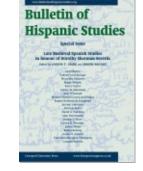


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## An errant leaf and a divided poem: the *Lay* of Juan de Torres in SA7

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Few extant manuscript *cancioneros* are original compilations. Most are fair copies, sometimes copies of copies, of single lost exemplars. An original compilation is, of course, also based on lost exemplars, but the difference is that its exemplars are, by definition, multiple and heterogeneous. The *Cancionero de Palacio* (Salamanca University Library MS 2653), better known as SA7, is one of these valuable exceptions, valuable because their physical composition contains a wealth of clues to the sources that lie behind them. In the words of Barry Ife, discussing another such volume, the erstwhile *Cancionero of the British Museum*, or *Rennert* (LB1), 'A great deal of evidence about the process of compilation can be gleaned from a close examination of the physical characteristics of the manuscript' (2002: 64). Unlike the mere copy (*Baena*, *Herberay*, or *Stúñiga*, for example), which throws up a screen of varying penetrability between the textual critic and the trail of transmission, the original compilation offers a relatively accessible array of clues about its sources, such as changes to the *mise-en-page*, false starts, and duplicate texts.

Fundamental to this sort of analysis are the internal divisions of a collection, the way the texts are organized, and the sequences in which they are copied. In this respect SA7 is a disaster: the manuscript has come down to us in a state of apparently intractable disorganization. Sixty years on we can only endorse the verdict of its first editor, Francisca Vendrell: 'Múltiples y difíciles de resolver en este manuscrito son los problemas relativos a lagunas de texto y a transposiciones de folios' (1945: 10).<sup>2</sup> SA7 is a folio volume of 178 numbered leaves, containing

- 1 All MS abbreviations refer to the sigla devised by Brian Dutton.
- 2 On the transposition and loss of folios in the *Cancionero de Palacio* see Vendrell (1945: 10–16). She notices *soluciones de continuidad* between fols 23 and 24, 28 and 29, 63 and 64, 86 and 87, 136 and 137; and she shows how 64 should be followed by 24, 33 by 65, 28 by 34 (1945: 10–12). Although they publish only a list of contents, Dutton et al. confirm and expand on Vendrell's observations (1982: i, 123–31), and their findings inform the transcriptions in Dutton (1990–91: iv, 84–179). Ana María Álvarez Pellitero gives some account of the disorder in her introduction and more in her notes to the texts (1993: xiv–xv, and *passim*); Cleofé

upwards of 370 poems. Internal textual and material evidence (watermarks, writing style) suggest that the *cancionero* was assembled around 1440 (Tato 2003: 517). The modern bound volume preserves the foliation of an earlier binding, which may have been close-to-contemporary with the compilation. Traces of this foliation (Roman numerals in a 15th-century hand) reveal that when it was first bound and foliated the manuscript was already in disorder (see, for example, Tato 2003: 498; 2005: 64). Discrepancies between the old and the modern foliations testify to a loss of at least eight leaves since then, but greater losses were evidently suffered by the manuscript in its pre-bound state (Tato 2003: 501–02; 2005: 60).

The problem with SA7 is not so much the losses as the combined effect of loss and transposition of folios. There are coherent runs of leaves, but the breaks in continuity surrounding them suggest we may never establish the order in which the discrete blocks were originally arranged. However, the crux of the matter is that as medieval compilations go SA7 is peculiarly prone to disorder, for the simple reason that the poems it contains are predominantly short. Approximately three-fifths of its 370-odd texts are lyrics of between 10 and 20 lines, fitting typically two to a page.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the end of numerous verso pages coincides with the end of a text, creating a natural break in continuity. Significantly, those stretches of the manuscript that present a reliable sequence of texts contain poems long enough to extend over pages, if not leaves. So too the transpositions that have been identified by modern scholars (and in one case signposted by an early reader) involve interruptions to longish poems or shorter poems belonging to a series. 4 Efforts to reconstruct the original sequence of texts are further hampered by our ignorance: no other witness exists for the overwhelming majority of poems in SA7, or indeed for most of the poets. Moreover, as I hope to demonstrate, we cannot trust the quiring.<sup>5</sup>

The commonest mark of disorder detected so far involves the displacement of single leaves. This disruption seems particularly to affect a run of 63 leaves in the first half of the manuscript, from fols 24 to 86 inclusive, towards the middle of the volume. The present ordering requires the reader to jump from fols 24–28 to fol. 34, from 33 to 65, and from 64 back to the starting point at 24. The following diagram gives an idea of the leapfrogging action and the circularity.

