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PUBLISHING JUAN DE MENA: AN OVERVIEW OF THE EDITORIAL TRADITIONS

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Even in his lifetime a dominant poetic force in Iberia, Juan de Mena (1411-1456) was, by the mid- to late-fifteenth century, a «classic», a foundationally canonical national (Castilian) poet. Court poet, Latin secretary, and chronicler to Juan II of Castile (1406-1454), his works appear in 57 fifteenth- and sixteenth-century *cancionero* manuscripts, which include the two kinds of poetry for which he was famous—the shorter poems typical of the court poetry compiled in *cancioneros*, as well as his long allegorical poems presented to their subjects, his patrons (Moreno 2011).¹ As his works entered the culture of print, he was very quickly called «el famoso» or «el famosísimo poeta Juan de Mena», and he was so designated throughout the sixteenth century. This textual history thus makes Mena an ideal case study both for the passage of fifteenth-century texts from manuscript to print and back into manuscript again (the task begun

¹ In addition, Mena's poems appear in the first printed *cancioneros*. Mena's poems also appear in non-poetic texts, like the manuscript of the chronicles of Pero López de Ayala (BNE MSS/10234), which has at the end a series of poems by Mena to the king and to Álvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla, on the political situation. In terms of their composition, the earliest of the major compositions is *La coronación* (1436) presented to Íñigo López de Mendoza, marqués de Santillana, magnate and fellow poet. Later, Mena presents *Las trezientas* (1444) to Juan II. His last major work is an allegorical debate poem, the *Coplas a los siete pecados mortales* (also printed as *Coplas de vicios y virtudes*), left unfinished at his death.

here), and for the relationship between literary-historical and bibliographical analyses of his works (a task taken up in another study).

Editions of Mena's works can be divided into several types. They begin with *cancionero*-type anthologies often designated by the author of the bulk of the works (often the initial works in the collection), in which Mena's works (generally the *Siete pecados*) are included with those of other poets; these give way to other *cancioneros* gathered under Mena's name which include works by other authors.² In the next phase of editing Mena's *opus*, single works are published. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, Mena's works are anthologized as such, which becomes the dominant editorial mode, including shorter courtly poetry, *poesía menor*, what we consider *cancionero* poetry as a genre today.

CANCIONEROS

Mena's work entered print via the 1483 edition of the *Coplas de la vita Christi* of fray Íñigo de Mendoza (83*IM). This *cancionero* begins with some eleven works by Mendoza, and ends with a series of works by other fifteenth-century Castilian writers, including *Las coplas de los siete pecados mortales*, in this instance printed with its first continuation, that of Gómez Manrique (uncle of Jorge Manrique, author of the preceding poem in the *Vita Christi* anthology, the «Coplas a la muerte de su padre»³). The *Coplas contra los siete pecados mortales* appear in several other *cancioneros*, including various editions of the anthology of the works of fray Íñigo López de Mendoza (91*IM) and the *Cancionero de Ramón de Llavía* (86*RL; also 95VC). Another printed *cancionero* of around 1500 (1500*PG) centers on the work of Fernán Pérez de

² I will indicate the relevant identifying bibliographical information for each edition in the text, followed by its number in the catalogue of Mena editions following this essay. The sigla follow Brian Dutton's *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, adapted by Josep Lluís Martos and Manuel Moreno for the *Cancioneros impresos y manuscritos* project (CIM) in Díez Garretas *et al.* 2012 and Moreno 2012, with modifications to specify more fully the multiple editions. See Tables 1 and 2 for an overview of Mena's publishing trajectory.

³ According to De Nigris in Mena 1988, the *Coplas contra los siete pecados mortales* were only transmitted in print, which she begins with 1528MO.C.

Guzmán, but includes several of the same texts and authors found in the *Vita Christi* anthology, including Mena's *Coplas de los siete pecados mortales*, plus an excerpt from the closing stanzas of *Las trezientas*, «La flaca barquilla de mis pensamientos», which Foulché-Delbosc (1902) took to be a separate poem appended to *Las trezientas*.

This *cancionero* combination was shifted slightly but continued under the aegis of Mena's name through a good bit of the sixteenth century. Beginning with George Coci's illustrated 1506 anthology of *Las .CCC.* (1506MO), only his major texts (*Trezientas*, *Coronación*, and *Siete pecados mortales*, with no shorter courtly poetry) are found accompanied by doctrinal works of other fifteenth-century authors: fray Juan de Ciudad Rodrigo; fray Íñigo de Mendoza; Diego de San Pedro; Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. It is significant that a nexus of fifteenth-century poets — Íñigo de Mendoza, Diego de San Pedro, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán — remains constant, that the slant of the *mise en recueil* is doctrinal, and that Mena's name comes to the fore as the umbrella under which these texts were gathered in this tradition, which continued a strongly rooted manuscript tradition.⁴ Coci illustrated this *cancionero doctrinal* with some 6 large woodcuts between the texts, some full page and perhaps similar to those in his edition of the *Flos sanctorum* (Lyell 1976: 129-140).⁵

These compilations were an editorial phenomenon that extended and focused the *cancionero* approach, and a series of printers chose to print Mena's works in this *mise en recueil*, presumably to reach a certain group of readers willing to pay for illustrated editions in the case of Coci's, the only editions of anything besides *La coronación* printed with illustrations beyond the decorated title page.⁶ Coci republished this edition in 1509 (1509MO) and 1515 (1515MO). Coci's editions are the only ones

⁴ Another branch of the fifteenth-century textual tradition is the inclusion of Mena's works in the *Cancioneros generales* from 1511 onward. This tradition is not studied here, but will shortly be taken up in further research.

⁵ See particularly fig. 103 on p. 136.

⁶ Editions of *Coronación* have an illustration of the human body with signs of the zodiac on the parts of the body they rule, and of a «pyramidales» – the cone-shaped rays of light that hit the eye and are the basis of sight.

that appear during the same period in which another version of the works of Mena are printed, roughly overlapping with the earliest Cromberger editions (1505*MP, 1512MO, 1517ML). Later in the century, it was reprinted without illustrations at Valladolid by Juan de Villanueva and Pedro de Robles in 1560? (1560*MO) and in 1566 (1566MO¹ and 1566MO²), the latter in two separate issues for different booksellers, one possibly in Alcalá and one associated with the court («librero en la corte»). In its *mise en texte* and *mise en page*, the 1566 edition is laid out and formatted like the 1552 Antwerp editions, and, like those editions, uses roman and italic fonts, but its *mise en recueil* is that of the late medieval doctrinal compilation, with the oddity of integrating *La coronación* in terms of pagination, but signing and paginating separately the *Coplas de los siete pecados mortales* and doctrinal works by other authors. This *cancionero* tradition did not appear again as such after 1566.

SINGLE WORKS

Immediately after the 1483 *cancionero* (83*IM), Mena's major works were printed as editions of single works with no other texts included: *Las .CCC. or Las Trezientas* appears in ca. 1486 (86*ML); *La coronación* in 1489 (89*MC¹, 89*MC²); the *Coplas de los siete pecados* in 1500 (1500MP; 1500*MP). His work seems to have attracted commentaries:⁷ *Coronación* was always printed with Mena's own commentary (89*MC¹, 89*MC², 99MC¹, 99MC², 99MC³, 1504MC. *Las .CCC.* was only printed twice after 1499 (99ML³; 1501ML) without that of Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (99ML²). From 1500 or so onward, the *Coplas de los siete pecados* primarily circulates in the version completed and «glossed» by Jerónimo de Olivares, third of his continuators (1500MP; 1500*MP, 1504*MP, 1505*MP, 1520*MP).⁸

⁷ And inspired them. Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, composed his *Proverbios* in 1437, a year after receiving Mena's homage in *Coronación*, at the request of Juan II for the education of Prince Enrique, and included glosses; Barry Taylor notes that «there seems to be no witness in which the text is unglossed», see Taylor 2009: 37.

⁸ Olivares expressed his discontent with other continuations of the poem in his preface, and then recounted a *Coronación*-like dream in which Mena appears to him to encourage him to revise and continue the poem.

Las Trezientas or *Las .CCC.* was next to enter print, and it initiated a series of editions of the major works generally without other texts that continues into the early years of the sixteenth century. *Las trezientas* circulated without commentary from 1486 (86*ML), through three more editions (89*MC², 96ML, 99ML²), one of which (99ML²) is an edition without gloss finished on 7 October 1499 by the same printers who a little more than a month before (28 August 1499) published *Las .CCC.* with Núñez's commentary (1499ML¹). Another single edition of the uncommented text was issued by Pedro Hagembach et socios in Toledo in 1501 (1501ML). These two uncommented editions point to a group of readers (and thus a market) for the text in its traditional form.⁹ The second edition of Núñez's commented edition of 1505 (1505ML) was the last to consist only of the text of *Las Trezientas*, and this version is included in all the remaining compilations of Mena's works except the last edition of the sixteenth century (1582MO). Núñez's commented edition becomes the basis of the later anthologies that take shape after 1505, combined with other imprints or manuscripts of Mena's works.

Two works are printed as singletons that appeared once and were not integrated into anthologies of Mena's works: an *Arte de poesía castellana en coplas* with *Coplas sobre el Ecce Homo* that is no longer extant (1514*MA) and the *Yliada en romance* (1519MY), his translation of the *Ilias latina*. Mena's remaining prose works (*Tratado del título de duque*, *Memorias de algunos linages antiguos*) were not printed (Alvar & Lucía Megías 2002: 677).¹⁰ In addition, Luis de Aranda selects 24 *coplas* from

⁹ Until I can re-examine copies of the 1499 and 1501 uncommented editions, it is hard to suggest particulars or the profile of their readership implied/encoded in its *mise en texte* or *mise en page*.

