

### **Ms. 5.602 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid: A Description of the Codex and Its Historical Context**

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Throughout the sixteenth century in Spain there circulated many poetic collections that achieved wide distribution and appealed to an avid reading public of mostly traditional style verse. Among them were the various editions of the *Cancionero general*, the ever-growing anthologies of ballads such as the *Silva de romances*, and the thousands of *pliegos sueltos* that were published in a number of cities. Besides these mass-produced collections there existed as well smaller manuscript compilations that were assembled and copied by individuals for their own reading pleasure or to offer as gifts to others. While many of these personal *cancioneros* have surely disappeared over the centuries, some of them eventually made their way into public and private libraries, allowing scholars a glimpse into the private world of a sixteenth-century reader and collector of poetry. One such collection is Ms. 5.602 of Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional, which is a mid-century assortment of poetic and prose texts that evokes the milieu of the courts of Carlos V and his daughter María, Queen of Bohemia. Its unknown compiler has left us with a unique historical and literary artifact, a compendium of two kinds of texts: those that were well-known and widely disseminated in the era, and works that are exclusive to this manuscript and are compelling not only for their artistic interest, but for their documentation of events that occurred at these courts in the early 1550s.

The *Inventario General de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (10: 422) provides a brief and cursory description of Ms. 5.602 which does little to inform scholars about its contents. In addition to physical details such as its dimension, number of folios, and a broad approximation of its date of composition (which it estimates from the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries), this description gives only a general idea of the codex's contents. It divides it into six sections which do not respond very well to the actual organization of its texts. The *Inventario* mentions only a few of the authors whose works it contains and the title of just one of the collection's poem and of two of its texts in prose. A more complete account of this manuscript and its contents can be found in the *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional con poesía en castellano de los siglos XVI y XVII*, which establishes a list of all its texts, their first lines, and their external characteristics (4: 2170-2173). In 1985 José Manuel Blecua published an article in which he further discussed the works of Ms. 5.602. Besides providing an annotated list of its works and their appearance in other codices or printed texts, Blecua edited some of the poetic compositions which he believed to be unique to the manuscript. This codex was also known to Agustín Durán, who included some of its unique ballads in his *Romancero general*. In a footnote to one of these texts Durán states that he copied it from a witness dated 1643, not realizing that this was a date added well after the original compilation of Ms. 5.602 which, as will shall see, occurred in the mid sixteenth century (2: 145). Over the years the editors of various *cancioneros* have included in their editions variants from this manuscript, and some of its poetry is listed in the *Bibliografía Índice de Poesía*

*Aúrea* (BIPA).<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless no detailed and comprehensive study and edition of this codex has been undertaken as yet. Perhaps this is due to the difficulties that it presents and which complicate and make inconvenient such an enterprise.

I am presently preparing a critical edition and study of Ms. 5.602, which I have entitled *El Cancionero de Carlos V* in two recent publications. In the first (2011), my work focused on some of its texts, their authors, the people mentioned in them, and their probable dates, and I arrived at the conclusion that the manuscript was likely compiled by someone very close to the emperor's Spanish court in Germany in the 1550s. The other article (2014), examined the ballad entitled "Romance de Carlos V Emperador," written to commemorate his victory at Mühlberg in 1547, as part of the emperor's propaganda machine.

### **Physical Description:**

Ms. 5.602 measure 230 x 170 mm and consists of sixty-nine paper folios. There are stains due to humidity on several of the folios, but none of them obscure the text. The covers of the codex are made of board overlaid with reddish-brown leather; there is nothing written on them. Inside the front cover the original siglum "P supl-159" has been crossed out and the present-day locator is written beneath it. The binding has become partially unsewn in places, but none of the manuscript's folios has come loose or is in danger of separation from the binding. Folio 25 has suffered most in this regard, as it remains attached to the manuscript only at its lower part, and three small areas of damage have been repaired with paper. Three flyleaves precede the texts: the seal of the Biblioteca Nacional is stamped on the upper part of the first one, and the others are blank.

The folios are numbered in pencil in contemporary hand at the top right hand of the recto folios. The texts were copied either in one or two columns, in sepia ink, by one sixteenth-century copyist. It is a clear humanistic hand, although occasionally it is evident in its appearance that the copyist was tired or was in a hurry. In addition to the fifty-one texts that were originally compiled in the codex and date between 1548 and 1553, there are also several annotations and one poem that were evidently added at a later date by someone other than the primary copyist. For example, someone took advantage of a blank space at the end of a text on folio 26<sup>v</sup> to write "de la mano y pluma de Martín López vecino y morador del lugar de Caramanchel año de 1628. María, tú me guía la mano..." (similarly on 53<sup>r</sup>). On folios 28<sup>v</sup>, 30<sup>f</sup>, and 35<sup>r</sup>, a young man apparently practiced his penmanship, writing several times "de la mano y pluma de Alonso Gonzalez." Only one of these additions is related in any way to one of the codex's original works; these are the rules of the so-called *Cofradía de Grillemón*, whose members suffered *el mal francés*. At the end of this long poem (53<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>), which can be dated to 1552, there is a further text in prose, dated 1649, which describes the cost of medication for the illness's cure.