Tato has written extensively about the problems of SA7, both in general and as they affect the transmission of the poetry of Pedro de Santa Fe (1999: 132–47; 2003; and 2005).

<sup>3</sup> The poem tally in SA7 varies according to what is counted. Vendrell's 1945 edition identifies 367 poems; Dutton et al. (1982) and Dutton (1990–91) respect her numbering, but bulk out the total by some 16 items, including duplicates which Vendrell passed over in silence, and fragments such as SA7–76bis. Álvarez Pellitero's 1993 edition counts 373 texts, but excludes missing poems heralded by a rubric, such as SA7–189.

<sup>4</sup> I forbear from detailing here instances that are well known to SA7 scholars. See the bibliography cited in n.2.

<sup>5</sup> No evidence for the existence of catchwords, a basic aid to establishing quiring, has survived the guillotine. See Tato (2003: 501).

<sup>6</sup> This run of leaves contains 15 places where the end of a verso coincides with the end of a poem, or what appears to be the end of a poem, and another 11 places where a verso ends with a rubric that may or may not refer to the text that starts on the following recto.

<sup>7</sup> I should clarify that fol. 34 begins a run of leaves that continues to 45; then, after a break

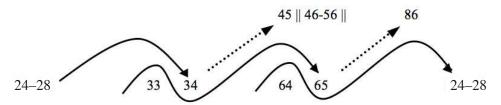


Figure 1: Links between poems disrupt the folio sequence 24-86

It is hard to envisage a quiring arrangement that could accommodate these folio acrobatics. Unsurprisingly, recent attempts to establish the codicological structure of SA7 have proved inconclusive. To judge from the prevailing anarchy in the disposition of leaves, I suspect that a full codicological examination of the manuscript will only be practicable once we know what we are looking for. The obvious inference is that folios so far adrift from their original moorings, such as 33 and 64, became detached at some point in the prehistory of the bound volume and migrated as singletons.

The identification of another such case allows me to reconstruct three sets of poem sequences that have been skewed by the migration of a single leaf. The most immediate evidence is palaeographic. Folio 2 is copied in a different hand from the hand that copied adjacent leaves 1 and 3 and the 20 consecutive leaves which contain an unbroken run of poems to fol. 23 (see Figures 2 and 3). This hand, which may be regarded as the *mano principal*, or Hand 1, is the most ornate of the 4 or 5 hands which intervened in the copy. The less distinctive hand which copied fol. 2 is well represented later in the manuscript. I shall refer to it as Hand 2. (See the sample of parallel texts in Figure 4 for a comparison between Hands 1 and 2. The difference is most marked in the treatment of ascenders, which

caused by loss of leaves, the same hand continues uninterrupted to 56. After 65 continuity is apparently maintained as far as 86. There are thus two stretches of continuity in this part of the MS, but they are isolated from each other and their ultimate position in the configuration of the volume as a whole is unclear. Furthermore, the bizarre sequence 64^24-25-26-27-28^34→56 and the leap from 33 to 65 have displaced and stranded two shorter runs of leaves, 29–32 and 57–63. The first was identified by Dutton as 'fuera de lugar' (1982: i, 125a; 1990–91, iv: 101b); the second enshrines further discontinuities, which can be expressed as 57 [-] 58–59–60–61 [-] 62–63. I shall return to these.

<sup>8 &#</sup>x27;[H]a de advertirse que resulta dificilísimo reconstruir la estructura codicológica del manuscrito; la encuadernación, moderna, está demasiado apretada y la distribución de las filigranas es tan irregular que no permite reconstruir secuencias seguras de longitud mínima para determinar la configuración de los cuadernos. [...] dudo de que un análisis serio sobre este aspecto sea posible sin desencuadernar el códice' (Beltran 2005: 30–31n).

<sup>9</sup> Tato points out that this hand, 'la más fácilmente identificable', was also responsible for copying fols. 87–137r, and suggests that the two blocks of leaves 1–23 and 87–137 may once have been contiguous (2005: 82n). This view needs some modification, as there is a definitive break in the middle of the second block: the lower half of 107r and the whole of 107v were left blank.