¹⁰ *La crónica de Juan II* is tentatively attributed within the text itself in part to Mena and was the basis for attribution to Mena in bibliographic records; it is attributed to Alvar García de Santa María or to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán in current catalog records. It is not mentioned in the survey of Mena's works in the *Diccionario filológico* (Alvar & Lucía Megías 2002). The first edition is Logroño: Brocar, 1517, according to the colophon «corregida» by Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, reprinted in Sevilla in 1543 as well as late in the century in Pamplona by Thomas Porrallis for Juan Boyer. It also appears in an «epitome» of 1678. The issues of attribution and printing history are complex and beyond the scope of this analysis, although the question of why Mena's name and authority would be attached to this text is interesting in itself.

Laberinto de Fortuna, glosses them, and publishes them (1575ML.Ar) along with his glosses to several proverbs of Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, Mena's contemporary.¹¹ This corresponds to the lively sixteenth-century cultural and editorial interest in the nucleus of foundational Castilian writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries marked by the continued publication of such works as Jorge Manrique's *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*, Santillana's *Proverbios* and his *Bías contra fortuna*, the historical and doctrinal works of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, the continuously popular and reprinted works of fray Íñigo de Mendoza, and other works from the cultural patrimony of the late Middle Ages.

ANTHOLOGIES

Early in the sixteenth century, Mena's major works were compiled into anthologies more recognizable to us moderns, with *Las trezientas* and *La coronación* as the titular works of separate imprints, which included shorter poems from Mena's work from manuscript *cancioneros* (political, amorous, and slanderous poetry [de escarnio]).¹² During the sixteenth-century proliferation of Mena's works, they were published in various combinations. Mena's principal works, however, remained his consistently-reprinted longer poems, the *Coronación*, *Las trezientas*, and the *Coplas a los siete pecados mortales*. From 1506 onward these works were the core combination: *Las trezientas* with Núñez's second revised (and simplified) edition of his commentary; the *Coronación* with Mena's own self-authorizing commentary virtually

¹¹ The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid also holds a manuscript of Aranda listed as *Cancionero que contiene quatro obras de provechosa erudicion*, which includes «Contra hechas de Juan de Mena» (ll. 1-30v), followed by «Glosa estravagante de Juan de Mena» (ll. 31-64). As it also includes the «Glosa de los Proverbios del Marques de Santillana» (ll. 97-127), one suspects that this is the manuscript of the «traslación» that he had made «muchos dias ha» (l. 4v) mentioned in the «Prologo» to the 1575 *glosa*.

¹² There was a range of titles for these anthologies: a list of the major works such as *Las. ccc. co[n]. xxiiij. coplas agora nueuamete añadidas: del famosissimo poeta Juan de Mena con su glosa las cinquenta con su glosa: otras obras*, sometimes adding «y otras cartas y coplas y canciones suyas» and eventually simply *Copilación de todas las obras del famosissimo poeta Juan de mena* followed by a list of the works (1528MO.L and 1528MO.C). See below on Nutius' choice of title. The 1501ML edition designated Mena as «castellano» in the incipit – «Comiença el labirintho de luã de mena poeta castellano».

without exception; and the *Coplas contra los siete pecados mortales*, generally with the additions and commentary of Jerónimo de Olivares. The final sixteenth-century edition of 1582 (1582MO) is El Brocense's, and he reduced and tremendously rewrote Núñez's commentary.

With the anthology edition of Jacobo Cromberger in 1512 (1512MO), a basic pattern was set for content in publishing Mena, always in gothic fonts, reprinted once (1517MO.L, 1520MO.C). The principal works were *Las trezientas* and *La coronación*, which continued to have separate title-pages (t.p.) and imprints, though the title-page of *Las trezientas* often alluded to the inclusion of *La coronación*, along with a set of shorter *cancionero* poems.¹³ These courtly poems are a relatively stable set of some nine of the corpus of sixty poems established by Carla de Nigris, but are distributed differently in different editions.¹⁴ In Cromberger's editions after 1512, they followed *Laberinto* in the first volume, while *La coronación* was followed by the *Coplas . . . sobre vn macho* (the latter omitted in his 1520 edition of the *Coronación*).¹⁵ In this, Cromberger inserted himself in a long tradition of Sevilla imprints of Mena's works, a tradition brought to a close with Juan Varela's editions (1528MO and 1534MO); Varela had, after all, printed the second edition of Núñez's commented *Laberinto* (1505ML) while in Granada.

¹³ Cromberger does not include the *Coplas a las siete pecados mortales* after 1512 which he had likely published in 1505? (1505*MP), and which appears in Burgos ca. 1520 (1520*MP); I have not adequately traced its path through the various editions. It does, however, consistently appear in what I have termed the *cancionero* strand of Mena editions, and is thus consistently available for reading and reprinting. It appears in both Antwerp editions. It has been edited by Gladys M. Rivera with Gómez Manrique's continuation (Mena 1982).

¹⁴ The shorter poems in the order in which they appear in Cromberger's editions, but according to the numbering of De Nigris (Mena 1988) are: following *Las .CCC.* 8, 2, 1, 16, 17, [Juan II: Amor nunca pensé], 25 [debate poem with Juan II], 18, 5; following *Coronación* 44..

¹⁵ See Mena 1988, pp. 99-104; De Nigris asserts that Steelsio's edition derives from Cromberger's edition of 1517 (102). Carla de Nigris includes the 1517 edition of Cromberger's *copilación*, since the 1512 edition which establishes the publishing of Mena's shorter works cannot be found («oggi introvabile») (Mena 1988: 701); thanks to the online catalogs created since 1988, searches for Mena's works show that copies are found at the Biblioteca Nacional, Biblioteca Real, and the Escorial in Madrid; the British Library and Cambridge; and in the United States at Yale and the Hispanic Society.

For a good bit of the sixteenth century, the *Coronación* remained a separate imprint, even if coordinated with editions of the *Trescientas*. Julián Martín Abad notes apropos of Cromberger's edition of 1512 (his n. 1039; 1512MO.L here) and of 1517 (his n. 1040; 1517MO.L) «debe tenerse en cuenta que el texto de *la [sic] coronación*, anunciado en el título, no se incluyó» (2001: 369-370). In the first of these entries, he cross-references his n. 1035 (1512MO.C), the 1512 edition of the *Coronación*. In the second entry, many of the copies he lists have shelfmarks indicating that they are bound with some edition of the *Coronación*, and in citing privately purchased and missing copies, his notes indicate that they are all bound with the 1520 Cromberger edition (1520MO.C).

My inquiries to libraries holding the supposed 1520 edition of *Las .CCC.* have generally resulted in finding that the *Trezientas* is from 1517 with the date of the entire volume (assumed to be one imprint) taken from the colophon of the 1520 *Coronación*. OPAC records (never completely reliable) of five libraries indicated a 1520 edition of *Las .CCC.* The Bibliothèque Municipale of Besançon, the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma, and the British Library all reported that *Las trezientas* was actually the 1517 imprint (which even Dennis Rhodes didn't catch; British Library 1989 and personal communication from the British Library staff); Gröngingen and Freiburg require further inquiry. For example, the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid holds two copies of Cromberger's 1517 *.CCC.* (BN R/13020⁽¹⁾ and R/31567⁽¹⁾) that are bound with his 1520 *Coronación*, as is the copy held at the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma (Italy). The copy held at the Bibliothèque Municipale of Besançon's copy is the 1517 *Trezientas* bound with the 1520 *Coronación*, in a sixteenth-century binding, that belonged to Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, Minister of Justice for Charles V and father of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle.

Thus, there is evidence that suggests that the naming of the *Coronación* on the t.p. of the *Trescientas* indicates that the imprints form a set of two volumes corresponding to the two main works for which Mena was «el famosissimo poeta».

These separate imprints were either from the same year or from the same printer, but left the possibility for separate sale.¹⁶ Copies in sixteenth-century bindings may well indicate that the imprints were bought/sold together, as well as bound together. In terms of the business motivation for the difference in years for the 1517/1520 editions, perhaps it indicates either an increase in sales of *Las trezientas* or a slowing of sales of *La coronación* after Cromberger's 1512 editions, leading him to republish only *Las .CCC.* in 1517, as he still had sufficient stock of the 1512 *Coronación*.¹⁷

It is not just from Cromberger that editions of Mena's two main works appeared either in the same year but with separate imprints, or within a very few years (the case with Cromberger's 1517/1520 editions). That they are separate is indicated by a colophon at the end of *Las trezientas*, a separate t.p. for *La coronación*, which has its own separate foliation and separate signing, beginning the sequence again without having come to the end of the alphabet (e.g., a-n⁸ a-b⁸ c¹⁰ in the case of Varela's 1528 edition [1528MO.L, 1528MO.C]). In addition, these coordinated editions are often found together in one binding, but are also found bound separately: Sevilla: Cromberger 1512 (1512MO.L, 1512MO.C) and 1517/1520 (1517MO.L, 1520MO.C); Sevilla: Juan Varela 1528 (1528MO.L, 1528MO.C) and 1534 (1534MO.L, 1534.MO.C); Valladolid: Juan de Villaquirán 1536 (1536MO.L, 1536MO.C) and 1540 (1540MO.L, 1540MO.C), and the 1547-8 edition from Toledo: Fernando de Sancta Catalina defuncto (1548MO.L; 1548MO.C). The latter is signed and foliated separately, with a separate t.p. for *La coronación*, and separate dates (15 December 1547 in the colophon of the *Trezientas* and 1548 on the t.p. of *Coronación*); two separately-bound copies of this edition of the *Coronación* are held in the United States (Williams College; the Hispanic Society). With the editions of 1552 onward (1552MO¹, 1552MO², 1582MO), the two main text units were integrated in terms of pagination or foliation and

¹⁶ One wonders if 99ML¹, 99ML² and 99MC³ were similarly coordinated productions for cooperative marketing, given that the printers, Ungut and Pegnitzner of the Cuatro compañeros alemanes and Lançalao Polono, were closely associated (Haebler 1897: 50-54).

