

DIEGO LÓPEZ DE AYALA AND THE INTELLECTUAL
CONTOURS OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TOLEDO

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ABSTRACT

JONATHAN O'CONNER: Diego López de Ayala and the Intellectual
Contours of Sixteenth-Century Toledo
(Under the direction of Lucia Binotti)

This dissertation focuses on one of the protagonists in the political, religious and intellectual life of sixteenth-century Toledo, the largely forgotten Diego López de Ayala (c. 1480-1560). He was a member of one of the era's most influential noble families and a stand-in and envoy of the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, to the court of Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain and that of the future Emperor Charles V in Flanders. Afterwards, he played an influential role in the spread of Italian Renaissance aesthetics in Spain as superintendent of works at the Toledo Cathedral for nearly forty years. He also translated into Spanish the prose sections of two Italian works, the *Questioni d'amore* of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (*Treze questiones*) and the *Arcadia* of Jacopo Sannazaro. Past scholarship on López de Ayala has often considered minimal his political and literary roles. Others have recognized his importance as a contributor to Toledo's cultural life, but say little beyond noting that we know too little about him. My research reaffirms the prominent political and cultural presence of this highly significant figure and fills in many of the gaps left by previous scholarship. Diego López de Ayala figured prominently in the cultural and political life of Toledo after the death of Cardinal Cisneros. Additionally, the dissertation examines the significance of López de Ayala's published translations to the Spanish print culture and canon of courtly

literature with special emphasis on the performance elements and socialized reading practices of the period. The dissertation begins to reconstruct the humanistic intellectual community, whose Erasmian leanings were destined to disappear with the coming of the Counter-Reformation.

For Eric, whose encouragement, incredible patience
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Introduction

The first half of the sixteenth century witnessed the creation of an empire under Charles V that included vast territories in Europe as well as in the New World. Before the new King's arrival in Spain, the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, served as regent after Ferdinand the Catholic's death in 1516, while the young Charles was still in Flanders. After the King's arrival, the imperial court resided in Toledo in 1525 and 1538-39. The city was a center of intellectual and cultural activity throughout the period, playing host to influential authors and humanists.

One of the protagonists in the political, religious and intellectual life of Toledo was the relatively unsung Diego López de Ayala (c. 1480-1560). López de Ayala was a member of one of the era's most influential noble families of the city and a descendant of the Canciller Pero López de Ayala. He was a canon at the Toledo cathedral from 1506 and held the dignity of *vicario del coro* from 1525 and the office of *obrero mayor* (superintendent of the cathedral works and building) from 1518 to 1557. Prior to these ecclesiastical appointments, he had served as the envoy of the Cardinal Cisneros at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain and that of the future Emperor Charles in Flanders. Additionally, he was one of the founders of the Colegio de Santa Catalina in Toledo, which would later become the Real Universidad de Toledo. López de Ayala also translated into Spanish the prose sections of two Italian works. The first was the *Questioni d'amore*, extracted from the fourth book of Boccaccio's *Filocolo*. López de Ayala's translation of this work appeared in print under two titles: *Laberinto de Amor*

(Seville, 1541 and 1546) and *Treze questiones* (Toledo, 1546 and 1549; Venice, 1553).

The second translation was of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, which also resulted in five editions: Toledo, 1547 and 1549; Estella, 1562; and Salamanca, 1573 and 1578.

Diego López de Ayala is a familiar figure to some scholars of sixteenth-century religion, literature and history because of his long tenure at the Toledo Cathedral, his literary translations and his role at the royal courts. References to the canon have appeared in studies with a wide variety of foci, including music, art, political and religious histories. In an article about Sebastián de Horozco and his intellectual contacts Jack Weiner highlights the significance López de Ayala had for his era: "Sin duda alguna, Diego López de Ayala es una de las personas más importantes en la vida artística e intelectual de su Toledo" ("Sebastián" 539). Regarding sixteenth-century choral music of the Toledo Cathedral, Michael Noone affirms the largely forgotten canon's intellectual sophistication ("Toledo" 561). Given the unequivocal importance of the function assigned to López de Ayala by these authors, the lack of a comprehensive study of him is perplexing. Yet, as recently as 2003 Muñoz Muñoz remarked that little is known about this important figure: "Sobre Diego López de Ayala, poco más conocemos fuera de su condición de Canónigo de la Iglesia de Toledo y de algún intercambio epistolar con el cardenal Cisneros" (538). To a certain degree, this is due to a scholarly unwillingness to cross disciplinary boundaries. For example, the most complete biographical information on López de Ayala appears in studies of theological history, such as Fernández Collado's study of the Toledo Cathedral in the sixteenth century. Studies of the canon's translations, on the other hand, have tended to focus on philological concerns rather than the cultural

and intellectual implications of the texts.¹ Literary scholars, such Nicolás Antonio, Bartolomé Gallardo and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, have given equally sparse information regarding the canon. López de Ayala also appears in passing in studies of the local history of Toledo, such as Enrique Lorente Toledo's article on the relation of Charles V with Toledo. Despite recognition of López de Ayala's involvement in the cultural developments of his era, the disparate foci of the studies in which he appears have contributed to an unnecessarily deficient portrait of the canon's accomplishments.

In references to López de Ayala, acknowledgement of a lack of comprehensive studies on the canon are most frequently accompanied by the realization that, due to his wide-reaching significance, this figure merits more thorough attention. Ramón González Ruiz states, for example, that "Diego López de Ayala es una personalidad toledana que está esperando una buena monografía" ("Blas Ortiz" 47). In other cases, authors have used the lack of documented information as a license to paint a romanticized portrait of the Toledo canon: "[López de Ayala] recuerda por su estilo e hidalga conducta los fibrosos árboles que crecen solitarios e inmutables en las plazas de los pueblos castellanos o en medio de las abrasadas llanuras; se lo pinta la imaginación como uno de esos fidalgos carilargos del Greco" (Fernández de Retana 1: 6-7).

This dissertation is the first full-length study devoted to the Toledo canon Diego López de Ayala.² It is not, however, simply a biography. Instead, it documents in greater

¹ This is particularly the case for Reyes Cano's monograph on the *Arcadia* and his article on Boccaccio in Spain. More recent studies by López-Vidriero and Muñiz Muñiz have focused, instead, on editorial and bibliographical concerns.

² The issue of homonyms will be addressed below.

detail the nature of the canon's highly significant cultural activities and relates them to a particular life approach and to an intellectual interpretive community that existed in Toledo in the sixteenth century.

This dissertation began as a study of López de Ayala's Spanish translations, and my objective continues to be a contextualization of these translations; however, in the effort to explore the broader implications of their appearance, the surrounding social, cultural and historical contexts have acquired a far more prominent presence than they might have enjoyed in more traditional literary criticism. As translations, the texts have not found a comfortable place in histories of Spanish literature, simply because their original authors were not writing in Spain or for a Spanish audience. Therefore, we cannot attribute the fabrication of the texts and the meanings their authors may have intended to the Spanish translators. Yet, the literature of early modern Spain did not develop in a hermetically sealed environment. On the contrary, in an age of empire and particularly fervent cultural production, the evolutionary course of elite and intellectual aesthetics in Spain owed a great deal to increased international exchanges with regions like Flanders and Italy. A handful of scholars have perceived the translations as noteworthy. Among them, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo attributes particular importance in *Orígenes de la novela* to the translation of the *Treze questiones*:

Notable influencia ejerció en el desarrollo de nuestra novela amatoria otro libro, o más bien fragmento de libro de Boccaccio, es a saber, las *Treze questiones* de la cuarta parte del *Filocolo*, traducidas y publicadas con el impropio título *Laberinto de Amor*, que sólo conviene a otra obra del mismo autor llamada más frecuentemente el *Corvacho*. (ccci)

The present study ascribes importance to López de Ayala's translations in the context of the development of genres of courtly literature, but the texts also form part of a much

broader cultural agenda. Contextualized, they become cultural artifacts that simultaneously display, validate and reassert the life of the intellectual elite of Toledo. Viewed through the lens of the life experiences and aspirations of Diego López de Ayala, the translations constitute one of many endeavors in the complex construction of an identity. This dissertation is a cultural history centered on an individual whose circumstances allow us to formulate a clearer picture of the intellectual contours of sixteenth-century Toledo.

The validity of this approach is suggested by a combination of the historiography of Roger Chartier and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice. In matters of literary history, Chartier encourages the conjunction of three traditionally distinct approaches (textual criticism, the history of the book and cultural sociology) as a means of understanding how reception is governed by a series of complex and linked factors, for example, the uses and appropriations imposed by varying forms of "representation" of a text (273). In its treatment of López de Ayala's translations, this dissertation combines elements of each of these three traditions with the goal of understanding the meaning of the texts for the translator and his fellow "readers." Chartier cautions:

We must recall that many are the ancient texts which do not assume, in any way, as their recipients a solitary and silent reader in search of its meaning. Made to be spoken or read aloud and shared in a collective listening, invested with a ritual function, conceived as machines to produce effects, they obey laws proper to "performance" or oral and communal applications.³ (274)

His approach to characteristics of orality in older texts relies heavily on textual clues, including an analysis of punctuation and diction. This dissertation instead explores this quality of orality and representation as it relates to performance elements inherent in the

³ The translation is my own.

formal structure of the works, linking them to socialized practices of reading; it also relies on evidence of reading practices cultivated by the Toledan intellectual interpretive community in order to describe the representational experience of these translations in particular.

Bourdieu's theory places aesthetic culture in a framework of social spaces he terms fields, for example the fields of power, economics and cultural production. Within this framework of objective fields, individuals act subjectively based on the cultivation of a disposition he refers to as a *habitus*. The *habitus* an individual cultivates is intended to reflect his or her relative position in society as determined by the capital (social, symbolic, cultural, economic, etc.) he or she possesses. Bourdieu's framework asserts that the field of cultural production rarely demonstrates autonomy from other fields. He states, for example:

Because of the hierarchy established in the relations among the different kinds of capital and among their holders, the fields of cultural production occupy a dominated position, temporally, within the field of power. As liberated as they may be from external constraints and demands, they are traversed by the necessity of the fields which encompass them: the need for profit, whether economic or political. (216)

Cultural production therefore becomes a medium for distinction. This study views Diego López de Ayala's cultural production as responding to a variety of factors linked to the fields of power and economics. His role in the aesthetic decisions at the Toledo Cathedral, his translations and his literary gatherings result in the construction of a particular image or persona. The nature of his actions is not only aesthetic, but also strategic. His endeavors both reflect and procure social and cultural capital, and his aesthetic choices are guided by a *habitus* that portrays him as a member of an elite. Toledo's intellectual interpretive community is a subdivision of this elite and is

comprised of individuals with a similar *habitus*. The combination of Chartier and Bourdieu's approaches allows us to consider the implications of the translations within a much broader context and distinguishes this study from previous ones.

Diego López de Ayala possesses a certain attraction that gains force as we consider his achievements as a whole. He shaped the image of a city that many in the sixteenth century considered a second Rome. He translated idyllic literary episodes, but, more importantly, he recreated them. An ardent admirer of the Italian Renaissance culture as a whole, he applied architectural and garden design principles to his recreational property, where he hosted literary gatherings that included figures like the poet Garcilaso de la Vega. He was at the center of the cultural and intellectual effervescence of the Imperial City in the sixteenth century. The body of research presented in this dissertation constitutes the beginning of an endeavor to recuperate the memory of this nearly forgotten but highly compelling, individual and restore some hint of brightness to the fading pigments of a truly dynamic past.

Chapter one develops a much more complete biography of this influential member of sixteenth-century Toledo. It uses his correspondence with Cardinal Cisneros, information compiled by other scholars and primary sources in the Archivo Capítular de la Catedral de Toledo to reconstruct details of López de Ayala's life. It also relies on previously unknown documents in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo, including the canon's last will and testament. This documentation resolves persistent confusions about the canon's identity. The canon's participation in the upheaval of the Comunidades rebellion is examined in light of past studies that have considered his role to be minimal. Additionally, López de Ayala's will is the source for establishing his properties, titles and

family relations. The analysis of the will demonstrates the canon's significant accrual of wealth and his efforts to establish a personal legacy linked to the glory of the Ayala family line. Past studies have asserted that the canon's role after serving as Cisneros's envoy at court was a relatively secondary one, rooted in quiet literary pursuits. The chapter negates that assessment and shows how López de Ayala continued to enjoy a very visible and influential role throughout his lifetime, both in Toledo and at court.

Chapter two examines closely López de Ayala's involvement in the artistic life of sixteenth-century Toledo and beyond. The canon's reappointments to the cathedral office of *obrero*, or superintendent of cathedral works and building, placed him in a uniquely privileged position with regard to the cultural and artistic advancement of his city. The analysis explores how he gained a reputation for cultural refinement as he directed many of the most important architectural and artistic projects of his time. It also considers in detail his collaboration with the most salient artists of Renaissance Spain, including the painter Juan de Borgoña, the royal architect Alonso de Covarrubias and the sculptors Alonso de Berruguete and Felipe de Borgoña (or Vigarny). Past scholarship has generally attributed the essence of the Toledo Cathedral's artistic patronage and agenda to its archbishops and artists, neglecting the potential of the *obrero's* role. The documentation reconsiders López de Ayala's use of his position as an opportunity to act as a wealthy patron of the arts and introduce Italianate classicizing influences, progressive liturgical music and complex sculptural iconography. Given Toledo's eminence at the time in the Christian world and Charles V's vast empire, the canon's endeavors are presented in the context of the cultivation of an image of power and sophistication.

Chapter three addresses López de Ayala's Spanish translations. It examines the secondary involvement of Diego de Salazar, who collaborated with the canon by translating the poetry in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and adding brief poetic summaries to portions of the *Questioni d'amore*. It also examines the editorial history of the Boccaccio translation and its implications for our understanding of the period of early print in Spain. Although both of the translations were first printed in the 1540s, they were produced much earlier. The circumstances surrounding the texts and the lives of those who collaborated on them suggest a probable date for their original production that places them in a critical context for Spanish literary developments. The nature of the texts themselves is related to the evolution of the genre preferences of Spanish courtly literature during the sixteenth century. The analysis of the texts also explores their capacity for theatrical performance and their appeal for a socialized reading context.

Chapter four uses the conclusions of the previous chapters as a starting point for the description of an intellectual interpretive community active in Toledo. It relies on sociological theories of networking and interpretive communities to provide a viable framework for an analysis of the community in which López de Ayala was an active participant. The analysis is based on the evidence that exists of the canon's contacts with other high-profile intellectuals in contexts such as the Cathedral Chapter, the Colegio de Santa Catalina, literary gatherings and poetic exchanges. Specific connections are made between Diego López de Ayala and other important literary and intellectual figures such as Garcilaso de la Vega, Bernardino de Alcaraz, Juan de Vergara and Alvar Gómez de Castro. The analysis also addresses the significance of the canon's recreational property just outside Toledo as a venue for literary and intellectual interactions.

The conclusion reviews the principal findings of this dissertation. It considers López de Ayala's translations as cultural artifacts that far surpass the traditional understanding of the texts as objects of leisure linked to the canon of courtly literature in Renaissance Spain. Instead, it considers them as a source for the interplay of literature and life performance and examines how they offer the community of readers opportunities to explore an interactionally defined sense of self and identity.

Chapter 1:

Diego López de Ayala: A New Biography

Scholars have often disagreed about López de Ayala's identity. The name Diego López de Ayala belonged to several Toledans during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including the Señores de Cebolla. Gayangos and Fuente agreed with an anonymous seventeenth-century printed prologue to a collection of Cisneros's letters when maintaining that López de Ayala was the brother of the Conde de Fuensalida (xxii).⁴ Fernández Collado, on the other hand, referred to Diego López de Ayala as the son of the Conde de Fuensalida, citing Franco Silva and Palencia Herrejón, neither of whom mention a Diego López de Ayala (80).⁵ Gómez Menor added yet another hypothesis when he identified the canon as the son of Juan de Rojas and Aldonza de Ayala and the brother of another Toledo canon, Alonso de Rojas (185).

⁴ Gayangos and Fuente believed the author of the printed prologue was Quintanilla, who published his *Archetipo de virtudes* during the same time period and appears to be the author of handwritten notes in the margins of the letters. The printed prologue, reproduced by Gayangos and Fuente, reads: "Algunas destas Cartas son de letra del Sieruo de Dios; se escriuieron todas al Señor Diego Lopez de Ayala, hermano del Conde de Fuensalida, Camarero mayor de N. Santo Cardenal, Canónigo, y Dignidad de la Santa Yglesia de Toledo, Vicario general deste Arçobispado" (xxv). Quintanilla's *Archetipo de virtudes* mentions Diego López de Ayala, but does not relate him to the Conde de Fuensalida in any way. Potential sources for this confusion are the existence of a Luis de Ayala, brother of the Conde de Fuensalida, mentioned in an anonymous eyewitness report of the Batalla de San Quintin of 1557 ("Batalla" 524) or Fernán Pérez de Ayala, brother of the Conde de Fuensalida in 1426 who shares the name of Diego López de Ayala's father and was *vicario del coro* (a dignity later held by Diego) at the Toledo Cathedral according to the second volume of the *Sucesiones de prebendas* (2: ff. 227r-28v).

⁵ Note that the succession of the Condado de Fuensalida during this period was problematic, so brother of one Conde de Fuensalida does not connote son of an earlier one.

Given the significance of the Diego López de Ayala in question and the confusion that has persisted with regard to this influential cleric, the aim here is to compile previously unconnected references and unpublished archival research in order to establish conclusively the identity of the Toledo canon and trace his life from his formative years under Cardinal Cisneros through his involvement in the uprising of the Comunidades to his death just after the end of Charles V's reign.

Diego López de Ayala was born a little before 1480 in Toledo and was the son, possibly illegitimate, of Fernán Pérez de Ayala, Comendador de Yegros, and Bernardina de Guzmán. He was, therefore, the paternal grandson of Diego López Dávalos and Leonor de Ayala and a great-grandson of the Condestable Ruy López Dávalos and Pedro López de Ayala, first Señor de Fuensalida. In 1496 he entered the household of the new Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, as a page and continued in his service until the Cardinal's death in 1517. By provision of Cisneros, he became a canon at the Toledo Cathedral on September 24, 1506, and *vicario del coro* in 1509. He served as Cisneros's envoy at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic as early as 1508, during Cisneros's conquest of Oran, and maintained this role almost without interruption until the monarch's death in 1516. A few months later, López de Ayala left for the court of the future Emperor Charles in Flanders and continued as Cisneros's representative there until returning with Charles's court to Spain in 1517.

After Cisneros's death, López de Ayala returned to the Toledo Cathedral, where on May 1, 1518, he was elected by the Cathedral Chapter to the office of *obrero mayor* (superintendent of cathedral works), only to be ousted the same day by provision of Charles's advisor, Chièvres. After the death of Chièvres's nephew, the Archbishop of

Toledo, William of Croy, in 1521, López de Ayala was confirmed as *obrero mayor* and served one of the longest tenures in that position through the archiepiscopates of Alonso de Fonseca, Juan Pardo Tavera and Juan Martínez Silíceo until 1557. During the Comunidades uprising, López de Ayala played a visible role in the Cathedral Chapter's resistance to the popular uprising and support of the crown. The canon enjoyed several royal financial privileges, owned a recreational home and property just outside Toledo that would later be known as the Cigarral del Bosque, and held the title of Señor de Casasbuenas. He established a *mayorazgo* for his nephew in his 1557 will. He died on November 29, 1560, and was buried in the main chapel of the Monasterio del Carmen Calzado, which was destroyed during the Napoleonic invasion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and his tomb is presumed lost.

Early Life

The *Sucesiones de prebendas* of the Archivo Capitular de la Catedral de Toledo record that Diego López de Ayala died on November 29, 1560 (2: f. 297r). With this in mind, an epitaph written by his humanist friend, Alvar Gómez de Castro, that refers to his age makes it possible to postulate when he was born:

Diego López de Ayala, canónigo de
Toledo, obrero de la Iglesia y
vicario del choro⁶ aparejó esta
piedra para cubrir su sepultura
y por acordarse de la muerte

⁶ The consistent use of professional titles in reference to the homonymous Diego López de Ayalas helps ensure against misidentifications. Religious, literary, historical and legal documentation of the sixteenth century refer to the Diego in question here almost invariably as *vicario y canónigo* (or *obrero*) *de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo*; the canon himself signs this way, for example, in the *Constitutiones collegii Sanctae Catherinae* (f. 27v).

usó della de mesa para comer
mientras vivió. Murió mayor de
ochenta años y nunca sintió
las pesadumbres de la vejez.
Hízola poner doña Isabel
Phinoleta, su sobrina y heredera. (MS. 7.896, Biblioteca Nacional de
España, f. 463v; qtd. in Weiner, "Sebastián" 548-49)⁷

If López de Ayala died older than eighty years of age, he must have been born some time prior to 1480.

According to Cisneros, he was a native of Toledo.⁸ As for his family relations, the first clue is the fact that he uses the coat of arms of the Ayala family, which appears frequently in the Toledo Cathedral as a sign of the works he oversaw as *obrero*.⁹ In his will, he mentions that his forefathers are buried in the main chapel of the Convento del Carmen Calzado; at the time the chapel was the site of the tombs of the first Señores de Fuensalida (Palencia Herrejón 174). The canon's pride in the Ayala family seems to have motivated his update of the *Libro de linages de España*, originally composed by his famous ancestor, the Canciller Pero López de Ayala (1332-1407),¹⁰ and his will reflects

⁷ Weiner reproduces the epitaph from an unpublished manuscript by Alvar Gómez de Castro at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 7.896, f. 309.

⁸ In a letter to López de Ayala dated March 31, 1517, Cisneros writes concerning a petition from the city of Toledo requesting Charles's presence in Spain: "dad vos la carta a su magestad de parte de la cibdad, y, como natural della, direys lo que mas pareciere que conviene conforme al proposito sobre que escriuen, y procurad la rrespuesta de su alteza, y enbiadnosla" (Jiménez 209).

⁹ Julio de Atienza provides the following description of the Ayala coat of arms: "En campo de plata, dos lobos pasantes, de sable, puestos en palo; bordadura de azur, con ocho aspas de oro" (491). The difference with the Rojas coat of arms would seem to discount Gómez Menor's placement of Diego López de Ayala on the Rojas family tree: "En campo de oro, cinco estrellas de azur de ocho rayos, puestas en sotuer" (661).

¹⁰ References to this revision appear as early as the mid-seventeenth century, when Josef Pellicer cites it in his *Memorial por el marqués de Rivas y casa de Saavedra* (Madrid, 1647, f. 48): "*Libro de Linages que escribió D. Pedro Lopez de Ayala, y anda con nombre de Diego Lopez de Ayala, Vicario de Toledo que le adicionó*" (Floranes 510-11). In 1683 Martín de Saavedra also mentions the revision in his *Memorial al Rey Nuestro Señor*: "y otros muy nobles Cavalleros, segun lo trae Diego Lopez de Ayala, Vicario de toledo en su libro de linages, de quien fue primer Autor Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala" (60). More recently in 1851, Jaime Villanueva describes a copy of this text in the library of Poblet: "*Libro de linages, compuesto por*

this pride when he specifies that his inheritors must marry into the Ayala family (f. 704v).¹¹

In *Batallas y quinquagenas*, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, a contemporary of López de Ayala, writes that Pedro de Luxán married a Leonor de Ayala, sister of the Capitán Iñigo López de Ayala and Diego López de Ayala, "muy reverendo canónigo e obrero mayor de la sancta iglesia de Toledo, e mucha parte en aquella cibdad, así por ser de los principales e generosos de ella e de muy buena renta, como por ser valeroso por su persona e bondad" (124). The canon names his mother in his will, referring to her as "mi señora doña Bernardina de Guzmán"; however, he does not name his father but instead orders that masses be said for his ancestors, his father and Hernando de Ayala, interred in the Monasterio del Carmen of Toledo (f. 702v). In terms of other relations, the will mentions explicitly his nephew Hernando de Ayala, husband of Isabel Finolet and father of Pedro de Ayala, Diego López de Ayala and Beatriz de Ayala (f. 703v).

The 1622 *Nobiliario genealogico* of López de Haro gives a line of descendants of Fernán Pérez de Ayala that includes the canon and corresponds exactly with the family relations specified in the canon's will. Excessive sentence length, polysyndeton and unclear referents render the passage difficult to parse, but it conveys that Fernán Pérez de Ayala¹², Comendador de Yegros, son of Diego López Dávalos and Leonor de Ayala¹³

Diego Lopez de Ayala, canónigo de Toledo, y comentado por Manuel de Faria. Aunque no he podido cotejar esta obra con la conocida de Pedro Lopez de Ayala sobre la misma materia, sospecho que sea diferente, por la diferencia de autor" (151). The catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de España mentions a manuscript copy of the *Libro de linajes de España* of Pedro López de Ayala that is a sixteenth-century reworking (Mss/11604) and may be that of Diego López de Ayala.

¹¹ A transcription of López de Ayala's will appears as Appendix A of this dissertation.

¹² Also referred to as Hernán Pérez de Ayala, Hernando de Ayala or Fernando de Ayala.

and paternal grandson of the Condestable Ruy López Dávalos, fathered Diego López de Ayala out of wedlock: "Y fuera de matrimonio tuuo por hijo natural en doña Bernardina de Guzman a Diego Lopez de Ayala Canonigo de la santa Iglesia de Toledo obrero mayor, y Vicario del coro, varõ muy principal y conocido por sus dichos y sentencias breues en las gentes dela sobredicha ciudad de Toledo" (114). Regarding the Comendador de Yegros, Linda Martz asserts that Fernán Pérez de Ayala, the Comendador de Yegros, married Catalina de Peñalosa and had a son, Fernán (or Hernán) Pérez de Ayala, ambassador to England for the Catholic Monarchs, who married Ana de Vozmediano. The ambassador and his wife had Hernando de Ayala (d. 1545), who married Isabel de Fenolete, of possible *converso* extraction (159). Jean-Pierre Molénat relies on archival documentation to name the other children of the Comendador de Yegros with Catalina de Peñalosa: Pedro de Ayala, Iñigo Dávalos and Leonor de Ayala, who married Pedro de Luxán (350). If López de Haro's claim about Diego López de Ayala's illegitimacy is accurate, Diego would be the half-brother of Fernán Pérez de Ayala's four other children and Oviedo's Capitán Iñigo López de Ayala would be the same individual as Iñigo Dávalos.

Although López de Haro's views regarding Diego's illegitimacy remains somewhat uncertain, there are corroborating statements in texts written by authors who were contemporaries of the canon. For example, in his history of Cisneros Alvar Gómez

¹³ The Leonor de Ayala who married Diego López Dávalos was the daughter of Pedro López de Ayala, Señor de Fuensalida, and, therefore, sister of Pedro López de Ayala, first Conde de Fuensalida. Diego López de Ayala's forefathers buried in the Convento del Carmen included his great-grandparents, the Señores de Fuensalida Pedro López de Ayala and Elvira de Castañeda. The first and second Condes de Fuensalida, on the other hand, had their tombs at the Iglesia de Santo Tomé of Toledo beside the Palacio de Fuensalida. Far from being the son or brother of the Conde de Fuensalida as some scholars affirmed, Diego belonged to a collateral branch of the Ayala family.

de Castro, a personal acquaintance of López de Ayala, writes of the Cardinal's tolerance of those in his service regardless of the status of their legitimacy:

Siempre que había vacantes en los cargos sacerdotales en la catedral de Toledo, manteniéndose firme en su resolución hasta la muerte, los confería o a los hijos de los grandes señores o a personas sobresalientes por su saber o por su buena conducta, en conformidad con los decretos de los Sumos Pontífices, que en esta materia se habían preocupado con interés por el bien de las iglesias. Solía repetir que de las personas esclarecidas y nobles se lograban favores para los asuntos sagrados, y de los sabios autoridad. Y no hacía discriminación si eran ilegítimos o legítimos, con tal que fueran recomendables por su virtud. (*De las hazañas* 534)

Although there is no direct reference to the canon in this passage, López de Ayala did occupy offices at the Toledo Cathedral by provision of Cisneros, as will be demonstrated below. Also, after more than a year of the canon's service as the envoy of Cisneros to the court of Charles, the Cardinal found himself oddly obliged to reassure the future Emperor personally of the canon's high lineage: "crea que es persona de tal linaje y que viene de tales cavalleros, que no hará ni dirá cosa que no deva y que no sea çierta" (Jiménez 216). While these statements do not confirm López de Ayala's illegitimacy, they are certainly, along with the canon's reticence in his will regarding his father's identity, compatible with López de Haro's assertion.

His will, however, highlights another relationship that played a key role in the canon's formation and professional life: "[el] Cardenal mi *señor* don fray Francisco Ximénez, a quien devo todo el ser y bien i[n]terese que tengo, después de Dios" (f. 702v). Cisneros's secretary, Jorge Varacaldo, wrote to the canon on November 9, 1517, announcing the Cardinal's death and recognizing the importance of the Cardinal for the canon: "haga v.m. cuenta que de nuevo se os murio padre y madre" (Varacaldo et al. 200). Gómez de Castro makes a similar observation about the Cardinal's treatment of those in his service: "Tenía como criados y familiares a hombres buenos y activos. Se

interesó en promocionarlos y hacerlos progresar, como lo hacen los padres con los hijos" (*De las hazañas* 535). The Cardinal seems to have fulfilled the role of a second father for López de Ayala.

Gómez de Castro also recalls in the preface to his biography of Cisneros how he approached López de Ayala as a logical choice for source material: "Había sido éste educado desde niño en la familia de Jiménez, y al crecer en edad fué encargado de muy importantes negocios, por lo que pensaba yo que él me comunicaría datos ciertos de casi todos los hechos" (*De las hazañas* 25).¹⁴ Cisneros, however, had secluded himself as an ascetic Franciscan monk by 1484 and would remain in seclusion until becoming Isabella's confessor in June of 1492.¹⁵ Cisneros did not become Archbishop of Toledo until February of 1495 and would not journey to that city until 1497. With these dates in mind, it seems more reasonable to interpret the original Latin of Gómez de Castro's text as an indication that López de Ayala became part of Cisneros's household while a young man, not a child. Official lists of the members of the Archbishop Cisneros's household support this claim, recording that Diego López de Ayala, already a portioner at the Toledo Cathedral since 1493,¹⁶ was among the first in the Cardinal's service, beginning in 1496:

¹⁴ In the original Latin: "Fuerat is in Ximenij familia a puero educatus, et crescente aetate maximis negotijs praepositus, quare gestorum ferme omnium certissima notitiam ab eo me habituru existimabam" (*De rebus gestis* f. 3v).