<sup>10</sup> Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary by Vendrell (1945: 9) and Álvarez Pellitero (1993: xvi), the work of several different hands can be discerned in SA7 (see Dutton 1979: 448; Tato 2003: 505).

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[3.145.23.123] Project MUSE (2024-04-24 19:11 GMT)

Images of MS 2653 (SA7) are reproduced by kind permission of the Universidad de Salamanca. I am grateful to Doña Margarita Becedas González, Directora of the Biblioteca General Histórica, for securing this permission and for supplying me with digital versions of the images. Figure 2: Folios 1v and 2r

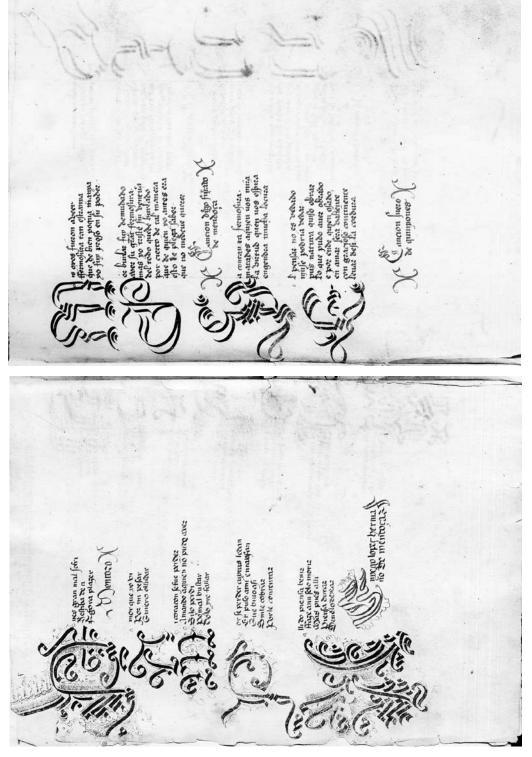
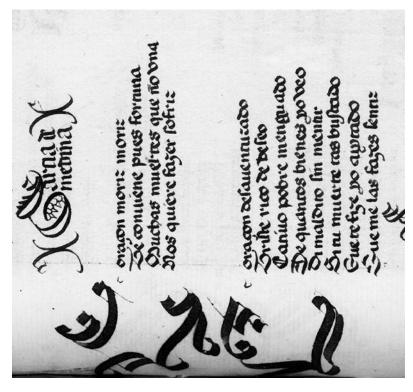


Figure 3: Folios 2v and 3r

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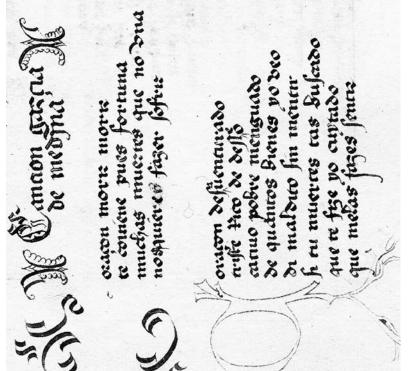


Figure 4: Hand 1 (fol. 8v, detail) contrasted with Hand 2 (fol. 83r, detail)

Table 1: Opening texts in SA7 with contents of fol. 2r-v shown in bold

MS no. fol.	rubric	fol.	incipit	lines of text	ID
SA7-1 1r	Perque diego furtado de mendoça	1r-v	Pues no quiero andar en corte	59 11.	2395
SA7-2 1v	Cancion luna condestable	1v	Si dios nuestro saluador	3, 8	2396
SA7-3 1v	Cancion luna condestable	2r-v	Porque de llorar	8 x 3	2397
SA7-4 2v	Montoro	2v	Amor que yo vi	3, 3 x 5	2398
SA7-5 2v	Enyego lopeç hermano De mendoça	3r	Mis oxos fueron a veer	4, 8	2399
SA7-6 3r	Cancion diego furtado de mendoça	3r	Ya con tanta fermosura	4, 8	2400

are taller and looped in Hand 1. Note especially the 'b' in 'pobre', 'bienes', and 'buscado'.) Somehow the intruder status of folio 2 has been overlooked, perhaps at least partly because a spurious uniformity has been imposed on the 1v–2r opening by the addition in a later hand of running heads erroneously announcing: 'obras de diego furtado de mendoça' (1v) and 'obras de \do/n albaro de luna condestable de castilla' (2r) (see Figure 2). But clues have not been wanting. As well as the external evidence there are textual indications.