¹⁷ If this is the case, one expects to find combinations of 1517/1512 bound together.

signing, even though *La coronación* retained a separate title-page throughout the sixteenth century.

Cromberger's basic pattern for content in publishing Mena provides the structural model for the 1552 and 1582 editions (Mena 1988: 99-104), although the 1560 and 1566 editions of Mena's works (1560*MO, 1566MO¹, 1566MO²) integrated this structure with the *cancionero* tradition.¹⁸ The principal works are *Las trezientas* and *La coronación*, which generally have separate title-pages and imprints, though the title page of *Las trezientas* often alludes to the inclusion of *La coronación*, along with a set of shorter poems. The Antwerp editions of 1552 (1552MO¹, 1552MO²) mark a turning point in publishing Mena. These anthologies were published fully integrated into one imprint, though still often bearing a separate title page for *La coronación*. The above-mentioned editions of the 1560s integrate *Las trezientas* with the *Coronación*, but include in a separate imprint the *Siete pecados* and doctrinal poetry of other authors from the tradition initiated by Coci (1560*MO, 1566MO¹, 1566MO²).¹⁹ Sixteenth-century editions of Mena's poetry close in 1582 with that of Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (El Brocense) and its minimalist commentary (1582MO).²⁰

The production of editions of Mena's works follows certain patterns. During the late fifteenth century including 1500/1, there is a proliferation of editions from

¹⁸ I include 1560*MO as well as 1586MO in the catalogue, though I suspect that both of these may prove to be ghosts, and copies of 1566MO of one or the other issue. The Biblioteca del Real Monasterio holds a copy of one of the Alcalá editions that I have included as 1560*MO based on the description provided in personal correspondence.

¹⁹ This suggests that Kerkhoff's stemma requires some modification, since he derives the Alcalá editions solely from 1506MO, and leaves the 1552 editions unconnected to any other editions (Mena 1995: 80), perhaps due to a focus on the text rather than on the books that manifest them.

²⁰ A mystery of Mena's cultural afterlife, Jeremy Lawrance pointed out at the recent conference on Mena in Córdoba («Juan de Mena: Entre la Corte y la Ciudad» 27-30 April 2011), is that his poetry continued to be influential and its influence contentious in the 17th century, although the last edition of his works until 1766 was the edition of El Brocense of 1582 (personal conversation 27 April 2011). This suggests that either we have entirely lost all copies of seventeenth-century editions, or, perhaps more likely, that enough copies of the sixteenth-century imprints circulated to sustain awareness and use of Mena's works, which study of the annotations may well show. One also assumes that much of his work resided in collective memory and circulated orally and in performance.

a variety of places, particularly of the *Coplas de los siete pecados mortales* and *La coronación*, although Zaragoza dominates the first half of the 1490s and Seville the second. Mena's *annum mirabilum* is 1499, which sees five editions, three in Sevilla. From that point forward, with the exception of Coci's doctrinal *cancionero*-type anthologies, at no point is there significant overlap of production, which shifts from Toledo (Hagembach) to Sevilla (Cromberger then Varela) overlapping with Zaragoza (Coci), then to Valladolid (Brocar, Villaquirán), and finally to Alcalá de Henares (Villanueva y Robles).²¹ Brocar and Varela print Mena's works in different locales: Brocar in Logroño and then Valladolid; Varela in Granada and then Sevilla. The scattered publications include both «central» works (Mena's poetry) and more marginal (prose) works in terms of their editorial interest, although the vast majority are published in cities in Northern Spain (Zamora, Burgos, Logroño, Pamplona), with the addition of two imprints in Granada, the first of Fernán Núñez de Guzmán's second edition by Juan Varela of Salamanca (1505), and the second the 1575 glossed *estrofas* from *Laberinto* composed by Luís de Aranda, *vezino de Úbeda*. Interest in separate works essentially vanished early in the sixteenth century, and Mena's poetic works circulated almost entirely in anthologies (except 1520*MP). In terms of the typographical (rather than textual) tradition, Cromberger's editions are the first widely-used model as Carla de Nigris suggests (Mena 1988), followed by the watershed editions (typographically speaking) of 1552 (1552MO¹, 1552MO²). I would argue that Mena's own commentary to *Coronación*, combined with Núñez's experiences in Bologna and exposure there to the work of Filippo Beroaldo, provide the cognitive (and educational) model for the reception and reading of his more serious allegorical poetry.

²¹ Clive Griffin mentions reprints of Mena in the 1540s by the Crombergers: «In 1540 they reprinted Hernando del Castillo's great collection of traditional *cancionero* poetry, the *Cancionero general*, while they also issued several reprints of original works by the fifteenth-century Castilian poet, Juan de Mena» (Griffin 1988: 156), although no such works are listed in his descriptive catalog, nor do I find evidence of any such imprints elsewhere, with the possible exception of the Sevilla: 1543 re-edition of the *Crónica de Juan II*.

ANTWERP 1552 EDITIONS

The 1552 editions of Mena's works (1552MO¹, 1552MO²) merit further consideration, which I have begun to give them in a previous project.²² In the series of parallel editions brought out by both editors from 1549-1555, the editions of Mena fit within the second group, vernacular literature. Of interest in our present context is that a *romancero* is the earliest vernacular work in the series. Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's *Romances nuevamente sacados de hystorias antiguas* appeared in 1550-1551, first from the presses of Martin Nutius (Sepúlveda 1550?), then from those of Steelsius (Sepúlveda 1551).²³ A core group of romances —those of Sepúlveda?— are the same, as are the format (12mo) and page layout (foliated, in one column with specific running headers), and an index of first lines at the front of the text. Nutius,

²² While both printer/publishers have been overshadowed by Christopher Plantin's position in the history of printing in Antwerp, their work is not to be disdained, as J. F. Peeters-Fontainas notes (1956: 11), and their publication of texts in Spanish, whether originally in Spanish or translations into Spanish from other languages (often classical), was considerable (with over 140 titles in Spanish for Nutius, the vast majority of his production). Joannes Steelsius was active from 1533-1562 (Rouzet 1975: 208-9); Nutius was active from 1540-1558, and was apprenticed to Steelsius in Antwerp after travels in Spain (Peeters-Fontainas 1956: 12-3; Rouzet 1975: 161-2). Peeters-Fontainas' study of Nutius' press puts the editions of Mena's works in a different focus, as he documents a series of some seven «éditions simultanées», (55) published by these two Antwerp printers from 1549 to 1555. Closer analysis suggests that these titles fall into three categories: 1) works of popular morality based on classical authors (Erasmus' *Apothegmas* and Antonio de Guevara's *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*); 2) vernacular literature in the form of two Spanish works and a French allegorical poem (by an author closely connected to the House of Burgundy and the Hapsburgs) translated into Spanish (Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas* (Sepúlveda 1550?; Sepúlveda 1551); Mena's works; Olivier de la Marche's *El caballero determinado* (Marche 1555a and 1555b); and 3) three chronicles of exploration (those of Pedro Cieza de León, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, and Francisco López de Gómara). If one were to pay attention only to catalog descriptions of these works, whether print or on-line, one might not go further than translating «simultaneous» to «double», although even in those bibliographical entries and catalog records certain important distinctions are signaled. In fact, comparing the versions of the works and their *mise en page* makes clear significant differences in all but the chronicles of discovery. See Brocato 2011.

²³ Of Nutius, Jaime Moll says that he is the «símbolo de la edición española antuerpense» (Moll 1995: 17). He published a number of first or early editions of major works, and initiated the collecting of *romances*. His is one of the first extant editions of *Lazarillo* (1554), and it has been suggested that the *princeps* may have come from his presses.

in his preface «Martin Nvcio al benigno Letor» (2v-3r) preceding the «Tabla», claims that he has the work in an edition from Sevilla (1550-1, now lost; cf. Peeters-Fontainas 1956: 54-5), and that Sepúlveda was following Nutius' lead in compiling *romances*; the Hispanic Society of America dates Nutius' edition as 1550?. Certainly, Steelsius' edition included fewer *romances*, and signals the addition of a ballad on African victories of the Spanish monarchy, as well as also including the navigational aid of an index of first lines at the end of the text: «Añadiose el Romance dela conquista dela ciudad de Africa en Berueria, en el año M.D.L. y otros diuersos, como por la Tabla parece» (A1r).²⁴ Nutius' edition seems to be much rarer; and is held only by the Hispanic Society. Its subtitle is rather coy: «Van añadidos muchos nu[n]ca vistos compuesto por vn cauallero Cesario, cuyo nombre se guarda para mayores cosas».²⁵ Indeed, comparison of the contents of the two works shows that even the shared core of romances was completely rearranged, which Nutius asserted in his preface,

²⁴ This «conquest» was probably the taking of Mahdia (Al-Mahdiyye) in Ifriqiya (i.e. «la ciudad de África» in the poem), the coastal region of North Africa in the area of what is today Libya, Tunisia, and eastern Algeria, captured by a coalition of Spanish and Italian soldiers, along with the Knights of Malta, in September 1550. «Dorgut Arraez» is doubtless Turgut Reis (also modernized and transliterated as «Dorghut Rais» and «Dargouth Rais»), the Ottoman admiral and privateer who replaced Barbarossa as commander-in-chief of the Ottoman naval forces in the Mediterranean, and whom a coalition of forces from Spain, Italy, and the Knights of Malta unsuccessfully pursued. See Hess 2010: 76 for a vague mention of the campaign and Al-Mahdiyye. In addition, Bunes Ibarra mentions the episode apropos of the frequency with which «la ciudad de Africa (Mahdiyya)» appears in sixteenth-century accounts (1989: 62). See also the Corsair database online, under 1550: Giugno/Luglio and Settembre. In general, see García Arenal & Ángel Bunes 1992. Hess points out that African campaigns were more important to the people of Spain than to the larger imperial goals of Carlos V.