¹⁵ See García Oro (1: 39-95).

¹⁶ The *Actas Capitulares* of the Archivo Capitular de Toledo do not provide López de Ayala's full name: "En xjx de abril de xcij annos presento diego lopez clerigo una prouysyon del Señor Capiscol dela rracion que vvo don diego rrodrigues bachiller e pydyo posesyon." The Cathedral Chapter confirmed his possession of the office the following day (2: f. 49r). The *Sucesiones de prebendas* of the same archive list a Diego López Ayala for the 39th Portion who took possession in 1494 [*sic*] (1: f. 88v). Since no other Diego López de Ayalas appear in these records, it seems plausible that the portioner is the same individual who would become a page in the service of the Archbishop Cisneros three years later.

Diego Lopez de Ayala, canonigo de Toledo, asentó por *paje* a xx de setiembre de xcvi años, y gozo deste asyento fasta en fin de hebrero de i mill dvii años, e libraronsele xxxi mill cccxxxiii maravedis, ii cornados, a rrazon de iii mill maravedis cada año. El dicho Diego Lopez de Ayala, canonigo, torno asentar otra vez a primero dia de março de i mill dvii años, y esta librado fasta en fin del año de i mill dxi años, y libraronsele xcvi mill dclxvi maravedis medio, a rrazon de xx mill maravedis cada año.¹⁷ (Torre 204)

Juan de Vallejo, a *mozo de cámara* of Cisneros, describes the composition of the

Archbishop's household in 1498, and mentions López de Ayala:

Yvan también por sus pajes con Alonso de Castilla, obispo que después fué, de Calahorra y Santo Domingo de la Calçada; don pero Gonçález Xuárez de Mendoça, hijo del magnífico señor don Bernardino Xuárez de Mendoça, conde de Coruña; don Bernardino de la Cueva, hijo del señor duque de Alburquerque; don Diego López de Ayala, vicario y canónigo y obrero de la santa yglesia de Toledo que después, fué con otras muchas merçedes y beneficios que su señoría le hizo; don Martín López de Gurrea, hijo de vn noble cavallero de la çibdad de Çaragoça; y otros mucho hijos de señores cavalleros de Castilla. (25)

Vallejo's list gives an indication of some of the early contacts the young López de Ayala enjoyed as a member of the Cardinal's household.

The nature of the canon's education is still somewhat obscure. Quintanilla's 1653 volume on Cisneros claims that López de Ayala received his education as one of the first students of the Universidad de Alcalá, which Cisneros founded in 1499 (174); however, there is no confirmation of this statement.¹⁸ The *Constitutiones collegii Sanctae Catherinae* (1546), a Latin text authored by the canon, identifies him as "Vicarius et Canonicus Sanctae ecclesiae Toletanae Iudex Applicatus" (f. 1r). García Oro, on the other

¹⁷ These official records formed part of the Archbishop's papers at the Universidad de Alcalá. The list quoted here dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century, clearly identifying Diego López de Ayala as the Toledo canon. The list that dates from 1504 places him in the service of the archbishop's chapel (Torre 188). Francisco Ruiz, Obispo de Ávila, also refers to López de Ayala as *camarero* of Cisneros in some of his letters (Varacaldo et al. 256).

¹⁸ Quintanilla also identifies López de Ayala as "Inquisidor del Tribunal de la Suprema por los años de 1516 en adelante," an assertion which remains equally unconfirmed (174).

hand, notes that the comments attributed to López de Ayala regarding instructions from Cisneros for the court at Flanders are written "en latín muy incorrecto" (1: 321).

González Ruiz calls attention to the fact that there are some years in the cathedral logs that make no mention of López de Ayala, during which he may have completed his studies ("Blas Ortiz" 46-47). His proximity to the Archbishop and the corroborating absence in the cathedral books would seem to support Quintanilla's claim. The certainty of López de Ayala's education is confirmed by a November 16, 1543, entry in the *Actas Capitulares*, in which the canon pledges 5,000 maravedis in honor of the anniversary of his attainment of the title of *doctor* and *licenciado* (6: f. 365v); the entry, however, does not specify the date he is commemorating.

In consideration of the canon's translations of Italian works, some scholars have speculated that the canon also spent years studying in Italy. Fernández Collado, for example, says that López de Ayala "recibió una sobresaliente formación humanística en Italia" (81). González Ruiz is more cautious, recognizing the lack of documentary evidence, but finds it plausible that López de Ayala would have spent a few years of his youth in Rome, where he would have developed the refined aesthetic sensibility evident in his later commissions as *obrero* ("Blas Ortiz" 46-47).

As with many others under his protection, Cisneros rewarded the canon's service through favors. As mentioned above, after ten years in the Archbishop's service López de Ayala took the office of canon on September 24, 1506, by provision of Cisneros (*Sucesiones* 2: f. 297r).¹⁹ Three years later, on October 10, 1509, López de Ayala

¹⁹ The *Actas Capitulares* record that López de Ayala's solicitor, Pedro Lagarto, presented the provisions issued by the Archbishop in Burgos on September 21, 1506, to the Cathedral Chapter, and all but four of

obtained the dignity of *vicario del coro* (*Sucesiones* 2: f. 227r).²⁰ On April 21, 1511, Bandinello Sauli contested the canon's appointment to the dignity and presented papal bulls claiming it for himself.²¹ The vote of the Cathedral Chapter on the new provision resulted in 12 supporters of López de Ayala and 12 of Sauli (*Actas* 4: f. 10r). According to González Ruiz, the unresolved dispute led to litigation in Rome, where the Roman Rota confirmed López de Ayala in the position ("Blas Ortiz" 47), which he appears to have held through his death, as Gómez de Castro's epitaph still refers to him as *vicario del coro* (MS. 7.896, Biblioteca Nacional de España, f. 463v; qtd. in Weiner, "Sebastián" 548-49).

Representative of the Archbishop at Court

Early historians of Cisneros, such as Gómez de Castro and Quintanilla, often reference Diego López de Ayala's role as Cisneros's envoy to the court of Ferdinand the Catholic and, later, that of Charles I in Flanders. Their task as historians was aided by López de Ayala's care with which he kept the letters Cisneros sent to him in this capacity.

the 24-member Chapter voted in favor of the possession, which was conferred that same day (3: ff. 10v-11r).

²⁰ Fernández Collado claims that López de Ayala took possession of the ninth canonry in 1510, but the *Sucesiones de prebendas* only show Diego in the second canonry. González Ruiz ("Blas Ortiz" 46-47), Zarco del Valle (1: 373-74) and Weiner ("Sebastián" 538) all give dates in line with the *Sucesiones de prebendas*.

²¹ Prior to the presentation of the papal bulls, Bandinello had made claims on the vicary at least as early as 1509, when Juan de Tamayo's death left it vacant. Cisneros reassured López de Ayala in a letter dated October 27, 1509: "rrecebimos tu letra y en esto que nos escrivies de las cartas para el obispo de tuy y para vandinelo sauli allá te las enbio como me escreviste, y sobre esto desta vicaria, segund dizen, ya estaban dadas ciertas sentencias en favor de tamayo: avisa de todo ello a tus procuradores y al obispo, que, poniendose diligencia, no avrá pleyto ninguno, y acá nos an dicho que la traya pacífica tamayo" (Jiménez 64).

Gómez de Castro recounts in the prologue to his history how the canon gave him this collection of letters as sources for his work:

me ofreció muchos paquetes de cartas en las que se contenía no sólo cuanto Jiménez había pactado y realizado con el rey Fernando sobre la expedición de Orán, sino también cuanto Jiménez, Regente de los Reinos, había tratado, por medio de notas secretas, con Carlos, mientras vivía éste con los Belgas. (*De las hazañas* 25)

In 1867, Pascual Gayangos and Vicente de la Fuente published this collection of letters, which range from 1508, just prior to Cisneros's conquest of the North African city of Oran, until the Cardinal's death in 1517. The letters confirm that López de Ayala's role at court involved frequent and diligent interactions with the monarchs and, often, adept political maneuvering.²² Fuente published a second volume of letters in 1875 that included related correspondence by Jorge Varacaldo, secretary of Cisneros; Francisco Ruiz, Obispo de Ávila; and Diego López de Ayala, most of it from the period of the regency. Together, these volumes bear testimony of a critical period in Spain's political history.

The first letter in the collection from Cisneros to López de Ayala in the collection dates from September 1, 1508, and describes the progress of the Cardinal's preparations for the conquest of Oran, including instructions to the canon regarding what and whom to advise (Jiménez 7). Over the course of their correspondence, the canon is privy to the Cardinal's frustrations and successes and also serves as the point of contact for the

²² Examples of this interaction are common in the correspondence, but consider the following excerpt from the first letter on September 1, 1508: "solicita mucho a su alteza que mande al licenciado [Vargas] que cumpla todo lo que es a su cargo" (Jiménez 7). A letter from October 14, 1516, reflects the more delicate situation of the regent's relations with Charles and his advisors: "mirad que aya sienpre mucho secreto, y dezidse lo de mi parte al señor Xebres" (173).

Archbishop with the monarch and other influential members of court.²³ As a member of Cisneros's household for twelve years prior, López de Ayala was already a familiar face at court. Gómez de Castro recalled, for example, an anecdote related to him by the canon that demonstrated Ferdinand the Catholic's reverence for the Cardinal:

Recuerdo que, hablando alguna vez de este tema con Diego López de Ayala, servidor íntimo y muy fiel de Jiménez, le oí contar lo que hizo el rey en Garrovillas, municipio de Portugal, cerca de Coria. Le había llamado el rey a Jiménez allí para que comunicara a la reina el fallecimiento del príncipe y para que la confortara con piadosas palabras. Estaba en siesta Jiménez, y junto a la puerta estaba como guardián Diego de Ayala. Llegó, inesperadamente el rey para hablar con Jiménez. Fué Diego a abrir la puerta para levantar al que estaba durmiendo, pero se lo prohibió el rey, que le dijo: 'Ya volveré en tiempo más oportuno. (*De las hazañas* 152)

The Cardinal often wrote to the canon in his own hand, addressing him as his special friend and changing from *tú* to the more familiar *vos* as early as 1509.²⁴ As noted above, the Archbishop's letters demonstrate a relationship of strong trust and loyalty, without which López de Ayala could not have continued in his post:

todas tus cartas he rrecibido y he avido mucho placer con las nuevas que de alli me has escrito: syempre me avisa de todo: aqui escribo a su alteza en rrespuesta de todas las cosas que me ha mandado escrevir: dale luego mi carta ... no muestres a nadie la carta, sino solamente la enbio para que puedas informar de todo a su alteza, y mostrarsela quando fuere menester.²⁵ (Jiménez 57)

²³ López de Ayala's daily presence at court also makes him the intermediary for Cisneros's direct correspondence with the monarch and others at court: "daras estas cartas nuestras a su alteza, y la carta que escrevjmos a almaçan ... cobraras la rrespuesta de su alteza para los ynquisidores" (19).

²⁴ The February 20, 1509, letter, for example, is addressed to the "venerable nuestro especial amigo diego lopez de ayala, canonigo de nuestra santa iglesia de toledo" (Jiménez 29). Regarding the Golden Age usage of *tú* and *vos*, Rafael Lapesa writes: "La puntillosidad de nuestros antepasados relegó el *tú* a la intimidad familiar o al trato con inferiores y desvalorizó tanto el *vos* que, de no haber gran confianza, era descortés emplearlo con quien no fuese inferior" (375).

²⁵ In a letter to López de Ayala on October 31, 1508, Cisneros makes explicit both the trust and familiarity characteristic in his relationship with the canon: "En lo que me escrives que aca me han informado que esas cosas no se facen con el cuydado que se deurian facer, la verdad es que yo siempre te tove en possession de poco solícito, aun en tus cosas propias; pero de otra cosa, aunque todo el mundo me informasse, yo estoy bien cierto ... Y por cierto á mi no me passa por pensamiento nada de esso, quanto mas que sé yo cierto que lo que el rrey tiene gana de facer, quan poco basta nadie para persuadille" (Jiménez 20).

There is a fourteen-month break in the Cardinal's correspondence with López de Ayala from November 1509 to February 1511. During this period, the *Actas Capitulares* record very little with regard to the canon, except for the odd entry in which his solicitor, the portioner Pedro Lagarto, acts on his behalf.²⁶ Throughout López de Ayala's activity as Cisneros's envoy, the canon's absence from the cathedral appears to have been a point of contention for the Cathedral Chapter, which resented his ability to earn a salary while not in residence.²⁷

With the death of Ferdinand the Catholic on January 23, 1516, López de Ayala wrote to Cisneros urging the Cardinal to prevent turmoil and the meddling of Charles's ambassador to Spain, Adrian of Utrecht (Varacaldo et al. 203-05). Once Charles had been chosen to inherit the thrones and in light of his delay in coming to his new kingdoms,²⁸ Cisneros, as regent, found himself in need of a loyal personal representative at the court in Flanders capable of navigating delicate matters of state. López de Ayala, as Gómez de Castro affirms, seemed a natural choice:

Pero antes de emprender una obra, odiosa a todos los grandes y novedosa entre el pueblo, creyó necesario enviar a Bélgica a Diego López de Ayala, hombre experimentado y diligente, cuya fiel cooperación había experimentado siempre, que tuvo que tratar algún asunto con el rey Fernando. (*De las hazañas* 398-99)

López de Ayala left Madrid for Flanders on April 2, 1516, but had a prolonged journey, since he did not send his first letter to Cisneros until June 7, 1516 (Giménez 77). The

²⁶ Lagarto, for example, presents the Cathedral Chapter with an unspecified "miratrata del señor diego lopes de ayala" on September 9, 1510 (3: f. 177r). This period in which the canon may have been absent from both the royal court and the cathedral could have allowed for studies or a trip to Rome.

²⁷ This is the tenor of several entries in the *Actas Capitulares*, most from 1513, that penalize López de Ayala through unpaid salary due to his absence for the negotiations of the Archbishop at court (4: ff. 42v, 43v, 44v, 57v and 75v).

²⁸ Technically, Charles would rule as regent during his mother Juana's lifetime.

regent's instructions to him indicate that the most pressing item on the canon's agenda was to obtain confirmation from Charles of Cisneros's appointment as regent of Castile by Ferdinand the Catholic and to procure wide authority to act on Charles's behalf in that role (Jiménez 102). To Cisneros's elation, López de Ayala wrote to the Cardinal in his first letter from Flanders that he had successfully obtained the desired powers (Jiménez 121).²⁹ Due to the sensitive nature of the correspondence between the canon and the regent, the authors coded their letters and frequently advised caution and secrecy. López de Ayala's important role, in addition to the subtle machinations of those hostile to the regent's efforts, justified the extreme measures.³⁰ As with Ferdinand the Catholic, the canon dealt directly with Charles and his most trusted advisors, including the court's most powerful figure, the Lord of Chièvres.³¹ López de Ayala's letters to Cisneros attest to that fact when he writes, for example, on December 2, 1516:

dijo Xebres quel Rey Catholico, pues era tan sabio, que porque se servia dellos. Respondile que era tanta su sagaçidad y manera, que se entravan syn metellos, y destar tan arraygados, jamas los pudo apartar de sy, y que la Reyna que Dios aya, por consejo de Vuestra Señoria, los echo de casa. Quel Rey Nuestro Señor se

²⁹ Although López de Ayala's letter is lost, Cisneros's response confirms its existence and contents: "rrecebimos vuestras letras de 7 de junio, y hemos avido plazer con todo lo que nos escrivis, y en saber que ayays llegado bueno" (Jiménez 118).

³⁰ For the sake of example, Cisneros writes to López de Ayala on September 22, 1516, regarding the possibility of moving the Infante Don Fernando to Flanders before Charles's arrival in Spain: "porque lleualle allá, no estando acá su alteza, no parece bien, ni es cosa que se deue de hazer, ni ay color para ello, y el rreyno rrecibiria turbacion: y en esto proueed allá que aya mucho secreto" (Jiménez 152). In a separate letter from April 12, 1516, the Cardinal warns that a letter from the Obispo de Badajoz had arrived opened after passing through several unintended hands and advises the use of code: "para que con vuestras cifras nos las escrivays" (107).

³¹ William of Croy (1458-1521), Lord of Chièvres, assumed the role of Grand Chamberlain of the future Emperor in 1509. He campaigned politically and economically to have Charles declared of age a year early in 1515. Chièvres exerted inordinate influence over the future Emperor and used it unflinchingly in his own quest for power. See Fernández Álvarez (60-62).

preçiasse de parecer a ella, y agora al principio se escussasse dellos.³² (Giménez Fernández 538)

While most of Cisneros's responses to López de Ayala indicate that the latter's efforts and loyalty pleased the Cardinal, the canon was not immune to the intrigues so common at court. López de Ayala cautioned the Cardinal on August 30, 1516, to take great care in the secrecy of his correspondence:

agora an escrito que v.s. dize mal de xebres, y que se arma contra el, y que ay en casa de v.s. se dize que el Rey es inabil, y que yo e escrito mil males del Rey y dellos: por dios que v.s. tenga muy secreto todo lo que se le escribe, que ay mil gentes que no viven sino despias so color de seruidores. (Varacaldo et al. 215)

In response, Cisneros's secretary, Jorge Varacaldo, wrote, "yo os prometo de os sacar de vergüença ... aca [su S. Rma.] ha sabido cosas que le tocan las mas feas que nunca vistes: pues lo que va a vuestros parientes³³ y amigos v.m. lo sabe mejor que otro ninguno" (28-33). Varacaldo, in fact, became the source of one of the most damaging intrigues when Cisneros, impatient with Charles's continually delayed journey to Spain, sent his secretary to report on the situation at the court of Flanders in 1517. Varacaldo's self-interest, elsewhere apparent in his letters to López de Ayala, seems to have included a desire to usurp the canon's role as representative of the regent at court (Gómez de Castro, *De las hazañas* 505). After the secretary's return to Spain in June 1517, Cisneros was

³² Among many other similar examples, López de Ayala's letters to the regent on July 28 and August 30, 1516, cites other instances of this firsthand contact: "xebres me ha dicho que se hara la paz con francia syn perder una almena ni un amigo de los que el Rey tiene ... hable al Rey y a xebres ... yo supliqué al Rey de parte de v.s. por la licencia del matrimonio del marques de pliego" (Varacaldo et al. 208); "Mos de xebrés oyo la creencia de v.s., la qual le di a solas, y con fe que me dio de guardar lo que le dezia, y despues de oyda me dixo, que por quanto el y el chanciller son una persona, que con juramento lo comunicasemos los tres para hazer una buena amistad entre v.s. y él, que la desea" (233).

³³ This statement might also be interpreted as a reference to López de Ayala's possible illegitimacy.

compelled to write personally to Charles on August 17, 1517, reassuring the monarch that López de Ayala was indeed worthy of the service he was performing:

Yo he sabido como ha seydo puesta sospecha en la persona de diego lopez de ayala ... y la verdad de lo que en esto passa es, que yo escreui y mandé al dicho diego lopez que de mi parte besase las rreales manos de vuestra alteza por aquella merçed, y le supplicase fuese seruido de hazer merced d'ella al obispo de avila. Por tanto supplico a vuestra magestad que tenga por çierto todo lo que açerca desto de mi parte a vuestra alteza dixo, y crea que es persona de tal linaje y que viene de tales cavalleros, que no hará ni dirá cosa que no deva y que no sea çierta; y ansi mismo supplico a vuestra alteza que este mismo credito quiera tener de su persona en todas las cosas que de mi parte a vuestra alteza de aqui adelante dixere; y que crea que aquello es asi, como si yo mismo por mi boca lo dixese. (Jiménez 216)

Cisneros's comments make apparent the level of trust he placed in the canon and continued to hold throughout his trying regency. That same level of trust had its own consequences, as López de Ayala tells Cisneros on August 30, 1516: "aqui se dice que los mas oficios provee a sus criados: acuerdese de los del Rey" (Varacaldo et al. 215). The favoritism referred to here certainly motivated Cisneros's provisions for the canon in the Toledo Cathedral, although the Cardinal's admirers would maintain that the Archbishop rewarded service and loyalty, whereas Charles's Flemish court rewarded payment.³⁴

The same biased individuals who portray a saintly Cisneros in sharp contrast to the greedy Flemish, tend to convey a similarly immaculate image of López de Ayala.

Quintanilla, for example, marvels at the canon's disregard of financial rewards:

Fueron tan atreuidos, y corrian las cosas de tal manera, que llegaron a prometer al señor Diego Lopez de Ayala quatro mil escudos de oro, porque dixese al Rey, que el Venerable Inquisidor General se olgava, y admitia de que fuessen los testigos

³⁴ Consider the following affirmation by Alvar Gómez de Castro: "Como hombre escrupuloso y experimentado había decidido una sola cosa: Que ninguno de los que le eran queridos o de alguna otra manera le merecían un interés o cariño especial sería promovido por sus recomendaciones a cualquier honor o cargo que conociera iba a turbar su espíritu o pudiera implicar algún peligro. Sin embargo, aunque no niego que ello es así, alguno que aún vive y que por entonces formaba parte de su servicio, me refirió las cosas de muy diferente manera" (*De las hazañas* 332).

publicos de la Inquisicion. Y Diego Lopez respondio: si mi amo lo embia a mandar, yo lo dire, y no me contento con essos quatro mil: pero quien creera que aga tal cosa? (172)

Yet, without denying López de Ayala's extreme loyalty to Cisneros, it would be false to state that he acted entirely without self-interest. In fact, his correspondence with the Cardinal and the Cardinal's secretaries paint a more balanced picture. In 1514, for example, López de Ayala requests a letter from the Cardinal for the *vicario de Toledo*, and Cisneros responds, "escrevidle vos la manera que ha de tener" (Jiménez 77). On multiple occasions, Cisneros's secretaries, Varacaldo and Ruiz, ask for the canon's assistance in their own quest for favors, while assuring him that they are making equally diligent efforts on his behalf. Varacaldo writes to López de Ayala on several occasions to that effect: "de lo que mas toca a vuestro seruiçio, yo tengo cuidado, y hare todo lo que pudiere como por mi mismo: de dos cosas que trayo entre manos no sé qual dellas abrá efecto" (Varacaldo et al. 118); "la carta de v.m. di en toledo al cardenal para que os proveyese de algo, y oyola de buena gana" (99); and "el cardenal oviera placer quel Rey proveyera a v.m. del obispado de tuy, y sy supiera que aviades tomado la mano en ello no se hiziera la diligencia que se hizo por el licenciado maçuecos...para vuestro acrecentamiento espero en dios que mayores cosas ha de aver" (49). Francisco Ruiz, while less insistent than Varacaldo, also makes frequent references to a shared desire for favors: "Agora supe como estava un rregidor de leon sin rremedio, no sabemos el nombre: no seria malo que le demandasedes para vuestro tio diego lopez de ribera, que aunque no le cayga en comarca, podrale trocar o vender" (95) and "vos no cureys de lo que a vos y a mi toca, que para con vos el cardenal está tan flaco que yo no estoy satisfecho; y por esto deueys con mucha diligencia entender en lo que nos toca y tanto

nos va, y pues creo que teneys el cuydado que es raçon, no ay en esta mas que deçir"
(162).

López de Ayala returned to Spain with Charles's court in autumn of 1517 intending to reunite with his mentor, Cisneros, and, most likely, with high expectations of reaping the benefits of his many years of loyal service. Cisneros's death in Roa on November 8, 1517, waylaid those hopes. Charles and his court were visiting his mother, Juana, in Tordesillas when they received news of the Cardinal's death; López de Ayala, still at court, was advised of his death in letters from Varacaldo and Ruiz (Varacaldo et al. 197-200). The regent died without having met the future Emperor or Chièvres and without having reunited with López de Ayala. The Cardinal's will left temporary payment for those in his service, but the canon, without a protector, found himself in a difficult situation. Due to the suspicions and intrigues referred to in his correspondence, Cisneros could not count himself among the favorites of Charles or Chièvres, and that attitude extended to those in his service.³⁵ Yet, his situation may not have seemed as dire to him as it has to some authors; Gómez de Castro indicates that López de Ayala made a choice to follow his pleasures:

Ciertamente López de Ayala era el encargado de tratar todos los asuntos con Carlos y tenía acceso a él cada día y si se hubiera dedicado, siquiera por breve tiempo más a la severidad de su vida que a su talento, sin duda se habría visto encumbrado en honores y habría ocupado en el reino un puesto nada oscuro. Pero a cada uno le arrastran sus gustos, y cada uno, con tal de hacer sus caprichos, suele despreciar lo demás. (*De las hazañas* 401)

Faced with a hostile audience at court and without favors beyond his positions at the Toledo Cathedral to reward his service, López de Ayala naturally returned to his native

³⁵ See Reyes Cano (*La Arcadia* 64), Gayangos and Fuente (xviii-xix) and González Ruiz ("Blas Ortiz" 108-09).

city, where he appears in residence again in 1518 according to the *Actas Capitulares* (4: f. 160r).

The Archiepiscopate of Croy (1518-1521)

The death of Cisneros left vacant one of the richest and most powerful offices on the Iberian Peninsula. Charles's preceptor and advisor, Chièvres recognized the Archdiocese of Toledo as a potential threat to the crown due to its size, wealth and influence. In an attempt to thwart any further resistance to the policies intended to benefit the interests of the Flemish, Chièvres determined to fill the office with an individual who would work dependably in his own interests. The election of the Archbishop of Toledo depended on multiple factors, including the input of the Cathedral Chapter and apostolic ratification. To ensure that unfavorable elements would not preempt the court's interests, Charles, under the influence of Chièvres, wrote to the Cathedral Chapter on November 9, 1517, the same day he learned of Cisneros's death, instructing the cathedral's governing body in threatening language to refrain from electing a successor to Cisneros or making any significant changes within the archdiocese.³⁶ Charles further notified the Cathedral Chapter that he had already chosen a suitable replacement and written to the Pope for confirmation.

³⁶ The text of the letter reads: "Yo tengo escrito a nuestro muy santo padre nombrándole persona avile e suficiente e de linaje e de quien nuestro señor y esa yglesia sera servido para arzobispo della vos encargo e mando que no procedais a hacer novedad ni cosa alguna que sea mayormente en perjuizio o deminuzyon de nuestro patronazgo Real so pena de fidelidad que vos deveys e de perdimiento de las temporalidades que en nuestros Reynos tenes e de ser avidos por ynaviles e yncapazed dellas e de todas las otras penas en que caen e yncurren las personas eclesiásticas que no obedecen e cumplen los mandamientos de sus Reyes e señores naturales" (*Libros generales de la Cámara*, Archivo General de Simancas, libro 39, f. 15v; qtd. in Poschmann 207).

The most obvious choice as a successor had been Charles's uncle, Alfonso, Archbishop of Zaragoza, the illegitimate son of Ferdinand the Catholic who had previous pretensions to the Archdiocese of Toledo; however, Chièvres's influence triumphed, and Chièvres's 20-year-old nephew, the homonymous William of Croy was chosen to replace the formidable Cisneros. The election stirred the passions of the Cathedral Chapter and Castile, due in part to the inexperience of the young Cardinal, but also to the fact that another of Spain's highest offices now belonged to a foreigner who showed no signs of wishing to relocate.³⁷ The substantial financial benefits of his post were now being exported to the disadvantage of the Spanish clergy and nobles.³⁸

In addition to the provision of the archdiocese for his nephew, Chièvres convinced Pope Leo X to approve a division of the sizeable Toledan archdiocese into three parts that would make it easier for the crown to control; the division, however, would take effect only after his nephew's tenure as archbishop. He also ordered the Cathedral Chapter, under threat of excommunication, to keep the division secret. To enforce these mandates and coerce the Cathedral Chapter into confirming Croy's nomination, Charles sent the Conde de Palma and two solicitors, Francisco de Mendoza and Jean Carondelet, to Toledo. The Conde de Palma presented papal bulls in favor of Croy and a royal decree urging the Cathedral Chapter to confirm him as archbishop.

³⁷ The indignation is apparent in one of the petitions presented to Charles at court in Valladolid in January 1518: "Otrosy suplicamos a vuestra Alteza que ofisios nin beneficios nin dignidades ni tenencias nin gobernaciones se den nin conceden a extrangeros, mandando a los naturales de Castilla ayan sus ofisios y beneficios en Castilla, nin de nin conceda carta de naturaleza a ningun extrangero e sy algunas son dadas, las mande rrevocar" (*Cortes* 263). On November 14, 1517, Charles had issued a naturalization letter for the future Archbishop (209).

³⁸ See, for this and the following paragraphs, Poschmann (204-29).

Initially, the Chapter refused to confirm the new Archbishop and warned that the division of the archdiocese, pursued entirely without their consent, would be detrimental to the interests of the crown. All but one canon voted against the confirmation of Croy; the lone canon who supported his candidacy was Pedro de Mendoza, a relative of the royal solicitor Francisco de Mendoza. A smaller archdiocese would also, of course, lead to significantly decreased revenues for the cathedral and its canons. Faced with the insubordination of the Cathedral Chapter, Chièvres and Charles changed tactics, issuing additional decrees to the canons. The Conde de Palma was charged with presenting these decrees in succession and only if necessary. The first of the two decrees promised the Chapter that Charles would obtain the revocation of the division of the archdiocese from the Pope within six months, provided they confirm Croy. If this decree did not have the desired effect, the Conde de Palma would present the second decree, which promised the confiscation of their possessions and exile from Spain in the case of further defiance. The Chapter deliberated the contents of the first decree for days, while a crowd gathered in the cathedral and awaited their decision. Finally, on April 20, 1518, the Chapter confirmed Croy as archbishop on the condition that they receive within six days royal decrees in which Charles would guarantee his request to the Pope for a revocation of the division of the archdiocese.