Table 1 sets out the rubrics and first lines of the first six texts in SA7 as presently constituted, displaying the contents of fol. 2r–v in bold. The first thing to note is the mismatch between the rubric at the foot of 1v and the form of the poem on 2r, 'Porque de llorar'. The rubric, 'Cancion luna condestable', refers to a formal category of lyric that cannot by any definition of the term be stretched to apply to the text that follows: eight hexasyllabic tercets rhyming *aab aab bbc bbc ccd ccd dde dde*. <sup>12</sup> Secondly, neither of the two authors named in the rubrics on fol. 2v, 'Montoro' and 'Enyego lopeç hermano De mendoça', figures in this part of the MS or in the other blocks of text copied by Hand 1. <sup>13</sup>

Coherence returns if we remove the interloper (see Figures 5 and 6 and Table 2): the rubric at the foot of fol. 1v comes good, because the text following at the head of 3r, 'Mis oxos fueron a veer', is indeed a *canción*, and very plausibly attributed to Álvaro de Luna. Discounting the unlikely eventuality that fol. 2 was grafted into the first quire to replace a missing leaf, fols 1v and 3r make a perfect match. It is possible that the run of leaves  $1 + 3 \rightarrow 23$  once constituted a complete single quire, through-copied by Hand  $1.^{14}$  However, this act of virtual surgery is

- 11 'Es cierto que en el folio 1º se añade tardíamente un rótulo que indica *obras de diego furtado de mēdoça* y en el 2º otro para consignar *obras de don Albaro de Luna, condestable de Castilla,* pero uno y otro son posteriores; además, en ambos casos carecen de sentido, puesto que no introducen una serie de textos de los autores anunciados' (Tato 2005: 73).
- 12 Succinctly described by Dutton as '8 x 3' (1982: 125a; 1990–91: iv, 101b).
- 13 Fols 87–107, 108–137; see above, n.9. For more on Montoro, see below, n.19.
- 14 Vicenç Beltran's codicological examination of the MS leads him to surmise: 'En algunos puntos, la posición de las filigranas permite suponer la existencia de cuadernos relativamente bien conservados, aparentemente de grandes dimensiones' (2005: 31n). Among these unexpectedly large quires he includes fols 1–24.

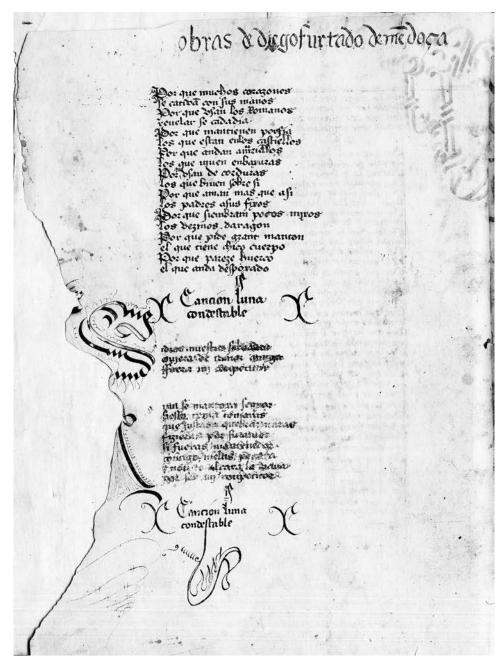


Figure 5: Folio 1v

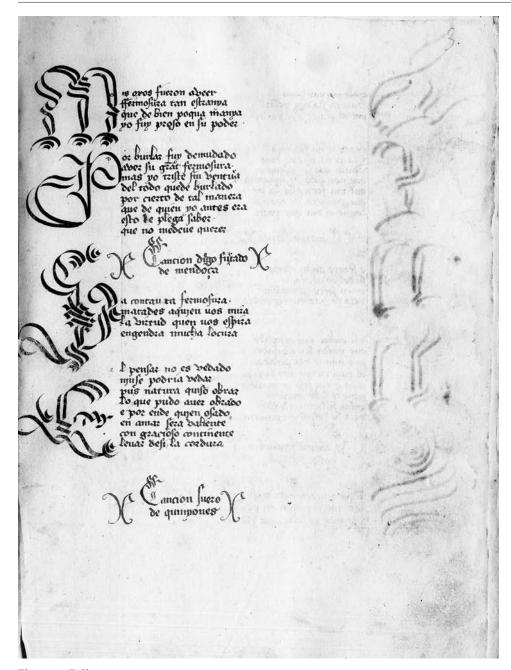


Figure 6: Folio 3r

Table 2: Reconstruction of sequence of texts in fols 1r-v and 3r after the removal of fol. 2