²⁵ According to Peeters-Fontainas, «cesáreo caballero» perhaps refers to Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, associated with both Nutius' and Steelsius' presses, and his own forthcoming major work, *El felicissimo viaje d'el mvy alto y mvy poderoso principe don Phelippe* (Calvete de Estrella 1552), which journey took place from 1548-1551. This might lead one to suppose that Calvete had already arranged publication of the *Viaje* from Nutius' press. Another text associated with the *felicissimo viaje* itself is Nutius' 1557 edition of the *Cancionero general*, first published in Valencia in 1511, with additional recently-composed poems by Philip II's retinue, many on the events of their lengthy tour with Philip, such as his marriage to Mary Tudor (subject of the suppressed poem) (Martos 2010a); Martos 2010b analyzes the "self-censoring" [autocensura] displacement of a scandalous *contrafactum* that results in one of Nutius's paper-saving moves.

by subject («que tratan una mesma persona», 3'), and has added a number of other *romances*, some religious and some historical (2^v-3^r). In addition, this suggests that Steelsius followed the order of the original Sevilla imprint.²⁶

The absence of the *romance* on the taking of the «ciudad de Africa» from Nutius' reorganized version was perhaps an adjustment to the concerns of those Spaniards in Antwerp, for whom campaigns in Africa were less compelling than for those whose livelihoods remained more rooted in the recently-closed Reconquest. In keeping with his habitual frugality with paper —the motivation that led to his fame for rescuing the ballad from ephemeral orality (Peeters Fontainas 1956: 11)—, Nutius declares on A6^r in the rubric for the first romance (unique to his collection): «romance de vn miraglo: el qual se puso aqui fuera dela orden, porque el papel no quedasse blanco» (first line: «A Tanagildo rey Godo»). A cursory analysis of the *romances* suggests that Nutius' edition leaves out some 18 included in Steelsius', and adds some 25 not found there (Rodríguez-Moñino 1967). In this, he followed the traditional variation within manuscript culture (its *mise en recueil*) for such collections of poetry —*cancioneros* or *chansonnières*— which is part of the difficulty of tracing the tradition and stabilizing the poetic texts collected therein.²⁷

The parallel editions of Mena's works bear distinct titles. Nutius' edition is entitled *Todas las obras del famosissimo poeta Iuan de Mena con la glosa del comendador Fernan Nuñez sobre las trezientas: agora nueuamente corregidas y enmendadas* (1552MO¹), while Steelsius gives his edition the traditional list form, *Las trezientas d'el famosissimo poeta Ivan de Mena, glosadas por Fernan Nuñez*,

²⁶ Rodríguez-Moñino suggests this as well in his discussion of the lost Sevilla edition (Rodríguez-Moñino 1967: 41).

²⁷ In Mena 1988, Carla de Nigris lists 40 manuscript testimonies of some 60 short poems by Mena, plus five print *cancioneros* of the early sixteenth century, but compares and analyzes these testimonies only in small clearly related groups. As she says of systematically comparing the entire contents of the *Cancionero de Román o de Gallardo* (her MH), the *Cancionero de Vindel* (NY), and the *Cancionero general* (print 1511), it would be «non solo infruttuoso, ma addirittura senza senso» (83). The same could be said of any attempt to relate all the *cancioneros*, a truly rhizomous textual tradition. In addition to the *CANCIONERO VIRTUAL* site, also see *Cancioneros impresos y manuscritos* website (CIM).

Comendador de la orden de Santiago. Otras XXIII. Coplas suyas, con su glosa. La Coronacion compuesta y glosada por el dicho Iuan de Mena. Tratado de vicios y virtudes, con otras Cartas y Coplas, y Canciones suyas (1552MO²). These editions differ substantially in their *mise en page* and *mise en recueil*, and will be examined below.

The editions of *El cauallero determinado* of Olivier de la Marche which close the series of parallel editions are also assigned to different translators, although stating the difference thus is somewhat misleading. In fact, the illustrated Steelsius edition (*princeps* 1553), the original translation of Hernando de Acuña, is in *coplas castellanas*, a very traditional native fifteenth-century Iberian verse form of eight syllables, while Nutius' edition (without illustrations) by Jerónimo de Urrea is an adaptation of Acuña's translation but in Italianate verse of eleven syllables (Clavería 1950: 152-4). Of his own translation, Acuña noted:

Hizo se esta traduccion en coplas Castellanas, antes que en otro genero de verso, lo vno por ser este mas vsado y conosciado en nuestra España, para quien principalmente se traduxo este libro. Y lo otro porq[ue] la rima Francesa, en que el fué compuesto, es tan corta, que no pudiera traduzer se en otra mayor, sin confundir en parte la traduccion, comprehendiendo dos y tres coplas en vna, ô poniendo de nueuo tanto subiecto, que fuera en perjuicio dela obra, y assi lo traduzido vâ vna copla por otra: y lo q[ue] en ellas se añade, es en partes, donde no daña (Marche 1555a: 11^v).

Urrea's version shifted the poetics of the translation to the Italianate style of the sixteenth-century Renaissance – it was Garcilaso de la Vega, epitome of Renaissance poetics, who said of traditional Spanish verse preceding the Italianate style (that is, his own and Juan Boscán's) that there was nothing worth reading. As Juan Martín Cordero stated in his «Soneto . . . en loor dela nueva traduccion y traductor del Cauallero determinado» in the preliminaries to the text: «Sal con canto mas alto y encumbrado / Muestra tu estilo graue y amoroso / . . . / Vrrea te hizo hablar tã graueme[n]te / Como cõuiene que hable vn cauallero» (Marche 1555b: A1^v). Urrea himself said the same thing: «y por tratar el libro materia graue lo he traduzido en verso graue, assi como tal historia requiere» (Marche 1555b: A3^v).

This potential conflict of traditional versus innovative poetic meter points to the possibility of both a political and a generational split in the reading publics of the mid-sixteenth-century Hispanic world, particularly among those Spaniards resident in the north of Europe, with each publisher targeting one sector. This also points to one of the key differences in Hispanic political culture in the shift from a nationalist to an imperial culture and esthetic. Yet Acuña's translation is preceded by a Latin poem by Calvete de Estrella himself, and is followed by an Italianate *octava real* by Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga, *comendador mayor de Alcántara*, page and intimate of Philip II (and thus of Calvete de Estrella and Acuña), who would go on to be governor of Milan and of the Low Countries. This suggests that Urrea was perhaps posturing a bit, and that there was considerable overlap (Navarrete 1994).

FEATURES OF THE EDITIONS

The editions of Mena up to 1552 were published in a variety of formats, primarily folio and quarto. The *mise en page* usually consisted of commentary surrounding the stanzas of the major works (on 2 or 3 sides) and 3-4 columns for the *cancionero* poetry. The presence of commentary creates a need for a *mise en page* to signal the complex textual dynamic of both the *Coronación* and of *Laberinto*, and the rhythm of the page is correspondingly busy. The authorial dynamics of the *Coplas contra los siete pecados mortales* also create a slightly different complexity, as Mena's final commentator (Olivares) also revises the original text. That is, for the running commentary of the first two, not only must the commentary and poem be distinguished typographically, but the verse commented as *lemma* must also be distinguished from the running prose of the commentary. In the last-mentioned *Coplas contra los siete pecados*, while the commentary simply precedes the text,²⁸ the complexity comes from the need to signal the revision or authorship of each stanza.

²⁸ Indeed, it is interesting that Olivares' accompanying text was called a gloss or commentary, since it is really a prologue or preface; I take this to be a kind of contagion from the gloss tradition of both *Laberinto* and *La coronación*.

Both sorts of complexity are more typical of classical texts than of contemporary or relatively recent vernacular literature. Typographically, gothic type was consistently used for Mena's works published in Spain as late as the 1548 edition (1548MO.C and 1548MO.L), with different sizes used to distinguish titles, chapter rubrics, poem, and commentary with lemmata. Major divisions of the longer texts are often indicated by decorative initials in various sizes. Significant marks of punctuation, largely *calderones*, previous manifestations of the pilcrow (¶), indicate rubrics, the beginnings of verses, and lemmata in the commentary.

After the Antwerp editions of 1552 (1552MO¹ and 1552MO²), roman and italic types also characterized the Spanish editions: Alcalá (1566MO), and Salamanca (1582MO) editions. Records for the 1560 (1560*MO) edition no longer indicate gothic types, and Aranda's *Glosa* (1575ML.Ar) is in roman and italic fonts as well. These editorial choices were conditioned by the copy-text from which the editions were composed, within a local or national tradition. While the printers of Antwerp possessed gothic fonts, they were seldom used except for works in Dutch or German (Vervliet 1968: 36, 56-58). Yet all in all, the very abundance of editions implies some strong motivation to continue printing what must have been a fairly expensive vernacular text to produce, although significant cultural capital was accrued by a vernacular text complex enough to need commentary, indexing, and *mise en page* like a classical text. In his *Printing in Spain 1501-1520*, Norton attests to the use of Italian types (roman and italic) in Spain as early as 1507 by Arnao Guillén de Brocar —influenced by Antonio de Nebrija (Norton 1963: 42)— and somewhat later by George Coci (Norton 1963: 73), but, as he notes of Brocar's 1517 edition of Seneca's *Tragoediae*, which is «a piracy of the Giunta edition» printed with Italian types, but set by Coci in a traditional Spanish gothic font because using italic types was far too risky for a Spanish reading public (Norton 1963: 42).²⁹

²⁹ I cite from the original English version of Norton's still-fundamental work; it has, however, been edited and updated by Julián Martín Abad in a 1997 translation into Spanish (Norton 1963 and 1997). Martín Abad's *Post-Incunables* (Martín Abad 2001) supercedes Norton's *Descriptive Catalogue* (Norton 1978) in coverage although not in descriptive detail.

