again, the key word *cuna*, a clue that Angela is the Countess of Acuña. The reader is led from the present (“ángel es”) to the future (“ángel será”), and then to the glory of the celestial hereafter, the world of angels. Vega Vázquez (2006: 214) rightly observes that the good angel is the Angel Gabriel who greeted Mary at the Annunciation with the words “Hail, Mary full of grace” (Luke 1: 28).

According to Fernández de Oviedo (Avalle-Arce ed. 1989: 381), the count Pedro de Acuña’s *invención* was a picture of two angels with wings, emerging from a cloud, with the *letra*: “Siempre veo mi cuydado / de dos ángeles guardado” (López Poza 2020) (I always see my troubled mind / guarded by two angels), because, whereas most people have one guardian angel, he has two, because the lady whom he married for love is named Angela, or because she was an angel both in her Christian name and her surname. Another *letra* attributed to him expresses the same idea: “Un ángel sólo da Dios, / y con vos tuve yo dos” (Fernández de Oviedo, Avalle-Arce ed. 1989: 381) (God gives us only one angel, / and with you I had two).

Finally, it should be mentioned that Àngela de Santàngel is not the only member of the Santàngel family lampooned in the *Carajicomedia*. Francina, who is named twice in the Valencian section of this work, may be identified as Francina de Centelles, Angela’s mother and the mistress of Luis de Tovar (d. 1507). This gentleman, the eldest son of the Constable of Castile, Íñigo Fernández de Velasco, wrote a poem (ID 6583, IICG-811), in which he concealed the names of nine ladies, including that of Francina. Commenting on stanza 79 (Varo 1981: 211), the anonymous author writes:

Francina es pública y notoria en Valencia, y bate su cobre muy bien, y a poca costa de su persona tiene un violario sobre los Ginoveses.

(Francina is a public and notorious [whore] in Valencia, and she is very good at beating her copper, and at little cost to her person she receives a “rape-annuity” on the Genoese.)

This sentence is deliberately ambiguous because the expressions *batir el cobre*, or *batirse el cobre*, and *tener un violario* may refer to either financial or sexual matters. The first expression, “to hammer copper”, which is synonymous with *batir el hierro*,<sup>32</sup> means “to work one’s guts out”,

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32. Cf. the words of La Lozana to Rampín in *La Lozana andaluza*: “¡Por vida, que tan bien batís vos el hierro como quell herrero! ¡A tiempo y fuerte, que es acero! Mi vida, ya no más, que basta hasta otro día, que yo no puedo mantener la tela” (Damiani ed. 1969: 77) (My darling, you hammer iron as well as a blacksmith! Regular and strong as steel! My darling, no more now, that’s enough for another day because I am unable to “defend the jousting barrier”).

sometimes with a sexual innuendo.<sup>33</sup> Here it could mean both minting money and engaging in sexual intercourse, alluding of course to the family's control of the Valencian royal mint. The second expression, which brings to mind the verb *violar*, "to rape", "to violate", or "to desecrate", is a legal term –still current in Catalan law– for a guaranteed annuity, *renta vitalicia*, paid by a father to a daughter who has entered a religious order. This income would have accrued from the tax that the Genoese had to pay on goods exported from Genoa to Valencia. She is the first woman in "La Orden de Valencia", and the superior substance that she is made of must be fire because her surname is Centelles (sparks).

In stanza 82 of the *Carajicomedia*, where Francina is mentioned again, this time as a dishonest prostitute, *bagassa ynonesta*, it is explained in the prose commentary that she lives in the *barrio de Sant Andrés*, or district of Sant Andreu. Micael Santàngel, who is mentioned in the author's exegesis of stanza 39 as the friend of the courtesan Juana de Cueto, was Angela's brother Miguel Gerónimo (Varo 1981: 174):

Juana de Cueto es una cortesana amiga de Micael Santàngel. Es muy chica de cuerpo, de muy buen gesto y gorda; tiene buenos pechos, es muy soberbia y desdenosa a la gente pobre. Con quien trae oro muchas vezes llega a las manos, pero continuamente ha caydo la triste d'espaldas en tierra.

(Juana de Cueto is a courtesan friend of Micael Santàngel. She has a very small body, with a very good face and is fat; she has good breasts, and she is very proud and disdainful of the poor. She is often manhandled by the person who brings gold, but the wretched woman has continually fallen prostrate to the ground.)

Miguel Gerónimo de Santàngel (c. 1462-c.1525) entered the service of King Fernando as a page, worked in the accounts department, the Escribanía de Ración (Gamero Igea 2015: 209), and, in 1501, he succeeded his father as Lord of Redován, Bayle General de Orihuela, and Bayle de Alicante. The humanist Lucio Marineo Sículo refers to him as one of his pupils and praises him for the courage that he displayed in the war against Navarre (Jiménez Calvente 2001: 630, 763, 835).

This investigation into some of the verbal games played by a group of young courtiers, headed by the Admiral of Castile, Fadrique Enríquez, and his cousin Antonio de Velasco, illustrates the importance of poetry, especially poetry with a satirical, or theatrical, or ludic function, as a precious repository of hidden knowledge of a type that tends to be neglected by historians, and it demonstrates the centrality of poetry as a competitive group activity at the Spanish court in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.<sup>34</sup> All the entertaining activities of the court, such as composing love-songs, singing, dancing, competing in word games, devising *motes* and *invenciones*, engaging in the martial art of jousting, or listening to music, could be comprised in the metaphor of the "joust of love", a game in which the mundane is transformed into an entertaining world of imagination and make-believe, reflecting the hedonistic mood that prevailed in Spain after the death of Isabel *la Católica* in 1504. This is precisely the type of jousting recommended by the old go-between Celestina, as Macpherson points out in the conclusion of his fine essay on "The Game of Courtly Love" (Macpherson & McKay 1998: 253):

La natura huye lo triste y apatece lo delectable. El deleyte es con los amigos en las cosas sensuales, y especial en raconar las cosas de amores, y comunicarlhas ... ¡O qué juegos! ¡O qué besos! ¡Vamos

33. See Alzieu *et al.* 1975: 184 line 32.

34. The ludic function of poetry at the court of Isabel *la Católica* is explored further in Boase 2022.

allá!” “¡Bolvamos acá!” “¡Ande la música!”: “pintemos los motes, [*cantemos*] canciones, [*hagamos*] invenciones, justemos”. (Russell 1991: 262)

Teasing banter, often involving anti-Semitic invective, seems to have been an intrinsic and inevitable part of these verbal games. The *Carajicomedia* is obviously a work that deliberately puts itself beyond the pale and breaks all the courtly rules, hence the need for anonymity, and, of course, one should note that it is the product of an academic, not a court environment. Nevertheless, it has to be understood that it was addressed to certain members of the same élite who alone were capable of interpreting its deeper satirical intentions.

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