Diego López de Ayala likely played a principal role in these deliberations, since they concerned his personal welfare. After the confirmation of Croy and despite the royal ban that prohibited the Cathedral Chapter from making significant changes within the archdiocese, the canons elected López de Ayala to the office of *obrero mayor* on May 1,

1518 (*Actas* 4: f. 160r; *Sucesiones* 2: f. 147r).³⁹ The *Sucesiones de prebendas* state that the provision of the office of *obrero* belonged to the Archbishop of Toledo, who would issue a decree for the Cathedral Chapter, which would then confirm his choice (2: f. 147). Since Croy remained absent, Charles and Chièvres conveniently acted on his behalf and had already approved the canon Fernando (or Fernán) Gómez de Fonseca for the post of *obrero* (Poschmann 237-38). Gómez de Fonseca presented his provision for the position from the royal solicitor Francisco de Mendoza on the same day the Cathedral Chapter elected López de Ayala, May 1, 1518 (*Actas* 4: f. 160r; *Sucesiones* 2: f. 148v). The Chapter deliberated over the appropriate response and chose to appeal the provision of Gómez de Fonseca (*Actas* 4: f. 160r-61r). Charles reacted with indignation when he learned of the Chapter's defiance, and Chièvres annulled López de Ayala's appointment as *obrero*:

Su elección como obrero fué anulada por Xevres en favor de Fonseca, produciendo esto, como era natural, un disgusto en el Cabildo. La noticia de la elección de López de Ayala causó gran asombro en la Corte. El Rey expresó á los Canónigos su disgusto, pidiendo revocasen su elección, pues la provisión de esta dignidad había pertenecido al Cardenal Cisneros, y, por consiguiente, pertenecía ahora al Cardenal Croy. (Poschmann 237)

Charles wrote to the Chapter demanding they confirm Gómez de Fonseca in the post, again under threat of confiscation of their possessions and exile; the monarch also wrote separately to López de Ayala in similar terms and demanded that he refuse the office regardless of the Chapter's decision.⁴⁰ The Chapter, however, continued in their defiance

³⁹ The important role of the *obrero mayor* at the cathedral and López de Ayala's tenure in this office are the main themes of the following chapter.

⁴⁰ This and the following sentences rely on the documentation, including royal decrees in the *Libros generales de la cámara*, presented by Poschmann (237-40).

and suspended Gómez de Fonseca's pay; as in the case of the first vote on the confirmation of Croy, only Pedro de Mendoza obeyed the royal decrees. In light of the Chapter's determined insubordination and in the interest of avoiding disturbances, Charles again wrote to its members urging them to confirm Gómez de Fonseca and sent separate letters calling López de Ayala and another canon, Pedro Suárez, to court if necessary, where they could be supervised more easily. The Chapter eventually confirmed Gómez de Fonseca in June 1518, and the Conde de Palma had no need to use the letters for López de Ayala and Suárez.⁴¹

Croy's archiepiscopate ended with his fatal fall from a horse in Worms on January 7, 1521, without having traveled to Spain. Before dying, Croy dictated his will to his secretary, the Spanish humanist and former secretary of Cisneros, Juan de Vergara. Croy named his uncle Chièvres as his sole heir.

In light of civil unrest in Castile, the court's concerns over further insubordination of the Cathedral Chapter is evident in the fact that the Cardinal's death was concealed for four days while Charles sent a request to the Pope concerning his right to choose a successor. On behalf of Charles and Chièvres, Pope Leo X ordered the members of the Chapter refrain from electing a new archbishop under pain of excommunication and the suspension of all of their benefits. (Poschmann 256-73) The canons, perhaps preoccupied with their own struggles against the civil unrest, complied.

⁴¹ Poschmann reproduces an interesting excerpt from a letter the Conde de Palma sent to Chièvres that indicates the canons may not have lamented an obligation to appear at court: "Entre todo el Cabildo está asentado quel que mandasen ir a la Corte por estas cosas ganase dos castellanos por cada día y creo que por ganallos holgaran de yr sy su alteza todavía manda que se notifiquen [las çedulas]" (240).

Upon receiving the news of the Archbishop's death, however, the Chapter proceeded as it would repeatedly in future vacancies between archiepiscopates, asserting its authority by holding elections for cathedral dignities. One of its first acts after Croy's death was to reelect Diego López de Ayala to the post of *obrero mayor* on January 30, 1521 (*Actas* 4: f. 234v; *Sucesiones* 2: f. 148v). His tenure in that office, one of the longest in the cathedral's history, would last uninterruptedly until 1557, confirmed by the Archbishops Alonso de Fonseca, Juan Pardo Tavera and Juan Martínez Silíceo and on multiple occasions by the Chapter's interim elections. He proved himself to be one of the most productive *obreros*, overseeing such varied and significant projects as the Custodia de Arfe, the ornate upper seating of the choir, the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos and the intricate iron grilles of the Capilla Mayor and the choir.⁴² His coat of arms appears throughout the cathedral, alongside those of the Archbishops and the Emperor, as a sign of his contributions.

The Guerra de las Comunidades de Castilla (1520-1522)

Due to the indignation reflected in the demands made of Charles in Valladolid in January 1518 and catalyzed by the financial and political consequences of what amounted to the export of the Archdiocese of Toledo, the canons of the Toledo Cathedral Chapter, including Diego López de Ayala, found themselves at the center of the struggle between Charles's court and Castile.⁴³ Previous scholars, such as Reyes Cano, have described

⁴² See Pérez Sedano (114).

⁴³ Poschmann considers Chièvres's literal nepotism in the provision of the Archdiocese of Toledo to be one of the immediate causes of the Guerra de las Comunidades de Castilla (201), and highlights the role of

López de Ayala's role during this critical point of Charles's reign as minimal: "Nadie nos da referencia de la suerte corrida por Ayala durante las Comunidades, pero parece ser que no fue personaje significado en ningún sentido" (*La Arcadia* 64). Yet, multiple documents from the period maintain the contrary.

Given the past insubordination of the Cathedral Chapter with regard to Charles and Chièvres, it might seem logical that the governing body of the cathedral would support those rebelling against the authority of the new monarch. The court's fear of the potential for a recurrence of the canons' dissent was already apparent in its cautious response to Croy's untimely death. Since the Cathedral Chapter's defiance in 1518, however, Charles had held to his promise and obtained the revocation of the division of the archdiocese from the Pope, a concession that the canons celebrated by means of a procession and thanks rendered to Chièvres (Poschmann 230-33). On the other hand, despite Charles's promises and in spite of the Chapter's repeated complaints, the Archbishop did not relocate to Spain, and the affairs of the archdiocese were administered, instead, by Chièvres (234). Amidst growing tensions regarding Charles's decision to return to Flanders to be crowned as the newly elected Holy Roman Emperor, in February 1520 the city of Toledo decided to send its own messengers to court, violating a royal ban, and the majority of the Chapter, including López de Ayala, voted to send its own messengers, as well. Charles refused to receive the messengers and exiled them in accordance with his ban, a decision that further roused the anger of the Toledans.

financial concerns in the discontent: "Lo que dolía á los españoles, y sobre todo á los Canónigos toledanos, era que el Arzobispo no viniese á su Diócesis y gastase sus rentas fuera del país" (234).

While Charles's response could not have pleased the Chapter, the majority of the canons eventually showed signs of support for the crown. (250-51)

The apparent shift in loyalty may seem surprising, but the canons had experienced the court's threats directly during the confirmation of Croy and had witnessed the fulfillment of similar threats with regard to their messengers to court. More importantly, the commoner rebels, known as *comuneros*, had taken charge of many of the lucrative assets of the archdiocese, and the canons recognized the threat the rebellion posed to their welfare.⁴⁴ The Cathedral Chapter reacted to the precarious situation with López de Ayala at the forefront; entries for September 1, 1520, in the *Actas Capitulares* explain how the canons formed a militia charged with protecting those under threat:

este dicho dia los dichos Señores dean y Cabildo vnanyes nonbraron al Señor diego lopes dayala vicario e Canonigo que tenga Cargo que qua[n]do quier que oviere alboroto en la cibdad e fizieren algun agrauyo en alguna persona que todos los eclesiasticos le mandan con sus gentes e el vaya a defender que non faga el tal agrauyo sin primero ser oydo e determynado por Justicia. (4: f. 220v)

Shortly thereafter, on September 30, 1520, López de Ayala complained of a loss of remunerations in a letter to Pero Laso de la Vega, brother of the poet Garcilaso de la Vega and one of the nobles deeply involved in the *comunero* rebellion: "Oy, a pesar de Dios y del ayuntamiento y justicia, an quitado las alcavalas, que no las aya en Toledo y an dado patas arriba con vuestro juro y nuestro y de todos los monesterios y espitales. Esto hazen quien no tiene quatro mill de hazienda y no ay quien lo resista" (Dánvila y Collado 129). The letter confirms that López de Ayala's lack of support for the rebellion

⁴⁴ Consider the following assertion by Poschmann: "En una carta del Canónigo Juan Ruiz, Subcolector del Arzobispado de Toledo, á D. Francisco de Mendoza, se dice que en el Arzobispado no había un solo maravedí, porque los Comuneros de Toledo y el Obispo de Zamora se habían apoderado de sus rentas y además se habían dado algunos dineros al Prior de San Juan. ... Lo poco que pudieron cobrar los encargados del Cardenal se gastó en la defensa contra los Comuneros" (262).

was substantially motivated by the negative impact the popular uprising had on his financial situation. From this point forward, the majority of the Chapter would maintain its commitment to the crown at least partially in the interest of protecting its own patrimony. The Chapter again demonstrated its shift in loyalties later that year, when on November 12, 1520, it refused to comply with the *comuneros'* request to name a new archbishop (Poschmann 253).⁴⁵

On January 23, 1521, the canons' fears about the rebellion were realized, when a large group of armed *comuneros*, led by Juan Gaitán, entered the cathedral with the aim of securing a venue for Fray Juan de Santa Marina, whose preaching might renew the passion of the rebels. The majority of the canons vehemently opposed this course of action. In a transcription of testimony from the trial of Juan Gaitán in 1522, multiple witnesses describe the events of that day and, in particular, Diego López de Ayala's principal role in the Chapter's resistance. The following excerpt from the testimony is lengthy, but its interest for the present discussion merits its reproduction here:

XXXIII testigo: Gómez de Sosa, clérigo. Dijo este testigo que lo que de ella sabe es que el día de San Ildefonso no hay sermón entre los dos coros en la Iglesia Mayor, pero que los cofrades de la Antigua hasta [¿hacían?] la fiesta de San Ildefonso en la Antigua, que es su vocación en la dicha Iglesia [y] que tenían convidado para el dicho sermón a fray Marina. Y que, sabiéndolo el cabildo de la dicha Iglesia como predicaba alborotos y escándalos, proveyeron que no predicase allí por los alborotos. Y que, estando así proveído, vinieron muchos alborotadores y se juntaron en la plaza y [¿del?] Ayuntamiento, y que convocaron la mayor parte del pueblo, y que era el dicho día de San Ildefonos. Y que muchos de los señores del cabildo vinieron secretamente armados y honestamente ellos y algunos cirados suyos para lo resistir. Y que, estando en el dicho alboroto, entró el dicho Juan Gaitán en el coro y dijo algunas palabras que no eran de decir. Y que entonces respondió Diego López de Ayala, canónigo, y dijo: 'Señor Juan Gaitán, muy mal parece hacer esta deshonestidad contra la Iglesia'. Y que ya el dicho Juan Gaitán, cuando se salía del coro, dijo: 'Mirad qué donosa rapacería y muchachería.

⁴⁵ At this point, Croy still held the position.

Juro a Dios que ha de subir y predicar, aunque os pese a todos.' Y que luego, [de] improviso, vino el dicho fray Marina con infinita gente, armados con escopetas y ballestas y picas y coseletes, y subió en el púlpito y predicó delante [de] todo el pueblo. Y que algunos tiraron escopetas y ballestas, que hoy día están hincadas [en la] techumbre. Y que muchos de ellos amenazaban al obispo Cabrero que le querían matar, y que este testigo le fue avisar de ello; y otro tanto hizo al dicho Diego López de Ayala. ... XXXVI testigo: Francisco Ramírez. ... Y que vio, después de ido el dicho fray Marina, a todos los traidores con él cómo prendieron después del dicho sermón al obispo Campo y al obispo Cabrera y a Diego López de Ayala y al arcediano de Segovia y a otros canónigos y dignidades; y los tuvieron presos en la dicha Iglesia sin que los dejasen comer, diciéndoles palabras muy feas; y que los echaron de la ciudad sin comer, muy mal tratados. Y que al salir, que salían de la puerta de Zocodover, diz que les habían echado piedras y dícholes palabras injuriosas. ... XXXVII testigo: Juan Ruiz el Viejo.⁴⁶ Y que, antes que se acabase la hora de sexta, vino un escribano de parte de la dicha Comunidad a desterrar al dicho Diego López y [a] Blas Caballero y al obispo Campo y al obispo Cabrero y al arcediano de Segovia y a Fonseca y a Rodrigo Ortiz, canónigos. Y que aún, al tiempo que los echaron de la dicha ciudad, los habían querido acuchillar y aun al dicho obispo Cabrero diz que le dieron ciertos golpes con una espada, y que se lo dijo a este testigo el dicho obispo. (*El proceso* 207-10)

Similar versions of the events appear repeatedly throughout the trial.⁴⁷ Now in exile in Ajofrín from their cathedral, homes and possessions, the majority of the Chapter showed a determination to combat the *comuneros*. Three days after the seige of the cathedral and the exile of the canons, on January 26, 1521, the Chapter received news of Archbishop Croy's death. Those in exile replied in a letter to the Emperor from Ajofrín on February 13, 1521, sending their condolences, relating their departure from Toledo and vowing their support of the crown: "estando nosotros siempre en determinacion de mirar é procurar el servicio de Dios é de V. C. M. é la pacificacion de aquella cibdad y del Reyno, y poniendo cerca desto toda la diligencia que pudimos" (Alcocer 171-72). Among

⁴⁶ Juan Ruiz el Viejo held another canonry at the Toledo Cathedral.

⁴⁷ See, for example, p. 211, which gives a less dramatic version of the events, in which López de Ayala and the Arcediano de Segovia explain to Gaitán: "No puede predicar porque no suele haber sermón tal día como hoy entre los dos coros." See also pp. 570, 579, 597, 599-600.

the signatures listed in the letter is Doctor López de Ayala.⁴⁸ Any fears Charles's court may have had that the Cathedral Chapter might elect a *comunero* archbishop to replace Croy were no longer a real concern.

Once in exile, according to multiple testimonies from the trial of Juan Gaitán, the most visible canons joined forces with the Prior de San Juan, Antonio de Zúñiga, leader of imperial forces. Diego López de Ayala is among those consistently mentioned:

andaban con el prior de San Juan, que asimismo era capitán general, Diego López de Ayala y Diego López Dávalos y Diego López, su hijo, comendador de Mora, y Francisco de Rojas y Gómez Carrillo y el conde de Orgaz y otros muchos caballeros y ciudadanos que andaban con los susodichos, y que sabe que dejaron sus casas y haciendas. (*El proceso* 573)

One of the Prior de San Juan's letters on March 30 or 31, 1521, included a report by López de Ayala on the events in Toledo; the canon's account had originally formed part of his correspondence with the Conde de Miranda on March 20, 1521 (Pérez 336 and 341). It is not unreasonable to assume that the canon would have participated in the Batalla de Villalar on April 23, 1521, a decisive defeat for the *comuneros* of Toledo. In fact, in the *Crónica burlesca del Emperador Carlos V* of Francés de Zúñiga, a description of the Prior de San Juan's battle with the city of Toledo mentions the canon: "Y los que demás en esta batalla se hallaron fueron los siguientes ... Diego López de Ayala, canónigo de la santa yglesia de Toledo, que pareció buñuelo crudo, y peleó como buen cavallero" (77). López de Ayala accompanied the Prior de San Juan at the receipt of Juan Gaitán's letter during the siege of Toledo by the imperial forces (*El proceso* 180). On

⁴⁸ The title "doctor" had not appeared in any other known documents of López de Ayala, causing Reyes Cano's uncertainty regarding the identification of the individual in question (*La Arcadia* 64); however, the events related here eliminate that doubt, and the unusual application of the title serves merely to add further weight to the speculation that López de Ayala received some sort of formal education.

October 25, 1521, he also served as a witness for the accord made between the Prior de San Juan and the citizens of Toledo ("Escritura" 331).⁴⁹ In light of the documentation considered here, it is clear that López de Ayala's role during the Guerra de las Comunidades was a prominent one and that his previous visibility at court had now given way to a notable presence in his native Toledo.

Post-Comunidades 1520s

The socio-political and economic dynamics of the early years of Charles's reign had a profound effect on Spain, and with the death of the Archbishop Croy and the Guerra de las Comunidades, those dynamics were changing. Another event would also contribute significantly to changes in the political landscape: in May 1521, Chièvres died in Worms, only a few months after his nephew had declared him sole heir, and the heirs of the Croy family began to inherit a sizeable portion of Spain's wealth.⁵⁰ Charles's first choice to replace the Archbishop Croy was another foreigner, Erard de la Marck, Bishop of Liège, but Adrian of Utrecht, former governor of Spain during the Comunidades and Pope Adrian VI since 1522,⁵¹ understood the probable negative impact on Spain of such a nomination and refused to ratify the choice. By 1522, Charles had returned to Spain, and the Chapter urged him to choose a successor for Croy quickly. Charles then nominated

⁴⁹ Another Diego López de Ayala, the Comendador de Mora, also served as a witness for the agreement; however, the identification of the canon in the list of witnesses is certain based on the usual professional indicators: "Diego Lopez de Ayala vicario é canónigo en la santa iglesia de Toledo" (331).

⁵⁰ See Poschmann (265-71).

⁵¹ As González Ruiz notes, Diego López de Ayala formed part of an official envoy from the Toledo Cathedral comprised of four canons that traveled to Vitoria to congratulate the new Pope on his election, that is, "a besarle los pies" ("Blas Ortiz" 29-30).

Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, but Mota died before confirmation; the same occurred with Diego Deza, who died in 1523. Finally, on April 25, 1524, Alfonso de Fonseca became the new Archbishop of Toledo under Pope Clement VII. (Poschmann 280)

Afterwards, one of the highlights of the decade for Toledo was the convening of the Emperor's court there in 1525. The court brought with it to the Imperial City not only influential political figures, but also a cultural and literary effervescence. When Charles V arrived in Toledo for the first time in 1525, for example, the city became host to the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navagero, and Clement VII's nuncio, Baldassare Castiglione; Garcilaso de la Vega also returned with the court to his native city (Vaquero Serrano, *Garcilaso* 130-32).⁵² López de Ayala, given his familiarity at court, his high profile in Toledo and his cultural preoccupations, would necessarily have connected with this ambience. His visibility at court is confirmed by Francés de Zúñiga, when the court jester describes the celebrations organized during the visit of the Pope's nephew, Giovanni de' Medici: "Y este legado por complazer al Emperador salió al [juego] con los más perlados que en la corte se hallaron. Y van con él el arzobispo de Santiago, presidente de la corte, y el ministro de la Trinidad, y el canónigo Diego López de Ayala, y el obispo de Mondoñedo, y mastre Liberal" (124).

Cathedral records indicate that López de Ayala's absences from the cathedral during this decade may have been rooted in his personal activities. The canon's lack of residency at the cathedral became a point of contention for those living there in religious orders, who felt López de Ayala and others living outside were not earning their keep. On

⁵² Of interest for establishing connections is the fact that in his *Viaje a España* of 1524-26, Andrea Navagero gives a description of Toledo and states that the Ayala family is among the most noble of the city with the Conde de Fuensalida (a known contact of the canon) as its chief member (48).

December 16, 1522, the Chapter gave him leave, provided he make appearances at the cathedral (*Actas* 4: f. 277r). Those in residence at the cathedral also seem to have taken the initiative in making official decisions without official notification to those not in residence, since on March 24, 1525, López de Ayala, along with two other canons, filed a complaint regarding those decisions made without a summons by decree (f. 320v). The dispute escalated in 1529 in a vote on the awarding of leave (5: f. 10), followed by the presentation of an official statute aimed at those beneficiaries not in residence, such as López de Ayala:

algunos aujendo sido Canonigos prebendados mudaron el abicto y fueron legos lo qual todo rressulta en desseruicijos de dios y desta sancta yglesia y menospreçio della por lo qual nos el dean y Cabildo ... estatuymos y hordenamos que todos los que de aqui adelante houjeren Calongias y prebendas en esta sancta yglesia y fueren rriçibidos por Canonigos della que sino fueren de horden sancto que no puedan gozar nj gozen sjno dela mjtad delas destribuçiones Cotidianas y mjtad de todos los hotros emolumentos, que los Canonigos prebendados de horden sancto acostumbran gozar y lleuar. (*Actas* 5: f. 19v)

López de Ayala, as indicated in his will, intended his prebend to pass to an heir; this hereditary treatment of religious positions was by no means an isolated occurrence. Since, as the ongoing dispute recorded by the *Actas Capitulares* seems to indicate, he was among those who had begun to live as a layperson, the statute constituted a direct attack on his ecclesiastical benefits and those his heirs could enjoy. In response, López de Ayala and Bernardino Zapata, along with the votes of Rodrigo Ortiz el Mozo, Juan Álvarez Zapata, Alonso de Rojas (Arcediano de Segovia), Miguel Díez and Rodrigo de Acevedo, all canons at the Toledo Cathedral, recorded an official protest demanding the revocation of the statute, "si tal nombre merece tener" (*Actas* 5: 19v-20r). Their protest also referenced an earlier statute that had already halved a portion of the benefits received if the canons in question did not belong to a religious order. The strife reflected in these

Cathedral Chapter dramas formed part of a centuries-long evolution of the remunerations system for canonries. By the sixteenth century, the trend was toward a system linking financial gains to regular and conscientious participation in liturgical rites, thereby inhibiting the lay behavior demonstrated by López de Ayala and many others.⁵³

Later Decades

Outside of the cathedral, Diego López de Ayala continued to increase his wealth. A protocol from January 28, 1536, for example, proves that the canon enjoyed income granted by royal provision that included the profits of an olive oil mill (*Protocolo* 1414: ff. 73v-74r). In the document López de Ayala granted proxies to three individuals to represent him at the royal court, since the mill had not produced the quantity promised in the royal provision. The canon petitioned payment for the difference, as well as a new and viable provision. Additionally, the canon bought shares in Toledo's brothel in 1536 (Vizquete Mendoza 491-92). During this same period, he continued to maintain his influential relationships with family and the court. On October 4, 1531, the Arcediano de Segovia, Alonso de Rojas, issued a power to López de Ayala to act on behalf of the minor Juan de Ayala, son of the canon's deceased cousin, Iñigo López de Ayala, in the sale of a property in El Viso (Córdoba) that Iñigo had acquired from the Licenciado Luján (Rojas n.p.). López de Ayala also replaced another canon of the cathedral, the humanist Juan de Vergara, as Fonseca's secretary during the Inquisition's trial of Vergara beginning in 1533 (Gonzálvez Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 53-54). Along with Pedro de la Peña, López de Ayala represented the Toledo Cathedral at the Congregación de Iglesias de

⁵³ See Mathers (162-69).

Castilla in Alcalá beginning in 1533 (*Actas* 5: f. 135). He witnessed Fonseca's death on February 4, 1534, and he and Pedro de la Peña wrote to the Chapter the following day, notifying the Chapter of Fonseca's death (f. 147v).

The decade of the 1530s ended with the second convocation of the Emperor's court in Toledo (1538-1539). In 1539 the ailing Empress Isabella took residence in the palace of the Conde de Fuensalida. Soon afterwards she succumbed to her illness, and, according to the chronicler Salazar y Mendoza, the Archbishop and the Cathedral Chapter convened there to pay their respects and await the body (206).

The beginning of the 1540s provides the first reference to López de Ayala's residence. A document related to carpentry work reveals that within the city, the canon resided in the Parroquia de San Justo in the eponymous Callejón de Diego López de Ayala (Marías, *La arquitectura* 4: 112).⁵⁴ The fact that the street carried his name implies that he had resided there for some time. During that same time period, the *Actas Capitulares* give some indication that the health of López de Ayala, as well as that of his friend Vergara, had begun to fail. As early as January 1542, López de Ayala received a concession for the mornings due to illness (6: f. 251r). Similar concessions become relatively commonplace for him beginning in January 1545, initially due to the effects of a rib broken the summer before (7: ff. 4r-144r). The June 25, 1547, entry specifies that further concessions are due to age and infirmity: "este dicho día los dichos señores llamados por cedula mandaron dar las mañanas deste tercio al señor diego lopez de ayala atento su edad y enfermedad" (f. 211v). It appears, however, that the canon understood

⁵⁴ For this notice, Marías relies on documentation recorded in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo from 1542.

the concession quite loosely, based on the Chapter's stipulations in the same and later entries: "que *en* estas mañanas no se *entienda* tomar sus dias" (f. 211v) and "con que no salga de *toledo* sino en sus dias como se dio al *señor* doctor vergara" (8: f. 141r). When both López de Ayala and Vergara received a concession regarding their wardrobe, specifically their robes, the Chapter instructed them only to take advantage of the concession when absolutely necessary, "encargando la conciencia" (f. 144r).

Archbishop Tavera's death in 1545 again left the interim administration of the archdiocese in the hands of the Cathedral Chapter, which reconfirmed López de Ayala's appointment as *obrero* on August 5, 1545 (*Actas* 7: f. 42r). The following Archbishop, Juan Martínez de Silíceo, would not take office until January 8, 1546, and the Emperor's court, now complemented by the activities of his son, Prince Phillip, retained its active role in the affairs of Spain's primate archdiocese. During those royal interventions, López de Ayala tended more and more to part with the opinion of his fellow canons and declare his resounding support for the crown. In the provision of the Adelantamiento de Cazorla in November 1545, for example, the canon adamantly affirms his support for the royal decree and demands that his handwritten and signed vote be recorded in the *Actas*

Capitulares:

Diego lopez de ayala vicario y Canonigo de toledo, digo *que* my parecer es y voto *que* atento *que* su *santidat* y su *magestat* del emperador y rrey *nuestro* señor lo mandan y quieren y su *santidat* lo puede mandar y su *magestat* lo consentir y aprovar como patron delas iglesyas catedrales de españa, segun estoy informado de *personas* de letras y consçiençia y *que* pues *en* esto concurren ser dello prouido el prinçipe don filippe *nuestro* señor y *en* la persona a quien se haze la [¿indicaçion?] ay muchos meritos *para que* aya lugar como su *santidat* y su *magestat* lo dizen por sus letras, por tanto digo *que* yo las obedezco con el acatamyento debydo y esto doy por my voto y pido a vos el secretario y notario *que* le asenteys *en* los actos Capitulares dese negocio inserto enellos. (7: f. 97r)

This insistent defense of the crown's rights with respect to the administration of offices within the church contrasts sharply with López de Ayala's attitudes during the earliest years of Charles's reign.

When the Chapter again had reservations, ostensibly, about the authenticity of a royal decree issued by Prince Phillip in September 1547 in reference to the Estatuto de Limpieza de Sangre, he again declared his intention of obeying the demands; given the collective reservations, however, he recommended that the Chapter send a commission to assure the court that no scandal would result from the Estatuto de Limpieza, since they had sent it to the court and to Rome for evaluation (f. 232r). The Estatuto de Limpieza aimed to require evidence of the non-*converso* status of newly appointed clergy and dignitaries at the cathedral. Several canons, including López de Ayala's friend Juan de Vergara, refused to support the statute, as Sebastián de Horozco records (*Relaciones* 49-50). López de Ayala's initial support of the statute eventually waned, and by June 1548 he recommended sending representatives to court to report on the meddling of the Archbishop's entourage in the contents of the statute without including the voice of the Cathedral Chapter, "a purgar nuestra ynoçençia y a publicar su maliçia" (8: f. 39v). López de Ayala's reversal became complete when he opposed the implementation of the statute along with other dignitaries in a suit presented to the Roman Rota in April 1551 (Fernández Collado 54).

López de Ayala's Final Years

During most of the final decade of López de Ayala's life, he continued in the post of *obrero mayor* at the cathedral. The canon appears with relative frequency in the votes

and opinions recorded in the *Actas Capitulares* from 1550-1557. In his role as a member of the Toledo Cathedral Chapter, López de Ayala continued his support of the crown. During Phillip's extended absence, the regent, his sister and Princess of Portugal, Joan of Austria, sent letters to the Chapter on April 17, 1557, petitioning financial support (*Actas* 10: ff. 118v-19v). López de Ayala expressed his vote on the matter with characteristic fervor:

dixo *que* este negocio es de tanta inportançia *que* avria menester vna rrezma de papel para dar su voto por escripto *que* es en *que* se sirua al rrey don felipe *nuestro Señor* con vna buena Cantidad por via de *enprestido* y en *que* el quanto y Como se rremite all [*sic*] perlado. (f. 119v)

Despite his energetic remarks, however, Diego continued to feel the effects of advanced age and illness (*Actas* 8: f. 177r; 10: f. 188r).

López de Ayala faced increasing obstacles to his ecclesiastical benefits and authority during his final decade. In a signed protocol from November 20, 1551, he issued a proxy to the Archbishop's majordomo to demand payments owed to him as a canon (*Protocolo* 1475b: f. 1209r); in another protocol dated April 20, 1555, also signed, he issued a proxy to demand what was owed for one portion of his canonical tributes (*Protocolo* 1426: f. 411r). The 1550s also marked the final clashes of a decades-long struggle over the rights of appointing sacristans and otherwise overseeing the *sagrario*, the tabernacle of the cathedral. The official case reveals that a rivalry that had begun in 1534 persisted between the cathedral treasurer, García Manrique de Lara, and the Cathedral Chapter, led by Diego López de Ayala. On multiple occasions Manrique sued for recognition of the traditional rights of the treasurer with regard to the *sagrario*, and on multiple occasions, López de Ayala and the Cathedral Chapter asserted their own rights.

In 1550, the Archbishop's council ruled in favor of Manrique's claim,⁵⁵ and on September 20 of that same year, the *vicario general* seated him in the *sagrario* and gave him the keys. Manrique sent away all those holding positions in the *sagrario* and made his own appointments.⁵⁶ This defeat for López de Ayala prefaced the frustrations of his final years of activity in the Cathedral Chapter.