MS no. fol.	rubric f	fol.	incipit	lines of text	ID
SA7-1 1r	Perque diego furtado de a mendoça	1r-v	Pues no quiero andar en corte	59 11.	2395
SA7-2 1v	Cancion luna condestable	1v	Si dios nuestro saluador	3, 8	2396
1v	Cancion luna condestable				
SA7-5	3	3r	Mis oxos fueron a veer	4, 8	2399
SA7-6 3r	Cancion diego furtado de 3 mendoça	3r	Ya con tanta fermosura	4, 8	2400

motivated primarily by the lure of a better destination for fol. 2. The true home of the migrant leaf is at some distance in terms of codicological plausibility, but in every other respect entirely appropriate.

The unusual strophic form of 'Porque de llorar' (SA7–3) recurs only once elsewhere in the *cancionero*, on 32v. Folio 32 is the last of a short run of leaves, 29-30-31-32, stranded in no man's land by the desertion of adjacent folios, and copied by the same hand – Hand 2 – as the stray leaf wedged between fols 1 and 3. <sup>15</sup> The group is bounded on one side – 29r – by an unidentified fragment (SA7–76<sup>bis</sup>) and on the other – 32v – by four tercets of Torres's *Lay*, 'Ay triste de mi' (SA7–86), which Dutton records as truncated in his headings to the transcription: '4 x 3 ... ' (1990–91: iv, 101b). Folio 2 can be repositioned with absolute confidence as the leaf following 32, because what we have in 'Porque de llorar' is the longer second half of 'Ay triste de mi', the *Lay* that breaks off after only four stanzas. Figures 7, 8 and 9 show the sequence of fols 32v, 2r, and 2v, containing the complete poem, which I edit in the Appendix.

The affinity between the two texts SA7–3 and SA7–86 is unmistakable, and has not gone unremarked. Only a few years after the appearance of Vendrell's edition, Pierre Le Gentil included 'Porque de llorar' in his discussion of 'Ay de mi triste' as a Castilian example of the French *lai*, and he printed both texts one after the other, saying rather plaintively: 'Le poème suivant ['Porque de llorar'], emprunté au même recueil et attribué par lui au fameux connétable Alvaro de Luna, ne mérite-t-il pas d'être rapproché du précédent ['Ay de mi triste'], bien qu'il soit qualifié de *canción*?' (1952: 198). On this hint from Le Gentil, and on the understanding that there were two extant examples of this metric type, Tomás Navarro was led to make some extraordinary generalizations about the nature and the form of the *lay* in Castile, such as 'Su estrofa usual era la sextilla simétrica con dos rimas, aab:aab' (1956: 140). Following the sequence of the texts in SA7, he gives precedence to Álvaro de Luna: 'El lay de don Álvaro de Luna, *Canc. Palacio*, núm. 3, se distingue por su ritmo trocaico y por sus rimas agudas'; whereas Juan de Torres,

<sup>15</sup> As we have seen in n.7, above, these four leaves are left high and dry because of the sequence of texts that links 28 with 34, 33 with 65:  $24-25-26-27-28 \uparrow || 29-30-31-32 || 33\rightarrow65 || \downarrow 34$ .

the author of 'Otro lay' ('en el citado cancionero, núm. 86'), gets rapped on the knuckles for defective technique: 'muestra flexibilidad semejante en su trabada construcción gramatical, si bien procede con menos uniformidad en cuanto al tipo rítmico del verso' (141). Álvarez Pellitero also classifies 'Porque de llorar' as a *lay* in a note to her edition of the poem (no. III), where she explains her decision to recast it (as also 'Ay triste de mi', no. LXXXVII) in the form of *sextillas*. <sup>16</sup>

It would have been sufficient for the purpose of rebuilding Torres's *Lay* to establish the link between fols 32 and 2. However, it is possible to provide a fuller setting for fol. 2 by recruiting 57 as the follow-on leaf. This is a single folio, adrift from its neighbours, and also copied by Hand 2 (see Figure 10). The preceding leaf, 56, is the last in a straight run of leaves (45–56), copied in yet another hand (Hand 3), and there is no rubric at the foot of the verso to herald the text that heads 57r. Nor is there any rubric at the end of 57v, yet the following recto, 58r, also starts with an unrubricated poem. The repositioning of fol. 57 is for the moment provisional, given the current state of our knowledge about the quiring, but the fit is good: 2v ends with a rubric and 57r begins – like fol. 3r – with a rubric-less text, in this case, 'Adios quedeys linda corte'.