One of the curious characteristics of Ms. 5.602 are the various texts that are written in coded language. There are a series of anecdotes or short prose texts, some of them of an indelicate nature, which refer to incidents that occurred at Carlos V's court and that refer to particular courtiers. Others describe inheritance and dowry customs in Austria, a few are inane riddles or puns, and eight are poorly-spelled proverbs in Italian.

<sup>1</sup> BIPA is currently unavailable online. Its creators, José Labrador and Ralph DiFranco, plan to update the data. My thanks to Charles Faulhaber and Linde Brocato for their assistance with the textid numbers.

In his 1985 article Blecua provided a solution for one line of the code, from which I was able to decipher the rest of the works. It is not a complicated system, as it uses altered but recognizable forms of some letters, substitutes some letters for others, and also includes a few symbols that are easily learned.

### **Types of works in Ms. 5.602:**

The manuscript contains texts in prose and verse. The prose works are as follows: fourteen anecdotes, riddles, and proverbs written in coded language; three prose introductions to poetic texts; one letter; one testament. With the exception of the sonnet added after the initial compilation of the manuscript, all of the poems are written in traditional metrical forms. These include *villancicos* and their glosses, *coplas reales*, *coplas castellanas*, *coplas de pie quebrado*, and *romances*.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of the texts of this codex are written in Castilian, with the exception of three works: the eight Italian proverbs mentioned above; the first fifteen stanzas of Canto XXIV of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*; and a one-stanza fragment of the same work.

### **Poetic texts unique to Ms. 5.602:**

One of the salient features of this collection is the number of its works that cannot be found in any other manuscript. These are:

“En un camino tan largo” (“Los motes que se hezieron a las damas de la reyna de Bohemia”, ff. 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>v</sup>)

“Salgan ya palabras mías” (“Garçi Sanchez de Badajoz a la muerte del Príncipe don Juan,” f. 18<sup>r</sup>)<sup>3</sup>

“De vuestra prisión me vino” (“Glosa,” f. 19<sup>f</sup>-21<sup>f</sup>; a contrafactum of “Más envidia he de vos, conde”)

“Pues el bien tampoco dura” (untitled, f. 21<sup>v</sup>)

“Quando en Castilla y León” (“Glosa del romance que dize ‘Por el val de las estacas el Zid a mediodía’, ff. 22<sup>f</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>)

“Ya harto deberías estar” (gloss of the *villancico* “Cuidado, no me congoxes”, ff. 25<sup>v</sup>)

“Dios no permita, antes muera triste” (untitled sonnet, f. 27<sup>f</sup>)

“Que le maldigamos” (gloss of the *villancico* “Mal aya el primero”, f. 27<sup>f</sup>)

“No tengas tal fantasía” (gloss of the *villancico* “No me demandes, carillo”, f. 28<sup>r</sup>)

“Bien te puedes descuydar” (gloss of the *villancico* “Zagala, duerme a buen sueño”, f. 28<sup>v</sup>)

“Ya se arma el sacro Marte” (“Romanze de Carlos V emperador”, ff. 29<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>f</sup>)

“Con lengua y memoria ruda” (“El Credo glosado con la victoria de Alemaña”, ff. 61<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>f</sup>)

### **Relationship to other witnesses:**

Only about half of the poetic compositions of Ms. 5.602 (eighteen of the total thirty-five) also appear in other *cancioneros* or printed materials of the sixteenth century. The “List of Texts” provides the pertinent information for each of them. The study of the variants

<sup>2</sup> See the “List of texts” for more specific information.

<sup>3</sup> There exist other glosses of the poem's *estribillo*, unrelated to this text.

that I have completed for the critical edition makes clear an important fact: Ms. 5.602 is not related to any other witness of the era. In the case of some texts, the variants are so many and differ so greatly from other versions that one can only conclude that the copyist was working from a source no longer extant. This suggests a scenario that scholars have long conjectured, that in the sixteenth century poetic texts circulated far more widely than present concrete evidence can demonstrate. In addition to the *cancioneros*, *romanceros* and hundreds of printed *pliegos* that are still in existence, the ephemeral nature of all of these materials suggests that there were far more of them: Rodríguez-Moñino estimated that as many as one million *pliegos sueltos* alone might have disappeared over the years (34). The preservation of a codex such as Ms. 5.602 is both fortuitous and felicitous.

