

**Juan de Lucena's *Diálogo de vita beata*, Suero de Quiñones, and the Chivalric Romances:
Readers and Their Books**

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Juan de Lucena (ca. 1430-1506/07) traveled in Italy and was connected with the court of Pope Pius II. Lucena was later prothonotary to Queen Isabel I of Castile. In Rome, as well as possibly in Naples as secretary to King Alfonso V of Aragón, Lucena came into contact with Italian intellectual thought. Through his writings he hoped to instill in Castilian letters the Humanistic ideas to which he was exposed.¹ He models his *Diálogo de vita beata* after Bartolomeo Facio's *De felicitate vitae* (1443-48), which itself was a response to Lorenzo Valla's *De vero bono* (1430-50, in its different versions).² Alejandro Medina Bermúdez places the composition of Lucena's dialogue ca. 1460-61, with a manuscript dating from Rome 1463 (Medina Bermúdez, 2: esp. 165; Biblioteca Nacional de España MS 6728, PhiloBiblon BETA cnum 1342). In his *Diálogo*, Lucena creates an imagined conversation between Alfonso de Cartagena, bishop of Burgos (ca. 1384-1456); Íñigo López de Mendoza, marquis of Santillana (1398-1458); and Juan de Mena (1411-46): all deceased by the date of composition. Lucena himself plays a role in the discourse, providing information and acting as occasional judge over the opinions expressed by the three illustrious guests at his table (Vian Herrero, 88).³ According to Giuseppe Mazzocchi and Olga Perotti (237-38), the textual tradition of Lucena's work consists of two manuscripts (Biblioteca Nacional de España MS. 6728 and Real Biblioteca de Madrid II-1520) and five extant printed witnesses:⁴ Zamora: Antonio de Centenera, 1483⁵; Burgos: Juan de Burgos, 1499⁶ and 1502;⁷ Sevilla: Juan Varela de Salamanca, ca. 1514-19;⁸ and Medina del Campo: Pedro de Castro and Antonio de Vrueña, 1543.⁹

One exemplar of the 8 August 1499 edition of Juan de Lucena's *Diálogo*, printed in Burgos and now housed in the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha (Toledo), Inc. 3, Colección Borbón-Lorenzana, contains ex-libris inscriptions on fol. D4. In PhiloBiblon, Charles Faulhaber transcribes the information:

¹ See Medina Bermúdez on Lucena's life, esp. 1: 258-63 and 2: 157-61.

² Binotti, 52-53; see also Martínez Torrejón and Weissberger, 503.

³ Medina Bermúdez (2 parts) provides an excellent review of scholarly criticism on Lucena's life and work, as of date of publication, 1997. Martínez Torrejón discusses Lucena's imitation of Facio's work, with an emphasis on Ciceronian rhetoric/discourse, which evinces Lucena's interest in new forms, ideas, and a new world of learning.

⁴ See also PhiloBiblon, BETA texid 1601, Incunabula Short Title Catalogue (il0031600), and Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC). There may be an edition printed in Medina del Campo: Pedro de Castro, 1541 (USTC 349564).

⁵ Copies held in the Hispanic Society of America, New York; Monasterio el Pueyo, Barbastro; Boston Public Library; Huntington Library, San Marino CA; Brown University, Annmary Brown Memorial Collection; Bodleian Library, Oxford (Auct. 6 Q4.14); British Library, London (G.10541=IB.52910); Archivo Capitular, Catedral de Segovia; Library of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de Escorial (29-V-7(3)).

⁶ Copies in Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha (Inc. 3); Biblioteca Nacional de España (INC/2537(2)); Biblioteca Pública, Palma de Mallorca (Inc. 547); British Library, London (G.10283=IB. 53310); Newberry Library, Chicago; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (ChL 1751-1752); Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (RES-Y2-393); Huntington Library, San Marino CA; Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (Rosenwald: Inc. 1499.V5).

⁷ Copies in British Library, London (C.20.e.24); Biblioteca Nacional de España (I-919(2) and R/3382-1); Biblioteca Histórica Municipal, Madrid (I-92).

⁸ Copies in British Library, London (C.63.g.27(1)); Fundación Bartolomé March Servera, Palma de Mallorca.

⁹ Copies in Biblioteca Nacional de España (R/13754); Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (4 Ph.pr. 100); Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon (RES 45271 P).

f. D4r (letra humanística rústica de la segunda mitad del s. XVI): “Este libro es del señor alonso | meleno quien se lo tanare [?] | el yra a la orca en qe sea qui en quien quisiere Al lo | palgara en la orca lo que a urtado | El lo pagara todo por que a pre|sana [;!] bibiente no urta nada”

f. D4v: (letra humanística rústica de finales del s. XVI): “Este libro es del Señor Suero de | quiñones quiẽ selo urtare en la horça [!] | lo page como ladron y malhehor [!] mas aunque | lo urten no se me da nada ques el mas enfadoso del mundo yo lo quisiera mucho | si fuera un Orlando enamorado y furioso y | Ronces balles y un primaleon o un Jofre | o un Caballero dela Cruz o del febo | o don belianis de grecia o florisel de | niquea o un amadis de gaula o el de | gaula y grecia o una Historia de africa o un Canamor y turian o un partinuples”

Abajo en otra letra cursiva: “Este libro es del señor Suero de | quiñones quien selo urta [¿?] en or|ca lo page como ladron y malhechor | mas aunque los ¿no? [...] del”

En letra humanística cursiva: “Fran^{co} | Aguado”

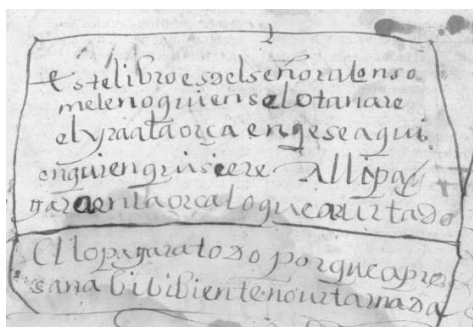
Abajo en letra humanística redonda: “Suero de Cangas de quiñones natural”

Abajo en letra cursiva: “Suero de vega y quiñones natural | de La villa del cangrejo [¿!]”

Abajo en gran letra humanística rústica: “don Juan d~ castilla | yjo del”

The present article will focus on two questions raised by the inscriptions: Who owned the exemplar and what else were the book’s owners reading? While it is not possible to identify the individuals definitively, some likely candidates may be posited.¹⁰

Alonso Meleno



All images from Juan de Lucena, *Diálogo de vita beata*, Inc. 3, Colección Borbón-Lorenzana, f. D4r-v, from digital facimile, with permission and courtesy of the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha¹¹

¹⁰ Some information on the ex-libris and list of chivalric romances I briefly outlined in University of California Berkeley Library Update.

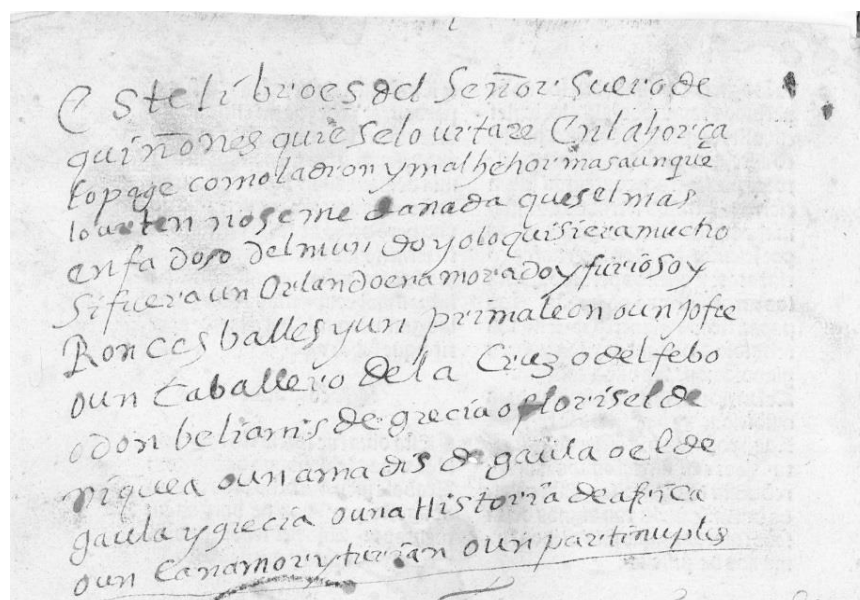
¹¹ Links to images:

http://bidicam.castillalamancha.es/bibdigital/bidicam/es/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.cmd?path=1501153&interno=S&presentacion=pagina&posicion=51