Elisa Ruiz specifies further that in Spain, there was a functional distribution of fonts: «Las formas góticas en su modalidad fracturada se identificaron con la producción latina eclesiástica o académica; la variedad menos angulosa, llamada gótica redonda, se utilizó primordialmente para las obras literarias en lengua vernácula; por último, los caracteres romanos se reservaron para los textos transmisores de nuevas corrientes de pensamiento» (Ruiz 1999: 287). This largely corresponds to the use of fonts in sixteenth-century editions of Mena's works printed in Spain, although it seems rather too broad a generalization, as the Antwerp editions initiate the exclusive use in Spain of roman and italic for Mena's works, which could hardly be characterized as a «new current of thought», although only three more editions were produced (plus Aranda's gloss). Perhaps, however, the question should be reversed: what might have been perceived to be new in these editions of Mena?

Only from the Antwerp editions of 1552 onward, the *mise en page* was one single text block, without columns even for the courtly verse with its much shorter lines, and with commentary following the stanzas of the poem, rather than surrounding it on three sides,³⁰ making the process of reading move only on the vertical axis from line to line, rather than tracking both vertically and horizontally (or diagonally) to find the textual units.³¹ Editions of *Las trezientas* with commentary usually included running heads for *Laberinto* locating the reader in the different «orders» that compose the text, though most also began with «La primera orden | de la Luna» as running head long before the text arrives at that order (the order has, however, a rather weakly

³⁰ This is more like the earliest editions, e.g. that of 89*MC¹. This also makes for a much thicker volume, particularly when combined with the shift to an octavo format, a choice perhaps conditioned by the Aldine octavo series of classics.

³¹ While the eye moves from left to right to read the lines, tracking the textual units depends on their disposition on the page, and multiple columns require more complex movements to follow the structure of the textual units as laid out. This makes the overall rhythm of reading simpler or more complex in relationship to the page as the field of reading, i.e. how does the eye have to move down or across the page to complete the textual unit(s) before proceeding to the next page. Imagine an arrow indicating the order of textual units: two columns of continuous text would form a backwards N, for example.

signaled beginning which does not distinguish it strongly from the introductory frame). In 1506MO, Coci included a table of contents only for *Las trezientas* between his own preface and Núñez's prologue:

Siguiese la tabla del presente trattato: por la qual facilmente se hallara por el numero de sus cartas lo contenido en ella. Y es de notar que estas trezientas que el autor Juan de mena hizo estan diuididas en siete ordenes: esto es d[e] los siete planetas, y por cada copla por euitar prolixidad no se pone sino el primer pie de toda la copla con su numero. y assi por consiguiente de todas las otras coplas (1506MO: A2^v).

Here he used a *calderón* preceding each order's name, followed by «a cartas» (in 1509MO) and the leaf number. This *tabla* was an unusual strategy for an edition of Mena's works, as orientation of the reader was generally provided only by the changing running heads, with *copla* numbers either in the rubric or in the outer margin, and foliation – seldom did editions of Mena have any indication of contents until the Steelsius edition of 1552 (1552MO²), a feature then taken up by Juan de Villanueva in 1566 (1566MO¹ and 1566MO²), who makes Steelsius' alphabetical list of first lines into a strophe-by-strophe table of contents but divided into orders as was Coci's *tabla*.

As noted above, the two editions have different titles. That of Nutius took a more Renaissance approach, simply designating the collection as *Todas las obras* and removing the «copilación de» that preceded the phrase beginning with the 1528 edition from Juan Varela (1528MO.L) and that may well have signalled legal, ecclesiastical, and even inquisitorial matters by the mid-sixteenth century.³² Steelsius, in much more traditional fashion, entitled the collection with the usual list; *Las trezientas d'el famosissimo poeta Ivan de Mena . . . Otras XXIII. Coplas suyas, con*

³² A search of CCPBE for «copilación» as title keyword yields 17 titles of sixteenth-century imprints, the majority of which are legal and ecclesiastical, with one devotional text, in addition to Mena's works, the only literary title among them. Three of these are the *Copilacion de las Instruciones del Officio de la sancta Inquisicion* in various imprints in the sixteenth century (and perhaps late fifteenth century), with another Inquisitorial title as well. CCPBE is not exhaustive, including only imprints held in Iberian libraries, but offers a representative sample and a starting place for further research on this aspect of the title.

su glosa. *La Coronacion compuesta y glosada por el dicho Iuan de Mena. Tratado de vicios y virtudes, con otras Cartas y Coplas, y Canciones suyas* (1552MO²). While both are small 8° (page height is around 15 cm.), the first salient difference is their length. Nutius's edition is foliated as are many sixteenth-century imprints (from both Spain and Antwerp), with 345 ff. totalling 690 pages; Steelsius's edition is paginated, with both the front and back matter unnumbered, for a total of 894 pages.

Both combine roman and italic types in various sizes and weights in one column, distinguishing titles, rubrics, verse, and commentary; both make use of running headers. Nutius printed Mena's verse in roman and rubrics in roman small caps.³³ He set the commentaries to the longer works in italic, with lemmata initiated by a pilcrow, printed in a smaller roman than the poem, and ended with a closing parenthesis. The *Coplas contra los siete pecados* indicates authorship of the strophes by either «Iuan» or «Ieronymo», sometimes in parentheses, sometimes simply printed, either in regular font or in small caps. The continuation is signalled by the traditional rubric. Steelsius set the verses and commentary as Nutius did: roman for the verse, rubrics and commentary in italic, lemmata in a slightly smaller roman initiated with a pilcrow and terminated with a closing parenthesis. Unlike Nutius, he continues the traditional use of a pair of reversed parentheses «)(» to indicate revisions by Olivares. Both Nutius and Steelsius justify the entire page to the left.

As was traditional, the running heads are more specific in *Las trezientas* in both editions; Nutius' running heads remain (traditionally) more general for the remainder of the text (no more specific than «Coplas | de Juan de Mena» or «Tratado de | vicios y virtudes»). Steelsius, however, specifies the «Coplas de Iuan de Mena | sobre un macho» because it is separated from the remainder of the shorter verse, placed between *Las trezientas* and *La coronación*; otherwise he uses the same general running heads.

³³ Considering Nutius first does not indicate any priority in his composition or anthologizing, and merely serves the structure of my discussion.

Nutius began the edition without prologues or prefaces at the beginning of Núñez's gloss, and proceeded through the by-now classically-structured *corpus* of Mena's works established by Cromberger: *Trezientas*, shorter *cancionero* poetry, *Coronación*, «Coplas sobre un macho», and adding the *Tratado de vicios y virtudes* (*Coplas a los siete pecados mortales*). According to Julian Weiss and Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, he revised and shortened Núñez's commentary significantly.³⁴ The layout of the page is relatively simple, consisting of a one-column text block, whether verse or prose commentary.

Steelsius, in contrast, began his edition with a long dedication to Gonzalo Pérez, secretary to Felipe II and archdeacon of Sepúlveda, relating Mena's position and work to those of Homer, whom Pérez had translated, particularly in its encyclopedic aspects and moral philosophy.³⁵ This is followed by an alphabetical index of first lines of all the poetry, strophe by strophe (rather than just the first line of each order, as Coci had done), and then Mena's works. Here, the *mise en recueil* is more like Coci's *cancionero* editions, with sequence of the main works – *Trezientas*, *Coronación*, and *Tratado de los vicios y virtudes* – only interrupted by the «*Coplas sobre un macho*» between *Laberinto* and *Coronación*. The shorter courtly works follow the *Tratado de los vicios y virtudes*.

³⁴ Personal communication of Julian Weiss, who, with Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, is preparing a critical edition of Núñez's commentary. A draft of their edition is available on the *eHumanista* website. According to their provisional «Introduction» to this preliminary version, there are relatively few modifications to Núñez's commentary in the sixteenth-century editions, with the exception of «las intervenciones más sustanciosas de Martín Nucio, Amberes, 1552» (Weiss & Cortijo Ocaña n.d.).

³⁵ Steelsius published *La Vlyxea*, Pérez's translation into Spanish of the Odyssey, both in its initial edition of books 1-13 (also published by Andrea de Portonariis of Salamanca in the same year, 1550), as well as the full translation, published only by Steelsius in 1556. The simultaneous first editions have similar format and page layout, which is replicated again with the 1556 imprint of the full translation (neither is as complex as Steelsius's edition of Mena). It is this Gonzalo Pérez to whom Steelsius's Mena of 1552 is dedicated. See Brocato 2011 for fuller analysis of the imprints. A bibliography of the editions of Gonzalo Pérez's translation is found in González Palencia 1945: 344-347. As Pérez also accompanied then-prince Philip on the *Viaje felicísimo* of 1548-1551, he too would have spent time in Antwerp in September of 1549.