**Authors represented in Ms. 5.602:**

Cristóbal de Castillejo:

“Grandes, muy grandes, Amor”

“Tiempo es ya, Castillejo”

“Aunque mi seso se olvida”

“Sus, sus, péñola tardía”

Garci Sánchez de Badajoz:

“Salgan las palabras mías”

“Después que mi bista os bido”

“El grave dolor extraño”

Hernando de Acuña: unattributed

“Dime, pues, fortuna ordena”

Ludovico Ariosto: unattributed

“Rugier qual siempre fui tal esser voglio”

“Chel lasciar Durindana si gran fallo”

Antonio de Soria:

“Pues tantos hazeis caer”

“Estos días a aconteçido”

Juan Coloma:

“Caistes por levantaros”

Juan Pacheco:

“Pareçe mal hordenado”

Bernaldino de Ayala:

“El prinçipio fue muy bueno”

Pedro de Arcilla:

“El dolor de un pie quebrado”

Garcilaso:

“Con mal andar ya el amor”

Alonso de Villaroel:

“Pues es parte el pie quebrado”

Luis Zapata:

“Cayéndose alçaba Anteo”

Juan Vázquez de Ayora:

“El arbol que se á secado”

**Historical context:**

The texts of Ms. 5.602 provide us with many clues that point to a specific historical and social milieu, the court of María de Austria (daughter of Carlos V) and her husband, Maximilian, archduke of Austria, who were the monarchs of Bohemia and Hungary and later the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Their wedding in 1548 marked the beginning of their preeminent role in Spain and later at the imperial court in Vienna. When Carlos V decided to summon prince Felipe (the future Felipe II) to the Netherlands as heir to this region, he was obliged to fill his son's role as regent of Spain. For this task he chose his daughter, María de Austria y Portugal (b. 1528), who was already betrothed to his nephew, Maximilian, son of King of the Romans Fernando (Ferdinand), the emperor's brother. María and Maximilian married in Valladolid in September, 1548 and quickly established there a Burgundian-style court with frequent and opulent celebrations, tourneys, and hunting parties. But they were only nominally regents of Spain, as Carlos maintained control of the governance of the country from afar. This state of affairs frustrated Maximilian, who had dynastic ambitions. He was greatly displeased with the outcome of the family conference in Augsburg in 1550, in which it was decided that Fernando would follow Carlos as emperor, followed in line by Felipe and then Maximilian. When the dissatisfied king of Bohemia returned to Valladolid in 1551 it was not to resume his light duties as regent, but only to collect his wife and children and take them to his home in Austria.

After the death of her mother, Isabel de Portugal, María was brought up with her sister Juana de Austria in the "Casa de las Infantas," where they were attended by a retinue of servants, mostly the ladies and gentlemen who had served the empress.<sup>4</sup> They were joined by Flemish and German courtiers sent to Spain with Maximilian. When María left Valladolid for Innsbruck many of these people accompanied her there. She did not adapt well to her new environs, preferring the company of her own servants, speaking only Spanish, and engaging in the customs of her former life in Spain. Soon her influence in these matters resulted in the implantation at court of a taste for things Spanish, and it became prestigious to dress in Spanish style and read books in Castilian.

The names of many of the ladies and the gentlemen courtiers who accompanied the queen of Bohemia to Austria appear in Ms. 5.602 as the authors of twenty *motets* written during their long journey from Valladolid to Innsbruck. They include some of the most illustrious lineages in Spain: Manrique de Lara, Lasso de Castilla, Cardona, de la Cerda, Quiñones, Guzmán.<sup>5</sup> Some of the courtiers who remained behind at the Spanish court in Valladolid are identified as the authors of a series of poems that defend Isabel de Borja, countess of Lerma, after a poetic attack on her by Antonio de Soria. These, too, are well known figures: Juan Coloma y Cardona; Garcilaso de la Vega, nephew of the poet; Pedro de Ávila y Zúñiga, brother of Luis who wrote the *Comentario de la guerra de Alemania*; poet Luis Zapata, and others.

A number of the texts in Ms. 5602 also provide us with the historical context in which it was apparently compiled. Some of these include the dates when they were composed and others refer to events of known date, so they are helpful in determining a possible time-span for its compilation. As we shall see, the time range of these items is rather narrow: all of these pieces of evidence point to the years between 1548 and 1554.

<sup>4</sup> See Ezquerro Revilla for details about her upbringing.

<sup>5</sup> See p.17 for a list of their names.