The opinions stated by López de Ayala and recorded in the *Actas* indicated an increasing level of dissatisfaction during these last few years. In May 1555 he refused to participate in a vote on a decree (*Actas* 9: f. 260r); in December 1556 he protested a decision to hold off fulfilling offices until after the holiday (10: f. 83v); and in a vote on the Adelantamiento de Cazorla in 1557 he quipped: "*que aya bullas que no aya bullas que se prouea a Rui Gomez desilua*" (10: f. 136v). These frustrations came to a head after the Archbishop Silíceo's death on May 31, 1557. Although López de Ayala continued in the dignity of *vicario* and maintained his canonry until his death, on June 1, 1557, the Chapter named a new *obrero*, Diego de Castilla, who was also the *deán*, head of the cathedral's governing body (10: f. 138r). López de Ayala's opposition to the decision is apparent in his hostility toward the Chapter and, in particular, Castilla. In a vote on the administration of cathedral chapters in September 1557, the canon complains, "*pluguiese adios que no houiese Cabildo y que ya que los ay que no seles puede poner regla*" (10: f. 191r). The canon had not lost all of his influence, however, and did not hesitate to seek official sanction to contest the deprivation of one of his most cherished positions. On

⁵⁵ This was not the first ruling in his favor; another ruling in 1544 had also supported Manrique's rights, but the later ruling had more lasting consequences (Weiner, "Dos documentos" 165).

⁵⁶ See Weiner ("Dos documentos" 163-68).

December 22, 1557, an annual day for the provision of cathedral offices by the Chapter during the interim between archiepiscopates, he presented a decree from the Princess Joan of Austria ordering that the position of *obrero* be restored to him. The *deán* attempted to remain in the hall during the deliberation, to the protests of several canons, and asked the Chapter not to vote on the matter. The majority of the canons voted to have an election for the post, but López de Ayala fails to appear in further entries until, as in the case of Vergara, the Cathedral Chapter deals with matters of his inheritance just after his death.

Not all of the notices concerning López de Ayala during the 1550s portray frustration or defeat, however. On the contrary, outside of the environment of the cathedral, there are significant indications of accrued wealth. In January 1557, for example, he sold *juros* to Antonio de Álvarez de Toledo (Vaquero Serrano, *El libro* 223).⁵⁷ In October 1555 he had already sold *alcabalas* to a Fernán Gutierrez de Bustamante of Madrid. There are also indications about the ownership of slaves; a protocol in 1555 records the canon's purchase of a "niño esclavo de color negro" (*Protocolo* 1426: f. 530r-v).⁵⁸ Other references demonstrate that in addition to his official residence in the Callejón de Diego López de Ayala,⁵⁹ he owned or at least benefited from

⁵⁷ This transaction proved problematic due to issues of profitability and resulted in a series of claims presented at the royal court (*Protocolo* 1498: ff. 959r-60r; 998r-998v; and 999r-1002v).

⁵⁸ See also Mira Caballos (184).

⁵⁹ López de Ayala did not own this official residence, which instead formed part of the cathedral's patrimony. After his death, the Cathedral Chapter allowed his heirs to retain the residence until August 15, 1561, according to a concession granted to him in 1552 (*Actas* 11: f. 243v).

the rent of several properties within Toledo.⁶⁰ As his will testifies, the canon owned a recreational property just outside of Toledo. In addition to these properties, the canon's will indicates that he held the title of Señor de Casasbuenas and owned a home in that town; several protocols also refer to the tributes he earned from the residents of Casasbuenas as a result of this title (*Protocolos* 1418: ff. 876r-878r; 1426: ff. 145r-147v and 652v). Despite López de Ayala's literary activity, his will makes no reference to his library; according to Fernández Collado, his books were dispersed after his death, however, no documentation has surfaced that would support this claim.

By 1556-1557 at around 80 years of age, the canon began to make his final preparations. In July 1557 he committed several possessions to the cathedral with the purpose of establishing his own memorials (*Actas* 10: f. 164v). On February 7, 1556, he notarized his last will and testament, which established a mayorazgo based on his accrued wealth.⁶¹ The canon died on Friday, November 29, 1560 (*Sucesiones* 2: f. 297r). He left the majority of his inheritance to his great-nephew, Pedro de Ayala, and his canonry to his other great-nephew, Diego López de Ayala. The following day solicitors for his eponymous great-nephew and Hernán Pérez de Ayala presented bulls granting them, respectively, the canonry and the vicary left vacant by López de Ayala's death (*Actas* 11: f. 234v); according to the *Sucesiones de prebendas*, however, the younger Diego López de Ayala never took possession of the canonry and renounced it in favor of Alonso Niño

⁶⁰ Sebastián de Horozco makes a reference to the street of his residence in a notice on Toledo celebrations of the conversion of England to Catholicism in 1555 (*Relaciones* 130). Rental arrangements for the other properties appear in several protocols in the provincial historical archives (*Protocolo* 1426: ff. 434r, 647r, 746v and 811r).

⁶¹ See Appendix A. The will is an essential document for confirming López de Ayala's family relations and his possessions.

de Zúñiga in 1575 (2: f. 297r).⁶² The Cathedral Chapter commissioned two canons to look into López de Ayala's will on December 5, 1560 (*Actas* 11: f. 235v).

Regarding his burial, López de Ayala had obtained permission for a tomb located in the first chapel of the *sagrario* on March 14, 1520 (*Actas* 4: f. 215r); and, as the epitaph by Gómez de Castro clarifies, he had long used his tombstone as a dining table to remind himself of death. On December 1, 1560, when the canon's executor asked where to bury the body, the Cathedral Chapter indicated the spot in the *sagrario* promised to him (11: f. 235r). Yet, Diego's will points to some concern over his place of burial and names the Monasterio del Carmen Calzado as an alternative. The *Sucesiones de prebendas* affirm that he was not buried in the place reserved for him in the cathedral, but in the monastery instead.⁶³ The answer to the problem lies in the power struggle López de Ayala maintained with Manrique. Pedro Vázquez, one of the best-known jurists of his time and a literary aficionado, commemorated the conflict with a dialogue, *Síguese otro diálogo entre Diego López de Ayala, canónigo y obrero de la Santa Yglesia de Toledo, y su eco, estando en su heredad y bosque*. In the dialogue, López de Ayala walks through his wood wondering what good deeds he will be remembered for after his death. He explains to his echo that he is concerned about a case with García Manrique that may take some time to resolve. The dialogue explains how Manrique, with his control of the *sagrario* will not allow him access to the place reserved for his burial (Weiner, "Dos

⁶² If Isabel Fenolete was indeed of *converso* origin, as Linda Martz attempts to demonstrate, the Estatuto de Limpieza de Sangre would have prevented him from taking possession (158). The entry of the *Actas* that records his presentation of the bulls also states the response of the Cathedral Chapter: "dijeron que satisfaciendo el señor fernan perez al estatuto desta santa yglesia le mandaran dar la possession" (11: f. 235v).

⁶³ Pérez Sedano, who lived during the eighteenth century, could have visited the still extant Monasterio del Carmen Calzado and affirms that López de Ayala's tomb is there (113).

documentos" 167).⁶⁴ Unfortunately for this study, the Monasterio del Carmen Calzado has not survived. Joseph Bonaparte confiscated it in 1809, and it burned in 1812 (Porres 1: 254-55); Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer described its ruins in 1857 in his *Historia de los templos de España* (103). The former site of the monastery has since been covered over and is today a parking area. López de Ayala's final resting place has since passed into oblivion.

⁶⁴ Another factor that certainly exacerbated the situation was the death of Archbishop Silíceo, whom the canon had named as one of the principal executors of his will. The Archbishop died the year that López de Ayala drafted his will, meaning that by the time of his own death, the canon had lost the protection that could have ensured respect for his burial wishes.

Chapter 2:

A Toledan Artistic Renaissance

We have already seen how Diego López de Ayala, after earlier disputes between Charles's court and the Toledo Cathedral Chapter, took the cathedral office of *obrero mayor* on January 30, 1521, and held one of the longest tenures for that office in the cathedral's history, spanning three archiepiscopates and not ending until 1557, three years before the canon's death. In this role, but also in his activities beyond it, López de Ayala established himself as a well-rounded humanist patron of architecture, the visual arts and music at a time when Spain, and particularly Toledo, was attempting to distinguish itself both politically and culturally. Here, we will consider more closely the scope and importance of the projects in which he was directly involved and assert the significance of his contributions for the course of Spanish art history.

In interpreting the function of architecture and structural ornamentation in the sixteenth century, it is important to recognize that the design process was not solely the domain of the architect. Instead, both the underlying structure and the decorative elements of architecture became the media for symbolic representations of political, intellectual and religious authority. This system of representation found a particularly fruitful source in the architectural orders of the Classical world, making the revival of Classical architectural design and theory in Toledo and other parts of Castile in the

sixteenth century a tool for portraying a particular image of the church and the empire.⁶⁵ To understand this, we need merely consider the construction of Charles V's palace in Granada or the reimaging of the Alcázar in Toledo. The embellishment of the Toledo Cathedral considered here also falls within the scope of intentionally symbolic design. Consider for example, the use of the Classical orders on the façade of the archbishop's palace: faced with a dilemma between the representation of political power and that of learned culture, the solution was a combination of orders proposed by Diego de Sagredo in *Medidas del romano* (Marías, *La arquitectura* 1: 228-29).⁶⁶ The projects López de Ayala directed demonstrate a consistently humanistic and classicizing element that reflects the conscious application of a cultural agenda guided by an awareness of the representational power of cultural production.

In order to understand the magnitude of López de Ayala's role in the sixteenth-century Toledan artistic community, it is essential to understand the significance of the city and its cathedral for sixteenth-century Spain. During the sixteenth century, especially in the minds of its inhabitants, Toledo was the transcendental symbol of a glorified past, having long enjoyed (Moorish occupation aside) the status of both religious and political capital of the peninsula's dominant kingdom of Castile. While the citystates of Italy reconstructed a glorified past from the Classical world, Renaissance Castile and Toledo likewise sought to glorify their origins and history through a selective portrayal of a powerful and even mythical past. This process is evident in Alvar Gómez de Castro's gift

⁶⁵ See González Ruiz ("Blas Ortiz" 108-09).

⁶⁶ Marías attributes the use of this solution in the design to Covarrubias, who had drawn the plan and would execute it. It is also possible, however, that the symbolic element of the plan stemmed from the intervention of a figure like López de Ayala, who had known and worked with Sagredo personally.

to Felipe II of an archeological find, a stone inscribed with praise for Marcus Julius Philippus, purportedly the first Christian emperor. Later, on the occasion of the arrival of the relics of Saint Eugenius of Toledo, Gómez de Castro wrote a related inscription for an allegorical statue and recalled how the Toledans of the past had erected a statue to honor Philippus. As Díez del Corral observes, the artifact served the purpose of drawing a connection between sixteenth-century Toledo and the Classical past: "De esta manera un resto arqueológico es recuperado para dar una interpretación gloriosa al pasado de un pueblo. La cultura romana es retomada por los hombres del siglo XVI, deseosos de enlazar históricamente con sus antecesores" (128). Similarly, Blas Ortiz, in his mid-sixteenth-century description of the Toledo Cathedral,⁶⁷ gives a Greek etymology for the city's name, stating that it comes from "poliethron," meaning city and place: "con razón los griegos la llamaron por antonomasia ciudad. De la qual como hiciesse tres veces mención Livio, dejó a los venideros que inferir de cuánta estimación haya sido en los tiempos pasados" (*La Catedral* 135). Ortiz lends further authority to his account and to the city itself by recalling Titus Livius's three references to the city as evidence of the great esteem it must have enjoyed in ancient times.

Yet, Toledo formed part of an outlying province of the Roman Empire and, therefore, held a much weaker claim to the glorified world of the Roman past than Italy's citystates. Instead, Toledans, along with other Castilians, would attempt to assert the glory of a more individualized past. Hercules, linked mythically to the Spanish monarchy as evidenced by the use of the Herculean columns in the Emperor Charles V's device,

⁶⁷ The Latin work, *Summi Templi Toletani Descriptio*, was published by Juan de Ayala in Toledo in 1549 and dedicated to Prince Felipe. The quotations used here come from Alfonso Cedillo's coetaneous Spanish translation.

became connected to Toledo's mythical history (Díez del Corral 128-29). Blas Ortiz includes in his description of the Toledo Cathedral explanations of Toledo's glorious past and mentions the variety of legends that recount the city's founding. While discounting one that identifies Hercules as the city's founder, he nevertheless feels compelled to relate it, since it is a widely held view:

buena parte de las Españas atribuye la fundación de esta ciudad a Hércules Libio, que corrió la España interior después de haver muerto a Gerión. Lo qual parece prueba la cueva de Hércules construida en esta ciudad debajo de la yglesia de San Ginés; porque si hubiera sido antes fundada la ciudad, de ninguna manera el famoso Hércules habitara la cueva.⁶⁸ (*La Catedral* 136)

According to legend, Hercules's enchanted cave palace held a secret chest sealed within it through the addition of a lock by each new Visigoth king. When, out of curiosity and greed, Don Rodrigo failed to heed the warnings and opened it, he found a canvas painted with Moors, announcing the downfall of the kingdom. The existence of a prophecy concealed in the enchanted cave palace of Hercules portrayed the Moorish invasion as an inevitable part of the city's mythical past.⁶⁹ It also helped place Toledo firmly at the center of the Castilian view of the peninsula's past and became one of the elements that characterized the Toledan mentality with respect to its role within the kingdom.

This mentality found its confirmation in other aspects of Toledo's past and present, as well. The city had been the political capital of the Visigoths and, after their

⁶⁸ After recounting several of the disparate accounts of the founding of the city, Ortiz characterizes the obscurity of the city's origins as a mark of its noble heritage: "Siendo pues tantas y tan varias las opiniones acerca de la fundación de esta regia ciudad, creo que por la antigüedad envejecida, y olvidada, de Toledo, (de lo qual proviene a las ciudades su mayor alabanza) aún está oculto, y se ignora su fundador esclarecido" (*La Catedral* 137).

⁶⁹ A small cave did, in fact, exist within the confines of the city, beside the Iglesia de San Ginés, and continued to occupy the Toledan imagination in the sixteenth century. Explorations of the cave were organized by the Archbishops Silíceo and Lorenzana (Díez del Corral 129).

conversion to Christianity, also became the religious capital in 610. The Castilians glorified the Visigothic past, in particular, as a means of individualizing Spanish heritage with respect to the Roman heritage of the Italian peninsula.⁷⁰ Given the legends associated with the city's past and the political and religious significance it held under the Visigoths, the reconquest of Toledo from the Moors took on a decidedly symbolic quality that Alfonso VI would solidify by designating Toledo the Imperial City, thereby asserting the primacy of Castile over the remaining kingdoms of the peninsula. The cathedral then became the primatial cathedral of Spain, and the city resumed its political and religious hegemony. In the twelfth century it had also earned a reputation throughout Europe for its learning and wealth of rare manuscripts and was the site of the Escuela de Traductores that helped reacquaint Medieval Europe with the Classical past. Additionally, Toledo was home to several of the most important noble families, including the Ayalas, the Silvas and the Rojas. By the 1530s it was also the second most populous city in Spain, surpassed only by Seville, and its population doubled during López de Ayala's lifetime.⁷¹

Perhaps the most important aspect of Toledo for the sixteenth century, however, was that it continued to be the seat of one of Christianity's wealthiest archdioceses after Rome. As the primatial prelate of Spain, the Archbishop of Toledo was also a powerful political figure. According to Fernández de Oviedo, the Archbishop of Toledo was second in importance only to the Castilian monarchy (*Libro 8-9*). It is certainly true that archbishops such as Mendoza, Cisneros and Fonseca held great sway in their roles as

⁷⁰ The Convento del Carmen, site of the chapel where Diego López de Ayala was buried, had once been the site of the Visigothic church, Santa María del Alfizén (Díez del Corral 130).

⁷¹ See Díez del Corral (142).

principal political advisors to the monarchs and, in some cases, even regents of Castile. As Hurtado de Toledo observed at the time, the Archdiocese of Toledo enjoyed such great wealth, power and military resources that it had all the qualities of a separate state within Spain (524).

While the Reyes Católicos could depend on loyal archbishops such as Mendoza and Cisneros to employ these resources in their favor, Charles's advisor Chièvres recognized the archdiocese's potential as a threat to the sovereignty of the crown. The nepotism that motivated Chièvres to insert his absent and relatively inexperienced nephew in the seat left vacant by Cisneros's death served more than financial self-interest; it also ensured that Chièvres could maintain control over the archdiocese and minimize any potential threat to the crown through direct intervention in its administration.⁷² Chièvres's concern also resulted in his advice to Charles to seek a division of the archdiocese from the Pope as noted previously. The formidable power encompassed by the Archdiocese of Toledo found its physical embodiment in the figure of the archbishop, the members of the Cathedral Chapter and even the cathedral itself. One might even interpret the configuration as the equivalent of a religious kingdom with a king, court and palace whose temporal strength was powerfully linked to religious authority. Toledo stood at the center of this kingdom, crowned by its cathedral and royal palace, alternately a symbol of either the unity or the discord between sixteenth-century Spain's two most powerful institutions.

⁷² This type of intervention is clearly evident, for example, in the clash between Chièvres and the Cathedral Chapter over the appointment of the office of *obrero mayor* as described previously.

All of these aspects of the Imperial City informed the mentality of residents and visitors alike in the sixteenth century. During that period, Toledo played host to the imperial court on several occasions, welcoming both Spaniards and a large number of distinguished foreigners. The city was also central to the conflicts of the Guerra de las Comunidades. In a sense, all eyes were on Toledo. Cisneros, for example, explicitly acknowledged the significance of the Toledo Cathedral and Chapter in setting precedents for other ecclesiastical entities in Spain with regard to his attempts at religious reform (Díez del Corral 257). Blas Ortiz also proclaimed the primacy of the city:

Es Toledo la más ilustre de todas las demás ciudades de las Españas, la más íntima, y mediterránea; mui floreciente en la viveza de ingenios, y en los estudios de las buenas letras, genuina en la fortaleza de las armas; y que se aventaja a todas las provincias ibéricas en la serenidad y templanza de su cielo, y suelo. (*La Catedral* 135)

The myths associated with the city's origin tended to lend some sense of manifest destiny to the city's larger-than-life reputation. Chroniclers such as Pedro de Alcócer would use the existence of such myths to draw a comparison between Spain's Imperial City and Rome (Díez del Corral 216). The city seemed set on defining and portraying itself as a sort of second Rome.⁷³ During the sixteenth century, the archdiocese of Toledo would even seek papal recognition as the second see of Christianity after Saint Peter's in Rome (Gonzálvez Ruiz, "El arte" 81).

There existed, however, a significant disparity between the idealized Imperial City of the collective imagination and Toledo's urban reality. Travelers to the city most

⁷³ Once again, Blas Ortiz yields confirmation of this mentality of the period: "Por lo qual, Católico Príncipe, a la Sacra Magestad del Emperador, y a V.V. toca que la yglesia de Toledo, sus dotes, y privilegios, vayan en aumento, y no en disminución; lo uno por su patronato, y lo otro, porque siendo la primera en todo el orbe después de la pontifical de Roma, a todas las demás excede" (*La Catedral* 147).

often noted the close feel of its narrow, winding streets and many dead ends that were often further darkened by the existence of overhangs and connectors above street level (Díez del Corral 132). The layout of the confined city had associations with the Moorish occupation, which provided a convenient explanation for the inconveniences posed by such a design. Additionally, however, the city's geographical situation limited its area for growth and led to a shortage of water within its confines. The relative shortage of space was aggravated by the fact that a large portion of the city's property and buildings belonged to religious orders or the archdiocese: the Cathedral Chapter owned housing that accommodated at least some of its members, including López de Ayala;⁷⁴ the main meat market belonged to the chaplains of the Capilla de los Reyes Viejos, who purchased houses from Melchor de Santa Cruz and his wife in order to expand the adjoining square (Díez del Corral 148). In fact, so much of the urban area belonged to the cathedral and religious orders that Charles V felt it necessary to continue royal efforts to limit new ecclesiastical establishments within the city.⁷⁵ There was certainly insufficient area for the elaboration of a spacious square or avenues that might serve to welcome the large royal court and a multitude of visitors.

Toledo's most influential residents, its nobles and clergymen, were fully aware of the disparity between the reality of Toledo's urban space and the ideal image they would have preferred to present. A desire to remedy, or at least bridge, the gap would, in part,

⁷⁴ See Marías (*La arquitectura* 4: 112).

⁷⁵ See Díez del Corral (262).

guide the aims of artistic patronage in the city over the course of the sixteenth century.⁷⁶ Despite the narrow streets and the overhangs that blocked out light, for example, the noble families used their palace homes as instruments of prestige that included showcasing cultural patronage and Renaissance architectural and artistic tendencies that gradually inserted themselves in Spain's aesthetic developments. The members of these families who had traveled to Italy for reasons of politics, war and religion brought back with them changing tastes, and architects and ornamental sculptors began to implement elements of Italy's new artistic language based on prints and engravings of designs rooted in Classical aesthetics. Façades and patios began to take on a new appearance, and family collections incorporated decorative art with Renaissance aesthetics.

The cathedral also took seriously this role of presenting a noble image. With its wealth of resources, it would serve as a uniquely powerful patron of the arts whose works were much more accessible to the public eye than those of private noble palaces. The fervent artistic and architectural activity at the cathedral over the course of the sixteenth century would help set the standard of the new aesthetics. The cathedral would, in fact, become the principal artistic motor of the city during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Díez del Corral 264). Due to the high profile maintained by Toledo and its archdiocese during these centuries, the cathedral might also be considered a major artistic center for

⁷⁶ Consider, for example, the construction of the new Puerta de Bisagra based on plans by the Spanish Renaissance architect Alonso de Covarrubias, whose aim was to modify the impression of the city on a wide, straight approach past the impressive new Hospital de San Juan Bautista (Díez del Corral 236). Díez del Corral also notes an increasing preoccupation over the course of the sixteenth century with the cleanliness and ornament of the city, one consequence of which would be the construction of *hospitales*; the author relates an increasingly social mentality to Erasmian and humanistic ideals: "Vives, por su formación erasmista, propondrá la idea de redención de pordioseros y vagabundos por el trabajo, y lo que en el pensamiento de los humanistas de la primera mitad del siglo es todavía una utopía irrealizable se convierte en un pragmatismo en las décadas últimas, de manera que Giginta y Pérez de Herrera proponen verdaderos programas orgánicos laborales para los recogidos" (177).

the rest of Castile. In her monograph on artistic patronage and the image of Toledo in the sixteenth century, Rosario Díez del Corral highlights the role of the Archbishops of Toledo in the process of ecclesiastical patronage and the introduction of new artistic currents:

Durante todo el siglo XVI los distintos arzobispos actúan como verdaderos mecenas artísticos respecto a la catedral primada, y no solamente en lo que se refiere a las donaciones de joyas y ornamentos litúrgicos, u otros objetos, sino como promotores de las obras que se van a realizar en la propia iglesia, y los escudos de Mendoza, Cisneros, Fonseca y Tavera que se encuentran en tantos lugares del edificio dan claro testimonio de ello. El prestigio de la cultura era una de las nociones más arraigadas en el humanismo, y en esta línea debemos situar la actuación de los prelados. (264)

While the role of these prelates in the artistic patronage of the city, including the foundation of charitable institutions like the Hospital de San Juan Bautista and the Colegio de Infantes, is undeniable, it is important to remember that the archbishops often remained outside of Toledo wherever the royal court resided. The orchestration of the grand projects at the cathedral fell instead to the *obrero mayor*, a fact that explains why the coat of arms of the archbishops on the works undertaken during much of the sixteenth century are most often accompanied by those of perhaps the most important *obrero mayor* ever to have held the office at the Toledo Cathedral, Diego López de Ayala.

The presence of López de Ayala's coat of arms on cathedral works, however, does not constitute proof that he was deeply involved with the direction of a project any more than it indicates the involvement of the normally remote archbishop. The purpose here is to address the relative absence of López de Ayala in the most recent studies of Toledo's sixteenth-century artistic life, like that of Díez del Corral, and to document his significant role in the cathedral's patronage as recognized by much earlier scholarship, like that of

Pérez Sedano and Zarco del Valle.⁷⁷ Attempting to do so raises issues that must be addressed to discuss the scope of the canon's involvement in the artistic life of the Imperial City. Perhaps the most serious obstacle is the fact that, because the *obrero mayor* was not the only individual with a responsibility to oversee the projects, one cannot assume his direct intervention in the artistic decisions relevant to the projects.

The Obra y Fábrica, often referred to simply as the Obra, had two main responsibilities. The Obra managed the construction of additions, adornments, etc., to the cathedral edifice; the Fábrica supervised and augmented as necessary the collection of objects related to religious services (Villaluenga 202). In the sixteenth century, the Obra y Fábrica of Toledo received a large portion of the vast income of the archdiocese.⁷⁸ At the Toledo Cathedral, the Obra y Fábrica was directed by the Cathedral Chapter through the election of administrative officials. The most important official was the *obrero mayor*, whose efforts were complemented by those of the *maestro mayor de obras* and the *visitadores*, among others. The *obrero mayor*, always selected from among the cathedral canons, could be appointed indefinitely by the archbishop or elected annually by the Cathedral Chapter and was responsible for organizing and administering the Obra y Fábrica (Fernández Collado 30). The *obrero mayor* was charged with the material conservation and ornamentation of the cathedral and dealt personally with those employed in that regard, their contracts, inventories of jewelry and clothing and payment records. This official maintained detailed contact with the hired artists, providing detailed

⁷⁷ See Pérez Sedano (114) and Zarco del Valle (1: 373-74).

⁷⁸ For further detail, see Torroja (17) and Villaluenga (205-13).

specifications for commissions.⁷⁹ The two *visitadores* of the Obra were appointed annually by the archbishop and charged with reviewing the expenses of the Obra and the construction and maintenance projects (Villaluenga 203). The *maestro mayor* served as chief architect, responsible for drawing up building plans and for inspecting the implementation and progress of those plans by individual artisans (204).⁸⁰ He had an obligation to appear each morning at the cathedral to visit the works in progress and ensure their timely completion. At the end of each year, he also accompanied the treasurer and the scribe on a survey of the possessions of the Obra (Fernández Collado 108). While the *obrero mayor* and the *visitadores* handled the main functions of both the Obra and the Fábrica, the *maestro mayor* only dealt with the Obra.

The administrative structure of the Obra y Fábrica indicates that López de Ayala would have had direct involvement with the acquisition of artifacts for use in religious services and with the construction and maintenance processes. It does not, however, answer one of the fundamental questions relative to López de Ayala's role in artistic developments over the course of the sixteenth century, since the definition of the function does not specify which official or officials were most responsible for aesthetic direction or decisions. When analyzing architectural achievements, architectural historians of the Spanish Renaissance like Fernando Marías and Rosario Díez del Corral often assume that the decorative details of works in the cathedral by Alonso de Covarrubias, for example,

⁷⁹ See Rivera (11), González Ruiz ("Blas Ortiz" 46-47 and "El arte" 68) and Noone ("Toledo" 561).

⁸⁰ The terms *maestro de obra*, *cantero*, *arquitecto* and even *decorador* were often confused in Spain prior to the reign of Felipe II; the usage of the term *arquitecto* in the Albertian and Vitruvian sense of the word is not recorded until the appearance in 1526 of Diego de Sagredo's fundamental treatise, *Medidas del romano* (Nieto, Morales and Checa 77-78). For more on the activities and responsibilities of the best known *maestro mayor de obras* in the sixteenth century, Alonso de Covarrubias, see Marías (*La arquitectura* 1: 195-274).

are directly attributable to the architect himself.⁸¹ While it seems quite clear that the artisans like Covarrubias were fully capable of conceiving of both the structural necessities and the decorative details of a project in their entirety, even Marías admits that stylistic decisions were ultimately the right of the client, in this case the Toledo Cathedral (*La arquitectura* 1: 219). On the surface the matter seems almost impossible to resolve, considering the potential intervention of the archbishop, the Cathedral Chapter, the *obrero mayor* and even the *visitadores* in the aesthetic decision-making process. In other words, the final form of any given project of the Obra could result from the artistic direction of one primary figure or the collaboration of any number of the individuals listed above.⁸² In truth, however, there are indicators in the cathedral records and other documents that allow reasonable postulation about the relative degree of involvement by Diego López de Ayala.

⁸¹ This holds true, as well, for examples of sculpture, painting and other visual art. When an authority figure, rather than an artist, is credited with the intellectual impetus behind a commission, it is almost invariably the archbishop who is identified as the sole patron. Several of these assumptions have led to verifiably inaccurate descriptions. Consider the following statement by Díez del Corral regarding the appraisal of the grille of the Capilla Mayor: "Todo ello debió realizarse con sumo cuidado ya que los tasadores de la obra, nombrados por el Cardenal, Covarrubias y Villalpando, reunidos en 1548, afirman que Villalpando ha cumplido lo concertado en todos sus detalles" (111). The actual document makes no mention of the Cardinal (Archbishop), naming instead Diego López de Ayala as the third individual involved in naming the appraiser (Zarco del Valle 1: 353).

⁸² The flexibility suggested here could be one of the reasons that the Archbishop Tavera called a synod, whose proceedings appeared publicly on April 11, 1536. The Cathedral Chapter named Diego López de Ayala as one of its representatives, along with Bernardino de Alcaraz, Blas Ortiz and others. The synod addressed the imagery of religious art in the cathedral: "Que no se pinten imágenes sin que sea examinada la pintura por nuestros vicarios o visitadores ... que en ninguna iglesia de nuestra diócesis se pinten historias de santos ... sin que primero sea hecha relación de ello a nuestro vicario o visitador, para que vean y examinen si conviene que se pinten allí" (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 58). The excerpt would seem to deny the *obrero mayor* any authority with respect to the imagery, however, López de Ayala continued to hold the post of *vicario del coro* and would, therefore, have been one of the *vicarios* referenced in this passage.

Nobility, Patronage and the Toledo Cathedral

While the sum of López de Ayala's artistic activities is compelling in its own right, a fortunate combination of factors makes this figure and period exceptional in many regards. First, his tenure as *obrero mayor* lasted nearly forty years and spanned three archiepiscopates, which constituted an uncommonly long tenure. Secondly, the projects that came to fruition during those forty years include several of the most significant additions to the cathedral, such as the Custodia de Arfe, the Sillería Alta del Coro, the Rejas del Coro, the Rejas de la Capilla Mayor, the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos and the internal façades of the Puerta del Reloj and the Puerta de los Leones. Furthermore, López de Ayala's active life in Toledo roughly coincides with one of Toledo's most active and populous periods, the reign of Charles V (1516-1556), the lives of important Spanish Renaissance artists active in the Toledo Cathedral such as Alonso Berruguete (1490-1561) and Francisco de Villalpando (1510-1561), and the life of Alonso de Covarrubias (1488-1570), the similarly long-tenured *maestro de obras* of the Toledo Cathedral and one of Spain's most prominent and influential Renaissance architects. The stars seemed to have aligned, so to speak, to make Diego López de Ayala one of the central figures of Toledo's artistic Renaissance.