Este libro es del señor alonso meleno quien se lo tanare [?] el yra a la orca en qe sea quien quien quisiere Al lo pagara en la orca lo que a urtado El lo pagara todo por que a presana [;!] bibiente no urta nada (f. D4r)

One possible identification of Alonso Meleno is an “escribano del número” cited in a document from Toro, dated 1552 (Salazar y Castro, 603).¹² A scribe of the same name also appears in a document from Toro in 1591 (Lorenzo Pinar, 137). While it is uncertain if the two are the same scribe or the individual who owned the book, the dates from the second half of the 16th century coincide with the inscription’s handwriting, most likely from the same time period. Additionally, the Toro region is generally consistent with the geography linked to other of the book’s owners, the Quiñones family, as will be discussed below. However, there is no positive proof that a scribe Alonso Meleno is the owner of the book. The name is not uncommon; the Meleno family is mentioned in documents from the area through the early 17th century.¹³

Suero de Quiñones and Suero de Cangas de Quiñones

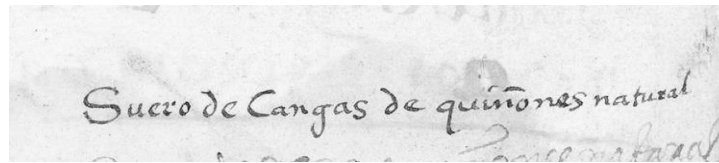


Este libro es del Señor Suero de quiñones (f. D4v)

http://bidicam.castillalamancha.es/bidigital/bidicam/es/catalogo_imagenes/grupo.cmd?path=1501153&interno=S&presentacion=pagina&posicion=52

¹² An *escribano de número* prepared contracts, note of obligation, wills, and is charged with witnessing extrajudicial matters that were exempt from punishment or penalty.

¹³ There is an Alonso Meleno, son of Pedro Meleno and Beatriz Fernández de Mella, of Toro, who was part of the Spanish expedition to North Carolina in 1566, which returned to Spain that same year (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato Real 257, No. 3, R. 4; Vigneras, 411). The Meleno family in Toro appears in documents in the early 17th century, according to the Portal de Archivos Españoles.



Suero de Cangas de quiñones natural (f. D4v)

There are two ways to read the references to Suero de Quiñones and Suero de Cangas de Quiñones: They may be the same or two different men. If they are not the same person, as the handwriting might suggest, then Suero de Quiñones may be a direct descendant of the Suero de Quiñones (ca. 1409-58) of the Paso Honroso at the Puente de Órbigo between León and Astorga in 1434.¹⁴

The Suero of the Paso married Leonor de Tovar and was lord of Valdejamuz. Upon his death in 1458, his son Diego de Quiñones y Tovar succeeded him. Diego belonged to the Order of Santiago and was Comendador de Destriana. In turn, his son, Diego de Quiñones y Lemos, held the title to Valdejamuz until his death in 1540, when he was succeeded by a son from a second marriage to Leonor de Zúñiga: Suero de Quiñones y Zúñiga (Suero de Quiñones II, b. 1517?). This Suero (great-grandson of the Suero of the Paso), lord of Valdejamuz and Gordaliza del Pino and of the Order of Santiago, also held property in Valladolid and died in 1590.¹⁵ His funerary statuary and that of his first wife, Elvira de Zúñiga (d. 1565), are now housed in the Hispanic Society of America in New York.¹⁶

Attached to Suero de Quiñones II's will is an inventory of his possessions dated after his death on 27 April 1590. The inventory lists 109 books: among them, the *Crónica troyana*, various histories and chronicles, Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*, Juan de Mena's *Trescientas* and *Coronación*, work(s) by Dante Alighieri (the *Divina Commedia*?), two copies of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, *Celestina*, work(s) by Miguel de Cervantes, and various religious and classical texts.¹⁷ Inventory entry 59 is of special interest. It reads "suero de quiñones," which perhaps refers to Pero Rodríguez de Lena's account of the Paso Honroso, published in Salamanca by Cornelio Bonardo in 1588 (USTC 341381), edited by Fray Juan de Pineda.

Unfortunately, there is no specific mention of Lucena's *Diálogo* in the inventory; however, that does not preclude Suero's ownership of the book prior to his death. The years of Suero de Quiñones y Zúñiga's life generally coincide with the inscription handwriting dating from the late

¹⁴ The handwriting of the inscription "del Señor Suero de quiñones" would seem to date from the late 16th century, while the inscription "Suero de Cangas de quiñones natural" would seem to be from the first half of that century.

¹⁵ See Martínez Peñín, 36 and Álvarez Álvarez 1997, esp. 24, 42-59.

¹⁶ There has been some confusion in the scholarly literature whether the statuary now housed in New York was that of the Suero of the Paso or of his great-grandson. Patrick Lenaghan, of the Hispanic Society of America, has confirmed by private email that the funerary statuary held by the Hispanic Society is that of Suero de Quiñones y Zúñiga and his wife Elvira, from the monastery of San Esteban de Nogales (León). That information is confirmed in the monastery document Tumba R-9, dated 1639, held in the Archivo Diocesano de Astorga, pp. 34, 315-16. For documentation relating to the monastery, see Cavero Domínguez; and on the sculptor, Pompeo Leoni, see Proeske (esp. p. 31). I want to thank Patrick Lenaghan for this information. The great-grandson, Suero de Quiñones, states in his will dated 1 October 1588, that: "mi cuerpo se allevado al monasterio de nuestra señora de nogales de la orden de sant bernardo y sepultado en mi capilla donde estan los cuerpos de doña elvira de zuñiga y doña luisa de herrera mis mugeres y los de mis padres que yo hiçe pasar a ella de manera que todos los cuerpos estemos juntos debajo de los bultos" (Suero Quiñones).

¹⁷ More detailed information on the books in Suero de Quiñones II's books will be discussed below, with the complete library inventory provided at the end of this article.

16th century, and his will provides evidence of varied reading interests, including perhaps a copy of the very book that documents his great-grandfather's chivalrous adventure.



Suero de Quiñones y Zúñiga
(Wikimedia Commons https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suero_de_Qui%C3%B1ones)

Returning to the ex-libris inscriptions, if Suero de Quiñones and Suero de Cangas de Quiñones are separate individuals, then while Suero de Quiñones may be the great-grandson of the Suero of the Paso, Suero de Cangas de Quiñones may be identified through a reference in Alonso López de Haro's *Nobiliario genealógico de los reyes y títulos de España*.

Suero de Cangas de Quiñones era natural de Cangas de Tineo, en el Principado de Asturias, decendiente por línea recta de varon de la casa de Quiñones, que està sita en las montañas de Asturias de que es señor el Conde de Luna, hijo del Conde de Benaunte, sucesor en su casa y Estado [...]. Suero de Cangas de Quiñones fue hijo legítimo de Suero de Cangas de Quiñones, y nieto de Suero de Quiñones, cuyos cuerpos estan sepultados en santa Maria Madalena, del lugar de Cangas de Tineo [...] Suero de Cangas de Quiñones fue casado dos vezes. [...] La segunda vez fue casado con D. Ana de Soto, muger noble y principal, hija del Alcayde don N. Xuarez, natural de Toro. Deste matrimonio tuuo ocho hijas, y vn hijo, que se llamo Antonio Suero de Cangas de Quiñones, que tuuo dos hijos varones, el mayor se llamò don Suero de Cangas de Quiñones, *que* caso con hija del Licenciado Atiença, Oydor de la Chancilleria de Valladolid. (López de Haro, 496)

A bit of background on the Quiñones family is important at this point. In the 14th century, Suero Pérez de Quiñones (d. 1367) married María Fernández de Mendoza. Their eldest son Pedro Suárez de Quiñones I (Adelantado Mayor de León y Asturias, ca. 1367-1402) died without heir. The title of Merino Mayor de Asturias thus passed to Suero Pérez de Quiñones' grandson, Diego Fernández de Quiñones I, El de la Buena Fortuna (1370-1444/45), son of Suero's daughter Leonor, who married Diego Fernández de Vigil. This Diego Fernández de Quiñones married María de Toledo, whose union produced ten children. Of those ten, two are important for this essay: the primogenitor Pedro Suárez de Quiñones II, whose son Diego Fernández de Quiñones II (1434-91) would become the first count of Luna in 1462, and Suero de Quiñones, he of the Paso Honroso, whose descendants became the lords of Valdejamuz.