Two of the poetic compositions concern the emperor's victory at the Battle of Mühlberg (1547): these are the "Romance de Carlos V Emperador" (29<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>r</sup>) and "El Credo glosado con la victoria de Alemania" (61<sup>v</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>). Both of these texts are based on the account of the events of this battle in Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga's *Comentario de la guerra de Alemania*, which was first published in Venice in 1548 by an unidentified printer; two years later two editions were published in Antwerp by Juan Steelsio, one in Latin and the other in Castilian. There also existed a manuscript copy in the personal library of María de Bohemia, which suggests that the text might have circulated at her court before appearing in print.<sup>6</sup> The fact that the author or authors of these poems clearly used the description of events from the *Comentario* as the foundation of the texts would suggest that the ballad and the *Credo* were composed no earlier than 1548.

One of the works that includes its date of composition is a prose text entitled "Carta del Rey de Francia a los electores y príncipes del ymperio," (35<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>) at whose end appears "el 3 de hebrero de 1551." This letter, in which Henry II of France incites the electors of the Schmalkaldic league to challenge Carlos V's policies, is apparently related to the events that were the prelude to the Treaty of Chambord (1552), signed by the French king and the princes of the League, an agreement that broke the accord of the Augsburg Interim (1548), culminating in renewed hostilities with the emperor.

1551 is also the year in which a group of ladies and gentlemen of queen María's court wrote the series of *motes* as a pastime during their passage from Spain to Innsbruck, where Carlos V was awaiting them. This poetic diversion can be dated to the end of that year. In a letter to his son-in-law Maximilian, signed on 22 November, Carlos V mentions the arrival in Genoa of the traveling party, and informs him that he is sending courtier Hernando de la Vega to accompany them for the last leg of the journey, from Genoa to Innsbruck (Fernández Álvarez 746). Hernando de la Vega is one of the gentleman who composed a *mote* in this series, a fact that suggests that late 1551 date.

Two of the poetic texts in Ms. 5.602 refer to events that occurred in 1552. One of them, to which we have referred above, concerns the accidental fall that Isabel de Borja, countess of Lerma, suffered at the entrance to the Monasterio de San Pablo in Valladolid. Poet Antonio de Soria took advantage of this misfortunate occurrence to pen a poem in which he uses the double meaning of *caída* to write that the countess deserved her painful misstep for having caused the "fall" of so many others (33<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>r</sup>). There followed a flurry of retorts composed by other gentlemen of the Valladolid court in which they reprove Soria for his insolence. The other composition dated 1552 is a long text that outlines the rules of the so-called "Cofradía de Grillemón," whose members suffered from syphilis (53<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>).

One of the prose texts written in code concerns the kidnap of a Christian lady in Hungary by the Turks and what ensued when her husband went to rescue her (4<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>). According to the author of this anecdote, these events took place in 1553. This is the latest date mentioned in the texts that are part of the original compilation of the codex. Nevertheless there is an incomplete sonnet on f. 27<sup>r</sup> which ends by stating the year 1554. Examination of the folios clearly shows that the previous text, a glossed *villancico* that occupies 25<sup>v</sup>-26<sup>r</sup>, is incomplete at its end; the copyist evidently left 26<sup>v</sup> and 27<sup>r</sup> blank in

<sup>6</sup> This text is the same one that Juan Steelsio published in Castilian in 1550. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero believes that Ávila y Zúñiga himself presented the manuscript to Queen María. Her library also has a copy of the Latin impression of the *Comentario* (2: 410-11).

order to complete the text at a later time. The space was later utilized for the sonnet, whose different ink and studied hand are evidence that this text was added after the rest of the anthology was compiled.

There is no mention of any event after 1553, and no text known to have circulated for the first time after that year.<sup>7</sup> When they are considered together, the pieces of evidence that we have just described seem to indicate that the compiler of this collection of works was focusing on incidents that occurred at the courts of Carlos V and his daughter María between the late 1540s and the early 1550s. Given the 1553 kidnap in Hungary, and considering that the sonnet was most likely a slightly later addition, we can probably assume that the works that form the original compilation of the codex were copied in 1553 or 1554.

A final issue remains to be explored: who compiled this singular collection of works? The contents of a number of the texts shows a deep familiarity with people and incidents at the Spanish courts in Austria in the time-frame just discussed. In particular, some the anecdotes written in coded language contain the kind of day-to-day details about court life that do not appear in official accounts. As we have already seen, the ballad and the *Credo* about Carlos V's victory at Mühlberg reveal that their author had an excellent knowledge of Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga's *Comentario de la guerra de Alemania*. The compiler also knew Italian well enough to appreciate the *Orlando Furioso* in the original language and fond enough of it to include it in this compilation. This person also had an appreciation for the poetry of Cristóbal de Castillejo (who died in Vienna in 1550), and had access to his works before their publication in 1573. Given the international nature of the Spanish courts at this time and the erudition of its courtiers, there could be several candidates who might have assembled this anthology for their own amusement or the entertainment of others in their circle. One person who does meet the criteria for possible compiler is Ávila y Zúñiga himself, who was a poet as well as the historian of the German campaign, and might well have composed the two abovementioned poems. He was also the initiator of the series of *notes* to which we have referred. Ávila y Zúñiga knew Italian and lived for a time in Rome as the Spanish ambassador.<sup>8</sup> As a key member of Carlos V's court he was of course well acquainted with the other courtiers and would have had the kind of knowledge about their lives that appears in the coded texts. While we cannot know with certainty the identity of the person who compiled the works of Ms. 5.602, it seems to have been someone of the same characteristics as Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga, or the man himself.