In her monograph on liturgical manuscripts in Renaissance Toledo, Lynette Bosch cautions that the illumination she studies must be understood "not as a directly or overtly influential generator of historical events, but as the natural outcome and link in a continuum of a progression of historical, cultural, political, and artistic developments" (20). A sound approach to Diego López de Ayala's participation in the artistic life of sixteenth-century Spain should adopt a similar stance, recognizing that this single figure,

while exceptional, did not single-handedly steer the course of Spain's or even Toledo's Renaissance art history. One can maintain, however, that the canon contributed actively to sixteenth-century Spain's artistic arena through extensive collaboration with a community of prominent artisans and intellectuals; that the visibility of the collaborative community's output was conditioned by Toledo's rich and complex past; and that López de Ayala approached his contributory role fully aware of the efforts of the noble patrons that preceded him.

The canon displayed pride in his noble ancestry and a preoccupation with legacy, apparent in the establishment of a *mayorazgo*, the stipulation in his will that future heirs carry his name and even the fictional representation of his concern for what he would be remembered for after his death. As an insistently proud member of a noble family, López de Ayala would necessarily have considered his life's vocation as an outward reflection of his noble heritage and, in part, a determinant of the fate of that heritage, linked also to personal notions of fame and glory. In other words, an eminent family past contextualized López de Ayala's approach to his professional experience.

The canon's ancestor, Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407), had demonstrated in his *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla* the essential role certain noble families had played in the history of Castile and how they continued to constitute a necessary force for the preservation of church and crown (Bosch 13). Bosch maintains that the interconnectivity of these select noble families resulted in a "construct of family culture that shaped their lives, politics, religion, and artistic tastes" (13). As families with great wealth and power, their culture enjoyed a degree of visibility that could only have increased as their members rose to influential positions such as the Archiepiscopate of Toledo. Such was

the case for one of the families highlighted in Pedro López de Ayala's *Crónica*, that of the Mendozas. In addition to the fame of its illustrious poet-knight ancestor Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458), the family could boast the incredible influence attained by his son Pedro González de Mendoza, the Gran Cardenal who earned the appellation "el tercer Rey de España" because of the uncommon weight his counsel held with the Reyes Católicos. As Archbishop of Toledo (1482-1495), the Gran Cardenal brought with him the noble family culture that would inform his artistic patronage, which immediately preceded Diego López de Ayala's advent to the Toledo Cathedral. The Gran Cardenal and other members of the Mendoza family played an important role in bringing Italian Renaissance artistic and intellectual influences to the Iberian Peninsula and were responsible for Lorenzo Vázquez's work on the Colegio de Santa Cruz of Valladolid (1489-1491), considered the first Spanish building to exhibit Renaissance details (Díez del Corral 28).⁸³ The direction taken in the patronage of the Mendoza family helped set the stage for the artistic developments of sixteenth-century Spain.

At the Toledo Cathedral, Mendoza left less of an impact than would the archbishops of the sixteenth century. His specifications for a tomb in the Capilla Mayor clashed with his successor Cisneros's plan to expand the space of the presbytery, resulting in construction delays for both projects and the opposition of the Cathedral Chapter to Cisneros's alterations. Eventually, the tomb conformed to neither of the plans entirely but became the product of Genovese artisans (39-45). A fitting beginning for the new century, the finished monument conformed to Classical, rather than Gothic, aesthetics,

⁸³ In addition to the connection to the Colegio de Santa Cruz of Valladolid, Pedro González de Mendoza's library included important Italian and Classical treatises on architecture, including those of Alberti and Vitruvius. See Díez del Corral (22-33).

including a triumphal arch signifying the humanistic ideal of the triumph over death (45). The Gran Cardenal's relative lack of patronage at the cathedral may have been due simply to a shortage of resources for projects beyond the construction of the cathedral's main structure: the last of the cathedral's vaults was closed only at the end of the fifteenth century (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 46). Only once the external structure was in order could the vast income of the Obra y Fábrica begin to finance a variety of projects within the structure, a new flexibility that would coincide with Cisneros's archiepiscopate and the beginnings of López de Ayala's canonry.

Cardinal Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros was the unlikely candidate who replaced Pedro González de Mendoza as Archbishop of Toledo from 1495 to 1517, twice serving as regent of Castile. During his tenure as archbishop, Cisneros attempted to reform the Franciscan Order that he professed, eventually extending his reform efforts to the greater Spanish clergy with the support of the Reyes Católicos (Fernández Collado 235). These reform attempts colored the initial stage of his archiepiscopate and strained his relations with a cathedral chapter wary of the extent to which these reform attempts might impact the degree of autonomy and influence it had come to exercise. The attention to reform helped shape the Archbishop's initial construction agenda, since one of his policies aimed at establishing residency requirements for some of the canons. To accommodate the building needs for enforcing such a policy, one of Cisneros's first projects consisted in additions to the cathedral cloister, including a second story, a gothic stairwell and an independent access from the street (Díez del Corral 61). Another of Cisneros's initial products also led to conflict with the Cathedral Chapter: his desire to expand the presbytery for the construction of a grand retablo with magnificence similar to

that of the famed retablo of Seville required alterations to the tomb the Chapter had vowed to provide for Mendoza, and it meant a temporary displacement of the royal tombs located in the Capilla de la Santa Cruz, which would be absorbed into the new, larger space (60). Despite the initial resistance of the Chapter, Cisneros's building reforms proceeded. His efforts at reform also motivated the establishment of the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, intended for improving the education of new clergy, and would lead to the construction of the first university spaces there (74).

Not all of the Archbishop's building plans involved change, however. Cisneros also sought to preserve one of Spain's native liturgical traditions, the Mozarabic rite that survived only in certain parishes of Toledo, by establishing within the cathedral the Capilla Mozárabe.⁸⁴ Of particular importance in the chapel are the frescoes by the painter Juan de Borgoña depicting Cisneros's conquest of Oran on the north coast of Africa; the subject of the frescoes was uncharacteristic in its depiction of a contemporary scene instead of the Biblical topics normally chosen to adorn religious spaces, thereby insinuating a parallel between the Cardinal's victory over non-Christians and feats of Biblical caliber (Díez del Corral 62). The chapel absorbed one of the spaces formerly used by the Cathedral Chapter, so a new chamber and antechamber were constructed, also with paintings by Borgoña and with a style reminiscent of the Italian *studiolo* in what Díez del Corral has termed "uno de los ambientes más italianizantes de toda la catedral" (65).⁸⁵ During Cisneros's archiepiscopate, there certainly existed signs of the

⁸⁴ Again true to the mentality that claimed authority by evoking ancient and individualized origins, Blas Ortiz begins his description of this particular chapel by recalling in great detail the rite's Visigothic origins (*La Catedral* 237-42).

⁸⁵ See also Zarco del Valle (1: 111) and Torroja (205).

advent of a new aesthetic in Spain; in general, however, the projects completed during his tenure demonstrated a mix of stylistic elements, incorporating Gothic, Mudéjar and Renaissance traditions.⁸⁶

Cisneros's contributions to the architectural and artistic directions of his archdiocese formed the context for Diego López de Ayala's formation, since, as has been noted, the canon served the Cardinal closely during the majority of his archiepiscopate. López de Ayala credited the Archbishop for all he became in life. Beyond a familiarity with the traditions of noble patronage, the canon received his initiation into the functions of art and architecture while in the service of his protector. Yet, unlike the mix of styles apparent in works built during Cisneros's archiepiscopate, the aesthetics of the projects López de Ayala directed during his tenure as *obrero mayor* clearly derived from a classicizing stylistic current that had its roots in Renaissance Italy.

The aesthetic coherence exhibited by the projects under the *obrero's* direction could be the product of a number of factors. It could owe to a trip to Italy during the years mentioned, when his name is relatively absent from the *Actas Capitulares*. The artistic patronage of his noble relatives may have influenced his tastes. His contact with other nobles, intellectuals and a wide array of artistic styles during his residency at the royal courts in Spain and Flanders would certainly have expanded his knowledge of contemporary aesthetic currents. Perhaps equally important, however, is the exchange that must have occurred between López de Ayala and another of Cisneros's protegés, Diego de Sagredo. Sagredo attended the Universidad de Alcalá by special decree of

⁸⁶ Elías Tormo has termed this the "estilo Cisneros" (Díez del Corral 68), but Nieto, Morales and Checa argue that no such style exists on the grounds that there is no intentional aesthetic theory behind the designs, which are, instead, the product of a more unconscious blending of traditional elements (57-77).

Cisneros beginning in 1512 and, if López de Ayala attended the university as well, the two could have come into contact there. As Cisneros's confessor, however, Sagredo must have had contact with the canon, who had served as the Cardinal's *mozo de cámara*. The connection is highly significant, since Sagredo would produce a treatise on Classical design, *Medidas del romano* (1526), that would have enormous influence on architectural theory of the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century. During the archiepiscopate of Croy, from 1518 to 1522, Sagredo journeyed to Italy, passing through Genoa, Florence and Rome, before returning to Toledo coincidentally at the beginning of López de Ayala's tenure as *obrero mayor*. In Toledo their contact would develop further as Sagredo worked in the service of the cathedral until his death in 1528 designing and constructing ephemeral pieces, such as floats, for use in religious processions and celebrations. It seems inevitable that the shared background and the activities of both men in architecture and design at the cathedral would foster at the very least meaningful exchanges, if not outright collaboration.⁸⁷

As noted previously, López de Ayala's initial election by the Cathedral Chapter to the office of *obrero mayor* on May 1, 1518, was overturned by Charles and Chièvres, who had already acted in Archbishop Croy's stead to name Fernando Gómez de Fonseca to the post. By the time of Croy's premature death and López de Ayala's reelection as *obrero mayor* by the Chapter in January 1521, the political situation in Castile had destabilized to the point of open rebellion to the crown in the Guerra de las Comunidades (1520-1522). The devastating effect of the rebellion on the vast income of the cathedral, along with the confiscation of cathedral possessions and the exile of most of the canons,

⁸⁷ See Marías and Bustamante (7-26).

prevented the normal activity of the Obra and dampered the possibilities for funding new projects in the initial stages of López de Ayala's tenure as *obrero*.

Immediately after the Guerra de las Comunidades began a process of recuperation for the Toledo Cathedral. As mentioned above, the Comunidades had significantly depleted the revenue of the archdiocese. Pillaging had also resulted in the loss of much of the cathedral's accrued wealth. As *obrero mayor*, one of Diego López de Ayala's primary concerns after the surrender of Toledo became the recuperation of the stolen silver for Arfe's monstrance, a project originally conceived under Cisneros in order to house a smaller, gold monstrance bequeathed by Isabel la Católica (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 47).⁸⁸ Although negotiations and work on the monstrance had continued during the Comunidades, it was common knowledge that the cathedral had been accruing large quantities of silver destined for use in the new monstrance (48). Faced with a lack of funds to pay the armed fighters of the rebellion, María Pacheco ordered the confiscation of silver and jewels from the *sagrario*; the refusal of the majority of the Chapter to relinquish the possessions resulted in their temporary imprisonment within the cathedral (49). In commemoration of the final defeat of the Toledo *comuneros* on February 3, 1522, a plaque that recalled the defamation suffered by the clergy and the cathedral hung above Diego López de Ayala's judicial seat as *vicario* (Ortiz, *La Catedral* 270).

On February 14, 1522, the Cathedral Chapter commissioned López de Ayala to initiate judicial proceedings on behalf of the *obra*: "comysion al obrero diego lopes dayala para proceder en los negocios tocantes ala obra e fazer justicias" (*Actas* 4: f

⁸⁸ The Custodia de Arfe is one of the first projects of the Obra in which López de Ayala's name appears (1521). Records show that the planning phase of the project began as early as 1515. See Zarco del Valle (1: 133-138).

259v). On February 17, 1522, the Cathedral Chapter issued a proxy to demand the legal restitution of the silver from María Pacheco, and López de Ayala demanded court proceedings: "este dicho dia los dichos *Señores dean y Cabildo* dieron poder ... *para pedir en juyzio* [?] *la plata que se tomo desta Santa yglesia a dona maria pacheco e a otros quales quieres personas ... e el Señor diego lopes rriquiryrio que fagan justicia para que la plata se cobre*" (*Actas* 4: f. 259v). A year later, on February 16, 1523, the Cathedral Chapter and Diego López de Ayala issued each issued proxies to Johan de la Torre, cleric, and Juan de la Torre, solicitor, to petition the Emperor and his prosecutors for payment or restitution of a large silver monstrance, a large silver lantern, several large candlesticks and any other silver taken from the cathedral (*Protocolos* 1320: ff. 144v-47r).⁸⁹ Coinciding with the restitution demands, was an interruption in Arfe's work in 1522, apparently due to the need for more silver (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 50). Arfe finished his commission a little over a year later, on April 23, 1524.

López de Ayala's Tenure as *obrero mayor*

According to Díez del Corral, the economic and political effects of the Comunidades and the prolonged lack of an archbishop resulted in the lack of an organized cultural agenda between the archiepiscopate of Cisneros and 1524, when Alonso de Fonseca finally filled the vacancy left by Croy's death (81).⁹⁰ At the beginning of Fonseca's term (1524-1534), Cisneros's tomb in Alcalá de Henares constituted yet

⁸⁹ González Ruiz notes that the Chapter was unable to recover much of what had been stolen ("Blas Ortiz" 51). See also Pérez Sedano (47).

⁹⁰ Charles V named Fonseca, then Archbishop of Santiago, in 1523, but the Pope did not confirm Fonseca in the position until 1524. See Poschmann (281-82).

another example of the new direction in aesthetics. Despite the Cardinal's explicit wishes for humility in his interment, his executors believed he merited something on a grander scale (Díez del Corral 76). The executors commissioned a tomb from the Florentine artist Domenico Fancelli, who had already designed several royal tombs, including those of the Reyes Católicos in Granada. The ornamentation of the tomb displayed a great variety of themes, including animals, mythical creatures, Fathers of the Church and allegorical figures representing the Seven Liberal Arts (Gómez-Moreno 32-36).⁹¹ Although the tomb was not located in Toledo, it is likely that López de Ayala and other members of the Cathedral Chapter were familiar with its design elements, which clearly acted as signifiers of the Cardinal's achievements in religion and higher learning. This trend toward the revival of Classical ornamentation as a means of symbolic representation would be important for future aesthetic trends at the cathedral. According to Díez del Corral, Fancelli's tombs made him one of the artists who contributed most to the introduction of Renaissance forms in Castile (77).

Yet, even more immediate and fortuitous circumstances would give López de Ayala's first official term as *obrero mayor* under an archbishop the necessary momentum for an increasingly Renaissance aesthetic at the Toledo Cathedral. Fonseca belonged to one of the great noble families that, like that of Mendoza, fostered a tradition of patronage that had recently tended toward a more Italianate Renaissance aesthetic. This, combined with Fonseca's humanistic culture, would further orient the course of artistic patronage at the Toledo Cathedral in the sixteenth century (Díez del Corral 81-83). Of

⁹¹ After Fancelli's death in 1519, the completion of the design was entrusted to Bartolomé Ordóñez (Díez del Corral 77).

perhaps greater importance is the fact that the beginning of Fonseca's archiepiscopate coincided with the advent to the Toledo Cathedral of one of Renaissance Spain's best known and most influential Renaissance architects, Alonso de Covarrubias (1488-1570).⁹²

Alonso de Covarrubias had been called to the cathedral in 1529 along with another well-known Spanish Renaissance architect, Diego de Siloé, to work on the plans for what would become the most significant addition to the cathedral under Fonseca, the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos. He had already assisted, beginning in 1524, with the completion and reforms of the Hospital de Santa Cruz, which Díez del Corral qualifies as one of the first European buildings to adopt a Renaissance typology (201-04).

Covarrubias met with success in his design for the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos and continued to collect payments over the following years for a variety of work related to the plans and construction of the chapel, as well as negotiations at court with the Consejo Real regarding the design.⁹³ The construction of the new funerary chapel served the purpose of relocating the ill-placed former chapel, established at the end of the fourteenth century as a funerary pantheon for the Trastámara dynasty, and required approval from Charles V, especially since it involved the transfer of the extant royal tombs (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 52; Pérez Sedano 123-24). The idea to relocate the chapel was not new, but serious discussion did not occur until López de Ayala became *obrero* and represented the Cathedral Chapter along with the *deán* in order to inform the chaplains of

⁹² Fernando Marías goes so far as to qualify him as the artistic center of Toledo for nearly half a century (*La arquitectura* 1: 198).

⁹³ See Zarco del Valle (170-92).

the extant chapel of the proposal in 1526 (Gonzálvez Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 52). López de Ayala also represented the Chapter during negotiations with the Consejo Real in 1526 and 1529 and in 1533 personally managed the communication with both the Archbishop and the court, while the Archbishop's secretary, Juan de Vergara, took a temporary leave (53-54).

The chapel reached completion in 1534 and, despite a relatively tepid initial assessment from the Emperor,⁹⁴ met with resounding praise. After the *maestro mayor de obras* of the Toledo Cathedral, Enrique de Egas, died on September 5, 1534, Covarrubias was named as his successor on October 15, 1534, settled in Toledo and remained in the office until the Cathedral Chapter retired him due to old age in 1566.⁹⁵ The position would place Covarrubias at the center of Toledo's artistic developments and the incorporation of Renaissance forms (Díez del Corral 271); it would also place the architect and López de Ayala in a close, nearly lifelong professional collaboration. Since the *maestro mayor* reported directly to the *obrero*, Covarrubias's contributions to Toledo's artistic life cannot be understood without considering the direct involvement of López de Ayala.

An important aspect of the new Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos was its ornamentation, which many have attributed solely to Covarrubias's design.⁹⁶ Covarrubias trained as and first appeared in contracts as an *imaginario*, or image sculptor (Marías, *La*

⁹⁴ The Emperor judged it as a "buena capilla para un mercader rico," however, he named Covarrubias as one of his *maestros de obras reales* only three years afterward (Marías, *La arquitectura* 1: 209).

⁹⁵ Marías points out that much past scholarship has maintained that Covarrubias replaced Egas as *maestro mayor de obras* during Egas's lifetime, but documentary evidence refutes these claims (*La arquitectura* 1: 209).

⁹⁶ See, for example, Fernando Marías (*La arquitectura* 1: 209).

arquitectura 1: 196). Although he did not have an opportunity to travel to Italy, he could rely, like other Spanish artists of the period, on prints and engravings of Renaissance ornamentation that portrayed a variety of design elements that could be copied, adapted and combined into larger ornamental schemes.⁹⁷ Beyond the use of Classically-inspired decorative elements, however, portions of the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos demonstrate an intentionally symbolic iconography. The pillars that flank the narrow entrance to the chapel, for example, present the visitor with two images of Cupid. The one on the lefthand side is represented blindfolded, holding a basket of fruit and accompanied by a mask and skull. The one on the righthand side appears without the blindfold and skull. The iconography opposes the forces of death and evil to those of life and good and represents a humanistic conception of the triumph of death over worldly pleasures.⁹⁸

The symbolic aspect of the scheme clearly indicates that the ornamentation was intended as an object of intellectual interpretation. The question is whether Covarrubias was solely responsible for this aspect of the design or whether the iconography formed part of the discussion figures like the Archbishop, the *obrero* or Chapter members had with the architect or designer before and during the planning process. Contractual language indicates that the artist was working according to very detailed specifications, which were often related by the archbishop; however, the documents collected by Pérez Sedano and Zarco del Valle do not record who determined the iconographical aspects.

The *obrero* performed the duty of drawing up contracts with the artists and, in part,

⁹⁷ This tendency explains, in part, the fact that the first examples of Renaissance design in Castilla appeared in the form of ornamentation, for example of façades, on the surface of buildings with an underlying Gothic or otherwise traditional structure (Nieto, Morales and Checa 78-79; Díez del Corral 269).

⁹⁸ See Díez del Corral (92). Although she attributes this iconography to Covarrubias directly, it is one of the purposes of the present analysis to challenge that assumption in favor of Diego López de Ayala.

overseeing their completion, so he would necessarily have understood the projects under his direction in great detail. A better understanding of the extent of this particular *obrero's* involvement in the iconography of cathedral works, however, will become clearer after further consideration of his artistic affiliations in and out of the Toledo Cathedral.

Covarrubias's appointment to the position of *maestro mayor* coincided with the beginning of Juan Pardo Tavera's tenure as Archbishop of Toledo, who was named to the office on April 27, 1534. Alonso de Fonseca had died on February 4, 1534, in Alcalá de Henares. Diego López de Ayala was at the Archbishop's side when he passed, having been named by the Cathedral Chapter along with Pedro de la Peña, Abad de San Vicente, as a representative to the Congregación de Iglesias del Reino convoked by the Archbishop, and he and Peña wrote to the Cathedral Chapter informing them of the prelate's death.⁹⁹ Fonseca died before the transfer of the royal tombs to the new Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos, but he could rest knowing that his great addition to the cathedral had been completed.¹⁰⁰ The transfer of the royal corpses finally occurred on May 28, 1534, under Archbishop Tavera. Pedro de Salazar y Mendoza, a coetaneous chronicler, described the somber procession that marked the transfer; according to his description, Diego López de Ayala and other dignitaries accompanied the corpses to their new resting place, and the Conde de Fuensalida served as one of the witnesses (169-76).

⁹⁹ See *Actas capitulares* (5: f. 147v).

¹⁰⁰ Before the Obra issued final payment on any substantial commission, the cathedral and the artist named representatives to assess the value of the materials and workmanship of the project, referred to as *tasadores*. The appraisal of Covarrubias's work on the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos occurred on January 9, 1534 (Zarco del Valle 190).

Archbishop Juan Pardo Tavera, in the same vein as his predecessors, was a man of state; he served as one of Charles V's advisors and also advised the regent Empress during the Emperor's extended absence in Italy. He had a mind for reforms like those Cisneros attempted to institute and convened a synod in 1536 with the support of the *deán* and the Cathedral Chapter to reform the cathedral constitution and emphasize decorum in the public and private lives of the clergy. Like Fonseca, he would also attempt unsuccessfully to put into effect an Estatuto de Limpieza de Sangre. He was likewise inclined to continue the active patronage agenda set by his predecessors. In fact, the combination of projects he sponsored in and out of the cathedral would shape his archiepiscopate as one of the most artistically productive in sixteenth-century Toledo. By the end of his tenure in 1545 the city had witnessed at least the commencement of the grandiose upper seating of the cathedral choir, the ornate grilles of the choir and the Capilla Mayor, as well as the Hospital de San Juan Bautista (also known as the Hospital de Tavera), which many have considered the best example of a Classical building in Castile.

As *obrero mayor*, López de Ayala would have been primarily involved in the cathedral projects, and these endeavors would place him in close contact with many of the principal artists of the Spanish Renaissance. The design and fabrication of the grilles of the choir and Capilla Mayor would include bids from Cristóbal de Andino, Francisco de Villalpando and Domingo de Céspedes. The upper seating of the cathedral choir, on the other hand, would be split between two sculptors, Felipe de Borgoña (also known as Felipe Vigarny) and Alonso de Berruguete. The iconography of the choir seating is far more detailed than that of the grilles and is, therefore, of greater interest for the current

discussion. The reform of the choir would make the Toledo Cathedral the driving force of the artistic vanguard in Spain and would bring with it the most renowned sculptors and architects of the century (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 110).

Prior to the finalization of the contracts with Felipe de Borgoña and Alonso de Berruguete, each artist had to produce a sample of their work following the prescribed design and submit it for approval by the *maestro de obras*, the Cathedral Chapter and the archbishop. Naturally, the *obrero mayor* would have played an active role in this assessment. Among the documents reproduced by Zarco del Valle is a contract issued in 1536 by López de Ayala, along with the Arcediano Medina and the canon Bernardino de Alcaraz, authorizing payment for Borgoña's sample seatings, since he had fulfilled his obligation according to the specifications given: "se obligó de facer una silla de nogal para muestra delas sillas altas del coro dela dicha santa iglesia, conforme al rrepartimiento y traça quel dicho maestre felipe de brogonia [*sic*] e diego siloe e el dicho alonso de cobarrubias hordenaron de la manera que se avia de facer" (1: 200). The contract also compels the artist to take the sample to Valladolid for the Archbishop's approval before returning it to Toledo:

con que a la buelta quel dicho maestre felipe fiziere para la dicha cibdad de burgos lleve de camino a la villa de valladolid la dicha silla, e la haga armar e la muestre al Ilmo. Sr. cardenal arçobispo de toledo, nuestro señor; y platique con su Ilma. señoria la forma e manera commo se a de rrematar lo alto delas sillas del dicho coro, mostrando la traça e condiciones que dello se le dió. (1: 200)

The wording of the contract indicates that the drawing of the design plan was a collaborative effort between the artist, Diego Siloé and Alonso de Covarrubias. It also suggests that the Archbishop, even while at court, took an active role in the aesthetic decisions carried out by the Obra. Yet, in addition to displaying the sample, Borgoña had

also to show and explain the design plan to the prelate; perhaps, then, the Archbishop had given his approval to begin the project but abstained from dictating the design details.

The document's mention of the collaboration between Borgoña, Siloé and Covarrubias makes it easy to assume that these three artist-architects were also responsible for any symbolic or iconographical elements in the design. However, such an assumption ignores the fact that the design responded to a commission given by the archbishop, along with the Cathedral Chapter, and that both parties had to actively approve the final plan. The iconographical scheme of the design could not have been a trivial aspect for cathedral authorities, since it ultimately played a role in the fabrication of the primatial archdiocese's visual image to the world. A skillful design would reflect the religious, political, economic and cultural capital the cathedral authorities wanted to display.

The series of documents transcribed by Zarco del Valle often give very detailed specifications for the works they govern, but they do not ultimately identify the author of the symbolic and iconographical elements that so often formed a part of the works completed during this period. Certainly the artist-architects at the cathedral had access to the engravings and prints of design elements, as well as contact with design treatises and figures like Diego de Sagredo, but the *obrero* also had access to these resources. Other scholars suggest that López de Ayala, whether this was commonly the role assumed by the *obrero* or not, closely involved himself in the representation of meaning through ornamentation. Ulierte, for example, asserts that the iconography of the Toledo Cathedral's upper choir seating is the work of Diego López de Ayala and dates from 1535 (577). Additionally, González Ruiz identifies the *obrero* as the figure who chose to

include in the choir two Latin epigrams written by his friend and colleague Juan de Vergara ("Blas Ortiz" 118). One of the epigrams asserts that Borgoña "con la mano esculpía las effigies de los santos, assí con el ánimo manifestava, y imitava sus costumbres" (MS. 210, Biblioteca Pública del Estado, p. 212; qtd. in "Blas Ortiz" 118).¹⁰¹ González Ruiz relates the message of this inscription to the traditional Plinian idea that art imitates life, but finds that the second inscription reflects a relatively recent mentality regarding art by applying to the artists' efforts the rhetorical concept of *inventio*; prior to the Italian Renaissance, the concept typically referred only to literary composition, but on rare occasions Classical authors like Pliny the Elder and Vitruvius had also used it with reference to visual artists. Furthermore, the second inscription likens the artistic "battle" between Borgoña and Berruguete to the exchange of disparate opinions between observers of the finished product. Although Vergara authored the inscriptions, López de Ayala, as has been stated, chose to adorn the choir with them. The *obrero's* involvement with them clearly implicates him in an interpretive role, a desirable quality for the potential author behind an iconographical scheme.

The last archbishop under which Diego López de Ayala served as *obrero* was Juan Martínez Silíceo, who held the post from 1546-1557. Silíceo differed significantly from many of his predecessors, since in him the Emperor Charles had chosen an individual who would be much less politically involved at court and, as a result, far more present at the seat of his archdiocese. Silíceo also differed from the predecessors mentioned here in that he did not descend from noble lineage.¹⁰² Therefore, despite

¹⁰¹ The Spanish translation of the original Latin inscription is González Ruiz's.

¹⁰² See Díez del Corral (120).

spending more of his time in Toledo, the Archbishop did not derive from a familial custom of artistic patronage and was less predisposed to initiate grand projects in the interior of the cathedral. In fact, the larger-scale cathedral works projects that marked his archiepiscopate included primarily the completion of those that had begun under his predecessor Tavera, such as the upper choir seating and the grilles of the choir and Capilla Mayor. These still counted as significant achievements and the grilles proudly boast his coat of arms and those of López de Ayala, but a large part of the activity undertaken by the Obra during his tenure tended toward smaller-scale projects.¹⁰³

These projects included work on the *sagrario* and the construction of pulpits, which Covarrubias would have helped supervise as *maestro mayor de obras*, but many of the other projects directed by the Obra y Fábrica did not depend on the intervention of a figure like Covarrubias. Instead, these secondary projects fell under the domain of the Fábrica, still headed by the *obrero mayor*, responsible for acquiring and maintaining the objects necessary for liturgical services.

Throughout his tenure as *obrero mayor*, López de Ayala's involvement in the acquisitions of the Fábrica (without the intervention of the *maestro mayor*) further strengthens the image of this remarkable figure as someone with highly sophisticated and, at times, progressive tastes. His direction of the Fábrica often took him outside of Toledo, for example, to purchase silver images from the royal chapel in Burgos in 1528 (Pérez Sedano 47). In 1555 he commissioned a set of bronze candlesticks from Manuel

¹⁰³ Another contributing factor may have been a relative shortage of funds due to the expense of the larger-scale projects nearing completion and to the widespread economic issues of the kingdom. A further consideration is that the projects nearing completion had achieved the most important objectives for structuring the liturgical space of the cathedral's interior.

Álvarez, which the metalworker would not complete until 1564, after the canon's death (Zarco del Valle 2: 85-88).¹⁰⁴ The canon issued payments for the embroidery of vestments, reliquaries and stained glass. In 1529, he even acquired a series of large tapestries with mythological themes, known as the trio of Astrology, Astrolabe or Signs of the Zodiac that had belonged to the Marqués de Priego (Marías, *El largo siglo* 162).