Table 3 reconstructs the configuration of texts arising from an original sequence of leaves 31–32–2–57, all of them copied by Hand 2. There are significant continuities in the style of rubrication (for example, the erratic capitals in 'alfonso De montoro' on 31r, 'hermano De mendoça' on 2v), and in the contiguity of authors: fols 31r–v and 2v both contain rubrics which refer to a Montoro by surname alone, presumably the Montoro who has already been identified as Alfonso at SA7–81, the poem heading 31r. <sup>19</sup> Likewise, the conjunction of fols 2 and 57 brings together the only pieces attributed to the two obscurer Íñigo López homonyms in SA7, 'hermano De mendoça' and 'fixo de Johan furtado', so labelled no doubt to distinguish them from each other, as well as from the future Marqués de Santillana, who is designated 'senyor De buytrago' in another part of the manuscript (fols 84r–85r) copied by Hand 2. The sequence 32–2–57 seems a desperate remedy, maybe, but this manuscript presents no ordinary problems.

It would be premature to comment on the codicological implications of this

- 16 'El lay, forma estrófica de esta composición, propia de la poesía cortés [...], tiene una representación mínima en el *Cancionero*. Este y otro de Johan de Torres, con denominación correcta, configuran la nómina total. [...] La estrofa preferida de este tipo de composición era la sextilla simétrica con dos rimas (aabaab), en hexasílabos trocaicos o agudos. El lay del Condestable responde perfectamente al esquema señalado' (Álvarez Pellitero 1993: 6–7n).
- 17 On the break between fols 56 and 57 see Álvarez Pellitero (1993: 130) and Tato (2005: 62).
- 18 SA7–125 (ID0380); the attribution to Juan Agraz has been added by a later hand. The run of leaves 58–61 constitutes another self-sufficient group bounded by discontinuities at either end, and is also copied by Hand 2. It may not belong very far away from 57, but cannot be contiguous.
- 19 Rubrication style offers important clues to the organization of this collection. On plain Montoro in SA7 and his probable identity with Alfonso de Montoro, see Tato (1998: 180–81). Two further poems (SA7–129 and 130) are attributed to 'Montoro' on fol. 62, the leaf which I believe should follow 57.