### Sigla

CG11	<i>Cancionero General</i> , 1511
CG14	<i>Cancionero General</i> , 1514
CG1557	<i>Cancionero General</i> , 1557

<sup>7</sup> The García de Paredes biography was first published in 1559, but apparently circulated in manuscript form well before that date. He died in 1534. The anonymous *villancico* that begins “Mal haya el primero” (27<sup>r</sup>) first appeared in print in the 1557 edition of the *Cancionero general*, but likewise had circulated before that date.

<sup>8</sup> See González Palencia for details of Ávila y Zúñiga's life.

Flor	<i>Flor de enamorados</i>
MN4	<i>Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Heredia</i>
MN6	<i>Cancionero de Íxar</i>
PN531	<i>Cartapacio de Francisco Morán de la Estrella</i>
PN617	<i>Cancionero de poesías varias</i>
R/1388	<i>Coplas de un galán que llamava a la puerta del palacio de una señora</i>
R/2253	<i>Lamentación que dizen Salgan las palabras mias</i>
RAE5371	<i>Cancionero mutilado</i>

### List of Texts

**I.** 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>: “Cuentos,” These are short prose pieces written in code on various topics. The first concerns an escaped galley slave from the ship of Andrea Doria; the second describes doña María Manrique singing in Italian for “don Francisco”; and two areshort observations by don Francisco.

**II.** 2<sup>r</sup>-<sup>v</sup>: “Preguntas”. This is a series of ten riddles presented in code, with their playful answers.

**III.** 3<sup>r</sup>: An untitled anecdote in code that recalls remarks that Carlos V made to the Marqués de Aguilar, who was drinking beer.

**IV.** 3<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>: “La usança de Austria es en los dotes d’esta manera,” a prose description written in code of the inheritance practices and dowries in that country.

**V.** 4<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>: “Cuento.” A coded anecdote about the Turks’ 1553 incursion into Hungary and their kidnap of many people. Among them was a woman whose husband was able to rescue her in Constantinople with the aid of their dog, who bit a Turk and enabled the husband to kill him.

**VI.** 6<sup>v</sup>- 8<sup>r</sup>: “De Viena.” A series of anecdotes in code, most of them amusing, concerning several members of Carlos V’s court.

**VII.** 8<sup>v</sup>: “De Viena.” A brief description of the city, written in code.

**VIII.** 9<sup>r</sup>: “Cuentos. Austria.” An explanation in code of the custom of entailed estates in that country.

**IX.** 9<sup>v</sup>: Two brief prose texts in code, both entitled “Viena.” The first is the custom paying tributes in the form of taxes; the second advises not keeping more livestock than one can feed at home in the winter.

**X.** 10<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>: TI: “La historia de Pirramo y Tisbe que Ovidio scrive.”

BIPA texid 10585

AU: Cristóbal de Castillejo

“Grandes, muy grandes, amor”// “también se quema el amor”

52 x 10 (*coplas reales*) 1 x9 (*remate*)



Witnesses: *Obras* 1573; PN 371 (281<sup>r</sup>-238<sup>v</sup>)

**XI.** 15<sup>r</sup>: Four one-line anecdotes in code, concerning members of Carlos V's court.  
[15<sup>v</sup>: A later hand takes advantage of this folio, which the copyist has left blank, and uses it to practice penmanship. He writes: "Por quanto por parte de vos [/] don Miguel Martin" followed by several large signature flourishes that cover most of the folio.]

**XII.** 16<sup>r</sup>: "Proverbios italianos." Eight sayings in Italian, written in code, followed by four rows of digits of undetermined significance.

**XIII.**<sup>9</sup> 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>v</sup>: TI: "Los Motes que se hezieron a las Damas de la Reyna de Bohemia quando vino de Spaña en Y[n]spruch. Los caballeros del emperador."