Cangas and Tineo belonged to the Quiñones line since the time of Arias Pérez de Quiñones (son of Suero Pérez de Quiñones and uncle of Diego Fernández de Quiñones I). The family received the lands from Enrique II, only to lose them under Juan II and then have them restored to

the first count of Luna under Enrique IV in 1473 and have the Catholic Monarchs propose the status of marquis to the lands in 1477, only to lose the territories again to the Crown in the next decade (Suárez Fernández, 126-28). Thus, the name Cangas de Quiñones points to the counts of Luna family that held the region, an identification that is further borne out by the fact that López de Haro states that the grandfather Suero de Quiñones was buried in Santa María Magdalena in Cangas de Tineo; the Suero of the Paso was buried in San Francisco de León (Álvarez Álvarez 1997, 33). Of course, there are other options as to which Suero López de Haro refers. The name was common in the extended family dating back to the 14th century.¹⁸

If the name is of the counts of Luna line, then the man to whom López de Haro refers as Suero de Cangas de Quiñones' grandfather may perhaps be Diego Fernández de Quiñones II's brother, Suero de Quiñones (Álvarez Álvarez 1981, 50); in which case, the grandson mentioned by López de Haro would be approximately contemporary to Diego's grandson: Francisco Fernández de Quiñones y Osorio, who held the title between 1492-1529 (Álvarez Álvarez 1981, 49-50). That would agree with the handwriting of "Suero de Cangas de Quiñones natural," dating perhaps from the first half of the 16th century.¹⁹

If, on the other hand, in spite of the difference in script, the phrase "Suero de Cangas de Quiñones" were to refer to the same person as the ex-libris "Suero de Quiñones," then given the handwriting of the latter from the late 16th century, the likely candidate for the Suero [de Cangas] de Quiñones would be the great-great-grandson who married into the Atienza family (López de Haro, 496).²⁰ This Suero may have traveled to "las Indias." A Suero de Cangas y Quiñones (sometimes referred to as Suero de Cangas de Quiñones) was Alcalde Mayor of Mexico (Nueva España) and wrote the *Descripción de la Villa del Espíritu Santo*, dated 29 April 1580, and previously held the post of Alguacil Mayor in 1573 (Cavo, 61-62).²¹

¹⁸ There were two Suero de Quiñones who participated in the Paso. "Se ignora la fecha de su nacimiento [de Suero de Quiñones]; pero es bien conocido por la defensa del célebre *Paso honroso* en 1434. [...] Otro Suero de Quiñones hubo en el *Paso*, hijo de Alvar Gómez de Quiñones" (*Catálogo*, no. 51). There are letters from a Suero de Cangas de Quiñones to Diego Sarmiento dating from the first years for 17th century in the Real Biblioteca. For example:

Carta de Suero de Cangas de Quiñones a Diego Sarmiento de Acuña. (Toro, 22-II-1601) Publicación: 1601/02/22. Descripción: [1] h. Resumen: Toro-Valladolid. Han dormido en Toro el marqués de Velada y Esteban de Ibarra; ha escrito a Antonio de Ulloa para que le favorezca la entrada en Valladolid; de Oviedo le preguntan si le han nombrado gobernador de Asturias; cartas para Nápoles; que le avise si su prima María de Atienza (de Gondomar) está en Valladolid.

Carta de Suero de Cangas de Quiñones a Diego Sarmiento de Acuña. (De Toro, 28-II-1602) Publicación: 1602/02/28. Descripción: [1] h. Resumen: Toro-Valladolid. Con [Juan] Verdenoso [Palomino] ha recibido 400 reales; ruega pregunte al licenciado Bárcenas si hay alguna orden de cobro del marqués de Camarasa y del estado en que está el pleito que le pusieron los acreedores.

¹⁹ López de Haro, writing in 1622, refers to Suero de Cangas de Quiñones in the past tense, "era natural," and to the current count of Luna as the son of the count of Benavente. This would refer, presumably, to the 7th count of Luna, Antonio Alonso Pimentel y Vigil de Quiñones, son of Catalina Fernández de Quiñones y Cortés and the 8th count of Benavente, Juan Alonso Pimentel de Herrera (d. 1621). Antonio Alonso Pimentel y Vigil de Quiñones held the title as 7th count of Luna between 1574-1633.

²⁰ While it is not likely that the two inscriptions, in different hands, refer to the same person, such a possibility cannot be entirely ruled out.

²¹ There is another connection of the counts of Luna to "las Indias." The 5th count of Luna, Luis Fernández de Quiñones y Pimentel, married María Cortés, daughter of Hernán Cortés, the conquistador.

Suero de Vega y Quiñones



Suero de Vega y Quiñones natural de La villa del cangrejo (f. D4v)

The Quiñones married into the Vega family.

Hernando de Vega. Hijo de Juan de Vega [d.1513], III Señor de Grajal, y de D.^a Teresa de Quiñones, hija de Suero de Quiñones, Señor de Navia (*el mantenedor del Paso*), y de D.^a Leonor de Tovar. Casó primero con D.^a Beatriz Portocarrero [...]. Casó en segundas nupcias con D.^a Blanca Enríquez de Acuña, hija de D. Lope Vázquez de Acuña, Conde de Buendía, y de D.^a Inés Enríquez, de la Casa de Medina de Rioseco. Fueron sus hijos: Juan de Vega, sucesor y Virrey de Sicilia; doña María de Vega, mujer de D. Juan de Ribera, Marqués de Montemayor; D.^a Teresa de Quiñones, tercera mujer de D. Antonio de Mendoza, Conde de Monteagudo, y D.^a Leonor de Vega, que casó con D. Atanasio de Ayala, Conde de Salvatierra. Fué Señor de Grajal en sucesión paterna. Sirvió á Fernando V en las guerras de Granada, y desempeñó el cargo de Contador mayor de Castilla, siendo Comendador mayor en la Orden de Santiago y Presidente del Consejo de Órdenes y del de Estado en el reinado de Carlos V. (*Catálogo*, no. 115)²²

Hernando de Vega's son, Juan de Vega (d. 1558), viceroy of Sicily and president of the Consejo Real de Castilla, married Doña Leonor de Osorio Sarmiento. The genealogy varies depending on the account, but Juan and Leonor's sons are documented as: Fernando, who inherited the title, and Álvaro, both men dying without an heir; Pedro Álvarez, to whom the title then passed; and Suero de Vega y Quiñones (d. 1585), Comendador de Sancti Spiritus of the Order of Alcántara, who attended the Order's convocation in Toledo in 1560 (Luengo y Martínez, 30; *Diffinitiones*, 3r, 9v).²³ Suero's grandmother, Blanca Enríquez de Acuña, bestowed on him the Mayorazgo of Palencia through the Enríquez family (Martínez González, 20). Suero was the great-great-grandson of the famous Suero de Quiñones through the Vega line and possibly the Suero de Vega y Quiñones who owned the copy of Juan de Lucena's *Diálogo*.