The volume closes, however, with an extensive subject and onomastic index, keyed to the most striking typographical aspect of the edition, the inclusion of upper case letters (A-D) in the outer margins of those pages with commentary, that is, for the vast majority of the text; the locator(s) for each entry include both page number and page segment.³⁶ One last value-added feature of the text is the errata, complete with instructions on how to correct the errors, which are signaled not only by page but by line number. As the unnamed editor says of himself: «Trabajé, segun mejor pude, restituyrlas, cotejando y conferiendo los lugares deprauidos con exemplares antiguos, comunicandolos con hombres doctos y de graue juyzio, y imprimirlas en forma mas commoda y polida que antes estauan» (t2^v-3^r in the Steelsius edition). While his editorial efforts may not have succeeded, although Sánchez de las Brozas took this edition as his base copy, his compositorial criteria were certainly successful.³⁷

Steelsius' edition of Mena's works is truly a deluxe *reader's* edition, and the costs of producing it – paper and ink, the amount of type necessary to set it and the complexity of its composition, the time in various kinds of indexing – were undoubtedly high. Compared with the more traditional and workaday edition of Nutius, it might lead one to think that Steelsius was simply a much more sophisticated and better funded (or connected) publisher and printer. Yet both Steelsius and Nutius added such

³⁶ «Tabla Alphabetica, de muchos apellidos y nombres, assi de personas particulares, como de gentes y naciones, pueblos, montes, villas, lugares, rios, y de otras cosas algo notables, contenidas en los comentarios sobre las obras d'el famoso poeta Iuan de Mena» (Mena 1552MO²: Ggg8^r-lii8^r). I term the divisions of the page «segments» following a seventeenth-century usage by Caspar Princtius («segmenta») found by Christopher Handy and adduced in a discussion of marginal guide letters on Exlibris in mid-June of 2011. The same technique is used by Sebastian Brant in editing Petrarch (Basel, 1496) as well as in the edition of the *Glossa ordinaria* with which he was associated (Basel, 1498).

³⁷ I often use the pdf version of this edition for my own work as a means of finding what I'm looking for, then turning to the latest critical edition. One wonders if Nutius himself or perhaps Bellerus might have been the editor, who describes the circumstances of the commission as «mandando me lo Iuan Steelsio, ho[m]bre a quien yo principalmente soy obligado de obedescer» (Mena 1552MO²: t2^v). Juan Martín Cordero is also a possibility, although his sonnet in the Urrea version of *El Caballero Determinado* suggests that he was more committed to sixteenth-century Italianate verse forms rather than fifteenth-century works like Mena's —this, however, may well be a false (or at least misleading) dichotomy.

reader's aids to many of their publications, and that they both produced such deluxe editions.³⁸

Closer examination of the differences in the text of Núñez's commentary in the 1552 Antwerp editions may further clarify the differences in audience to which each printer was directing his editorial endeavor. The Aldine octavo classics and their *epigones* are clearly a model for editions of canonical authors, and should be integrated into a full understanding of their *mise en page*. The effect of Steelsius' edition is apparent in the 1566 editions (1566MO¹, 1566MO²), and (one suspects) the 1560? edition (1560*MO), all from Alcalá de Henares and the presses of Juan de Villanueva and Pedro de Robles; in these editions the effect of the change of *mise en page* with a *mise en recueil* that is much more characteristic of the late fifteenth century is quite curious.

Sánchez de las Brozas used the same page layout in one column though rather more centered than justified to the left, but the commentary becomes «anotaciones», much reduced, with the commentary to the *Coronación* in third person, rather than in first person as it had been transmitted up to that point. El Brocense also left out a number of shorter poems, and adds two riddles. The rhythm of the page is more measured and simpler in one more or less centered column, even more so than that of Steelsius and Nutius, and all contrast greatly with the 2-4 column complex rhythm of the gothic page. The clarity sought by Sánchez de las Brozas may also be called simplicity, in opposition to the density and obscurity of Mena's own esthetic, and has its analog in the *mise en page*.

³⁸ Nutius also published in 1552 a structurally similar deluxe edition in folio of Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella's *El felicissimo viaie* (Calvete de Estrella 1552). The front matter includes the usual privileges, but for all the realms of the Spanish Empire (in Spanish and French), and Latin poems in praise of the work. Calvete included a prologue dedicating it to Charles V, and, like his maestro Hernán Núñez in the first edition of his commentary to the *Laberinto*, also included a «Catalogo de los avtores assi antigvos como modernos, que en esta obra he seguido». The edition (folio in 8s and 6s with a page height of around 27 cm.) is truly impressive, even with the «vicios» to which Nutius alludes in his apology and defense, similar in structure to Steelsius' Mena yet even more elegant and sophisticated, because of its august subject and purpose (propaganda for the imperial heir, the purpose of the entire tour of his various North European realms, which Philip would inherit in another four years) and its folio format. This has recently been edited with useful introductory matter in Calvete de Estrella 2001.

My analysis here has not only outlined the major trends in publishing Mena's works, but also suggested differing audiences for different editions, and raised questions about the uses of Mena's work in the shifting poetics and ideologies of the sixteenth century. Mena's position, however, was clearly not simply that of the «famosísimo poeta» but as an icon of traditional Spanish (Castilian? *castizo*?) culture and a repository for erudition and doctrine, indicated by the commentaries on his longer poems (and the kinds of annotations to which copies were subjected), and by the doctrinal tradition (what I have here called the *cancionero* tradition), which reappears in the two issues of the strange edition of 1566 (which, however, must have been in demand, since produced for two separate booksellers). The typographical/esthetic impact of the Antwerp editions of 1552 is clear, and, in these editions, the integration of Mena's works into the ideology and esthetic of Renaissance culture and literature was signaled by both the editing and the typography of his works, their *mise en recueil* and their *mise en page* at the ebullient center of power of the Habsburg empire. With the downplaying of erudition, and its locus in the commentaries to Mena's works, early modern editions of Mena cease, and his works only reappear, again in the context of erudition, in the eighteenth-century recuperation of the autochthonous Spanish literary tradition, reprinted in the complete works of El Brocense and in historical anthologies of Spanish poetry, notably in the *Cancionero general del siglo xv* (MN13). This aspect, too, calls for further research and analysis to understand Mena's continual currency throughout the Siglo de Oro, his later loss thereof, and present recuperation.

CATALOG

EARLY EDITIONS OF THE WORKS OF JUAN DE MENA (1483-1586)

This bibliography has been compiled from information in various bibliographies and catalogues, print and on-line, as well as those compiled in modern editions of particular works (British Museum 1965, British Library 1989, Copac, CCPBE, Foulché-Delbosc 1902, Griffin 1988, GW Online, ISTC, Library of Congress 1968-1981, Martín Abad 2001, Mena 1982, Mena 1988, Mena 1995, Moreno 2011, Norton 1978, Palau y Dulcet 1948-1977, Peeters-Fontainas 1956 and 1965, Philobiblon, Wilkinson 2010, WorldCat). Entries include sigil or code when there is such in the source of the information. Sigla and dates are based on Dutton & Krogstad 1990-1991 via Moreno 2012. When copies of an edition of *Obras* are present bound separately, I provide separate sigla. Title and imprint have been transcribed whenever possible; the source of the information precedes the physical description. I have personally examined copies of many of the editions in various libraries, primarily the Hispanic Society of America and the Biblioteca Nacional Española. For the present, I exclude the *Crónica de Juan II* and the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*; in the near future, the works of Mena in the various *Cancioneros generales* of the sixteenth century will be integrated into the catalogue and analysis.

83*IM	1483 ca. Zamora: Antón de Centenera	<i>Coplas contra los siete pecados</i> [with Manrique continuation] in <i>Vita xpi fecho por coplas por frey yñigo de me[n]doça a petiçio[n] dela muy virtuosa señora doña juana de cartagena.</i>	GW Online M18727: F ^o , a-e ⁸ f ⁶ g ¹⁰ h-m ⁸ ; 90 ff. Imb: BNE a ⁸ b ¹⁰ c ⁸ d ¹⁰ e ⁸ f ⁶ g ¹⁰ h-m ⁸ (also digitized)
86*ML	1486 ca. Salamanca: Printer of Nebrissensis, 'Introducciones.' (also identified in GW as 1481? Évora or Salamanca)	<i>Las .CCC. sive el Labirintho</i>	GW Online M2277710: a-e ⁸ f ¹ ; 44 ff.; Kerkhoff: 4 ^o Imb
86*RL (a n t e s 94*RL)	1486 ca. Zaragoza: Juan Hurus	<i>De los .vij. peccados mortales</i> and «La flaca barquilla» [with Manrique continuation] in the <i>Cancionero de Ramón de Llavía.</i>	GW Online M18558: F ^o ; a-c ⁵ d ⁶ f- k ⁸ l m ⁶ n ⁸ ; 98 ff. Rivera: W
89*MC ¹	1489 ca. Toulouse?: Juan Parix y Esteban Clebat	[<i>Coronación</i>]	GW Online M22775: 4 ^o , a- ¹⁸ k ¹⁰ ; 82 ff. Imb: BNE; HSA