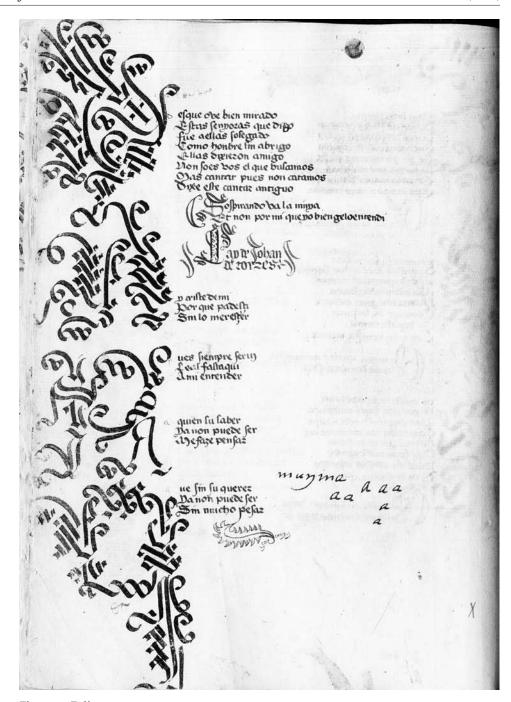


Figure 7: Folio 32v

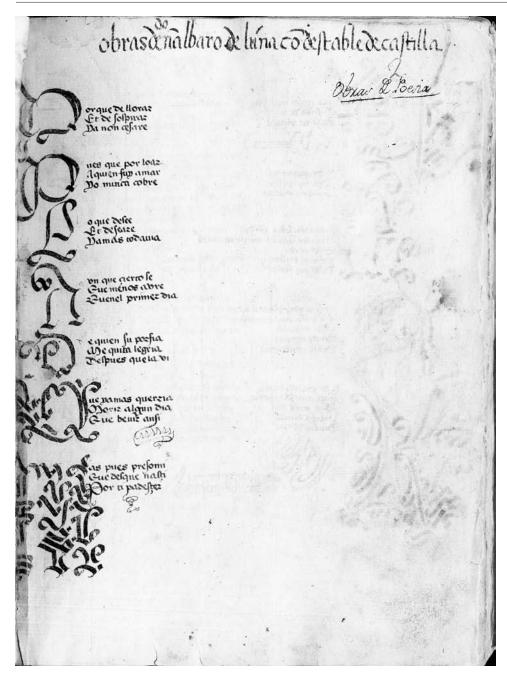


Figure 8: Folio 2r

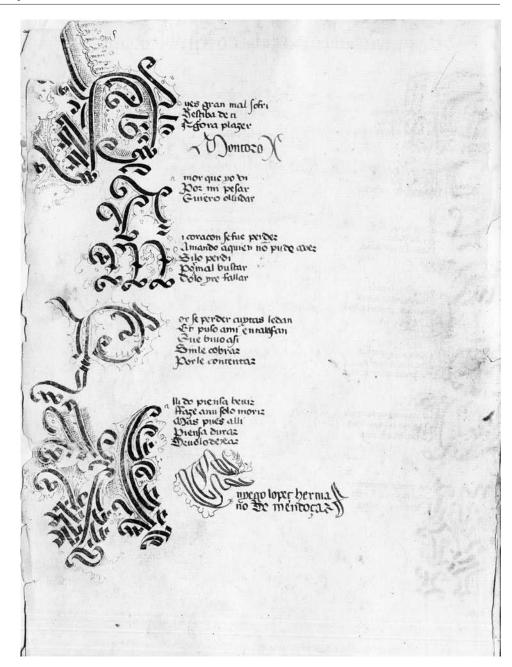


Figure 9: Folio 2v

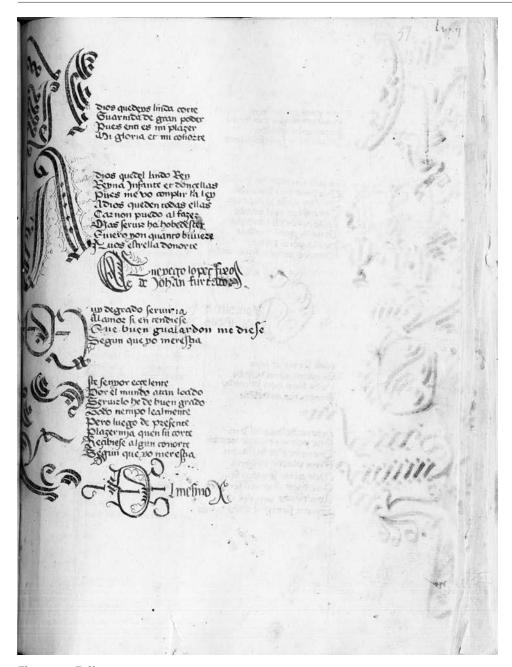


Figure 10: Folio 57r

Table 3: Restoring fol. 2 (in bold) to its place in the sequence 31-32-2-57

MS no.	fol.	rubric	fol.	incipit	lines of text	ID
SA7-81	31r	Cancion alfonso De montoro	31r	pues por ti peno amor	5, 10	2471
SA7-82	31r	Montoro	31r	apartar pueden a mi	3, 7	2472
SA7-83	31r	Cançion de Johan de torres	31v	Si uos plaçe que mantenga	4, 8	2473
SA7-84	31v	Montoro	31v	Si el coraçon me basta	4, 8	2474
SA7-85	31v	Otro dezir de suero de Ribera	32r-v	En vna linda floresta	4 x 8, 2	2475
SA7-86	32v	Lay de Johan de torres	32v	Ay triste de mi	4 x 3	2480
SA7-3			2r-v	Porque de llorar	8 x 3	2397
SA7-4	2v	Montoro	2v	Amor que yo vi	$3, 3 \times 5$	2398
SA7-121	2v	Enyego lopeç hermano De mendoça	57r	Adios quedeys linda corte	4, 8	2512
SA7-122	57r	Eneyego [sic] lopeç fixo de Johan furtado	57r	Muy de grado seruiria	4, 8	2513
SA7-123	57r	El mesmo	57v	Amor pues ya non veo	4, 8	2514
SA7-124	57v	Gonçalbo de quadros	57v	De uos seruir et loar	4, 8	2515