In the tradition of the Misal Rico (1504-1517) commissioned by his former protector Cisneros, López de Ayala also commissioned the illumination of an exquisite *Libro de los Prefacios* during the Fonseca's archiepiscopate. González Ruiz states that the commission of the *Libro de los Prefacios*, like other commissions, involved discussions in minute detail with the artists beforehand ("El arte" 68). Documentation in the records of the Obra y Fábrica confirm that López de Ayala was the source of this commission, reflected in the appearance of his coat of arms throughout the illuminated margins of the volume; an examination of the volume itself leads González Ruiz to believe that the layout indicates the work of a highly organized mind (68). With regard to the marginal illumination, he points out the clean geometry and architectural layout that recall Cisneros's Misal Rico and highlight a more refined approach than that of the early Renaissance illuminations of the fifteenth century (81). The marginal illuminations fall into three categories: plateresque ornamentation, depictions of jewels and pearls, or natural scenes. Based on the circumstances, López de Ayala likely determined the specifications of the design himself, including the ordering of the content. The *Libro de*

¹⁰⁴ Note that in Zarco del Valle's text, he notes Diego de Castilla as obrero in 1555 and 1556, although the name of the obrero does not appear in the document. This information does not concur with cathedral records and constitutes an error on Zarco del Valle's part. Diego de Castilla did not replace López de Ayala as obrero until 1557.

los Prefacios serves as another example, then, of the canon's sophistication and his humanistic, classicizing view.

The canon also took steps to expand the use of musical instruments in liturgical services. Until 1531, professional musicians in Toledo generally participated only in sacred functions that took place outside of the cathedral. From 1531 onward, however, the musicians became officially linked to the cathedral itself, which, as González Ruiz explains, probably met with resistance from canons more intent on preserving tradition:

Los ministriles o tocadores profesionales de instrumentos aparecen primero en las funciones sagradas que se desarrollan extramuros de la Catedral, como son las procesiones. Sólo comienzan a actuar dentro de ella y vinculados a la institución catedralicia como músicos propios a partir de 1531, es decir, cuando Blas Ortiz llevaba ya varios años de canónigo en Toledo. La propuesta parece que partió del obrero don Diego López de Ayala. Es muy probable que fueran admitidos no sin vivas resistencias por parte de los más aferrados a la tradición. ("Blas Ortiz" 60)

The modest and appropriate use of music in the church became an objective of the Counter-Reformation, which attempted to purge the gradual introduction of secular musical elements (Fellerer 578-82). The Synod of Cologne in 1536 addressed the use of musical instruments: "We therefore desire that no immodest or lascivious melody produced by musical instruments should resound in the Church; the sound should be altogether sweet and represent naught but divine hymns and spiritual chants" (Mansi, J.D., *Sacrorum conciliorum* 32, 1190; trans. qtd. in Fellerer 578). The use of polyphony was also rejected by many in the Counter-Reformation as an obstacle to the intelligibility of the words and an obscuration of the pure meaning (581-82). In 1542 López de Ayala commissioned a series of polyphonic choirbooks with works by the most renowned Spanish Renaissance composers, including Cristóbal de Morales, Tomás Luis de Victoria

and Francisco Guerrero.¹⁰⁵ The musical scholar Michael Noone posits the nature of the *obrero's* selections and the prominence of his coat of arms in the choirbooks he commissioned as "evidence of a knowledgeable interpretative community at Toledo that relished complexity and learning" ("Toledo" 561). López de Ayala's role in the musical innovations at the Toledo Cathedral present him as an advocate of classicizing influences and progressive change, the sort of attitude that the Counter-Reformation considered dangerous and heretical. Yet, for the time being, the *obrero* succeeded in establishing a troupe of professional church musicians and the use of polyphonic music. His efforts in musical acquisitions and performance provide yet another indication that this particular *obrero* was an active contributor to the creation of the representational capital that the archdiocese needed in order to integrate the image of the Church with that of the Empire.

López de Ayala's long and productive tenure as *obrero mayor* of the Toledo Cathedral came to an end in 1557. With Silíceo's death, the aging and infirm López de Ayala lost the last of his protectors, and new Chapter elections confirmed the *deán*, Diego de Castilla as the canon's replacement. The efforts of López de Ayala in his role at the cathedral portray him clearly as an individual capable of exerting a powerful influence on the course of Toledo's artistic history. The commissions he orchestrated display a relative continuity of style that persisted over the course of three archiepiscopates. The documentation that exists suggests that he had a significant role in the artistic patronage that traditional scholarship has assigned almost exclusively to the archbishops he

¹⁰⁵ See Michael Noone ("Printed Polyphony" 241-48; "Toledo" 561).

served.¹⁰⁶ When López de Santa Catalina dedicated his *Libro segundo de Espejo de caballerías* to Diego López de Ayala in 1526, he gave strong praise for the *obrero's* already notable work:

No es justo que se callen las sumptuosas y muy loables obras que, en la sancta iglesia donde residís, avéis levantado y con mucha constancia e ingeniosa solicitud a perfecto fin traído, por las cuales, no solamente el sacro templo donde Nuestro Señor Dios se sirve es honrado, mas los cristianos son a asiduas oraciones y devotos sacrificios promovidos, ilustrándole cada día con muy devotas y singulares obras, las cuales son tan dignas de alabança. (3-4)¹⁰⁷

Although López de Santa Catalina's praise was clearly motivated by a desire to secure patronage and follows rhetorical conventions, it does suggest that the *obrero* had earned an early reputation for success in that role. In his own day, this particular *obrero* enjoyed a reputation for refinement that attributed the credit for the cathedral works to his direction. It was the canon's reputation for refinement and aesthetic sophistication that situated him strategically for a high-profile role in the cultivation of an image of cultural and intellectual enlightenment. His remarkable interpretive capacity enabled him to shape foreign models and forms into functional cultural capital for the cathedral and the city.

¹⁰⁶ This is not to ignore a significant reference that could support a different view. In a letter of 1540, Cristóbal de Andino expresses his concern for the impact his absences are having: "No estoy sin alguna sospecha del suceso delas obras desa ssanta yglesia, visto que en todo quanto emos hecho y dicho y contratado de ellas en ninguna vuestra merced se aya hallado presente, pues sin su presencia, tengo por dificil acertarse en cosa en que ay pongamos las manos" (Zarco del Valle 1: 217). Andino had entered into competition with Villalpando for the contract of the grilles of the Toledo Cathedral choir and Capilla Mayor. At face value, Andino's comments suggest a lack of involvement in the details of the Obra; however, this lack of involvement is necessarily unusual, since it elicits a complaint. Andino's frustration might, instead, have been related to Villalpando's secret meetings with the Archbishop in order to secure the contract for himself.

¹⁰⁷ Juan Carlos Pantoja Rivero, in the introduction to his recent edition of *Espejo de caballerías*, suggests that López de Santa Catalina may have come into contact with López de Ayala at the cathedral as a cleric (ix). The *Sucesiones de prebendas* does not mention anyone by this name in the lists of portioners, chaplains or canons, but that does not rule out the possibility of a less obvious connection through the cathedral.

Technically, this was the image of the primatial archdiocese of Spain, but by extension it was an important part of the physiognomy of a Christian empire.

The lack of recognition for López de Ayala's contributions in many past studies is possible, because the documentation that has survived fulfills a practical aim that did not include identifying those responsible for the iconography or symbolic schemes. To overcome this deficiency and portray more accurately López de Ayala's engagement with the artistic community of sixteenth-century Spain requires establishing capacity and probability. Fortunately, López de Ayala's undertakings beyond the Toledo Cathedral in more isolated contexts lend support to the assertion that he exerted a powerful influence on the artistic trajectory of sixteenth-century Spain.

Beyond the Toledo Cathedral

The earliest reference to López de Ayala's involvement with an artistic commission dates from the canon's service as Cisneros's envoy to the court of Ferdinand the Catholic. The reference appears in a letter from Fray Francisco Ruiz, Obispo de Ávila, written on February 5, 1515, and lacks substantial content: "terneys cuydado de hazer las pieças de plata que os escrivi, sy todavia os pareçiere, y escriuidme que pieças quereys hazer, porque se prouea todo" (Varacaldo et al. 1). The letter fails to clarify the purpose of the potential commission or even whether these pieces form part of a personal request for Ruiz, but it does suggest that the bishop had entrusted López de Ayala with deciding the nature of the commission. The letter reveals that the future *obrero* had demonstrated some aesthetic expertise well before employing it in his duties at the Toledo Cathedral.

Far more significant is the connection between López de Ayala and the Emperor's secretary Francisco de los Cobos, Comendador de Castilla, an avid collector and patron. Before Cobos's spectacular rise to become one of Charles V's closest contacts, he followed the path of so many Spaniards during the second regency of Cisneros and traveled to Charles's court in Flanders in search of favors from the new King. Cobos later wrote to Cisneros to notify him that he had received an appointment from the King and to thank the Archbishop, since it was his letter of recommendation that helped Cobos achieve his aim.¹⁰⁸ Cisneros's representative in Flanders, of course, was López de Ayala, and frequently the regent addressed his letters of recommendation to the canon directly, urging him to commend the individual in question to the Emperor. Whether by this means or not, it is certain that Cobos and López de Ayala would have made contact while at Charles's court in Flanders. The relationship they forged would continue even after the canon left life at court to return to Toledo, and Cobos would entrust him with some of his most important artistic commissions.

In an undated letter to the Obra scribe, Juan Mudarra, for example, López de Ayala requests a piece of marble for Berruguete to carve a portrait of Cobos's wife:

por amor mio, que hableis a juan dela ysen que una piedra de marmol que dice berruguete para hazer cierto retrato dela señora doña maria, muger del señor comendador Cobos, se la dé luego y vos se la dad y asentad a mi cuenta lo que valiere, que yo lo pagaré y en esto no aya falta, y luego me avisad de lo que se hiziere. (Zarco del Valle 1: 302-03)

The letter reminds us of López de Ayala's excellent political and artistic connections. His privileged relationship with one of the era's finest sculptors awarded him favored standing. Although Cobos could have initiated this exchange based on his friendship with

¹⁰⁸ See Keniston (24-25).

the *obrero*, the urgency in López de Ayala's instructions to Mudarra could also be founded in a desire to please the Comendador de Castilla and thus improve his own chances for a royal favor aided by the notoriously influential secretary.

A much longer-term project also connected the *obrero* with Cobos. Cobos decided to build a funerary church, San Salvador, in his native Úbeda. Extensive travel through the Italian peninsula and a desire to portray himself as learned and noble led Cobos, among other things, to embellish his family home in 1531 with a fountain and sculpture imported from Italy. In general, Cobos modeled his tastes after the Italian Renaissance trends he had seen firsthand. As a member of the Emperor's court, Cobos rarely had opportunity to visit Úbeda and, instead, entrusted the design and ornamentation of San Salvador de Úbeda to the greatest artistic minds he could access. It is not surprising, then, to find names like Diego de Siloé, architect of the Granada Cathedral and one of the architects of Toledo's Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos; Luis de Vega, architect of the Royal Palace in Valladolid; Alonso de Berruguete, sculptor of half of the Toledo choir's upper seating and San Salvador de Úbeda's retablo; Francisco de Villalpando, author of the grille for Toledo's Capilla Mayor and the grilles of Cobos's chapel; and, of course, Diego López de Ayala. It is interesting to note the number of artists with connections to both this Andalusian church and the Toledo Cathedral, since the percentage alone negates any possibility of coincidence. Here, again, López de Ayala appears to have earned a reputation for the quality of his artistic refinement and direction, and the trajectory of the works in the Toledo Cathedral became a model for Renaissance aesthetic aspirations in other parts of Spain.

The specific involvement of López de Ayala becomes clear in documents like Cobos's contract with the Toledan silversmith, Francisco Martínez de San Román, in 1541 to produce several liturgical pieces, including a monstrance, chalices and an altar cross. In the transaction, the *obrero* would receive security from Martínez for the silver (Keniston 279). In another instance, Cobos entrusted the acquisition of jewels for San Salvador to López de Ayala's discretion (Sebastián, 190).

The *obrero* also played a role in the design of what many scholars of art history identify as the most important aspect of this funerary church, its façade. According to Luz de Ulierte, the iconography of the façade was the work of two individuals: Diego de Ortega and, in particular, Diego López de Ayala (582). She also notes similarities between certain elements of the iconography of the façade and interior of San Salvador de Úbeda and the upper seating of the choir at the Toledo Cathedral. Berruguete worked on both the choir in Toledo and the interior in Úbeda, which could explain that aspect of the connection; but the façade was the work of another well-known Renaissance sculptor, the French-born Étienne Chamet, who had assisted Vigarny, not Berruguete, in the Toledo choir. Here, López de Ayala is the most obvious connection between the designs. Santiago Sebastián goes a step further and interprets the iconography of the archway of San Salvador's façade as a visual representation of the message of salvation in Dante Alighieri's *Divina Comedia*:

La portada de El Salvador de Úbeda quiere instruir a los hombres como lo hace la *Divina Comedia* en el arte de la salvación del alma hasta que ella llegue al conocimiento espiritual de Dios. En esta traducción plástica se empleará el mismo medio que en la gran creación literaria italiana, la alegoría, que es diáfana para la concepción del cristiano, aunque aquí se use un lenguaje mitológico. (194)

Sebastián attributes this portion of the iconography and its esoteric representation solely to Diego López de Ayala based not only on the *obrero's* artistic direction, but on the nature of his literary activity, which will be discussed later. The art scholar also considers the intellectual culture necessary to create the scheme beyond the capacity of a figure like Siloé. This is perhaps the strongest indicator that, while architects and sculptors like Covarrubias and Berruguete had the technical ability to produce exceptional objects and even the theoretical knowledge to produce a design balanced in proportions, the esoteric intellectual components of these plans required the intervention of someone with a more sophisticated level of erudite culture. The circumstances that connect the projects point clearly to Diego López de Ayala as the individual most likely to have fulfilled that role.

The canon's taste for Italianate design extended, as well, to his personal properties. The canon's recreational property outside of Toledo on the opposite bank of the Tagus River displayed cultivated woods and a home with architectural aspects marking the design of Alonso de Covarrubias (Vegue y Goldoni 124; Marías, *La arquitectura* 4: 138; Hurtado de Toledo 506).¹⁰⁹ In his *señoría* of the rural village Casasbuenas he constructed a house designed by Covarrubias in 1552 with a style more characteristic of Italian than Spanish villas (Marías, *La arquitectura* 1: 266). The possession in the sixteenth century of recreational properties like those López de Ayala owned point to another connection between the architectural-artistic sphere and the interpretive one, since these properties, costly to maintain and agriculturally unproductive, embodied the Horatian ideal of a simple life in contact with nature, the

¹⁰⁹ This property would later carry the name Cigarral del Bosque. Today it has been converted into a luxury hotel, but original stone columns can be seen on the entryway patio.

beatus ille that influenced the poetry of Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega, for example.¹¹⁰ During the Spanish Renaissance, these properties belonged primarily to the wealthy nobles and clergy and served as an escape from Toledo's crowded urban landscape. Here, intellectuals gathered to discuss their ideas, entertain themselves and cultivate the Muses.¹¹¹ For López de Ayala, they would be a space to congregate with the intellectual community and cultivate the aesthetic sophistication evident in his professional achievements.¹¹²

That López de Ayala was conscious of the importance of his efforts for the cultivation of an idealized image of Toledo might be implied from the the nature and range of his cultural activities, but there is also evidence that he participated in the use of ephemera designed to temporarily resolve the disparity between the idealized Imperial City of the collective imagination and Toledo's darker urban reality. Between February 9 and February 26, 1555, Toledo celebrated extravagantly the news of England's conversion to Catholicism. Accounts by Sebastián de Horozco and Juan de Angulo describe a diverse assortment of masks, including one of Celestina with her knife mark. They also describe representations that included allegorical figures of the Church and Faith, Cupid surrounded by nymphs and Luther on a mule suffering vicious attacks by devils. On one of the days, a different representation of Cupid appeared, accompanied by figures dressed as cardinals:

¹¹⁰ See Bonet Correa (135).

¹¹¹ See Martín-Gamero (105).

¹¹² The intellectual community and the connections between López de Ayala's cultural activities and their application to his approach to life will be explored in greater depth below.

Venia vn carro trivnfal ricamente ataviao con sus arcos de arrayhanes, y en vna silla alta venia Cupido muy bien vestido, como desnudo, de tafetanes colorados, sus ojos vandados [*sic*] y flechando su arco con su aljaba a las espaldas. Detras del carro venian seis cardenales ricamente vestidos de tafetanes colorados. (Horozco, "Memoria" 401)

Angulo describes a representation put together by several nobles that included Classical figures:

Las quales ninphas lleuauan
tres diosas con ricas galas
adornadas,
a quien ellas festejauan,
que eran Venus, Iuno y Palas
coronadas.

Y otros tres dioses delante
con Paris el gran pastor
al natural,
Mercurio y Mars el guerreante,
y Iupiter el mayor
y principal. (456)

On another night, the Archbishop funded an extravagant celebration that included a representation of Faith in the archbishop's seat, singing angels, church musicians and the clergy richly costumed. Horozco notes the following with relation to the *obrero*: "Ovo tambien sortija en el callejon de don Diego Lopez de Ayala, obrero de la santa iglesia de Toledo, donde estuvo vn arco trivnfal con çiertas letras y encima vn gigante que le guardava" ("Memoria" 399-400).¹¹³

Although many of the representations described lack the erudite culture of those referenced here, the mix of Christian, Classical and mythological elements and López de Ayala's participation in them confirm the existence of an active intellectual interpretive

¹¹³ The reference is to a game in which men on horseback attempt to guide the point of a lance through a ring (*sortija*) placed at a distance (Covarrubias 1310).

community comprised of ecclesiastical figures and nobles. These individuals utilized their erudite culture to present a cultured vision of Toledo in league with the past glories of the Classical world. Angulo expresses the intention and effect clearly when he addresses the city directly:

Los triunphos de los griegos y romanos
nombrados siempre son, seran y fueron;
mas ya lo son los tuyos toledanos,
que a todos los passados excedieron,

...

O, pues, vos las ninphas toledanas
del alto y fresco valle de Toledo,
a todas como soys las quatro hermanas
ofrezco aquesta flor con gozo ledo. (481-82)

Likewise steeped in the mentality that the Imperial City mirrored Rome in the glory of its past and the primacy of its religious aspect, López de Ayala approached the duties of his office at the cathedral not as a series of contracts and payments, but rather as an opportunity to mold the image of his church and city. His own preference for Italianate Renaissance aesthetics and the erudite complexity made possible by recontextualizing Classical iconography in a system of Christian values guided his conscious efforts to portray Toledo as a city worthy of its larger-than-life reputation through an impressive display of cultural and intellectual refinement. Naturally, the *obrero's* ubiquitous coat of arms stand as calculated testimony that the Imperial City's nascent glory has benefited from the enlightened aid of select individuals.

The art, music and architecture considered here were clearly the product of and for an intellectual interpretive community. In other words, knowledge of the arts in Toledo's sixteenth century, with the revival of Classical treatises, becomes another facet of the humanist intellectual's repertoire. In fact, Baldassare Castiglione, the papal nuncio

at the Spanish court from 1525-1529, noted in his description of the perfect courtier the desirability of artistic knowledge.¹¹⁴ López de Ayala's nearly forty-year involvement in the cathedral's official endeavors serves to complement his other cultural activities, his translations and interactions with the Toledan intellectual community.

¹¹⁴ See Book 1, Chapter 11.

Chapter 3:

The *Treze questiones* and the *Arcadia*

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, love casuistry and treatises became an important part of Renaissance humanist literary production as evidenced by the works of Italian authors, such as Marsilio Ficino, Mario Equicola, Leone Ebreo, Baldassare Castiglione and Pietro Bembo. Inspired in a tradition that began with Plato's *Symposium*, many of these works take place in a court setting or are written for a courtly audience, indicating the aristocratic appeal of the Neoplatonic ideals they express. In Spain this appeal was reflected to some extent in the genre of sentimental fiction from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries, which found models in earlier Italian works, particularly the *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (1343-44) of Boccaccio and the *Historia de duobus amantibus* (1444) of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Durán 15). Love casuistry plays a central role in certain works of this genre, including *La historia de Grisel y Mirabella* (1480) of Juan de Flores and the anonymous *Questión de amor* (1513). Neoplatonic ideals influence the poetry of Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega, as well as the treatises of Villalón (*El Scholástico*, 1530s) and Juan Sedeño de Arévalo (*Coloquios de amores y otro de Bienaventuranza*, 1536), among others (Rallo Gruss 72-74).

In this context and despite the demands of his political activity and artistic patronage, Diego López de Ayala was responsible for the prose sections of two prosimetrical translations of Italian works, the *Questioni d'amore*, extracted from the

fourth book of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (1336-1339), and Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1502). A second translator, Diego de Salazar, supplemented the *Questioni d'amore* translation with poetic summaries of each of the questions and answers; he also translated the existing verse portions of the *Arcadia*. Although these two translations likely circulated in manuscript form for some years before appearing in printed form, the only known surviving copies of either text are printed versions. The first translation was eventually printed under two titles: *Laberinto de Amor* (Seville, 1541 and 1546) and *Treze questiones* (Toledo, 1546 and 1549; Venice, 1553).¹¹⁵ The second, Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1502), also resulted in five printed editions: Toledo, 1547 and 1549; Estella, 1562; and Salamanca, 1573 and 1578 (Reyes Cano, *La Arcadia* 57).

Both translations were connected to regular intellectual gatherings that López de Ayala hosted in Toledo well before the appearance of the printed editions. This intellectual community brought together principal figures of Spain's literary and intellectual horizons and also fostered contact with Italian humanists. These texts have received insufficient scholarly attention, particularly the *Treze questiones*, since two copies of a lost edition of it have been "discovered" only within the last ten years. Past studies on the texts have focused primarily on philological analysis of the texts or have provided incomplete, and even erroneous, information about the texts and their translators. The objective here will be to highlight the roles of the individuals involved in the production and publication of these translations and reexamine the *Filocolo* excerpt in light of recent scholarship. We will also examine the relation of the translations to the

¹¹⁵ The title of the editions authorized by López de Ayala, *Treze questiones*, is used here to refer to the translation in general.

context in which they were produced, first by an analysis of the paratexts connected to the Toledo editions and, secondly, by considering their appeal to the translators' community.

The *Treze questiones*

The first of the translations to emerge in printed form was the *Treze questiones*, the first known translation into Spanish of any portion of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Filocolo*.¹¹⁶ It was also, until quite recently, the only extant Spanish translation of the work. The *Filocolo* (1336-39) was a recasting of the romance of Floire and Blanchefloire, popular throughout Europe in the Middle Ages but whose origins—French or Persian/Byzantine—are somewhat uncertain and have been hotly debated (Grieve 16). This recasting brought the story of the two lovers into a Christianized context, as did other more or less contemporaneous recastings. The *Questioni d'amore* is a fictional episode of love casuistry that harks back to a *d'oc-d'oil* tradition from France: the *joc partit* or *jeu partit*, usually erotic in nature (Rajna 35). In the episode, the tale's protagonist, Filocolo, joins a party hosted by Lady Fiammetta, the future protagonist of Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (1343-44), in her first fictional appearance.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) was an Italian humanist and the son of a Florentine merchant and banker. He traveled as a young man to the court of Roberto d'Angiò at Naples, where he gained access to an important library and connected with other early humanists. These resources and contacts would nourish his curiosity and provide the intellectual base for many of his compositions. As a member in the forefront of a new socio-political reality with both courtly and bourgeois components, he would search for new vehicles of expression that would profoundly impact the future of Italian narrative.

¹¹⁷ Fiammetta would later figure as one of the less fortunate characters in Juan de Flores's sentimental fiction, *Grimalte y Gradissa* (1485). Within the text, Gradissa is posited as a reader like the audience to whom Boccaccio addresses his work: Fiammetta's tale is meant to serve as a warning to other noble ladies who might be harmed by love's power. Gradissa is moved to help Fiammetta through the aid of her would-be-lover and will use the measure of his success as a sign of whether or not she should bestow her favor on him.

Boccaccio also introduces the element that would later become so important for the frame of the *Decameron*, the *brigata*, a group of nobles taking refuge from the afternoon heat in a garden to discuss stories and, in this case, debate them with a certain contemplative leisure, "un'oziosità contemplativa" (Battaglia 139). The members of the troupe elect Fiammetta as queen for the day, and each of the members, seated in a circle, relates an amorous tale that raises some moral dilemma and a question; the queen then responds to the question, the storyteller rebuts and the queen makes the final determination on the matter.

As an example, Doña Juana poses the third question, stating that she is loved by many for her beauty and has resolved herself to love one of these men in return so as not to appear cruel. She has narrowed her choice to three suitors: one who is handsome and strong, a second who is wealthy and generous and a third who is exceedingly wise. Doña Juana, however, recalls the Classical examples of Deianeira and Hercules, Clytemnestra and Aegisthus and Sextus Tarquinius and Lucretia, demonstrating that none of the three desirable types of lovers offers a guarantee for happiness. She asks Lady Fiammetta to determine which of the three she should pursue. Lady Fiammetta states that Doña Juana's case is not as consequential as the examples she cites from Antiquity. Instead, the only thing really at stake in her case is her honor, which will not be preserved by strength or wealth, but by wisdom alone. Doña Juana disagrees and cites Classical examples of desire's power to overwhelm the mind, which would leave two of the men with strength or wealth, but the wise man with nothing. Lady Fiammetta begins her final word in the translation by saying, "Si lo *que* vos dezis fuesse verdad: ninguno seria sabio." Wisdom, she says, has held more sway over the world through history than strength or wealth can

manage. She stands by her first decision, since with wisdom comes discretion, and discretion will preserve her honor. (López and Salazar, 1549: ff. 7v-9r)

López de Ayala's translation of the prose episode remains quite faithful to the original Italian text. All of the editions begin with a dedication of the translation by the canon to an unknown friend: "por vna persona muy cobdiciosa de seruir conellas a vn su amigo" (1549: f. 3r). Although the Seville editions present the translator as an anonymous figure, the editor of the Toledo editions, Blasco de Garay,¹¹⁸ identifies the canon Diego López de Ayala as the principal translator. In the introduction, the canon states that after having read Boccaccio's *Filocolo* for his leisure one summer, his enjoyment of the thirteen questions induced him to translate them.¹¹⁹ Therefore, the initiator of the project is the canon himself, and Salazar's role is secondary.

The original episode contained no poetry. In the Spanish translation, however, Diego de Salazar collaborated with López de Ayala by adding summaries in *arte menor* of each of the questions and the final determinations.¹²⁰ The majority of the information available on Salazar comes from the prologue to the Toledo editions, which explains the

¹¹⁸ For more on the identity of Blasco de Garay and his role in the Toledo editions of the translations, see the section on paratexts below.

¹¹⁹ See Appendices B through E for a full transcription of this introduction and the other paratexts of the Toledo editions.

¹²⁰ For example, the summary of the final determination of the third question reads as follows:

Pues ha podido el saber
toda la tierra regir
mas que fuerça: ni poder
ni liberal spender
este se deue elegir:
Pues luego qualquiera dama
quel amor la enciende o llama
de tres el sabio discreto
ame ques lo mas perfecto
para no perder su fama. (1549 f. 9r)

separate identities and roles of the translator and poet.¹²¹ According to the prologue, he served as a military captain before retiring to the life of a hermit (Garay, "Blasco de Garay al lector" f. 2r). As a military captain he fought under the Gran Capitán Gonzalo de Córdoba in Italy and later commanded the Toledan contingent of the forces Cisneros organized for the conquest of Orán in 1509 (Reyes Cano, *La Arcadia* 80-81). He was also the bearer of a recommendation from the Emperor Charles V to the Duque del Infantado in 1523; the letter vouched for Salazar's capacity for the engineering of a new irrigation system, inducing Reyes Cano to believe Salazar had left his military activities behind by that time (81).

Besides the *Questioni d'amore*, Salazar was also responsible for a translation of the *Guerras civiles de los romanos* by Appian of Alexandria (1536), which he based on Alessandro Braccio's Italian translation of the original Latin (Pellicer 92-93), and the *Tratado de Re Militari* (1536), a plagiarized translation of Machiavelli's *Dell'arte della guerra* (Menéndez y Pelayo cccii)¹²². While the *Tratado* is originally the work of Machiavelli, it is of interest to note that, as in the frame of the *Questioni d'amore*, the dialogue occurs in a garden setting as a means of escaping the heat of the day:

mas pasado el conbite, y leuantadas las mesas, y cumplida toda la orden de festejarle, siendo el dia largo, y el calor grande, parecio al Duque por huyr el mucho calor, y compañia reduzirse con el Gran capitan, y algunos pocos de sus parientes en vna secreta y sonbrosa parte de vna huerta, a donde entrados y assentados quien en sillas, quien en la yerua, como a cada vno le plugo, hablando

¹²¹ The prologue and its author, Blasco de Garay, are discussed in further detail below. See also Nicolás Antonio (1: 313), Reyes Cano (*La Arcadia* 80-83), Fernández de Retana (1: 526) and J. Almirante (774-75).

¹²² José Almirante, identifies the *Tratado* as a fundamental Spanish military treatise for the time period and cites it as an example of Salazar's uncomplicated and spontaneous style (774-75). Menéndez y Pelayo, however, had already identified the *Tratado's* source, the *Dell'arte della guerra* by Machiavelli (ccci). Pellicer notes that Salazar's translation was later plagiarized by Jaime Bartolomé, a canon in Urgel (92-93).

de la gentileza de los arboles, y diziendo con quanto estudio los señores dellos los auian hecho plantar, y curar. (Salazar f. 5r)

As Reyes Cano notes, the combination of the military with the poetic in Salazar's activities conjures the period ideal of the soldier-poet personified in the more familiar figures of Garcilaso de la Vega or Jerónimo de Urrea (*La Arcadia* 80).