89*MC ²	1489 ca. Zaragoza?: Pablo Hurus?	<i>La coronación a Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana.</i>	GW Online M22776: 4 ^o , a-n ⁸ , 104 ff.
89ML	1489 May 8 Zaragoza: Hans Hurus	<i>Coblas de Juan de Mena. (Laberinto)</i>	GW Online 22783: 4 ^o , a-e ⁸ ff.; 46 ff. Imb:HSA
91*IM	1491 ca. Burgos: Friedrich Biel	<i>Coplas de los siete pecados mortales [with Manrique continuation] in the Cancionero de Íñigo de Mendoza.</i>	GW Online M1872310: a-k ¹⁰ , 100 ff.; STC Online: F ^o Rivera: X
95VC	1495 Zaragoza: Juan Hurus	<i>Coplas de los siete pecados mortales [with Manrique continuation] in Cancionero de Hurus.</i>	GW M18729: F ^o , a ⁷ b-r ⁸ ; 113 + 1 ff. Rivera: Z
96ML	1496 January 12 Sevilla: Meinardus Ungut and Stanislaus Polonus, A insta[n]cia y espe[n]sas de juan thomas fauario de lumelo	<i>Las ccc sive el Labirintho.</i>	GW Online 22779: 4 ^o , a-e ⁸ ff.; 44 ff.
99MC ¹	1499 Zaragoza: Hurus	<i>Coronación de Juan de Mena al Marqués.</i>	GW Online M22776: 4 ^o , a-n ⁸ , 104 ff.
99ML ¹	1499 August 28 Sevilla: Ympressos có mucha dilige[n]cia y correccio[n] por Joa[n]nes pegnizer de Nurenberga y magno y Thomas co[m]pañeros alemanes	<i>Las .ccc. del famosissimo poeta juan de mena có glosa.</i>	GW Online M22780: F ^o , a-z ⁸ [et] ⁶ ; 190 ff.
99ML ²	1499 October 7 Sevilla: Acaba[n]se las .ccc. de Juan de mena emprendidas e Seuilla en el año de Mill. cccc. e xcix. a. vij. dias d'Octubrio: por Johãnes pegnizer de nurenberga y magno herbst compañeros alemanes	<i>Las .ccc. de Jua[n] de me[n]a.</i>	GW Online M22778: 4 ^o , a-e ⁸ ff.; 44 ff.

99MC ²	1499 November 5 Salamanca: Typ. de Nebrija: «Gramática», (Haeb. 470); Second Gothic Group?	Coronación[n] col[m]puesta por el famoso poeta lua[n] de Mena: al muy illustre cauallero don Yñigo lopez de mendoza marques de santillana.	GW Online M22772: F ^o , a-c ⁶ d ⁴ e ⁸ ff.; 34 ff. Imb: BNE; HSA a-c ⁶ d ⁴ e ⁸ ff
99MC ³	1499 November 12 Sevilla: Lançalao Polono	Coronación.	GW Online M22774: 4 ^o , a-k ⁸ ; 80 ff.
1500MP	1500 Salamanca: [Printer of Nebrissensis, 'Gramática']	Coplas d'los siete peccados mortales hechas por el famoso poeta Juan de mena. Por fallecimiento del famoso poeta Jua[n] de mena prosigue Gomez ma[n]rique a q[ue] sta obra por el començada: haze vn breue prohemio.	GW Online M22771: 4 ^o , a ⁸ b-d ⁴ ; 20 ff. Rivera: Y
1500*MP	1500 ca. N.p.: n.p., n.d.	Coplas de los siete peccados mortales, glosadas y acabadas por Hieronymo de Oliuares.	Palau 221013
1500*PG	1500 ca. N.p.: n.p., n.d.	De los VII peccatos mortales que fizo Joan de Mena and Obra de Joan de Mena intitulada La Flaca barquilla de mis pensamientos in Coplas de Fernan Perez de Guzman de vicios e virtudes. Las trezientas de Iuan de mena.	Paris Bibliothèque National FRBNF31081042 (RES- YG- 14): F ^o , A-N (without further specification)
1501ML	1501 December 7 Toledo: Pedro Hagembach et socios		Norton 1021: 4 ^o , a-e ⁸ ; 40 ff. unn.
1504MC	1504 May 13 Toledo: [Sucesor de Pedro Hagembach]	Coronacion conpuesta por el famoso poeta Juan de mena al muy ylustre cauallero do[n] yñigo lopez de me[n]doça, marq[ue]s de sa[n]tillana.	Norton: 1038: 4 ^o , a-f ⁸ g ⁶ ; 54 ff. unn.
1504*MP	1504-1505 Toledo: [Sucesor de Pedro Hagembach]	[Coplas de los siete peccados mortales.] Ad. Gómez Manrique	Martín Abad Post-incunables 1031: 4 ^o , a ⁸ b ⁸ c ⁴ ; 20 ff. unn.

1505*MP	1505? Sevilla?: Jacobo Cromberger		<i>Coplas de los siete pecados mortales: fechas por el famoso poeta Juan de mena: glosadas [et] acabadas por Jeronimo de oliuares: cauallero de la orden de alcantara.</i>	Norton 760: a8b8, 16 ff.; Martín Abad Post-incunables 1032: 4º
1505ML	1505 November 7 Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca		<i>Las .CCC. del famosissimo poeta Juan de mena co[n] glosa.</i>	Martín Abad Post-incunables 1038. Norton 350: Fº, a-rº; 136 ff. Imb: BNE; HSA
1506MO	1506 May 5 Çaragoça: George coci, a insta[n]cia del varon Loys malferit		<i>Las CCC ... con su glosa, e Las cinque[n]ta con su glosa, [y] otras obras.</i>	Norton 616: Fº 136 ff. Imb: BNE; HSA; A ⁶ a-p ⁸ q ¹⁰ ; 6 woodcuts + printer's device
1509MO	1509 September 23 Zaragoza: George coci		<i>Las. cc. xxiiij. coplas agora nueuamete añadidas: del famosissimo poeta Juan de Mena con su glosa las cinquenta con su glosa: otras obras.</i>	Norton 631: Fº, [asterisk ²] a-l ⁸ ll ⁶ m-p ⁸ q ¹⁰ ; 138 ff. Imb: BNE; HSA; π ² a-l ⁸ ll ⁶ m-p ⁸ q ¹⁰ ; 6 woodcuts + printer's device
1512MO.C	1512 February 8 Sevilla: Jacopo Cronberger		<i>La coronacion compuesta por el famoso poeta Juan de Mena : con otras coplas anadidas ala fin hechas por el mesmo poeta</i>	Norton 815: Fº, a ⁸ b ⁸ c ⁶ ; 22 ff.; Martín Abad 1035
1512MO.L	1512 May 25 Sevilla: Jacobo cronberger		<i>Las .CCC. : cõ otras xxiii. coplas y su glosa y la Coronacion : otras cartas : [et] coplas [et] ca[n]cia[n]jes. Agora nueuamente añadidas</i>	Norton 821: Fº, a-n ⁸ ; 104 ff.; Martín Abad 1039 Imb: BNE; HSA
1514*MA	1514 ante quem N. p. : n. p.		<i>[Arte de poesia castellana en coplas.] [Coplas sobre el Ecce Homo.]</i>	Norton 1357: 4º, citing Reg. Colomb. 3973. Also Martín Abad 1030.
1515MO	1515 October 5 Zaragoza: George Coci		<i>Las .ccc. del famosissimo poeta Juan de Mena con su glosa: & las Cinquenta cõ su glosa: & otras obras.</i>	Norton 672: Fº, [asterisk ²] a-l ⁸ ll ⁶ m-p ⁸ q ¹⁰ ; 138 ff. Imb: BNE; HSA; π ² a-l ⁸ ll ⁶ m-p ⁸ q ¹⁰ ; 6 woodcuts + printer's device
1517MO.L	1517 September 24 Seuilla: Jacobo Cromberger		<i>Las .ccc. del famosissimo poeta lua[n] de mena: co[n] otras .xxiiij. coplas y su glosa y la coronacion del mesmo poeta: [et] otras cartas: [et] coplas [et] ca[n]cia[n] es. Agora nueuamente añadidas.</i>	Norton 904: Fº, a-n ⁸ ; 104 ff.

1519MY	1519 April 23 Valladolid: Arnao Guillen de Brocar	<i>Yliada en romance: Esta es la yliada de homero en romãce. Traduzida por Iuan de mena.</i>	Norton 1328: 4 ^o a-c ^o d ⁶ ; 30 ff. unn.
1520*MP	1520 ca. Burgos: Alonso de Melgar	<i>Coplas de los siete pecados mortales. Glosa y ad. Jerónimo de Olivares Coplas de vicios y virtudes.</i>	Norton 335: 4 ^o (now untraceable)
1520MOC	1520 March 8 Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger	<i>La coronacion compuesta por el famoso poeta Iuan de mena: al illustre Cauallero don yñigo lopez de Mendoça marques de Santillana: cõ otras coplas añadidas ala fin fechas por el mesmo poeta.</i>	Norton 927: F ^o , a ⁸ b ⁸ c ⁶ ; 22 ff. unn.
1528MOC	1528 May 16 Sevilla: Juan Varela	<i>La coronacion co[m]puesta por el famoso poeta Juan de Mena : con otras coplas añadidas a la fin hechas por el mesmo poeta.</i>	Imb: BNE; a-b ⁸ c ¹⁰ . Two-four columns. Page height: 28.1 x 20.1 cm.
1528MO.L	1528 May 20 Sevilla: Juan Varela	<i>Copilacion de todas las obras del famosissimo poeta Juan de mena: co[n]Iuene saber : Las .ccc. con otras .xxiiij. coplas y su glosa: y la cora[n] acio[n] y las coplas de los siete peccados [sic] mortales co[n] otras cartas y coplas y canciones cuyas Agora nueuame[n]te añadidas.</i>	Imb: BNE; a-n ⁸ . Two-four columns. Page height: 28.1 x 20.1 cm.
1534MOC	1534 October 6 Sevilla: Juan Varela	<i>Coronación.</i>	Imb: BNE; a-b ⁸ c ¹⁰
1534MO.L	1534 October 20 Sevilla: Juan Varela	<i>Copilacion de todas las obras del famosissimo poeta Juan de mena: co[n]Iuene saber : Las .ccc. con otras .xxiiij. coplas y su glosa: y la cora[n]Iacio[n] y las coplas de los siete pecados mortales co[n] otras cartas y coplas y canciones cuyas Agora nueuame[n]te añadidas.</i>	Imb: BNE; a-n ⁸