The Quiñones

Thus, the various Sueros mentioned in the inscriptions represent the extended Quiñones family: the counts of Grajal de Campos, the counts of Luna, and the lords of Valdejamuz. Conflicts between the lines for lands and title were long-standing (Martínez Peñín, 36-37). With the death

²² See also Quiñones de León y de Francisco-Martín, 47.

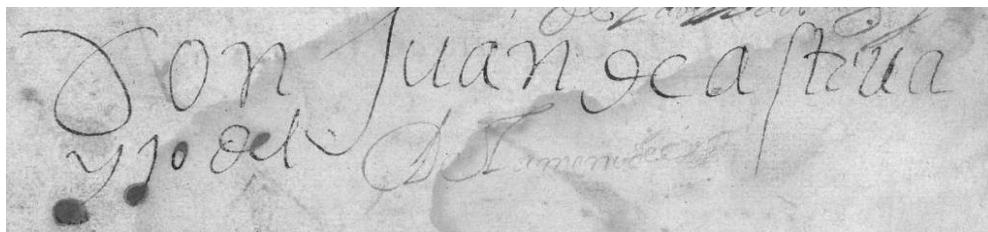
²³ Suero, son of Juan de Vega, is also documented by Nieremberg (290).

of Suero de Quiñones II, who died without heir in 1590, the Vegas claimed right to his estate.²⁴ That right was contested by the then count of Luna in a legal document dated 10 April 1591.

Ejecutoria del pleito litigado por Juan Alfonso Pimentel, conde de Benavente y Luna, y su hijo Antonio de Pimentel y Quiñones, con Juan de Vega, señor de Grajal de Campos (León), sobre la posesión de los bienes y mayorazgo de Suero de Quiñones, señor de Villanueva de Aljamuz, muerto sin sucesión directa, y reclamados por el dicho Juan de Vega. (REGISTRO DE EJECUTORIAS, CAJA 1691,36 [PARES, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid])

The count of Luna won the litigation.

Juan de Castilla



don Juan d~ castilla yjo del (f. D4v)

There are some possibilities for Juan de Castilla. There is Juan de Castilla y Benavides (XOR), lord of Gor (Granada), Boluduy (Almería), and Herrera de Valdecañas (Palencia), inducted into the Order of Santiago in 1540, of the lineage of King Pedro I of Castile. Juan de Castilla's son, Diego de Castilla y LaMadrid, inherited the titles in 1620, placing Juan as living in the mid-late 16th century (López de Haro, 263).

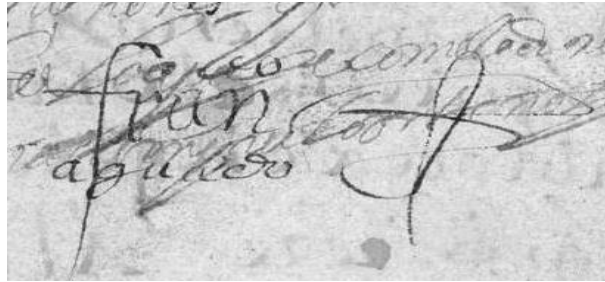
There is also Juan de Castilla y Mendoza Zúñiga y Zúñiga who was initiated into the Order of Alcántara in 1543, son of Juan de Castilla y Zúñiga (d. 1540), Comendador de la Puebla de Sancho Pérez in the Order of Santiago (López de Haro, 569). Juan de Castilla y Mendoza Zúñiga, according to a document from the Archivo Histórico Nacional, descended from King Pedro I of Castile through his paternal grandfather.

There is also Juan de Castilla y de Aguayo, ca. 1540–96, author, poet, and official of the Ayuntamiento de Córdoba. The interesting connection to this man is his relationship with the Jesuits, which will be explored below.

The identity of Juan de Castilla remains obscure.

²⁴ See also the works of Álvarez Álvarez. In his will Suero de Quiñones II left the lands of Villanueva de Valdejamuz and Gordaliza del Pino to the count of Luna, son of the count of Benavente (see Note 19 above on the relationship to the counts of Benavente).

Francisco Aguado



There are two men of the period who are likely candidates for Francisco Aguado. One was Bishop of Astorga (ca. 1614-88), holding that office from 1677-88.

There is also a Francisco Aguado (1572-1654), who entered the Jesuits in 1589 and moved between Alcalá, Madrid, and Toledo and was in Rome as a provincial delegate in 1619. He became the Conde Duque de Olivares' confessor in 1631 (Bireley, 173-77). Aguado wrote various religious treatises, sermons, and devotional books printed between 1611-50 (*Iberian Books*, 12-14). This man may be a possible identification of the Francisco Aguado who owned Lucena's *Diálogo* not only because of chronology but because of the link between the Vega line and the Jesuits,

[... que] Juan de Vega selló a través de su boda en 1524 con Leonor Osorio Sarmiento, hija mayor del tercer marqués de Astorga y seguidora espiritual de Ignacio de Loyola. Desde ese momento, el matrimonio se convirtió en protector de los comienzos de la Compañía de Jesús. [...] La proximidad a los jesuitas quedó también patente en sus últimas voluntades, en las que les dejó 400 ducados. Todavía en Bruselas el Rey decidió cubrir la otra vacante dejada por Juan de Vega, la de contador mayor de Cuentas, en la persona del conde de Olivares (5 de julio de 1559), ya sin la potestad extraordinaria de nombrar tenientes de contador. (DBE)

The tie between the Vega y Quiñones family and the religious order may include the book as well.

General relationship between the owners

Given the interconnectedness of the Quiñones extended family and the owners of the book, as a case study, what does this tell us about how books passed from owner to owner? It would seem the tome traveled from either the Luna line (Suero de Cangas de Quiñones) or Alonso Meleno to Suero de Quiñones or Suero de Vega de Quiñones, then to Francisco Aguado or Juan de Castilla before, at some point, the book passed to Luis de Borbón (1727-85), son of King Felipe V, and archbishop of Toledo (1735-54), and then to the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha (Philobiblon BETA copid 1479). Much more is hard to tell, but the exemplar is linked to the Quiñones family, in one way or another, throughout much of its early history. Moreover, during that period, geographically, the volume does not seem to travel far from Burgos, where it was printed, which is not surprising since the Quiñones move mainly between Castile, León, and Asturias, with the possible exception of those who may have traveled to the Americas. The exemplar's history may indicate how nobles viewed their books, which passed from one family member or line to another or to close associates.

The library of Suero de Quiñones II and the ex-libris inscription

Having discussed those who owned, and thus presumably read, the copy of Lucena's *Diálogo de vita beata* (as tentative as that information may be), the next question is: What else were they reading?

If we consider Suero de Quiñones II's library, we can glean some information. The identification and dating of the books, given below, is based on information for printed editions found primarily through USTC and secondarily from WorldCat. Manuscripts are included when no printed edition was listed in the two sources. Edition dates are not inclusive, rather meant to provide a general time frame when the works were printed up to the date of Suero de Quiñones II's death, with the caveat that it is not known if the inventory refers to original language texts or translations, manuscripts or printed books or, for works with multiple editions, which edition might have figured in Suero's library. In some cases, it is not even known if the title provided below is the text to which the inventory refers. Many of the entries are vague and simply cite an author's name. That said, tentative information can provide some idea of the books Suero de Quiñones II owned.

Of the 109 works, all but a few have some possible identification. The general areas the books represent reflect 16th-century interests of history, exploration, Classical and Italian texts, science, and religion:

- Scientific texts, such as the *Repertorios* by Li, Chaves, and Tornamira, describing the movement of spheres and seasons; Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de los ingenios*, connecting physiology and psychology; and Medina's *Suma* on cosmography, which is related to his *Arte de navegar*, describing astrology and navigation
- Religious works, such as books of hours, rosary prayers, penitential literature, catechisms, to name a few
- Vernacular literary works by Mena, Cervantes, Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*, Ercilla's *La araucana*, and *Celestina*
- Classical texts, in Latin or Latin/vernacular translation, by Josephus, Seneca, Lucan, Appian of Alexandria, among others
- Italian letters, represented by the works of Aquilano, Ariosto, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Dante
- Books on the instruction of chivalry and the Order of Santiago
- Histories and chronicles of Roman, Visigothic, Castilian, and Aragonese kings, nobles and territories, as well as texts relating to the Americas and the Far and Middle East

While there is no proof that the great-grandson of the famous Suero of the Paso is the Suero named in the ex-libris of Lucena's volume, Suero de Quiñones II's library provides a snapshot of what noblemen were reading in the 16th century. To identify what the owner of the particular copy of Lucena's *Diálogo* read, we must focus on the inscriptions found in the exemplar.