The *Treze questiones* was not the first Boccaccian work to appear in Spanish translation, nor was Diego López de Ayala the first López de Ayala to translate a work by Boccaccio. In the early fifteenth century Pero López de Ayala (1332-1407) translated Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* from Latin to Spanish as the *Caída de príncipes* whose first printed edition would appear in 1495, followed by many others. Other Boccaccian works translated into Spanish at the time of the first edition of the *Filocolo* translation included *De claris mulieribus* (*De las ilustres mujeres*, 1494,¹²³ anonymous), *Decameron* (*Las cien novelas de Juan Bocacio*, 1496, anonymous), *Corbaccio* (*Corvatxo*, 1498, Narcis Franch), *De montibus, lacubus, fluminibus, stagnis et paludibus, et de nominibus maris* (*De los montes e ríos e selvas*, 1441-1445, anonymous manuscript), *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (*Genealogía de los Dioses*, 1440-1450, Martín de Alva manuscript), *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta* (*La Fiameta*, 1497, anonymous) and a portion of the *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia* (*Teseida*, 1470-1490, anonymous manuscript). This long list of translations that Diego López de Ayala could have known includes not only Boccaccio's more erudite Latin compositions, but also works of prose fiction, in particular the *Elegia*, which inspired Spanish sentimental fictions such as Juan de Flores's *Grimalte y Gradissa*. It is important to note that the dates

¹²³ The dates indicate the year of the first printed edition of the translation; the word "manuscript" appears where there were no known printed editions.

for these early editions and manuscript translations coincide with the early years of López de Ayala's life, as well as the height of the sentimental fiction genre in Spain. These coincidences could help explain the appeal of Boccaccio's work for the canon.¹²⁴

As stated previously, the translation of the *Questioni d'amore* resulted in five known printed editions with two distinct titles by three separate printers. Earlier studies on these editions have been generally incomplete, since copies of the 1541 Seville edition have only recently surfaced, and the existence of the 1546 Toledo edition has been contested. A corrected examination of the editorial history of the *Treze questiones* provides an intriguing overview of the life of a text during Spain's first century of print culture.

The first edition of the translation of the *Filocolo* excerpt appeared in Seville in 1541 from the press of Andrés de Burgos and was unknown until recently.¹²⁵ Andrés de Burgos appeared as the printer associated with a large variety of texts from as early as 1503 and as late as 1580 in cities as far-ranging as Burgos, Granada and Seville in Spain and Evora in Portugal. Most scholars agree that his is another case of sixteenth-century Spanish homonyms, perhaps even of family relations, and that there were at least two separate printers with the name Andrés de Burgos.¹²⁶ The Burgos responsible for the 1541 edition of the *Filocolo* excerpt remained active in Seville for only a short period from 1541 to 1548 and published only a handful of works that included the *Crónica del*

¹²⁴ The "Anatomy of a Choice" section below will examine additional factors that may have played a part in López de Ayala's selection of the texts.

¹²⁵ See the articles by López-Vidriero and Muñiz Muñiz.

¹²⁶ See Delgado Casado (97-100); Álvarez Márquez (55); and Haebler (22-23).

sereníssimo rey don Juan el segundo (1543) by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, the *Libro del Arcipreste de Talavera que tracta de los vicios de las malas mujeres* (1547) and the *Historia del valiente caballero don Florambel de Lucea* (1548-1549).¹²⁷ Some uncertainty remains as to whether this is the same Andrés or André de Burgos who subsequently printed works by Bernardim Ribeiro and others in Evora, Portugal, under the auspices of the Cardinal Prince Henry of Portugal.¹²⁸

Burgos titled his 1541 edition of the *Questioni d'amore* translation *Laberinto de amor* without explanation. Reyes Cano points to the prior use of the word *laberinto* by well-known authors such as Juan de Mena and as a choice word for medieval and humanistic works ("En torno a Boccaccio" 527); López-Vidriero, however, recalls that another work by Boccaccio, the *Corbaccio*, shared a similar alternate title in Italian, *Il laberinto d'Amore*.¹²⁹ In 1526 in Seville, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo had also transferred a privilege to print a work titled *Laberinto de amor*; although the transferees, Rodrigo de Ayala and Alonso de Alfaro, never exercised the privilege, the title could

¹²⁷ Before the discovery of the two extant copies of the 1541 edition of the *Laberinto de amor* by Muñiz Muñiz and López-Vidriero, most studies on Andrés de Burgos considered his printing activity in Seville to begin in 1542. Gestoso, however, had already reproduced documentation that confirmed Burgos's activities as a printer of playing cards as early as 1540 in Seville (22).

¹²⁸ Gestoso has also presented documentary evidence that confirms the economic problems of the Andrés de Burgos of Seville that helps explain the end of his activity there by 1549 (22), and Álvarez Márquez has demonstrated Burgos's intention of passing to New Spain as a bookseller and printer, while uncertain about the outcome (55-57). Haebler maintains that he moved from Seville to Evora and began printing there in 1553 before dying in 1560, leaving the continuation of his efforts to his widow and son (22-23). See also Braga (299), who shows the Evora Andrés de Burgos was a suspected *converso*, and Michaélis (77-84).

¹²⁹ Translations of Boccaccio's *Corbaccio* had already appeared in 1398 and again in the mid-fifteenth century (*Corvatxo*); Pedro Rocha produced a second translation in 1545, attesting to continued interest in the work in Spain. The work also inspired the Archpriest of Talavera's misogynistic invective *El Corbacho* (1438), which the same Andrés de Burgos reprinted as the *Libro del Arcipreste de Talavera que tracta de los vicios de las malas mujeres* (Seville 1547). Clara Louisa Penney misidentified the 1546 Andrés de Burgos edition of López de Ayala's translation at the Hispanic Society of America as a translation of Boccaccio's *Corbaccio* (67).

have become known later to Andrés de Burgos.¹³⁰ Whatever the story behind the choice, only Andrés de Burgos's Seville editions carried this potentially misleading title.

There are now two known copies of the 1541 edition. The first is an incomplete copy in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid bound with partial copies of two other works of similar genre, a Spanish translation of Boccaccio's *Fiameta* (Lisbon 1541) and Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor*.¹³¹ The second copy is complete and belongs to the collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. It is also bound with the Lisbon 1541 edition of the *Libro llamado Fiameta*.¹³² In his edition, Andrés de Burgos includes no prologue other than that of the unidentified translator, preceded by a short notice: "Comiençan treze quistiones traduzidas de lengua toscana en Española por vna persona muy cobdiciosa de seruir con ellas a vn su amigo" (1541: f. 1v).¹³³ The colophon at the end identifies the printer and date:

Fue impresso este tratado en la muy noble e muy leal ciudad de Seuilla: en casa de Andres de Burgos impressor de libros. Acabose a tres dias del mes de Deziembre Año del nascimiento de nuestro saluador Jesu Christo de mil e quinientos y quarenta e vn años. (1541: f. 43v)

Burgos also printed a second edition of the *Laberinto de amor* on August 3, 1546, of which multiple copies have survived.¹³⁴ Burgos produced the second edition with even less care than the first, making it the least polished of all the editions.

¹³⁰ Álvarez Márquez believes that this unknown work may have been the same translation Burgos would publish later (78).

¹³¹ The copy in the Biblioteca Nacional de España is listed under Signatura R/35369.

¹³² ÖNB 35.Q.22.(Adl).

¹³³ All transcriptions of this edition are based on Microfilm 6252 of the ÖNB.

¹³⁴ For example, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena, 66.2.12; BNE, R/5376; Dartmouth College Library, PQ4270.C7 1546; ÖNB, 67449-B; Hispanic Society of America (Penney 67).

In the absence of editions by other printers, Burgos's version of the translation would have left the identity of its translator and poet a mystery, but editions by Juan de Ayala followed in Toledo soon after. The number of Toledo editions is a matter of controversy. The majority of recent scholars cite only one Toledo edition, that of 1549, of which only one copy survives in the Real Biblioteca de Madrid.¹³⁵ Yet, Gallardo's detailed description of the Toledo 1546 edition became the basis for the descriptions given by Rajna and Menéndez y Pelayo, among others. Much more recently, Muñiz Muñiz cited the 1546 Toledo edition as a source for her comparison of it with the complete 1541 Seville edition she discovered in the ÖNB (537); however, she has since confirmed that she did not have direct access to the text;¹³⁶ instead her description owes ultimately to Gallardo. Despite the lack of extant copies of the 1546 edition, there is convincing evidence that it did exist. First, Gallardo's thorough description reproduces both the title from the frontispiece and the colophon, which, when compared to those of the 1549 edition reveal slight differences in addition to the date:

Toledo 1546 frontispiece and colophon according to Gallardo:

Trece questiones
muy graciosas sacadas del Philoculo del famoso Juan Bocacio, traducidas de lengua Toscana en nuestro Romance Castellano con mucha elegancia y primor. 1546.

...

Impresso en la imperial ciudad de Toledo en casa de Juan de Ayala. Año M.D.xlvj. (column 430)¹³⁷

¹³⁵ RBM I-145(3). López-Vidriero, Vega González and Álvarez Márquez all omit any mention of a Toledo 1546 edition.

¹³⁶ This confirmation was through personal communication, not a published source.

¹³⁷ Note that Gallardo's text does not include traditional pagination, instead numbering the columns on each page.

Toledo 1549 frontispiece and colophon:
Treze questiones
muy graciosas sacadas del Filoculo del famoso Juan Bocacio, traduzidas de lengua Toscana en nuestro Romance Castellano con mucha elegancia y primor. 1549. (f. 1r)
...
Impresso en la imperial ciudad de Toledo en casa de Juan de Ayala.
Año. M.D.xlix. (f. 40v)

Gallardo's transcription shows an alternate spelling for "traducidas," a nasal bar over the "e" in "lengua" absent in the 1549 edition and an alternate placement of the first "de" in the colophon. These minor differences alone cannot rule out an error in the transcription or the date on the part of Gallardo, but the paratexts yield even more convincing clues. The prologue to the 1546 Toledo edition according to Gallardo promises a forthcoming edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*: "Y espera tras este el *Arcadia del famoso Sannazaro*, traducida en prosa y en metro, como está [escrito] en su Toscano, por la misma buena Junta de Ingenios, que agora ha traducido este" (column 431). The first *Arcadia* translation edition appeared in 1547, well in advance of the 1549 Toledo edition of the *Treze questiones*, and recalls in its prologue by the same Blasco de Garay the prior year's editorial achievement: "quando diuulgue las treze quistiones, que del Filoculo del famoso poeta y orador Iuan Bocacio, traslado elegantemente don Diego Lopez de Ayala ... Tras la qual diuulgacion prometi dar luego esta obra " (ff. 2r-2v). The 1549 Toledo edition of the *Treze questiones* reproduces a prologue identical to Gallardo's description of the 1546 Toledo edition, which can only be justified by the existence of an earlier printing.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Pérez Pastor suspected the existence of an earlier edition by Garay based on the prologues (93-94). Rajna recognized Gallardo as the only author to have referred to the 1546 Toledo edition but also felt convinced of its existence (29).

Based on the combined evidence, the existence of a lost 1546 Toledo edition seems certain. Given the lack of known copies of a 1546 Toledo edition, however, the 1549 edition is the best source of information about the circumstances surrounding the translation's publication in Toledo.

The printer of the Toledo editions, Juan de Ayala, began his activity in Toledo working with Juan de Villaquirán from 1530-1536.¹³⁹ He later established his print shop next to the cathedral at the Puerta de Ollas—"donde el reloj de la iglesia mayor" (Blanco Sánchez 211)—and rented a house in Medina del Campo where he participated in the yearly fair and had dealings with the Millis family of printers. He continued to print a wide variety of texts ranging from religious and scientific works to chivalric romances and sentimental fictions, as well as chap-books of popular poetry, *pliegos de coplas*, until his death in 1556. Blanco Sánchez's discovery in the Archivo Histórico de Toledo of the inventory created for the distribution of Juan de Ayala's goods after his death quantifies the printer's frenetic activity, which exceeded 271 editions and left an impressive 72,048 copies to his heirs, who would continue printing under his name after his death (207). The list of works printed by Ayala includes, as well, other works by members of the Toledo Cathedral Chapter. For example, Blasco de Garay, prologuist of the editions in Toledo and later a portioner (*racionero*) at the Toledo Cathedral, also edited Cristóbal de Castillejo's *Diálogo de las condiciones de las mujeres*, which Juan de Ayala printed in 1546. Ayala also printed a 1546 edition of the Toledo canon Blas Ortiz's *Itinerarium Adriani Sexti ab Hispania* with a prologue by Blasco de Garay. The printer's proximity to the cathedral and involvement with a wide array of texts likely factored into his decision

¹³⁹ See, especially, Delgado Casado (48-50).

to print Blasco de Garay's editions of López de Ayala's translations.¹⁴⁰ The editions may even have resulted from an active and continuing collaboration between the printer and Garay. Whatever the case, Ayala did print Garay's editions of the *Treze questiones*, of which the printer conserved at least 237 copies at the time of his death in 1556.

With an already eventful past, the *Treze questiones* continued to another high-profile destination for early print, Venice, Italy, where in 1553 Alfonso de Ulloa produced an edition based on Garay's. Ulloa edited a variety of Spanish-language texts for printing at Venetian presses. His edition of the *Treze questiones* reproduces Garay's prologue, indicating that Ulloa must have relied on one of the Toledo editions for his own. Ulloa, however, chooses to obscure the name of the Toledo editor, omitting Blasco de Garay's name at the very beginning and titling the prologue simply "Al lector" (López de Ayala and Salazar, 1553 f. 1r). The translation is printed as an octavo, using an italic typeface. The stamping is clean and the pages carefully laid out. The combination of these characteristics render Ulloa's the most elegant in appearance of all known editions, clearly intended to appeal to a cultured reader or collector.

The editorial history of López de Ayala's translation of Boccaccio's *Questioni d'amore* presents a remarkable progression from manuscript to hasty edition to authoritative edition to elegant pocket edition. Yet, the circumstances surrounding the printing of the translation fail to provide any indication of when the translations might have been produced or for whom. López de Ayala's preface clearly indicates that he

¹⁴⁰ A further possibility exists that Garay or another could have financed the printing; however, this seems unlikely given that the 1556 inventory published by Blanco Sánchez includes hundreds of unsold copies of the translations in Juan de Ayala's possession, each worth 10 maravedís, yet neither Garay nor anyone comparable appear in the list of debtors.

translated the *Questioni d'amore* as an offering to a friend: "Comiençan treze quistiones traduzidas de lengua Toscana en Española por vna persona muy cobdiciosa de seruir conellas a vn su amigo" (1549: f. 3r).¹⁴¹ Gallardo suggested the friend in question might be the same Gonzalo Pérez to whom Garay dedicates the *Arcadia* edition the following year (column 432);¹⁴² however, this seems an unsafe assumption since López de Ayala's dedication dates from the original act of translation and Garay's, from the printed edition in 1546. Garay gives no indications about the date of the original translation, but the wording of his prologue gives the impression that Diego de Salazar had already passed, and, in any case, that Salazar did not participate in the authorization and polishing of the translation for publication as did López de Ayala. The description he gives of his encounter with the text implies that the translation dated from much earlier and sat forgotten among other books on a shelf until he happened upon it: "tope acaso con vn libro de mano *que* contenia treze questiones muy graciosas" (1549: f. 2r).¹⁴³ A second clue derives from Pedro López de Santa Catalina's dedication of his *Libro segundo de Espejo de caballerías* (1526) to Diego López de Ayala:

Ansí yo, buscando refugio de mi trabajo passado, acordé dirigir esta pequeña obra a vuestra merced, la cual creo que mirando mi voluntad (que a otros mayores servicios es muy prompta), aunque ella sea de rudo estilo compuesta, no será de vos, señor, desechada, como persona que no solo sus defectos puede corregir, mas

¹⁴¹ This notice is abbreviated in Ulloa's edition to "El interprete a vn su amigo" (1553: f. 2r).

¹⁴² Garay refers to him as the "muy magnifico y reverendo señor Gonzalo Pérez, secretario supremo del príncipe don Felipe nuestro señor, y arcediano de Sepúlveda" (f. 2r). Reyes Cano cites him as a patron of poets and humanists, especially of those with some relation to Italian literature (*La Arcadia* 57). He authored a translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, which Alfonso de Ulloa edited in Venice in 1553.

¹⁴³ Garay's prologue to the *Arcadia*, whose first edition appeared just a year later, supports this theory, stating that he rescued it from "la tiniebla, o (por mejor decir) olvido, en que su intérprete la había puesto; sin pensamiento de hacer jamás lo que agora yo hago por él" (f. 2v). The statement indicates that both translations date from an earlier period of collaboration between López de Ayala and Salazar.

otro más eroico estilo emendar. E que esto sea verdad, vuestras obras, dignas de mucha alabança, son d'ello verdaderos testigos, las cuales, si con mi grosera péndola a la larga pensasse conmemorar, antes por mi atrevimiento sería digno de culpa que por mi indiscreto comienço capaz de mercedes. (3)

Further on in the prologue, López de Santa Catalina again uses the word *obras*, but specifically in the context of the artistic additions López de Ayala oversaw as *obrero mayor* at the cathedral. Yet, López de Santa Catalina has, in this first instance, referred to his own literary creation as an *obra*; he then cites López de Ayala's *obras* in the first case as proof that the canon possesses the ability to correct not only the *Libro segundo de Espejo de caballerías*, but also works of a higher caliber. López de Santa Catalina's comments seem to corroborate the idea that López de Ayala had produced literary works of renown prior to the *Libro segundo*'s dedication to him in 1526. It is plausible, then, that the translations that brought together his own efforts with those of Diego de Salazar existed prior to 1526.¹⁴⁴ This dating would allow ample time for circulation in manuscript form before the 1540 Seville edition and also coincides interestingly with Oviedo's transfer of licence for the printing of the unknown *Laberinto de amor* in 1526. The first edition of Oviedo's *Sumario de la natural historia* appeared in Toledo that year, connecting the author with both cities during the same time period. Also of interest for the dating of López de Ayala's translation is the simple fact that Charles V held court in Toledo in 1525. That occurrence would naturally have brought to the Imperial City Spain's brightest intellectual and literary minds, as well as Italian humanists like the ambassador Andrea Navagero and the papal nuncio Baldassare Castiglione. López de

¹⁴⁴ Diego de Salazar's other translations were published by Miguel de Eguía in Alcalá de Henares in 1536, which might be an indication that he was no longer present in Toledo pursuing literary activities with López de Ayala.

Ayala's translations seem to respond to this cultural intersection between the Iberian and the Italian peninsulas. Francés de Zúñiga captures Diego López de Ayala's prominence during the court of that year in his burlesque description of the visit of the papal legate Giovanni Salviati:

El legado fue entrado en la çibdad. El muy alto Emperador se fue a su palaçio, y dende en ocho días Su Magestad mandó ordenar fiestas de juegos de cañas. Y este legado por complazer al Emperador salió al guego [*sic*] con los más perlados que en la corte se hallaron. Y van con él el arçobispo de Santiago, presidente de la corte, y el ministro de la Trinidad, y el canónigo Diego López de Ayala. (124)

It seems unlikely the translations could have occurred much prior to 1525 due to the upheaval of the Comunidades rebellion, López de Ayala's service at court for Cisneros in Flanders and Salazar's military service abroad. For these reasons, 1525 seems to be a plausible date for the translations, but the identity of the friend López de Ayala had in mind for the *Treze questiones* remains a mystery.

The *Arcadia*

The second of the two translations to appear in print was the *Arcadia*. López de Ayala's was the first known translation of Sannazaro's pastoral romance. The *Arcadia* translation has been studied to a much greater extent than the *Treze questiones*, perhaps because of the impact Sannazaro's work had in general but also, more specifically, for the development of the pastoral romance in Spain beginning with Montemayor's *Diana* (1559).¹⁴⁵ A brief discussion of the work and its significance, however, is a necessary framework for understanding the appearance of López de Ayala's translation.

¹⁴⁵ For a more detailed study, see Rogelio Reyes Cano's monograph, *La Arcadia de Sannazaro en España*.

Around the mid-sixteenth century, both the chivalric romances and sentimental fiction were either in decline or displaced for their courtly public. Daniel Eisenberg attributes the decline of the romances in part to a rise in literary standards due to Italian contacts, the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega, the pastoral romance and the Renaissance epic (47). Where the chivalric romances and sentimental fictions had exhausted the appeal of medieval courtly love ideals, the pastoral romances filled the gap with ideals rooted in Renaissance Neoplatonism.¹⁴⁶ The pastoral genre had its origin in the Classical world with the idylls of Theocritus, but it was the eclogues of Virgil that would stabilize the pastoral elements that would remain intact throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance (Solé-Leris 18). Virgil's idealized Arcadian setting became the topical *locus amoenus* (19). The pastoral would thrive in the medieval atmosphere of spiritual allegory (López Estrada 133), until Petrarch and Boccaccio revived the Classical Latin eclogue along with the potential established by Virgil for political and personal satirical representations (Parrilla 305). Since the major thematic element of the pastoral is traditionally love, the Renaissance pastoral was the natural recipient of the Neoplatonic material developing in Petrarch-inspired lyrical poetry and in the *trattati d'amore* initiated by Marsilio Ficino and continued by figures like Bembo (*Gli Asolani*, 1497-1504), Castiglione (*Il Cortegiano*, 1508-1516) and Leone Ebreo (*Dialoghi d'amore*, 1535) principally (Solé-Leris 27-28). In Spain these traditions were introduced in part by Juan del Encina's translation of Virgil's *Bucólicas* (1496), which was an accommodation of the pastoral material to the poetic convention of the court of the Reyes Católicos (López Estrada 137). Additionally, the evolution of the Spanish pastoral was nourished by the

¹⁴⁶ See Rallo Gruss (80) and Cortijo Ocaña (264 and 280).

concepts of the feminine soul from the *Ars amatoria* and the mythology of the *Metamorphoses*, both Ovidian works (133). The interest of humanists in the sort of Classical authors and mythology associated with the pastoral fostered the revival and adaptation of its forms in Renaissance Spain and Italy.

A significant advancement in the development of the pastoral genre occurred with Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1502), a work which also influenced Garcilaso's poetry (Parrilla 302). Its principal forerunners were the Greek romance *Daphnis and Chloe* and works such as Boccaccio's *Ameto*, the first pastoral romance in prose and an important model for Sannazaro (Solé-Leris 21). Sannazaro managed to recast the Virgilian tradition with a work that was a conglomerate of pre-existing pastorals and whose perfection was widely recognized, converting it into a new model (López Estrada 136). Many of the primary elements of Sannazaro's work would become staples of later pastorals, including the idyllic descriptions of the *locus amoenus*; the rhythm of bucolic life; the single or amoebaeon songs of the shepherds; the telling of past love stories by individual characters; speeches and debates about love, poetry, the lost Golden Age, the beauty and qualities of women, etc.; festivities and celebrations; funeral rites; games and contests; magic; and supernatural interventions by gods and nymphs of classical mythology (Solé-Leris 22-23). With the *Arcadia*, Sannazaro produced a new genre through the combination of previously extant ones. He took his own previously-composed eclogues and placed them in a frame context of vernacular prose that provided unity for the work. The shepherds' verses become a commented dialogue on love and establish a model for the future of the pastoral in Spain.

Like the *Treze questiones*, the *Arcadia* translation resulted from the collaborative efforts of Diego López de Ayala and Diego de Salazar. As in the Boccaccian translation, the canon was responsible for the ample prose sections of the novel, and Salazar translated the poetry portions, which were much more substantial than the verse summaries added to the *Treze questiones*. An important feature of Salazar's versification is that he reworked Sannazaro's use of the *endecasillabo* to the more traditional Spanish *arte menor* of the *cancionero* tradition, despite Garcilaso's previous cultivation of the Italianate form. López de Ayala, however, remained close to the original in his translation of the prose. Blasco de Garay also served as the editor for the Toledo editions of the *Arcadia*, which appeared first in 1547, then in 1549, at the press of Juan de Ayala. Later editions followed in Estella (1562) and Salamanca (1573 and 1578). It is important to note that, although both translations resulted in an impressive five editions, the appearance of the *Treze questiones* in Spain was limited to the 1540s, whereas editions of the *Arcadia* translation continued into the 1560s and 1570s. The later printings of Sannazaro's work may reflect to some extent the evolution in courtly tastes from the sentimental fiction to the pastoral romance.

Paratexts

In addition to the main text, the Toledo editions of the *Treze questiones* and the *Arcadia* include paratexts by Blasco de Garay. This section will clarify the identity of Blasco de Garay and his relation to López de Ayala and the Toledo Cathedral. More importantly, it will examine how his paratexts contextualize the translations they present. They relate the texts to the literary canon, affirm the quality of the prose, reference the

circulation of manuscript copies, posit the printed editions as authoritative and point to the existence of an organized intellectual interpretive community in sixteenth-century Toledo.

Blasco de Garay, in addition to his editing role with López de Ayala's translations, was the author of the *Cartas en refranes* (1541), whose second edition was controversial because of its inclusion of Erasmus's *precatio* translated as *Oración rogativa al hijo de la Virgen María liberador del género humano*.¹⁴⁷ He also prepared a "corrected" edition of a work by Cristóbal de Castillejo, published in Toledo in 1546 with the title *Diálogo que habla de las condiciones de las mujeres*. Blasco de Garay, the editor, should not be confused with the homonymous geographer and inventor of a steam-propelled engine who was active during the same period in an entirely different sphere (Reyes Cano, *La Arcadia* 70). The most noteworthy contribution of the Garay in question here came in the form of his *Cartas en refranes*, first printed in 1540 (Burgos, Juan de Junta) and in Toledo in 1541, presumably by Juan de Ayala (Wilkinson 369). The work later expanded from two to four letters, which were the object of numerous editions and were considered sufficiently canonical to be later included among the linguistic authorities used by the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726-1739). Past studies have often assumed that Garay's position as a portioner at the Toledo cathedral first brought him into contact with López de Ayala; however, the *Sucesiones de prebendas* and the *Actas Capitulares* of the cathedral archives relate a different story. The *Sucesiones de prebendas* record that Garay obtained the 42nd *ración* (portion) on October 7, 1547 (1: f. 90). This was after the printing of the *Treze questiones* in 1546 but just before the first printing of the *Arcadia*

¹⁴⁷ See Reyes Cano (*La Arcadia* 72-73) and Bataillon (591).

(October 20, 1547). The *Actas Capitulares* of the Toledo cathedral confirm the statement in the *Sucesiones de prebendas*; the October 7, 1547, log entry records a controversy behind the Cathedral Chapter's vote to confirm Garay in his *ración*:

Para ver sy se darya la posesion de la dicha racion al dicho blas de garay votaron sobre ello en la manera siguyente:
el señor doctor bernardino de alcaraz *maesescuela canonigo* y comyssario dixo que se le de la posesion con la fiança de ayer
el señor doctor ortiz comissaryo dixo que por la deformidad que parece tener blas de garay y en lugar y miembro muy principal que es en el cuello y de tal manera que no se puede encubrir y esta patente y manifiesto a todos, de las qual enfermedad aunque no fuese contagiosa por solo el horror y deformidad y escandalo que entre algunas personas podya aver, es su parecer que no se le de la posesion e informar a su señor de la dicha enfermedad, y especialmente esta en este parecer porque el reverendissimo señor arçobispo por euitar el escandalo y deformidad y horror dichos le offrece y el dicho señor y el dicho le offrecio en su nombre de le dar todo lo que valiere la racion enteramente sin que le falte nada por vn año para que en este tiempo se cure, y sy dyos no diere lugar a ello, pueda permutar e que sanando enel dicho año, que de desde agora que venga a seguyr su racion e se le dara la posesion, y pues en esto no ay prejuizio ala parte del dicho blas de garay, es su parecer que se tome este medyo como mas sano
el señor diego lopez de ayala que se le de la possession (7: ff. 238r-v)

The vote of all present members of the Chapter is recorded and, although split, the majority awards the *ración* to Garay unconditionally. Garay is then confirmed in his seat in the Capilla Mayor instead of the the conventional choir, since wrought iron grilles commissioned by López de Ayala are being installed at the time. A further entry indicates that Garay's appointment to the *ración* included the support of papal bulls and letters, a common occurrence in other similar confirmations recorded in the *Actas*. At the time, Garay's *Cartas en refranes* had already been printed in more than one edition and their success may have opened doors for him, particularly with fellow sympathizers of Erasmus.

Garay's paratexts to López de Ayala's translations assert the value of the translations they comment on. For example, the editor affirms the canonical status of the

authors the canon chose to translate. In the prologue to the *Treze questiones*, Garay recalls his first encounter with the translation in the following manner: "tope acaso con vn libro de mano que contenia treze questiones muy graciosas: sacadas y bueltas en nuestro Romance de cierta obra Toscana llamada el Philocalo del famoso poeta y orador Juan Bocacio" (f. 2r). In the afterword to the *Arcadia*, he states: "Ueis aqui amigo lector donde os hemos dado impressa el Arcadia del famoso Sanazaro; en vuestra propria Castellana lengua" (f. 65v). In both cases he uses the word *famoso* to describe Boccaccio and Sannazaro. His word choice reminds the reader that the authors of the original works have already achieved acceptance in the literary canon. This reminder serves the purpose of establishing instant canonical status for the translations he is introducing.

A second commonality between the prologues is Garay's strong praise for the quality of the prose of the translations. In the afterword to the *Arcadia*, he admits having made changes to the verse of the translation despite Salazar's great ability in order to remain close to the original: "casi forçado; me puse a traduzir (como de nueuo) las mas delas presentes" (f. 65v). Yet, López de Ayala's prose needed no such corrections: "enla prosa casi no fue menester poner mano; porel gran primor y cuydado; con que su excelente interprete y singular maestro del vno y otro lenguaje; la traslado" (f. 65v). He praises the prose of the *Treze questiones* even more strongly: "Delas quales haziendo yo la cata, por diuersas partes, encomençaronseme a encender las orejas de calor con la dulçura de su estilo. Tanto, que no pude dexar luego de preguntar, quien auia sido el autor de tan suaue clarea" ("Blasco de Garay al lector" f. 2r). The sweetness of the style was such that it elicited an involuntary physical reaction in the reader. He goes on to cite this quality as one of his primary motivations for persuading López de Ayala to permit its

publication: "(porque no caresciesse *nuestra* lengua materna de semejantes riquezas) no con poca instancia trabaje, que consintiesse sacarle a luz pues tan digno era de ella ... en verdad no siento en nuestro Romance (por agora) cosa mas elegante y esmerada en estilo" (f. 2v).

The significance of this praise goes beyond mere recommendation of the translations. Making explicit the ability of the Spanish vernacular to convey not only effectively, but elegantly, the substance of canonical Italian texts, serves to assert its cultural and intellectual capacity. This formed part of the process of elevating the status of the Romance vernaculars with respect to Classical Latin so common during the period, but it also responded to a Castilian desire to assert the linguistic capacity of Spanish, which lacked the great vernacular models embodied by the Italian authors Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. The stakes were high for this process in an age of Spanish empire. Garay's assertion that he felt compelled to print the *Treze questiones* in order not to deprive the Spanish language of such riches presents the translation as a model of linguistic elegance.