Prose introduction; 1x3, 19x2 (*motes*)

BIPA none assigned

AU: Comendador de Alcántara (Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga); Poličena [no surname]; Hernando de Vega; Guiomar de Sá; Hubremont; Leonor de Guzmán; Juan de Figueroa; Catalina de Lasso; Hernando de la Çerda; Leonor de Noroña; Pedro de Guzmán; Ana María [no surname]; Luis de Piamonte; Margarita de Cardona; Gaspar de Quiñones; Guiomar de Sá; Pedro de Toledo; María Madalena [no surname]; María Manrique  
"En un camino tan largo"// "que trabajos den contento"

**XIV.** 17<sup>v</sup>: TI: Untitled.

1x4, 1x8 (*canción trovadoresca*)

BIPA texid 3135

AU: This is a fragment of the Castilian version of Petrarch's *Trionfo*, translated by Álvar Gómez de Guadalajara.

"Aunque yo en mis males veo"// "que no me dexe morir"

Witness: MN6 367<sup>v</sup>.

**XV.** 17<sup>v</sup>: TI: untitled

BIPA texid 18482

AU: This is a fragment of the Castilian version of Petrarch's *Trionfo*, translated by Álvar Gómez de Guadalajara.

1x4, 1x8 (*canción trovadoresca*)

"Salid ya, lagrimas mías" // "que mucho tiempo tardastes"

Witness: MN6 367<sup>v</sup>

**XVI.** 18<sup>r</sup>: TI: Garçi Sanchez de Badajoz a la muerte del Príncipe don Juan

4x10 (*coplas reales*)<sup>10</sup>

BIPA texid 18462

<sup>9</sup> These twenty short *motes* constitute one composition.

<sup>10</sup> Only the first five lines appear in R/2253 and R/1388. The rest is unique to Ms. 5.602. BIPA assigns separate texids to the second and third stanzas of this text (18184 and 76061), although they clearly form part of the same composition.

“Salgan ya palabras mias” // “vuestra vida sin consuelo”

**XVII.** 18<sup>v</sup>: Un cuento

An anecdote about Diego López de Haro, written in code, in which he insults a young courtier who said that D. Diego was an old man.

**XVIII.** 19<sup>f</sup>-21<sup>f</sup>: TI: Glosa [de mas envidia he de vos Conde<sup>11</sup>]

12x10 (*coplas reales*)

BIPA texid 6362

AU: unknown

“De vuestra presion me vino” // “conque os avéis de alegrar”

This is a *contrafactum* of “Mas envidia he de vos, conde,” a gloss of the “Conde Claros de Montalbán” ballad written by Lope de Sosa that appears in CG11 (cxxxv). A related but different version of the MS. 5.602 text appears at the end of the Spanish translation of *La Zucca del Doni*. This version seems to have been based on a variant of the original ballad.

**XIX.** 21<sup>v</sup>: TI: Untitled

1x4 (*villancico*)

BIPA texid 17986

AU: unknown

“Quien triste vida sustiene” // “las mas vezes se detiene”

Witness: This text appears in chapter 34 of Alonso Núñez de Reinoso’s *Clareo y Florisea* (1552).<sup>12</sup>

**XX.** 21<sup>v</sup>: TI: Untitled

1x4 (*redondilla*)

BIPA texid 16582

AU: unknown

“Pues el bien tampoco dura” // “que dexalla de tener”

**XXI.** 22<sup>f</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>: TI: Aquí comienza la glosa del romance que dize por el Val de las estacas el Zid a mediodía

17x10 (*coplas reales*)

BIPA texid 5198

AU: unknown

“Quando en Castilla y Leon” // “que por buen grado se os daría”

**XXII.** 23<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>: TI: Romanze del maestre

BIPA texid 3251

AU: unknown

“Ay Dios que buen caballero” // “cada qual a uye se daba.”

<sup>11</sup> This was added in red ink in a later hand.

<sup>12</sup> See Durán *Cancionero y Romancero* (247) for a gloss of this text.

Witness: *Silva de romances* (1550) 2:74

**XXIII.** 24<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>: TI: Otro

BIPA texid 5872

AU: unknown

“De Granada parte el moro” // “porque supiese la causa”

Related to text XXII above.

Witness: *Silva de romances* (1550) 2:74.

**XXIV.** 25<sup>r</sup>-<sup>v</sup>: TI: Otro

BIPA texid 2119

AU: unknown

“Alora la bien cercada” // “el alma le á salido”

Witness: Traditional ballad of unknown first witness

**XXV.** 25<sup>v</sup>: TI: Otro

BIPA texid 16072

AU: unknown

6-line fragment of a ballad

“Por los mas espesos montes” // “pasan...”