In her study, "El tratado de Juan de Lucena sobre la felicidad" (3-4), Margherita Morreale notes that the military, jousting lexicon and images that Juan de Lucena incorporates into the *Diálogo de la vida beata* are reminiscent of the description of Suero de Quiñones' Paso Honroso (Rodríguez de Lena). Ana Vian Herrero then relates Lucena's references to arms and knightly endeavor to the act of intellectual disquisition, underscoring "lo mucho que la discusión [en el

Diálogo] tiene de puro juego, de entretenimiento intelectual” (68). As Lucia Binotti explains, the Humanistic intellectual movement, of which Lucena forms part, redefines the more medieval *sapientia et fortitudo* (“armas y letras”) to embrace Classical knowledge and moral and ethical questions (52). Lucena constructs an imagined conversation between himself and three famous interlocutors (Cartagena, Santillana, and Mena), in which the imagery of arms and joust becomes a metaphor for intellectual inquiry as the men discuss whether earthly happiness is possible. In this way, Lucena’s text and the account of Suero de Quiñones’ Paso Honroso are connected in a literary sense through metaphor and representation; and in one copy of the *Diálogo*, there is also a relationship between Lucena’s work and the Quiñones through the book as object.

Did 16th-century readers find the knightly images appealing in the dialogue? As mentioned above, after the mid-16th century, printers were not publishing Lucena’s book, which would signal that it no longer interested readers. The dialogue’s ironic ambiguities were perhaps lost on the mid-16th-century public.²⁵ We know that one owner of the 1499 exemplar pointed to a waning appeal of Lucena’s treatise. Suero de Quiñones writes a critical review in his ex-libris:

mas aunque lo urten no se me da nada ques el mas enfadoso del mundo yo lo quisiera mucho si fuera un Orlando enamorado y furioso y Ronces balles y un primaleon o un Jofre o un Caballero dela Cruz o del febo o don belianis de grecia o florisel de niquea o un amadis de gaula o el de gaula y grecia o una Historia de africa o un Canamor y turian o un partinuples (f. D4v)

Clearly, he did not find Lucena’s work compelling; the military images that modern critics describe as reminiscent of his famous ancestor did not add to his enjoyment of the book. If such was a more generalized opinion, it is not surprising it was not published after 1543.

What is fascinating about this late-16th-century opinion of the *Diálogo* are the chivalric or historical texts that the book’s owner would rather be reading. According to Daniel Eisenberg and Mari Carmen Marín Pina, in *Bibliografía de libros de caballerías castellanos*, the Hispanic chivalric romances in the inscription date from ca. 1496-1555. They are:

Primaleón. Salamanca: [Juan de Porras], 1512. (*Bibliografía*, entry 1950)

Lepolemo. *El Caballero de la Cruz*. Valencia: Juan Jofre, 1521. (*Bibliografía*, entry 1813)

Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra, *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros (El Caballero del Febo)* (Part I). Zaragoza: Esteban de Nájera, 1555. (*Bibliografía*, entry 1672)

Jerónimo Fernández, *Belianís de Grecia* (Parts I-II) Sevilla 1545, now lost; but extant Burgos: Martín Muñoz, 1547 (*Bibliografía*, entry 1505)

Feliciano de Silva, *Florisel de Niquea* (Parts I-II, 10th book of the Amadís cycle). Valladolid: Nicolás Tierri, 1532 (*Bibliografía*, entry 1458)

Revised and expanded by Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula* (Books 1-4). Fragments from the 15th century, with a possible edition from Sevilla 1496, then Zaragoza: Jorge Coci, 1508 (*Bibliografía*, entry 632)

²⁵ Vian Herrero, esp. 70-72, 90-97; Martínez Torrejón also discusses the ludic tone of the book.

Feliciano de Silva, *Amadís de Grecia* (9th book of the Amadís cycle). Cuenca: Cristobal Francés, 1530 (*Bibliografía*, entry 1426). “El de gaula y grecia” reflects the title as found in early editions: *El noveno libro de Amadís de Gaula, que es la crónica del muy valiente y esforçado príncipe y cauallero de la Ardiente Espada Amadís de Grecia*.

Other non-Hispanic romances, either adaptations or translations from other languages, are also mentioned.

Libro de esforçado cavallero conde [...] Partinoplés. Burgos: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1513 (Gayangos, LXXXI)

La crónica de los nobles caualleros [...] Tablante de Ricamonte y Jofre, hijo de Donasón. Toledo 1513 (Gayangos, LXIII)

La historia del rey Canamor y del infante Turián, su hijo. Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, 1528 (Gayangos, LXXVIII; recorded as 1509 in USTC 347317)

Pedro de Salazar, *Hystoria dela Guerra hecha contra la ciudad de África. Con la destruyción de la villa de Monazter, et Isla de Gozo, y pérdida de Tripoli de Barberia*, which, according to J-Ch. Brunet (571), appeared printed in Naples, by Maistre Matia, on 20 January 1552.

Francisco Garrido de Villena, *El verdadero suceso de la famosa [batalla de Roncesvalles]*. Cited by Gayangos as Toledo 1583 (LXXXVI) and also recorded in WorldCat as Valencia: Ioan de Mey Flandro, 1555 (OCLC 7568633)

Los tres libros de Matheo Maria Boyardo [Orlando enamorado]. Alcalá: Hernán Ramirez, 1577 (Gayangos, LXXXVII). In WorldCat there is an edition Valencia: Ioan de Mey Flandro, 1555 (OCLC 743612819). The Italian original dates from 1482-83 for the first two books, and 1495 for the third.

Ludovico Ariosto. *Orlando furioso*. Anvers: Martín Nucio, 1549 (Spanish translation; Gayangos, LXXXVII). The Italian original for the first version of the poem appeared in 1516, with the complete poem dating from 1532.

Regarding the last three titles, the words in the inscription “Orlando enamorado y furioso y Ronces balles” clearly refer to Boiardo’s work, but it is unclear if they refer to both Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* and Garrido de Villena’s *Verdadero suceso de [...] Roncesvalles* or only to Ariosto’s *Segunda parte de Orlando con la famosa batalla de Roncesvalles*. Regardless, the dating is much the same since the second part of the *Orlando furioso*, in Spanish translation, was first printed in Antwerp by Martin Nucio in 1556 (USTC 440327). As Faulhaber notes in *PhiloBiblon*, the dating of these texts would place the writing of the inscription sometime after 1555-56, since the *Caballero del Febo* and *Roncesvalles*, as well as the translations of Boiardo’s work and Ariosto’s *Segunda Parte de Orlando*, date from those years.

There are points of contact between the books in Suero de Quiñones II's library and the works named in the ex-libris. Most obviously, both mention Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and show an interest in histories of regions outside the Iberian Peninsula. While it is notable that Suero's inventory does not mention specific chivalric romances, his library may have contained Jerónimo Jiménez de Urrea's *Clarisel de las Flores*, which survives today only in manuscript (*Bibliografía*, entry 1641).²⁶ Suero's library also holds romance-like works, such as *Crónica troyana* and *Historia de Fernán González*. However, it lacks the popular chivalric titles cited in the ex-libris.

By the 1580s the chivalric romances were declining in popularity. Eisenberg and Marín Pina document the chronology of Hispanic first editions as spanning from ca. 1496 through 1587, when the third part of the *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros* appeared in print, after which there was a single new work, *Policisne de Boecia*, in 1602 (*Bibliografía*, 458-59). Of the shorter romances listed in the ex-libris, with the exception of *Partinoplés*, which had a longer editorial existence, the last early edition of the works cited was that of *Tablante* in 1604. For the longer works, the *Espejo de príncipes y caballeros (El Caballero del Febo)* was printed in 1617. The romances overall were not published much after that date. The parody Cervantes creates in *Don Quijote* in 1605 underscores the romances' diminishing success. If the inscription handwriting dates from the late 16th century, and the writer praises the chivalric works, the ex-libris was probably penned not much later than the 1590s or early 1600s.