anarchic displacement of leaves: the problems of SA7 will have to be tackled piecemeal as we become more familiar with the texts and their authors, with the habits of the individual scribes, the house style of the copyshop they were employed in, and the nature of the sources they were using. I am keeping an open mind about the possibility of the volume being factitious; there is a good case to be made for its integrity on grounds of consistency of contents and layout. A more likely explanation is that the quiring is factitious; that the disordered bundle of inside-out quires, stray bifolia, and single leaves was reassembled into improvised gatherings preparatory to binding in the late medieval period. The sporadic rescue of single leaves by stitching them into alien quires would account for the anomalous displacements of fols 33 and 64, as well as of fol. 2.

One consequence of the rehousing of fol. 2 is an adjustment to the small corpus of poems attributable to Álvaro de Luna. In exchange for the unsatisfactory half-lay, he is credited with 'Mis oxos fueron a ver', a canción which shows pleasing signs of affinity with his other verse. The (admittedly only provisional) recompense offered to the otherwise unknown Íñigo López, 'hermano de Mendoza', for this loss is the acquisition of a suitably archaic alternative, 'Adios quedeys linda corte', which has to date suffered from the double stigma of orphanhood and suspected fragmentary status.<sup>20</sup> In fact it has the standard structure of a canción of the era: 4, 8 lines, rhyming abba cdcdbb[b]a. In Vendrell's view, this Íñigo López

<sup>20</sup> For the suspicion that 'Adios quedeys linda corte' is acephalous see Álvarez Pellitero (1993: 130n).

was the brother of Admiral Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and Santillana's uncle (1945: 27–28). Certainly the use of the *senhal* 'estrella do norte' in line 12 puts its author squarely into the generation of poets better represented in the *Cancionero de Baena*. But the main effect of the transfer has been the recovery of a unique lyric of the Spanish 15th century, split by misadventure into two unequal halves at a distance of 30 leaves from one another and attributed to two different authors. The reunified text of Juan de Torres's poem is the only surviving *lay* in the Castilian repertory recorded by Dutton.<sup>22</sup>

## Appendix: SA7-86 + SA7-3 (ID2480 + ID2397)

There is a palaeographic transcription of both halves of the divided poem in Dutton (1990–91) and on the Liverpool Cancionero Project website. I have respected the graphic features of the text, but introduced lower-casing at line beginnings and added modern punctuation. The text is undoubtedly corrupt, as seen in the repetition of the same line (italicized) in stanzas 3 and 4. I have not been able to adjudicate between the alternative positions for this line. A proof that the poem is otherwise complete is the way the rhyme scheme comes full circle from aab back to aab in 12 hexasyllabic tercets: aab aab bbc bbc (32v) ccd ccd dde dde eea eea aab aab (2r–v).

(fol. 32<sup>v</sup>) Lay de Johan de Torres

Ay, triste de mí, ¿por qué padesçí sin lo meresçer?

Pues siempre seruí leal fast' aquí, a mi entender.

a quien su saber ya non puede ser me faze pensar;

que sin su querer ya non puede ser, sin mucho pesar;

(fol. 2<sup>r</sup>)
porque de llorar
et de sospirar
ya non cesaré;

- 21 Dutton and González Cuenca give a comprehensive account of the recurrence of the phrase 'estrella de / del norte' in poems by Villasandino, Imperial, Diego de Valencia, Cañizares (in SA7–330), and also in this poem, SA7–121 (1993: 41, note to PN1–25).
- 22 See his 'Índice de géneros' (1990–91: vii, 586b). In Gómez-Bravo's *Repertorio métrico* the two texts of SA7–86 and SA7–3 have a slot to themselves as the only representatives of verse form no. 105 (1998: 17).

pues que por loar a quien fuy amar yo nunca cobré

lo que deseé, et desearé ya más todauía;

avnque çierto sé que menos avré qu'en el primer día;

de que su porfía me quita 'legría después que la vi;

que ya más querría morir algun día que beuir ansí.

Mas pues presomí que desque nasçí por ti padesçer,

(fol. 2<sup>v</sup>)
pues gran mal sofrí,
resçiba de ti
agora plazer.

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