Witness: Traditional ballad of unknown first witness

**XXVI.** 25<sup>v</sup>: TI: Villançico

BIPA texid 5535

AU: unknown

1x3 (*villancico*)

“Cuidado no me congoxes/ pues no dura/ la vida do no ay bentura”

BIPA texid 22300

AU: unknown

2x7 (gloss)

“Ya harto debrías de estar// la vida do no hay bentura”

**XXVII.** 25<sup>v</sup> TI: Untitled.

BIPA texid 6988; ID 0225

AU: Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, unattributed

1x5 (fragment of the poem)

“Despues que mi bista os bido” // “de jamás ser socorrido”

Witness: complete in CG11, CG14, MN14 (17<sup>r</sup>), MN6d (97<sup>r</sup>)

**XXVIII.** 26<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled

1x4 (*villancico*)

BIPA texid 3888

“Carillo por que te bas” / de las tierras de adonde heres?”

6x8 (gloss)

“Dime, pues, fortuna hordena”// “que en mi vida te he querido”

BIPA texid 7273

AU: Hernando de Acuña, unattributed

This text also appears on ff. 30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>r</sup> of Ms. 5.602, but without the *villanico* and with an alteration in the order of the stanzas.

**XXIX.** 27<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 7332

AU: unknown

1x12 (incomplete sonnet)

“Dios no permita, antes muera triste” // “y no el que tu merced me aprometiste”

**XXX.** 27<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 12633

AU: unknown

1x5 (*villanico*)

“Mal aya el primero” // “fue casamentero”

Witness CG1557 cccxciii

2x8 (gloss)

“Que le maldigamos”// “fue casamentero”

**XXXI.** 27<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 76062

AU: Andrade Caminha

1x2 (*pareado*)

“Los placeres buelan y vanse,/ y los pesares estanse”

Witness: Andrade Caminha, *Poesías inéditas*, 405.

**XXXII.** 27<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 14062

AU: unknown

1x4 (*villanico*)

“No me demandes carillo” // ni mis parientes querrán”

Traditional *villanico* of unknown first written witness.

2x8 (gloss)

BIPA texid 14444

AU: unknown

“No tengas tal fantasía” // “ni mis padres querrán”

**XXXIII.** 28<sup>v</sup>: TI: Untitled

1x4 (*villanico*)

BIPA texid 7653

AU: unknown

“Zagala, duerme a buen sueño” // “sin a ti”

Traditional *villanico* of unknown first written witness.

3x8 (gloss)

“Bien te puedes descuydar” // “pues que me an dado tal dueño”

**XXIV.** 29<sup>f</sup>: TI: Romance de Çipion

BIPA texid 4082

AU: unknown

“Çitado esta Çipion” // “donde s-rió mas honrado”

Witness: *Flor de enamorados* (109<sup>r</sup>-110<sup>r</sup>)

**XXXV.** 29<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>f</sup>: Romanze de Carlos V emperador

BIPA texid 22452

AU: unknown

“Ya se arma el sacro Marte” // “el duque en prisión tomado”

**XXXVI.** 30<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 7273

AU: Hernando de Acuña, unattributed

10x8 (*coplas castellanas*)

“Dime pues fortuna hordena” // “que en mi vida te he querido”

See text XXVIII above.

**XXXVII.** 31<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 13919

AU: Juan de Meneses, unattributed

3x4 (*coplas de pie quebrado*)

“No hallo a mis males culpa” // “tiene culpa”

Witness: CG11 cxxv<sup>v</sup>

**XXXVIII.** 31<sup>v</sup>: Romance de Castillejo

BIPA texid 20657

AU: Cristóbal de Castillejo

2x10 *coplas reales*

“Tiempo es ya Castillejo” // “porque me es forçado partir”

Witness: *Obras*

**XXXIX.** 31<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>: TI: Glosas

BIPA texid 3074

AU: Cristóbal de Castillejo

8x10 (*coplas reales*)

“Aunque mi seso se olvida” // “que me es forçado partir”

Witness: *Obras*

**XL.** 32<sup>v</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 8092; ID 0715

AU: Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, unattributed

1x8 (*copla castellana*)

“El grave dolor extraño” // “a do llegó la tristeza”

Witness: CG11 cxxi<sup>v</sup>

**XLI.** 32<sup>v</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 18374

AU: Ludovico Ariosto, unattributed

“Rugier qual siempre fui tal esser voglio” // “logo mutai ne mutero in eterno”

(A one-stanza fragment of *Orlando Furioso*)

**XLII.**<sup>13</sup> 33<sup>r</sup>-35<sup>r</sup>: TI: “Cayó la condesa de Lerma junto a su posada en halto de una mula, y mostró un pedaço de pierna; de la qual cayda estuvo mala y se sangró. Este dia cayó Antonio de Soria en San Pablo y forçióse un pie y embió a la condesa una copla, que es la primera d’estas, y sobre ella se an scripto las demás.”