Why does the owner of the Lucena's *Diálogo* name these particular romances? There really does not seem to be an exact answer to that question, except to say that the works date from the 16th century and represent a reading preference. The Suero of the ex-libris enjoys adventure over philosophical dialogue, which may reflect the Quiñones family history: one of military action and political conflict. The Quiñones held noble titles, belonged to religious military orders, and were involved in struggles for land and power. While the family lines had their successes, by the end of the 15th century, Isabeline rule had debilitated the counts of Luna's influence as they lost control of Cangas, Tineo, Llanes, and Ribadesella (Álvarez Álvarez 1981, 52). They faced conflicts with the Osorios and the Acuña family; and throughout the first half of the 16th century, the counts of Luna exercised increased political and legal pressure to take control of the lands held by the Quiñones of Valdejamuz (Álvarez Álvarez 1997, 46-55). In 1553, Claudio Fernández Vigil de Quiñones, the 4th count of Luna, made a final attempt to regain Cangas and Tineo and failed; the territory remained with the Crown.²⁷

The conflicts that embroiled the family lines came to an end with the death of Suero de Quiñones II in 1590, but not without legal strife. The Vegas (the counts of Grajal de Campo) hoped to incorporate Valdejamuz under their control after Suero's death, but lost it through litigation to the counts of Luna (Álvarez Álvarez 1997, 58-59). Like the famous Suero de Quiñones of the Paso Honroso, who entered into combat for the love of his lady Leonor, one descendent who owned Lucena's *Diálogo* was inspired by themes of chivalry and histories of battle and conquest. His reading list may well reflect a nostalgia for a time past when the Quiñones flourished in seats of power and were recognized for deeds of arms. It may be that, just as Suero de Quiñones II may have owned a copy of his great-grandfather's chivalric adventure, reflecting a past age of power and prestige, the chivalric romances, in the last years of their popularity, provided a literary representation of glory and honor that the Quiñones hoped to regain, without success.

²⁶ Since inventory entry 33 includes only the author's name, it is uncertain to which of Jiménez de Urrea's works it refers.

²⁷ Oviedo *Enciclopedia*.

Inventory of Books from the Estate of Suero de Quiñones II

Entry from Inventory	Author/Title	Edition dates
1. la congosta [conquista?] de rodas.	Fontanus, Jacobus. <i>De bello Rhodio libri tres</i> [<i>La muy lamentable conquista y cruenta batalla de Rhodas</i>]	Multiple, from 1524; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1526
2. ystoria de guichardino ytaliano.	Guicciardini, Francesco. <i>La historia d' Italia di m. Francesco Guicciardini con le annotationi in margine fatte dal reverendo padre Remigio Fiorentino</i> [<i>La historia del señor Francisco Guichardino...en la qual de más de las cosas que en ella han sucedido en año de 1492[...] se trata [...] de los hechos del Gran Capitán, en el Reyno de Napoles [...] traduzida por Antonio Flórez de Benauides</i>]	Multiple, from ca. 1551; Spanish translation 1581
3. cironica [cronica?] troyana.	Colonne, Guido delle. <i>Historia destructionis Troiae</i> [<i>Crónica troyana</i> . Trans. Pedro Núñez Delgado]	Multiple, from 1477; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1490
4. triunfos de otrarcha [petrarcha?].	Petrarca, Francesco. <i>Trionfi</i> . [<i>Con los seys triunfos de toscano</i>]	Multiple, from 1470; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1512
5. coronica de el rei con [don?] alonso el onceno.	Villaizán, Juan Núñez de. <i>Crónica del muy esclarecido príncipe et rey Don Alfonso el Onceno deste nombre de los reyes que regnaron en Castilla y en León Padre que fue del rey Don Pedro</i>	Multiple, from 1551
6. natura angelica.	Eiximenis, Francesc. <i>Llibre dels àngels</i> [<i>La natura angélica</i>]	Multiple, from 1486; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1490
7. coronica del rey dom pedro.	Gracia Dei, Pedro de. <i>Crónica del rey don Pedro de Castilla</i> López de Ayala, Pero. <i>Crónica del rey don Pedro de Castilla</i>	MS s. XVI Multiple, from 1495
8. lucano en romançe.	Lucano. <i>La historia que escribió en latín el poeta Lucano</i> . Trad. Martín Lasso de Oropesa	Multiple, from 1540
9. triunfos de apiano alejandrino.	Apiano. <i>De ciuilibus Romanorum bellis historiarum libri quinque [...]</i> & <i>Romanæ historie proæmium</i> [<i>Los triumphos de Apiano</i> . Trad. Juan de Molina (1522); <i>Historia de todas las guerras</i> . Trad. Anonymous (1536)]	Multiple, from 1477; Spanish translations: 1522, 1536
10. la coronica de españa abrebiada.	Valera, Diego de. <i>La crónica de España abreviada por mandado de doña Isabel Reyna de Castilla</i>	Multiple, from 1482
11. instruçon de cavalleria.	Cartagena, Alonso de. <i>Doctrina y instrucción de las artes de cavallería (Doctrinal de caballeros)</i>	1487, 1497
12. el santo rey don fernando	López de Cortegana, Diego. <i>Crónica del sancto rey don Fernando tercero deste nombre que ganó a Seuilla y a</i>	Multiple, from 1516

	<i>Córdoua y a Jaén y a toda el Andalucía. Cuyo cuerpo está en la sancta yglesia de Seuilla.</i>	
13. las treçientas de juan de mena	Mena, Juan de. <i>Las trezientas</i>	1499, 1505, 1566
14. ystoria del rey don alonso	<i>Chrónica del muy esclarecido príncipe, y rey don Alonso: el qual fue par de emperador, et hizo el libro de las Siete Partidas. Y ansimismo al fin deste libro va encorporada la Chrónica del rey don Sancho el Brauo, hijo de este rey don Alonso el Sabio (1554);</i> Florián de Ocampo. <i>Las cuatro partes enteras de la crónica de España que mandó componer el serenísimo rey don Alonso llamado el Sabio (1541)</i> See also 85 below.	1541, 1554
15. el rei don sancho el bravo	<i>Aquí comiença la chrónica del muy noble rey Don Sancho el Bravo quarto deste nombre (See also 14 above.)</i>	1554
16. el dante	Dante Alighieri. <i>La Commedia; Il Credo; Il Dante</i> (Lyon, 1547)	Multiple, from 1472; Spanish translation <i>Comedia</i> , 1515
17. silva de baria liçon	Mexía, Pedro. <i>Silva de varia lección</i>	Multiple, from 1545
18. himilianos sobre los ebangelios	Uncertain identification	
19. ystoria de las indias de portugal	Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de. <i>Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos portugueses [Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de la India por los portuguese]</i>	Multiple, from 1551; Spanish translation 1553, 1554
20. ystoria de las yndias de mexico	López de Gómara, Francisco. <i>La historia de las Indias y conquista de México</i>	Multiple, from 1552
21. ystoria de santo domingo	Castillo, Fernando del. [<i>Primera parte de] la historia general de santo Domingo y de su orden de predicadores</i>	1584, 1587
22. cateçismo de fray luis	Fray Luis Zapata de Cárdenas. <i>Catecismo</i>	1576
23. la regla de santiago	<i>Regla de la orden de la cavallería de señor Santiago del Espada</i>	Multiple, from 1527
24. marco aurelio	Guevara, Antonio de. <i>Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio</i>	Multiple, from 1527
25. la istoria de toledo	Román de la Higuera, Jerónimo. <i>Historia eclesiástica de la imperial ciudad de Toledo</i>	MS 16 th c.
26. comentario de çesar en romançe	César, Julio. <i>Los comentarios</i> (Trad. Diego López de Toledo; Pedro García de Oliván)	1489, 1570
27. dos cuerpos de la coronica de onzio	Uncertain identification	
28. araucana primera y segunda parte	Ercilla y Zúñiga, Alonso de. <i>La Araucana</i>	Multiple, from 1569
29. reportorio de tornamira	Tornamira, Francisco Vicente de. <i>Chronographía y repertorio de los tiempos</i>	1585