1536MO.L	1536 June 1 Valladolid: Juan de Villaquirán, a costa de Cosme damian	<i>Copilacio[n] de todas las obras del famosissimo poeta J. de Mena conviene saber las CCC co[n] otras xxiii coplas y su glosa y la Coronacio[n], de las coplas de los Siete Peccados mortales con otras cartas y coplas y canciones suyas. Agora nuevamente añadidas.</i>	BNE: a-n ⁸ , 104 ff.
1536MO.C	1536 June 28 Valladolid: Juan de Villaquirán por Cosme Damián	<i>La coronación compuesta por el famoso Poeta Juã de Mena: con otras Coplas nuevamente añadidas a la fin.</i>	BNE: A-B ⁸ C ¹⁰
1540MO.L	1540 Valladolid: Juan de Villaquirán	<i>Copilación de todas las obras del famosissimo poeta Juan de Mena: cõviene saber las .ccc. con otras .xxiiij. coplas y su glosa: y la coronacio[n] de las coplas de los siete pecados mortales con otras cartas y coplas y canciones suyas. Agora nuevamente añadidas [et] imprimidas.</i>	BNE: a-n ⁸
1540MO.C	1540 December 12 Valladolid: Juan de Villaquirán	<i>Coronación.</i>	BNE: A-B ⁸ C ¹⁰
1548MO.C	1547 December 15 (t.p.: 1548) Toledo: Fernando de Santa Catalina defunto	<i>La coronacion compuesta por el famoso Poeta Juan de Mena. Con otras coplas agora nuevamente añadidas ala fin. Hechas por el mismo Poeta.</i>	Copac: F ^o , a-n ⁸
1548MO.L	1548 (no colophon) Toledo: Fernando de Santa Catalina defunto	<i>Copilacion d[e] todas las obras del famosissimo oeta Juã de mena: co[n]juene saber Las .ccc. cõ otras .xxiii. coplas y su glosa.y la Coronación delas coplas de los siete Peccados mortales:con otras carta y coplas y canciones suyas. Agora nuevamente añadidas [et] Imprimidas.</i>	A-B ⁸ C ¹⁰

1552MO ¹	1552 Antwerp: Martin Nucio	Todas las obras del famosissimo poeta luan de Mena con la glosa del comendador Fernan Nuñez sobre las trezientas: agora nueuamente corregidas y enmendadas.	Imb: BNE; HSA; 8°, A-Vv ⁸ ; 345 numbered lvs.; page height: 15.5 cm.
1552MO ²	1552 Antwerp: Juan Steelsio	Las trezientas d'el famosissimo poeta luan de Mena, glosadas por Fernan Nuñez, Comendador de la orden de Sanctiago. Otras XXIII. Coplas suyas, con su glosa. La Coronacion compuesta y glosada por el dicho luan de Mena. Tratado de vicios y virtudes, con otras Cartas y Coplas, y Canciones suyas. Todo con exquisita diligencia corregido, y emendado de infinitos errores, allende de otras qualquier impresiones: añadidas de nuevo dos tablas. vna de las coplas, otra de las materias principales, declaradas por todo el discurso de los Commentarios.	Imb: BNE; HSA; [star] ⁸ , A-iii ⁸ ; [32], 830, [34] p.; page height: 14.8 cm.
1560*MO	1560? Alcalá de Henares?: en casa de luan de Villanueva y Pedro de Robles : a costa de Alonso Gosner?	Glosa sobre las trezientas del famosissimo poeta luan de Mena co[m]puesta por Fernan Nuñez ... ; Comiença la Coronacio[n] compuesta por el famoso poeta luan de Mena ... ; Tratado de vicios y virtudes hecho por luan de Mena, glosado y acabado por fr. Ieronimo de Olivares de la Orden de Alcantara ; Siguiense los diez mandamientos y los siete pecados mortales con sus virtudes contrarias, y las quatorze obras de misericordia temporales y espirituales y en breue trobadas por fray luan de ciudad rodrigo frayle de la orden de santa maria dela merced ...	Comunicación con la Biblioteca del Real Monasterio del Escorial: 8° (Palau 162701)

1566MO ¹	1566 Alcalá: Juan de Villanueva: Impreso en casa de Iuan de Villanueua y Pedro de Robles : acosta de miguel Rodriguez	<i>Las Trezientas del famosissimo poeta Iuan de Mena ; con su glosa, y las cinquenta con su glosa, y otras obras.</i>	Presumably the same as 1566MO ²
1566MO ²	1566 Alcalá: Juan de Villanueva: Impreso en casa de Iuan de Villanueua y Pedro de Robles : acosta de Alonso Gomez librero en corte	<i>Las Trezientas del famosissimo poeta Iuan de Mena ; con su glosa, y las cinquenta con su glosa, y otras obras.</i>	Imb: [calderón] ¹⁸ A-SS ⁸ A-L ⁸ (multiple errors in signing and foliation; from digitized copy at the Biblioteca Virtual Andalucía)
1575ML-Ar	1575 November 15 Granada: Hugo de Mena	<i>Glosa intitulada segunda de moral sentido, à diferencia de otra deste nombre, à los muy singulares prouerbios del Illustre señor don Yñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marques de Santillana : contiene mas eneste libro otra glosa à veynte y quatro coplas de las trezientas de Iuan de Mena compuestas por Luys de Aranda, vezino de Vbeda.</i>	CCPBE: 8 ^o ; A-M ⁸ ; 96ff.
1582MO	1582 Salamanca: En Casa de Lucas de Iunta	<i>Las Obras del famoso Poeta Iuan de Mena nueuamente corregidas y declaradas por el Maestro Francisco Sanchez Cathedralico de Prima de Rhetorica en la Vniuersidad de Salamanca.</i>	CCPBE: 12 ^o , [asterisk] ¹⁸ A-M ¹² N ⁴
1586MO	1586 Alcalá de Henares: [Juan de Villanueva y Pedro de Robles]	[Obras]	Kerkhoff, p.78: 8 ^o ; based on information from José Simón Díaz, <i>Bibliografía de la literatura española</i> , n.4267 and Vasvari's 1976 edition; Kerkhoff suggests that it is a reprint of 1566MO; it may also be a misidentified copy of 1566MO

Siete Pecados	Laberinto	Coronación	Obras	Etcétera
83*IM		89*MC ¹		
86*RL	86*ML			
91*IM	89ML	89*MC ²		
95VC	96ML	99MC ¹		
	99ML ¹	99MC ²		
	99ML ²	99MC ³		
1500MP				
1500*MP				
1500*PG	1501ML			
1504*MP		1504MC		
1505*MP	1505ML		1506MO	
			1509MO	
	1512MO.L	1512MO.C		1514*MA
	1517MO.L		1515MO	
1520*MP		1520MO.C		1519MY
	1528MO.L	1528MO.C		
	1534MO.L	1534MO.C		
	1536MO.L	1536MO.C		
	1540MO.L	1540MO.C		
	1548MO.L	1548MO.C	1552MO ¹⁻²	
			1560*MO	
			1566MO ¹⁻²	
				1575ML.Ar
			1582MO	
			1586MO	

Table 1. Chronological distribution of editions.

Salamanca	Zaragoza	Sevilla	Toledo	Valladolid	Alcalá	Other Locations
86*ML	86*RL					Zamora: 83*IM
	89*MC ²					Toulouse: 89*MC ¹
	89ML					Burgos: 91*IM
	95VC	96ML				
99MC ²	99MC ¹	99ML ¹				
		99ML ²				
		99MC ³				
1500MP			1501ML			n.p.: 1500*MP
			1504MC			n.p.: 1500*PG
			1504*MP			
	1506MO	1505*MP				Granada: 1505ML
	1509MO	1512MO				n.p.: 1514*MA
	1515MO	1517MO.L				
				1519MY		
		1520MO				Burgos: 1520*MP
		1528MO				
		1534MO		1536MO		
				1540MO		
			1548MO			
						Antwerp: 1552MO ¹⁻²
					1560*MO	
					1566MO ¹⁻²	
						Granada: 1575ML.Ar
1582MO					1586MO	

Table 2. Geographical distribution of editions, roughly grouped chronologically.

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RESUMEN

Este análisis bosqueja las tradiciones editoriales de la producción de las obras de Juan de Mena desde 1483 hasta 1590, mostrando su distribución cronológica y geográfica, prestando atención particular al *mise en recueil* de su obra poética. Entonces analiza el *mise en page* de las ediciones de la obra poética, particularmente las ediciones de 1552 de Amberes. El artículo incluye un catálogo de las ediciones, identificadas con siglas según las normas Dutton y del proyecto CIM, con dos tablas comparando la producción editorial por obra y año, y la distribución de ediciones por lugar.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Juan de Mena; historia del libro; impresos del XV; impresos de XVI; bibliografía material

ABSTRACT

This study traces the editorial traditions of the works of Juan de Mena from 1483 through 1590 and shows the geographical and chronological distribution of editions, paying particular attention to the *mise en recueil* of his poetic works. It then analyzes the *mise en page* of the editions, with particular analysis of the 1552 Antwerp editions. The article includes a catalog of editions with sigla according to the norms of the CIM project, and two tables comparing editorial production by work and year, and the distribution of editions by place.

KEYWORDS: Juan de Mena; book history; fifteenth-century imprints; sixteenth-century imprints; descriptive bibliography