De Antonio de Soria, “Pues tantos hazéis caer” BIPA texid 16811; (1x9 incomplete *copla real*)

Don Juan Coloma, “Caistes por levantaros” BIPA texid 3747 (1x10 *copla real*)

Don Juan Pacheco, “Pareçe mal hordenado” BIPA texid 15391 (1x8, *copla castellana*)

Don Bernaldino de Ayala, “El prinçipio fue muy bueno” BIPA texid 8258 (1x8 *copla castellana*)

Don Pedro de Arcilla, “El dolor de un pie quebrado” BIPA texid 8017 (1x10 *copla real*)

Garçilaso, “Con mal andar ya el amor” BIPA texid 4520 (1x10 *copla real*)

Don Alonso de Villaroel, “Pues es parte el pie quebrado” BIPA texid 16600 (1x10 *copla real*)

Don Luis Zapata, “Cayéndose alçaba Anteo” BIPA texid 3978 (1x8 *copla castellana*)

Juan Vázquez de Ayora, “El arbol que se á secado” BIPA texid 7869 (1x10 *copla real*)

“Muy illustre señora,” intercalated prose text

Antonio de Soria, “Estos días á aconteçido” BIPA texid 10036 (4x10 *coplas reales*)

Otro cavallero, “La romana es de arte tal” BIPA texid 11826 (2x10 *copla real*; 1x5 *quintilla*)

“Al señor Antonio de Soria” intercalated prose text

Unattributed “A vuestro pie quebrado” BIPA texid 1445 (1x10 *copla real*)

Witness: P531 (83<sup>v</sup>- 84<sup>v</sup>); RAE5371 (9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>)

**XLIII.** 35<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup>: TI: Carta del Rey de Françia a los electores y prinçipes del ymperio

Prose text dated 3 February, 1551

**XLIV.** 40<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup>: TI: Testamento o sumario de cosas acaecidas a Diego Garçiaa de Paredes que en gloria esté

Prose text

AU: Diego García de Paredes

Witness: BNE Ms. 1.752 (186<sup>r</sup>-189<sup>v</sup>)

**XLV.** 48<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>: TI: Untitled

BIPA texid 4053

AU: Ludovico Ariosto, unattributed

15 octavas in Italian

“Chel lasciar Durindana si gran fallo”

<sup>13</sup> Although composed of twelve poetic texts by various authors, I consider this series to be one composition. I include here the BIPA texids for each of its verse components.

These are the first fifteen stanzas of *Canto XXIV* of *Orlando Furioso*

**XLVI.** 51<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled  
 BIPA texid 16400  
 AU: unknown  
 1x4 (*copla hexasilábica*)  
 “Preguntáis, señora” // “en Bervería”  
 Witness: *Nuevo corpus*, p. 547.

**XLVII.** 51<sup>r</sup>: TI: Untitled  
 BIPA texid 2019  
 AU: unknown  
 1x4 (*villancico quebrado*)  
 “Alguno piensa que tiene amiga” // “no tiene nada”  
 Witness: *Nuevo corpus*, p. 489.

**XLVIII.** 51<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>: TI: Coplas que hizo Castillejo a la pluma  
 BIPA texid 20341  
 AU: Cristóbal de Castillejo  
 16x10 (*coplas reales*)  
 “Sus, sus, péñola tardíaa” // “pues no lo pide mi renta”  
 Witness: *Obras*  
 This is an incomplete composition, lacking fifteen stanzas. At the end of the text in Ms. 5.602 the copyist wrote “Boluer al quaderno tengo;” this suggests that he had access to the complete poem and planned to continue copying it. Nevertheless the next work begins on the verso side of the folio.

**XLIX.** 53<sup>v</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>: TI: Patente  
 BIPA texid 14521  
 AU: unknown  
 (*coplas de pie quebrado*)  
 “Sepan quantos son naçidos” // “so pena de siempre estar”  
 Witness: *Segunda silva de romances clxxxii*

**L.** 61<sup>v</sup>- 69<sup>f</sup>: TI: El credo glosado con la victoria de Alemaña  
 BIPA texid 4503  
 AU: unknown  
 42x8 (*coplas castellanas*); each stanza preceded by a word or phrase of the *Credo* in Latin  
 “Con lengua y memoria ruda” // “a esta çisma luterana”

**LI.** 69<sup>f</sup>: TI: Untitled  
 BIPA texid 16560  
 AU: This is a fragment of the Castilian version of Petrarch’s *Trionfo*, translated by Álvaro Gómez de Guadalajara.  
 1x4, 1x8 (*canción trovadoresca*)

“Pues coraçon no heres mío” // “que te me quitó el amor”  
Witness: MN4 (367<sup>v</sup>)

**LII.** 69<sup>v</sup>: TI: Romance

BIPA texid 1183

AU: unknown

“A las armas, el buen conde” // “esto y mas se á de pasar”

A *contrafactum* of the ballad that begins “Mis arreos son las armas.”



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