30. medallas de barones illustres	Rouillé, Guillaume. <i>La premiere [-seconde] partie du Promptuaire des Medalles des plus renomnees personnes qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde: avec brieue description de leurs vies et faicts, recueillie des bons auteurs.</i> [Primera [-segunda] parte del promptuario de las medallas de todos los más insignes varones que ha auido desde el principio del mundo]	1553, 1581; Spanish translation 1558, 1561
31. vanidad de mundo	Estella, Diego de. <i>Libro de la vanidad del mundo</i>	Multiple, from 1562
32. suma de medina	Medina, Pedro de. <i>Suma de cosmographia</i>	MSS. ca. 1500, 1550?
33. don geronimo de urrea	Jiménez de Urrea, Jerónimo. <i>Diálogo de la verdadera honra militar, que tracta como se ha de conformar la honrra con la conscientia</i> ; Trad. Ariosto, <i>Orlando furioso</i> ; Trad. Olivier de La Marche, <i>Discurso de la vida humana y aventuras del cavallero determinado</i> ; <i>Clarisel de las Flores</i>	Multiple, from 1566
34. jardin de flores	Torquemada, Antonio de. <i>Jardín de flores curiosas</i>	Multiple, from 1570
35. la agonía de la muerte	Vanegas del Busto, Alejo. <i>Agonía del tránsito de la muerte con los avisos y consuelos que cerca della son provechosos</i>	Multiple, from 1537
36. exsamen de ingenios	Huarte de San Juan, Juan. <i>Examen de ingenios para las sciencias</i>	Multiple, from 1575
37. el rosario de nuestra señora	<i>Rosario de Nuestra Señora</i>	Multiple, from 1539
38. suma de cordova	Córdoba, Antonio de. <i>Suma de casos de conciencia</i> ; <i>Tratado de casos de conciencia</i>	<i>Suma</i> : 1561; <i>Tratado</i> : Multiple, from 1573
39. vocabulario de çinco lenguas	<i>Quinque linguarum utilissimus vocabulista: Latine, italice, Gallice, Hyspane, et alemanice, valde necessarius per mundum versari cupientibus. Vocabulista de le cinque lengue vocabulere de sinc lengages vocabulario de çinco lenguas vocabular funfferley sprachen</i>	Multiple, from 1513
40. confissionario de alçoçer	Alcocer, Francisco de. <i>Confessionario breve y muy provechoso para los penitentes</i>	Multiple, from 1568
41. alivio de caminantes	Timotheus, Michael. <i>Alivio de caminantes</i>	Multiple, from 1563
42. flores de seneca	Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. <i>Flores</i>	Multiple, from 1528
43. fray pedro de alcantara	Alcántara, Pedro de, Santo. <i>Tratado de la oración y meditación</i>	Multiple, from 1563
44. flo sanctorum de bilbao en dos cuerpos	Santoro, Juan Basilio. <i>Flos sanctorum o vidas de los santos</i> . 2 vols. (Bilbao: Matías Mares, 1580)	Multiple, printed in Bilbao from 1580
45. el gonde lucanor	Manuel, Juan. <i>El conde Lucanor</i>	1575

46. ystoria de yndias de portugal	See 19 above.	Multiple, from 1551
47. cançionero general	Castillo, Fernando del. <i>Cancionero general de muchos y diversos autores</i>	Multiple, from 1511
48. las coronicas de san francisco	<i>Primera [-segunda] parte de las Crónicas de la Orden de los Frayles Menores del seraphico padre san Francisco[...]</i> / [Fray Marcos de Lisboa; la qual traduxo de lengua portuguesa en castellano [...] fray Diego Navarro de la orden de sant Francisco]	Multiple, from 1556
49. la ystoria pontifical	Illescas, Gonzalo de; Domingo de Portonariis. <i>Historia pontifical y cathólica: en la qual se contienen las vidas y hechos notables, de todos los summos pontífices romanos...</i>	Multiple, from 1569
50. coronica de don juan el [s]egundo	Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. <i>Crónica del serenísimo rey don Juan el segundo deste nombre</i>	Multiple, from 1517
51. la vida de christo	Vega, Pedro de la. <i>Vida de Cristo</i>	Multiple, from 1520
52. otra regla de santiago	<i>Regla de la orden de la cavallería de señor Santiago del Espada</i> (See 23 above)	Multiple, from 1527
53. opera de serafino en ytaliano	Serafino dell' Aquilano. <i>Soneti; Opere [...]</i> collecte per Francesco Flavio	Multiple, from 1502
54. marco aurelio	Guevara, Antonio de. <i>Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio</i> (See 24 above.)	Multiple, from 1527
55. rosario de nuestra señora de los viejos	<i>Rosario de Nuestra Señora; Horas de Nuestra Señora según el uso romano, en las quales se an añadido muchas oraciones, y con ellas el rosario y las quatro passiones</i>	Multiple, from 1539
56. las obras de ausias	Ausias March: Multiple from 1539; Ausiàs Izquierdo, <i>Canciones [...]</i> para cantar la noche de Navidad (1561); <i>Coplas en loor del seraphico padre sant Francisco</i> (1561); <i>Coplas de quien te me enojo Ysabel: bueltas a lo spiritual en loor y alabança del principe y archangel sant Miguel</i> (1562); <i>Representación o auto sacramental de un milagro de la Virgen del Rosario</i> (1589); <i>Relox de Namorados, primera parte</i> (1565); <i>Historia y fundación de nuestra señora del Puig de Valencia</i> (1575); <i>Quaderno espiritual</i> (1577); <i>Auto llamado Luzero de nuestra saluación</i> (ca. 1582, printed 1590)	Multiple from 1539
57. la çiudad de santa catalina de sena	Uncertain identification	
58. fray juan de la fuente	Fuente, Juan de la. <i>Libro de la esperança y temor christiano; Arbol de la vida cuyo fructo es el amor de Dios y nuestro y del próximo bien ordenado; Norte spiritual</i>	Multiple, from 1570

59. suero de quiñones	Rodríguez de Lena, Pedro. <i>Libro del passo honroso defendido por el excelente cavallero Suero de Quiñones.</i>	1588
60. suavidad de dios	Orozco, Alonso de, Santo. <i>Libro de la suavidad de Dios</i>	1576
61. lengua de vida	Isla, Alonso de la. <i>Lengua de vida</i>	1552
62. estimulo de humildad	Zúñiga y Aguilera, Diego de. <i>Estímulo de humildad y caridad</i>	1551
63. leon despaña	Vezilla Castellanos, Pedro de la. <i>Primera y segunda parte de El León de España</i>	1586
64. estableçimiento de santiago	<i>Regla y estableçimientos de la orden de la cavallería de señor Santiago del Espada</i>	1539, 1555
65. obras de çervantes	Cervantes y Saavedra, Miguel de. <i>Primera parte de La Galatea, dividida en seys libros</i>	1585, 1590
66. zelestina	Rojas, Fernando de [?]. <i>La Celestina</i>	Multiple, from 1500
67. comentarios de baca	Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar. <i>La relación y comentarios del gouernador Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca de lo acaescido en las dos jornadas que hizo a las Indias</i>	1542, 1555
68. norte espiritual	Fuente, Juan de la. <i>Norte spiritual</i> (See 58 above.)	1576
69. vitoria de si mismo	Cano, Melchor. <i>Tractado de la victoria de sí mismo</i>	1550, 1551, 1553
70. orlando el furioso	Ariosto, Ludovico. <i>Orlando furioso</i>	Multiple, from 1516; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1549
71. otro orlando furioso	See 70 above.	Multiple, from 1516; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1549
72. don gil de albornoz	Albornoz, Gil de. <i>Testamentum; Constitutines Marchiae Anconitanae; Aegidiane constitutiones</i>	Multiple, from 1502
73. las quexas y llantos de ponpeyo	Vives, Juan Luis. <i>Pompeius fugiens [Las quexas y llanto de Pompeyo adonde brevemente se muestra la destrucción de la república romana. Trad. Juan Cordero]</i>	Multiple, from 1520; Spanish translation: ca. 1550, 1556
74. apothemas de plutarco	Plutarco. <i>Apothegmas</i> . Trad. Diego Gracián de Alderete	1533, 1548
75. reportorio de los tiempos	Li, Andrés de. <i>Reportorio de los tiempos</i>	Multiple, from 1492
76. un libro del conde fernan gonzalez	<i>Historia del noble cavallero el conde Fernán González</i>	Multiple, from 1511
77. el libro de axedrez	Ramírez Lucena, Luis de. <i>Arte breue e introducción muy necessaria para saber jugar al axedrés con ciento y cincuenta juegos de partido [con Repetición de amores]</i>	1497
78. luçio marineo siente [sic?]	Marineo Sículo, Lucio. <i>De Hispaniae laudibus; Oups de rebus Hispaniae memorabilibus [Obra de las cosas</i>	Multiple, from 1497

	<i>memorables de España</i>]; <i>Epistolae illustrium Romanorum ex antiquorum annalibus excerptae</i> ; <i>De Aragoniae Regibus et eorum rebus gestis libri V</i> [Crónica de Aragón]; <i>Epistolarum familiarum libri XVII</i> ; <i>Sumario de la serenísima vida y heróycos hechos de los cathólicos reyes don Fernando y doña Ysabel. Sacado de la obra grande de las cosas memorables de España</i>	
79. libro de la verdad	Medina, Pedro de. <i>Libro de la verdad</i>	Multiple, from 1543
80. tratado de las obras de misericordia	Alexander Anglicus. <i>Tractado muy útil de las obras de misericordia</i> . Trad. Pedro González de la Torre	1530
81. coronica de los xirones	Gudiel, Jerónimo. <i>Compendio de algunas historias de España, donde se tratan muchas antiguedades dignas de memoria, y especialmente se da noticia de la antigua familia de los Girones, y de otros muchos linajes [...]</i>	1577
82. espejo de conçiencia	Viñones, Juan Bautista de. <i>Espejo de conciencia</i>	Multiple, from 1505
83. republicas del mundo	Román, Jerónimo. <i>Repúblicas del mundo divididas en XXVII libros [y Segunda parte]</i>	1575, 1595
84. carro de donas	Eiximenis, Francesc. <i>Llibre de les dones</i> [Este devoto libro se llama carro de las donas, trata la vida y muerte del hombre christiano, tiene cinco libros de grandes y sanctas doctrinas]	1495; Spanish translation: 1542
85. rey don alonso de mano	See 14 above or 98 below.	
86. paulo xovio en dos cuerpos	Giòvio, Paolo. <i>Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus [-secundus]</i> [Historia general de todas las cosas succedidas en el mundo en estos cincuenta años de nuestro tiempo: en el cual se descriuen particularmente todas las victorias y sucessos que el [...] emperador Don Carlos vuo. 2 vols.]	Multiple, from 1553; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1562
87. segunda parte de villegas del flo santorun	Villegas Selvago, Alonso de. <i>Flos sanctorum nuevo y historia general de la vida y hechos de Jesu Christo[...]</i>	Multiple, from 1579
88. morales de san gregorio	Gregory I, Saint. <i>Moralia in Job</i> [Los morales de sant Gregorio papa, doctor de la santa yglesia]	Multiple, from 1468; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1514
89. epistolas de san geronimo en romançe	Jerome, Saint. <i>Epistolas de sant Hierónimo</i> . Trad. Juan de Molina	Multiple, from 1526
90. los cartoxanos en quatro cuerpos el uno muy viejo	Ludolphus de Saxonia. <i>Vita Christi</i> [La primera [-cuarta] parte del vita Christi cartuxano]	Multiple, from 1494; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1502
91. coronica del rey don rodrigo	Corral, Pedro del. <i>Crónica del rey don Rodrigo con la destrucción de España</i>	Multiple, from 1511

92. reportorio de chaves	Chaves, Gerónimo. <i>Chronographía o reportorio de los tiempos</i>	Multiple, from 1548
93. manual de navarro	Azpilcueta Navarro, Martín de. <i>Manual de confesores y penitentes</i> [<i>Manual de confesores y penitentes: que clara y breuemente contiene la universal y particular decisión de quasi todas las dubdas que en las confesiones suelen ocurrir delos peccados, absoluciones, restituciones, censuras & irregularidades</i>]	Portuguese: Multiple from 1549; Spanish: Multiple, from 1554
94. valerio de sustancias escolasticas	Rodríguez de Almela, Diego. <i>Valerio de las historias escolásticas</i>	Multiple, from 1511
95. josepho de velo judario	Josephus, Flavius. <i>De antiquitate Judaica. De bello judaico</i> [<i>De la guerra judáyca con los libros contra Appión</i>]	Multiple, from 1470; Spanish translation: Multiple, from 1492
96. otra regla de cavalleria	<i>Regla de la orden de la cavallería de señor Santiago del Espada</i> (See 23 and 52 above.)	Multiple, from 1527
97. la coronación de juan de mena	Mena, Juan de. <i>La coronación</i>	Multiple, from 1489
98. los hechos del rey don alonso	Beccadelli, Antonio. <i>Libro de los dichos y hechos del rey don Alonso</i> (See 85 above.)	Multiple, from 1527
99. nieba de portugal	Uncertain identification. Although after the date of Suero de Quiñones II's death, there is reference to a Pantaléon Pessoa de Neiva in: <i>Adventure admirable par dessus toutes les autres des siècles passez et present. Par laquelle il appert euidemment, Que D. Sebastian vray et legitime Roy de Portugal [...] est celuy mesme que les Seigneurs de Venise ont detenu prisonnier [...] Le tout traduit de Castillan (de J. Teixeira) en François et augmenté [...] (de pièces de Sampayo, Pessoa de Nieva, G. Capugnano) et de l'admirable natiuité dudict Roy. (1601)</i> At end: <i>Copie d'une letre escrite par vn gentilhomme Portugais au tres-excellent Prince le Seigneur Dom Emmanuel fils du seigneur D. Antoine eleu Roy de Portugal, demeutant à Delf en Hollande</i> [Pantaléon Pessoa de Neiva]	
100. laverintio de amor y archadia en dos reales	Boccaccio, Giovanni. <i>Il Corbaccio o Laberinto d'amore</i> [<i>Labertinto de amor</i>]	Multiple, from 1487; Spanish translation, 1541, 1546
101. cartas de rua	Rúa, Pedro de. <i>Cartas de Rhua, lector en Soria, sobre las obras del reverendissimo señor obispo de Mondoñedo, dirigidas al mesmo</i>	1549
102. avisos de la china	<i>Avisos de la China y Japon del fin del año de 1587, recibidos en octubre de 88, sacados de las cartas de los padres</i>	1589

	<i>de la compañía de Jesus que andan en aquellas partes</i>	
103. un cuerpo de la vanidad destela	Estella, Diego de. <i>Libro de la vanidad del mundo</i> (See 31 above.)	Multiple, from 1562
104. magantín ytaliano	Uncertain identification	
105. horas romanas de plantino	Christopher Plantin's press in Antwerp published various books of hours from 1565-72	1565-72
106. unas oricas pequeñas	Uncertain identification	
107. un librico de frai luis de granada	Fray Luis de Granada [life 1504-88; works 1526-88]	1526-88
108. libro de la samana [sic?] santa	Uncertain identification. Possibly a collection such as: <i>Homiliae in evangelia et epistolas feriales quadragesimae et narratio passionis D. nostri Iesu Christi secundum utriusque restamenti scripturas</i> /per F. Ioan. Royard. [...] Ludguni 1573	1573
109. otras oras viejas	Uncertain identification	

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