The paratexts also prove that both translations circulated widely in manuscript form before the appearance of the printed editions. The editor references the earlier printing in Seville under the title *Laberinto de amor*. Regarding the mistle, Garay confirms that the title used by Andrés de Burgos did, indeed, evoke Boccaccio's *Corbaccio* even for a Spanish audience of the mid-sixteenth century:

Puesto que ya a hurtadas sele auia otro antes diuulgado, y como ala sazón no le hallasse título, pusole el que a el mejor le parescio, llamandole Laberyntho de amor de Juan Bocacio, como el Laberynto sea libro distinto del Philocalo, avnque todos de vn mismo autor. Assi mismo sacole muy vicioso, como cosa de rebato hurtada. ("Blasco de Garay al lector" f. 2v)

Perhaps of most interest, however, is the notice that the Seville edition was published surreptitiously. Garay seems only to be aware of one of the editions, which, given the time constraints, would most likely have been the earlier 1541 printing. The fact that Andrés de Burgos somehow obtained a copy of López de Ayala's translation and printed it without the authorization of the canon (who still maintained an original manuscript copy in his library) indicates that the text circulated in manuscript form for some time prior to printing. Additionally, in his afterword to the *Arcadia*, the editor Blasco de Garay admits that there are differences between the corrected printed edition and the manuscript versions that many have (f. 65v). These circumstances provide confirmation that in this early stage of the printing press's advent to Spain, manuscript circulation remained a common form of textual dissemination.

Garay's declaration about the Seville printer's furtive activity and error-laden edition of the *Treze questiones*, in turn, allows him to posit his own edition as authoritative and polished: "Agora pues amigo lector os le damos correctissimo, y con la vltima lima de su autor afinado" ("Blasco de Garay al lector" f. 2v). The explanation Garay gives for his changes to Salazar's verse in the *Arcadia* serve a similar purpose, since his revisions can claim greater fidelity to the original work. In other words, he presents his editions as the official, authoritative ones. The editor, therefore, echoes the process of canonization that printers and editors of the period were using in an effort to establish "modern" classics.¹⁴⁸ A more elaborate and intellectually serious form of this same process was occurring during the same time period with editions of Garcilaso de la Vega's poetry. Authors like Fernando de Herrera added commentary to Garcilaso's poetry

¹⁴⁸ For more on this process, see, for example, the monographs by Daniel Javitch and Brian Richardson.

in imitation of the humanist editions of Classical texts, thereby associating the newer work with the canonized Classics. Garay's attempts are a little more feeble, but they do serve to demonstrate that the positing of authoritative editions had become relatively commonplace.

Finally, Garay's commentaries point to the existence of an intellectual interpretive community in which Diego López de Ayala played a key role. The prologue to the *Treze questiones* offers confirmation that the canon enjoyed a reputation for lavishly receiving other literary aficionados in his noteworthy personal library: "me metiesse (segun su costunbre de rescebir sabrosamente a los estudiosos de las letras) en su libreria" (f. 2r). In the *Arcadia* translation prologue, the editor explains that López de Ayala had never intended to print the translations, since they were really more for passing time among friends:

prometi dar luego esta obra, porque juntamente con aquella la libre, con importunos ruegos, dela tiniebla, o (por mejor dezir) oluido, en *que* su interprete la auia puesto: sin pensamiento de hazer jamas, lo que agora yo hago porel. Porque mas la tenia para comunicacion y passatiempo de amigos, que para soltarla por el incierto y desuariado juyzio del vulgo (f. 2v)

In other words, Garay's prologues confirm that the translations responded to the leisure needs of an interpretive community organized, in part, by López de Ayala. The translations were, therefore, objects of early modern socialized readings. Peter Burke suggests that similar activities played a part in what he terms the "invention of leisure" in early modern Europe (144). They offered a socio-cultural elite an opportunity literally to pass the time.

The Anatomy of a Choice

The *Treze questiones* and the *Arcadia* fit neatly within the framework of Spanish courtly literary production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Boccaccio's love debates recalled those that appeared in sentimental fictions, and pastoral eclogues formed part of the poetry of Boscán and Garcilaso. Partially due to the influence of the *Arcadia* the pastoral romance would eventually replace sentimental fiction as the preferred genre for courtly literature with themes of love. Rather than simply fit within a framework, however, the performance potential of the texts seems to be one of the forces behind the development of courtly genres in Spanish literature.

Both works are by Italian humanist authors, but Boccaccio's work and Sannazaro's are separated by about 150 years. López de Ayala's choices of works to translate, however, share some common characteristics that clarify how the original sources meshed with contemporaneous literary developments. Giovanni Boccaccio was one of the three great Italian vernacular poets, and Pietro Bembo (*Prose della volgar lingua* 1521-1525) had helped to establish his vernacular prose as a model for Italian literature. Jacopo Sannazaro's achieved the status of an instant classic based partially on the eloquence of his prose style. In other words, these were both authors that had gained recognition in the growing canon of Romance vernacular works exhibiting an erudite linguistic variety with humanistic appeal.¹⁴⁹ Also, both works centered on sentimental themes, the *Questioni d'amore* harking back to a medieval tradition of love casuistry and the *Arcadia* sprouting from a tradition of pastoral poetry in which shepherds sing of love. The genre associations of the *Treze questiones* find confirmation in its editorial history,

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, Richardson ("Cinquecento" 216) and Dionisotti (11-12)

as well. The 1553 Venice edition of the *Treze questiones* bound it with the anonymous sentimental fiction, *Questión de amor de dos enamorados* (1513). The double binding indicates the translation's identification, even in its own era, with works of sentimental fiction. Similarly, both of the extant copies of Andrés de Burgos's 1541 Seville edition of the translation were bound with copies of the 1541 Lisbon edition of the Spanish translation of Boccaccio's *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*.

In addition to possessing characteristics of courtly genres and serving as models of a high style literary vernacular, the *Questioni d'amore* and the *Arcadia* appealed to an erudite humanist audience. Both works prominently display, for example, references to Classical history and mythology. The texts also incorporated elements of Renaissance Neoplatonism. The tradition of love casuistry that inspired the *Questioni d'amore* would find expression in the Neoplatonism of sixteenth century works by Pietro Bembo (*Gli asolani* 1505) and Leone Ebreo (*Dialoghi d'amore* 1535). The pastoral tradition, on the other hand, was grounded in poetry that would take on a decidedly Neoplatonic character in the Renaissance. In Spain, both Boscán and Garcilaso produced pastoral poetry that incorporated Petrarchist and Neoplatonic elements and would serve as a model for later authors (Rallo Gruss 73). The appeal of the texts to a courtly audience in early sixteenth-century Spain would arise, in part, from the audience's growing interest in the humanistic and Neoplatonic qualities exhibited by the original works and their authors.

Yet, these commonalities in the texts offer only a partial explanation for the interest López de Ayala and his companions would show in them. The purpose of translating these particular works is explicit in Garay's prologue to the *Arcadia*; the translators intended them primarily for "comunicacion y passatiempo de amigos" (f. 2v).

The texts formed the object of socialized reading, as opposed to the silent mode that would later predominate. With this in mind, it becomes apparent that what truly unites these texts is the performance potential they held for courtly entertainment and the idealized courtly society they represent.

The *Treze questiones*, as stated, had associations with sentimental fiction, a genre that displayed representational and paratheatrical elements linked to the courtly context in which this type of literature flourished (Cortijo Ocaña 225). We might recall that works like the chivalric romances and the *Celestina* were often read aloud at court; the same was true for at least some works of sentimental fiction.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, pastoral eclogues, such as those of Juan del Encina, were commonly represented at court and were thematically linked to sentimental fiction (Cortijo Ocaña 231). From the beginning of the sixteenth century, sentimental fiction began to show an even closer relation to the theatricality of the eclogue, perhaps precisely because of the influence of the *Celestina*. That this link existed in the minds of the courtly audience and its authors is confirmed by the existence of works like Pedro Manuel de Urrea's *Égloga de la tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*. Yet, the *Celestina* also owes its existence to the inspiration of an even clearer example of dramatic performance: the Italian humanistic comedy (Rallo Gruss 28). The overlap of genres suggests that the Spanish sentimental fictions played to the performance desires of a courtly audience participating in socialized, collective readings.

In the specific case of the *Treze questiones*, the final outcome of each of the questions is limited by the formal structure of the episode, in which Lady Fiammetta

¹⁵⁰ The *Celestina* is a special case in terms of genre; it does, however, share certain thematic characteristics with sentimental fictions.

always has the final say. The quality of the arguments is judged not only by content, but by eloquence of presentation. Fiammetta, for example, remarks of the rebuttal to the fourth question: "Nadie pudiera deffender esta quistion como vos ni *con tan sotil ingenio*" (1549: f. 15r). Similar to many modern debate scenarios, the purpose is not simply to arrive at an objective truth, but to argue one's case as convincingly and eloquently as possible. What is important about the potential for López de Ayala's choice of the love debate episode is that Lady Fiammetta's final determination could always be contested; its acceptance rests solely on the fact that the group has chosen her in advance to have the final say. The debate that surrounds each of the questions includes Classical examples that would hold great weight in Renaissance humanist circles to support either the storyteller's opinion or Lady Fiammetta's determination. In other words, the text describes a courtly social tradition that offers only one of many possible outcomes. It seems to invite discussion, or even re-creation, of the debates by an intellectual interpretive community whose members could choose their own examples from Classical Antiquity and attempt to present their own points of view as eloquently and convincingly as possible.

The *Arcadia* represented a move forward in the evolution of the pastoral genre. The pastoral genre, as mentioned above, was also closely linked to theatrical representations at court and soon appeared interpolated in the works of other courtly genres. Such was the case for the anonymous *Questión de amor* (1513). The text was first published in Valencia but represents yet another connection with Italy, since it is a *roman à clef* based on the Aragonese court at Naples.¹⁵¹ The work itself is similar to earlier

¹⁵¹ Not so coincidentally, the Aragonese court at Naples is where Sannazaro was active.

works of sentimental fiction in its inclusion of a variety of genres: epistles, poetry, love debates, reports on courtly festivities, and autobiographical elements (Cortijo Ocaña 235). What is most compelling about the work for this discussion, however, is its reality-based description of courtly life and, within it, the presence of theatrical representation in the form of a pastoral eclogue. According to Wolfgang Iser, the popularity of the pastoral in general may have resided in its vivid fictionalization, its capacity to open a space for what was not possible in the real world but may have been desired (46-56). For Iser the pastoral romance, the genre inaugurated with Sannazaro's work, overcame the separation of the eclogue's world from the empirical world of the courtly audience: "The protagonists of the pastoral romance ... cross the boundary between the worlds, and since they maintain the presence of the first in the second, a network of possible connections arises" (46). The reality of this assertion becomes explicit precisely in the work that López de Ayala chose to translate. Courtly theatrical representations of eclogues like those in the *Arcadia* became a space for staging alternate versions of reality.

Sannazaro composed his *Arcadia* by gathering together eclogues that he had composed for the Aragonese court at Naples and placing them in a narrative prose frame. The eclogues, however, were in verse; a group of shepherds convenes on a mountainside in the idyllic land of Arcadia to graze their flocks and sing poems of love accompanied by music. The shepherds' verses become a commented dialogue on love, but the dialogue is performed through a combination of song and musical accompaniment. López de Ayala's translation would enable similar performances to take place in a Spanish courtly setting.

The most important aspects governing López de Ayala's choice of texts were format and purpose. Both translations incorporate a mixture of prose and verse. Where it was lacking in the Boccaccian episode, the translators added it. Any courtier reading or listening to the translations might also imagine taking part in them. The Boccaccian debates might be confined to a particular structure within the original text, but they also provided a readymade set of debatable topics that seem almost to invite readers and listeners to participate. We might even interpret the episode of the questions as a model to be followed for "contemplative leisure" in real life. The *Arcadia* included long sections of call and response between idealized shepherds that could easily have motivated reenactments as part of courtly entertainment. In other words, the texts López de Ayala chose possessed an interactive nature that invited participation.

In Peter Burke's assessment of the rise of leisure in the early modern period, the use of the texts as a "pastime" could serve the purpose of occupying the mind, of escaping acute boredom (142). They form part of the complement to the Classical concept of the *vita activa*, the *vita contemplativa* (139-40).¹⁵² The social application of the translations could serve as a form of sophisticated entertainment for an intellectual interpretive community. The texts, explicitly intended for socialized readings, had appeal because of the performance elements that linked them to existing traditions of courtly entertainment and the values of the idealized courtly society they depict. López de

¹⁵² Burke notes that the Latin term *otium* evolved in meaning as it was reappropriated by different groups over the course of history. For humanists, he states, *otium* signified "the life of study as opposed to the 'business' of trade and politics" (140). There is also, obviously, a value system associated with these opposing terms. Perhaps it is this value system that is reflected in Alvar Gómez de Castro's apparent criticism of López de Ayala's life choices referenced previously: "si se hubiera dedicado, siquiera por breve tiempo más a la severidad de su vida que a su talento, sin duda se habría visto encumbrado en honores y habría ocupado en el reino un puesto nada oscuro" (*De las hazañas* 401).

Ayala's selection of the works contributes to our understanding of the reception of courtly literature in Renaissance Spain and the impact of reading practices on the evolution of courtly love genres there. The fact that López de Ayala considered these works worth translating and publishing speaks to us of the tastes that the Spanish elites cultivated and of the value that courtly literature held in the construction of the ideal Spanish courtier. It also defines an elite readership still interested in protracting, at least literarily, the social importance of courtly behavior.

Chapter 4:

Toledo's Intellectual Interpretive Community

"Paritas studiorum conciliat amicitiam."

"Shared studies foster friendship." Katherine Elliot van Liere notes the use of this Latin adage in a letter from Pinciano to Zurita, two Spanish humanists who maintained vigorous correspondence in the sixteenth century. Elliot van Liere's article, "'Shared studies foster friendship': Humanism and History in Spain," suggests the existence of a community of Spanish antiquarian scholars separated geographically, but united by correspondence. Without purporting to provide a complete picture, she describes a scholarly network that appears both finite and somewhat static, or at least generational: "The humanist scholarly community of sixteenth-century Spain, however, was still a smaller and more fragile affair [compared to the later European 'Republic of Letters'], a finite web of individual relationships that had to be carefully reconstructed with each new generation" (259). Elliot van Liere relies on correspondence between the scholars in question to support her description of such a network. Paul McLean also uses correspondence, and vast amounts of it, in his sociological study of patronage networks in Renaissance Florence, *The Art of the Network*. Instead of centering on a finite community or network, McLean's study addresses techniques of strategic interaction in letter writing and recognizes that a network is dynamic, constantly changing and evolving

as the social capital of the individual members increases or decreases. McLean's study limits itself to interaction for strategic purposes and, more specifically, to letters seeking favor.

The approach here falls somewhere between these two studies in defining the nature of a network. While any one network at any given point in time is finite, the connections between members of the network are also dynamic, meaning that its "members" participate in widely varying degrees (and belong to other spheres of interaction, as well) and its overall composition and mentality change over time as it interacts with the society that encompasses it. The complexity of a social network renders it nearly impossible to decipher in its entirety, especially outside of more empirical approaches such as McLean's. Yet, the social network in question here will explore is not as fluid as McLean's network of strategic interaction. While it is true that any network constantly evolves, the more fickle fortunes of those connected through the process of seeking and bestowing favor result in a much more rapid evolution than in the case addressed here. Here, the network is linked more by a shared interpretive desire, the relish of deliberate cultural and intellectual exchanges not entirely separate from instrumental or strategic interactions, but certainly less directly governed by them.

The intellectual interpretive community referred to here is offered in the sense in which Carol Fleisher Feldman defines it (52-58).¹⁵³ In this conception, the interpretive community is defined by the knowledge its members share, which becomes the mediator between symbol and referent on a large scale. The shared knowledge at any given point

¹⁵³ The term "interpretive community" here replaces "social network" not to imply that the terms are equivalent, but to recognize that the social network discussed here is defined by its constitution as an interpretive community.

represents the community's "canon," which, like the community itself, is constantly evolving through interaction. The canon forms the base for the interpretive system that unites the community and distinguishes it from others. The interpretive community addressed here is a group that attempts to distinguish itself by using the learned culture of Renaissance humanism and Classical Antiquity as a model for esoteric cultural production.¹⁵⁴ It is a community defined by an adherence to and cultivation of erudite culture that is a source for both distinction and engaging interactions; it is also an intellectual community. For Feldman, "an essential element in the ontogenesis of the interpretive community is the social sharing of interpretations" (58). One of the present aims is to demonstrate that a significant portion of the social sharing of interpretations by the sixteenth-century Toledan community in question took place in leisure settings.

Diego López de Ayala again stands at the center of the considerations. We find documentation and other indications that he had connections to important intellectuals of the period and that he used his accrued wealth to host intellectual gatherings for such figures. Elliot van Liere's article describes a network of scholars that maintained ties despite geographical distance; however, the interpretive community analyzed here seems to have had a generally more localized composition.¹⁵⁵ In fact, the interpretive community in which López de Ayala played a significant role attempted to cultivate

¹⁵⁴ The esoteric elements of López de Ayala's translations and iconography point to the existence of a "canon" shared by a specific interpretive community. This is the community in question here.

¹⁵⁵ López de Ayala's intellectual and interpretive contacts were clearly not confined to Toledo, as is apparent from his role in the iconography of Francisco de los Cobos's funerary chapel in Úbeda discussed previously; however, the circumstances considered here seem to corroborate the existence of a resident interpretive community in the Imperial City.

locally the sophisticated interpretive culture pursued in Renaissance Italy and in Spanish courtly spheres.

The results of this examination make it possible to suggest that there existed in the canon's lifetime a sophisticated interpretive ideal linked to Renaissance humanism that galvanized a limited, albeit dynamic, group of individuals. This approach allows for drawing certain conclusions about the characteristics and motivations shared by a majority of the community's members. Rather than provide a complete description of a nonexistent closed and static fraternity, the objective here is to explore the intellectual contours of the Renaissance Toledo in which López de Ayala actively participated.

Propitious Beginnings

The extant documentation links Diego López de Ayala to several important intellectual and literary figures of the sixteenth century who also had connections to Toledo. While some of these figures, such as Alvar Gómez de Castro and Garcilaso de la Vega, earned a reputation as noteworthy individuals, the formation of friendships between like-minded intellectuals and authors was not, of course, a new phenomenon. To name only a few well-known examples, in the fourteenth century Petrarch and Boccaccio had already maintained a fruitful correspondence in Italy; fifteenth-century Spain had known similar exchanges like that between the Marqués de Santillana and Juan de Mena; in the sixteenth century, López de Ayala witnessed such an exchange between Garcilaso de la Vega and Juan Boscán. Certain factors in Diego López de Ayala's background seem to have destined him for involvement in such exchanges. For example, we have already noted signs of the canon's pride in and cultivation of the image of his noble lineage

including the frequent display of his coat of arms on cathedral works, his revisions to Pero López de Ayala's genealogical history and stipulations about future family names and marriages in his will. As noted previously, acts of patronage were endeavors espoused by many noble Spanish families, increasingly in the sixteenth century, to distinguish themselves both socially and culturally; their patronage included the support of visual, as well as literary, arts. If the canon's displays of ancestral pride are understood as attempts to construct and bolster his social status,¹⁵⁶ then his behavior as an artistic patron at the Toledo Cathedral and his literary activities fall in line with the trend of the nobility toward cultural distinction. In other words, López de Ayala is predisposed to involvement in elite culture by sharing in a noble heritage and strongly desiring to reinforce his association with that legacy.

It has already been noted that López de Ayala credited Cardinal Fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros for all that he would become. In fact, the earliest-known documentation on López de Ayala places him as a page in the service of Cisneros in 1496. As a member of the Archbishop's household, López de Ayala would have entered into contact with the sons of other nobles, the nobles themselves, members of the royal families and the score of intellectuals whom Cisneros supported.¹⁵⁷ The sophisticated and interpretive climate created by the Archbishop is evident in his foundation of the Universidad de Alcalá, projects like the Complutensian Polyglot Bible that incorporated the expertise of Italian-trained humanist scholars like Antonio de Nebrija and invitations

¹⁵⁶ Such efforts to construct and maintain an identity linked to a noble and historically influential family might take on particular significance if López de Ayala were indeed born out of wedlock.

¹⁵⁷ For some of the names of other noble pages in Cisneros's household, see Juan de Vallejo (25), quoted previously.

to Erasmus to visit Spain.¹⁵⁸ Here, López de Ayala would become part of a largely religious and very learned intellectual interpretive community. This eclectic but high-cultured atmosphere would surely have had an acute impact on the future *obrero's* intellectual and artistic preferences, as López de Ayala seems to acknowledge implicitly in his will.

The years of loyal service that transitioned the canon from a page into Cisneros's trusted representative at the courts of Ferdinand the Catholic in Spain and that of the future Emperor Charles in Flanders would not only have further developed López de Ayala's artistic and intellectual sensibilities, it would also have enabled him to reinforce his socio-political connections and forge influential relations. Both courts would expose the canon to forms of courtly entertainment that would help guide his literary tastes. The splendor of the Flemish court of Charles would contrast sharply with the traditional austerity of the Spanish court, and there López de Ayala would enter into contact with an unaccustomed opulence that would likely impact his artistic tastes. Also in Flanders, the canon's proximity to the Emperor and role as Cisneros's envoy would afford him privileged visibility and foster connections with individuals such as Francisco de los Cobos, who would conscientiously import Italian artistic ideals in the renovation of his residences and later rely on the Toledo *obrero* to guide the sophisticated iconography of his funerary chapel in Úbeda.¹⁵⁹ In Charles's Flemish court, López de Ayala may well have met Erasmus, since the Dutch humanist was well received at the court and even tempted with offers to follow the future Emperor's entourage to Spain (Bataillon 82-88).

¹⁵⁸ See Bataillon (77-83).

¹⁵⁹ With regard to Cobos's residences, see Keniston (129-30 and 151-53).

All of these experiences would help solidify the social and cultural influence he would enjoy after returning to the Imperial City and would, therefore, help define the role he would play in Toledo's intellectual interpretive community.

We have examined López de Ayala's work as *obrero* and his translations and noted in these cultural activities manifestations of an affinity for Italian Renaissance aesthetics. As many scholars have surmised, the canon's familiarity with developments in the Italian peninsula and his facility in translating the language point to the possibility of a period of work or study in Rome or elsewhere in Italy. There is no known documentation that places López de Ayala in Italy, yet it seems plausible, if not likely, that the canon spent time there. If so, that introduction to reappropriated Classical aesthetics and the intellectual effervescence of the urban and papal courts would play a key role in destining him for involvement in and cultivation of a Toledan intellectual interpretive community.

Toledo's Cultural Effervescence

We have already seen how López de Ayala, after Cisneros's death, left the court of Charles to return to Toledo, where he appears in residence in 1518. During and after the archiepiscopate of Croy, until the appointment of Alonso de Fonseca as the new Archbishop of Toledo, the absence of an archiepiscopal court in Spain and the severe disruptions occasioned by the Comunidades uprising prevented the implementation of any organized cultural agenda at the cathedral. These obstacles would easily have hampered any localized efforts at sustaining an intellectual interpretive community; during the early political crisis of Charles's reign, there were simply more pressing

matters to attend to. Yet, it is during this period that we find correspondence between the canon and a member of another noble Toledan family that would significantly impact the course of Spanish courtly literature. The family is that of the Italianate poet, Garcilaso de la Vega, and the correspondence in question is a letter by López de Ayala to the poet's brother, Pero Laso de la Vega, on September 30, 1520. The contents of the letter do not bear on the current discussion,¹⁶⁰ however, the existence of the letter connects the canon to an important family with regard to the literary activities of Toledo's intellectual interpretive community relatively soon after his return to the city from Charles's court.¹⁶¹

Far more important for the present topic, however, is the confirmation of the canon's interactions with Garcilaso de la Vega. In a posthumous article on Toledo in Garcilaso's time, Constantino Rodríguez y Martín-Ambrosio relates perhaps the most important notice for establishing the canon's involvement in a Toledan interpretive community. The following citation is rather long but offers a very intriguing notice with regard to López de Ayala's interactions with the poet:

Otra manifestación de la vida cultural toledana, son las que pudiéramos llamar tertulias literarias, o sea, reuniones frecuentes de personas peritas y amantes de las letras, en las casas de determinados nobles toledanos, donde se departía sobre temas y autores científicos y literarios a veces con tal altura y profundidad, que bien pudiera tildárseles de verdaderas solemnidades académicas. ... Fué una de las notables la que tenía lugar en la casa del Canónigo y Vicario de la Santa Iglesia Primada Don Diego López de Ayala, hermano del Conde de Fuensalida, donde se juntaba la flor de la intelectualidad toledana en derredor de la magnífica Biblioteca de tan ilustre prócer. Una sesión memorable de esta índole en la citada casa de Don Diego, fué la que tuvo lugar en el mes de Septiembre de 1534, con motivo de la venida a Toledo, con misión de Italia, de nuestro esclarecido poeta

¹⁶⁰ See above for the excerpt quoted in Pérez (553).

¹⁶¹ There is clearly a difference between literary activities produced for courtly entertainment, on the one hand, and more serious or academic intellectual pursuits, on the other. These circles of activity, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. We will address the Venn overlap of these circles as suggested by the research below.

Garcilaso de la Vega, ya famoso en el campo de las armas y de las letras para festejar su estancia y recrearse en las mieles de la espiritualidad poética. Acudieron todas las amistades culturales del Canónigo y gente notable de la ciudad, entre los que se encontraba el Capitán Diego de Salazar y el racionero Blasco de Garay, ambos entusiastas admiradores del preclaro genio toledano, aunque al uno de embriagaba más su cualidad de arrojado guerrero y al otro la de sacerdote de las Musas. En esa reunión, nuestro poeta deleitó a los concurrentes con la recitación de varias de sus admirables poesías, entre ellas los sonetos XI y XXIV, la flor del Gnido, la canción V, la égloga dirigida a la Condesa de Ureña, y finalmente, tañendo él mismo la vihuela, cantó varias cancioncillas y coplas. Su éxito fué extraordinario, y entre aclamaciones y apretados abrazos, despidieron al poeta con la esperanza de que volviera pronto por la ciudad para gozar con más frecuencia de los sabrosos frutos de su Musa. (144-45)

Unfortunately, Rodríguez, who had prepared this notice for an anniversary tribute to the poet's legacy in 1936, did not cite his source(s), and many of his papers were destroyed during the Spanish Civil War. Aside from the excessively florid description and the identification of López de Ayala as the brother of the Conde de Fuensalida, the circumstances recounted are entirely plausible.

Let us assume, then, that the description of the literary social gathering hosted by the canon contains some element of truth and return for a moment to the consideration of the nature of López de Ayala's translation of the *Arcadia*. As demonstrated previously, both the *Treze questiones* and the *Arcadia* contain performance elements, and Blasco de Garay identifies the translations as produced for leisure among friends. The *Arcadia* translation shares a genre with some of the works Garcilaso recited at López de Ayala's residence. The gathering Rodríguez describes took place on an exceptional occasion, and it is, perhaps, because of the noteworthy nature of that evening that notice of it has survived.¹⁶² Yet, these literary gatherings were relatively frequent, as evidenced by

¹⁶² The level of detail in the description, including the specific works recited, those in attendance and the anecdote regarding the vihuela seem to echo journalistic accounts of celebrations like those by Sebastián de

Blasco de Garay's reference to the canon's "costumbre de rescebir sabrosamente a los estudiosos de las letras" ("Blasco de Garay al lector" 2r). López de Ayala, then, becomes the link between regular socio-cultural interactions that could include pastoral recitations and a pastoral translation with performance elements produced for social use. In all probability, the *Arcadia* translation formed the textual basis of one or more of the many meetings of which we have no record.¹⁶³

Rodríguez recounts that at the noteworthy gathering in 1534 Garcilaso's audience was comprised by cultured friends and noteworthy individuals of the city. How were these individuals connected to López de Ayala? What characteristics did they share? According to the description Diego de Salazar and Blasco de Garay, both affiliated with the translations at some point, attended, but who were the others? In his dedication of the *Libro segundo de Espejo de caballerías*, Pedro López de Santa Catalina calls attention to two characteristics in particular that distinguish López de Ayala:

inspirado de vuestro favor, no callaré quanto en vuestra muy magnífica persona cualquier género de loable virtud floresce, sin embargo de ningún mundanal vicio que vuestras singulares obras pueda dañar, de arte que en ellas claramente mostráis el hábito eclesiástico de religión que guardáis y el muy magnífico estado de donde descendís (3)

Nobility and affiliation with the Church constitute characteristics of other individuals in attendance that night, although they do not necessarily coincide. Garcilaso de la Vega, for example, descended from a noble family but was not ordained in the Church. Blasco de Garay was a portioner at the Toledo Cathedral but could not boast a famous noble

Horozco and Juan de Angulo on Toledo's reaction to England's fleeting conversion to Catholicism described previously.

¹⁶³ The use of the *Treze questiones* translation by the Toledan intellectual interpretive community will be addressed later.

heritage. Diego de Salazar, on the other hand, could not claim either high nobility or an ecclesiastical position, but had been a person of military prominence under the Gran Capitán. The suggestion is that the connections forming the network López de Ayala would help sustain stem from the possession of social notability (not necessarily nobility), a professional connection to the Church or a combination of these traits. Other references corroborate this idea that the intellectual interpretive community in which the canon participated derived from a combination of figures active in one or both of the social and professional networks suggested here; as the example of López de Ayala himself attests, overlap between the two networks would have made independence in these networks unlikely.

The most difficult members to connect to this interpretive community, due to a persistent lack of documentation, are those who were notable but not professionals at the Church. This subset would consist of members of the most prominent noble families of sixteenth-century Toledo and others, like Diego de Salazar, who had gained access to courtly society by noteworthy achievements. While López de Ayala's will clarifies that he was not directly related to the Conde de Fuensalida, it is certain that he maintained a relationship with him.¹⁶⁴ The canon appears, for example, in contact with the Conde de Fuensalida on more than one occasion in the *Floresta española* (1574) by Melchor de Santa Cruz, a collection of witty comments.¹⁶⁵ In one of the instances, the canon is

¹⁶⁴ The Conde de Fuensalida in question is most likely the third in the line, Pedro López de Ayala, although the fourth in the line, also Pedro López de Ayala, took possession of his title during the latter part of the canon's lifetime.

¹⁶⁵ Melchor de Santa Cruz considered Diego López de Ayala to be one of the wittiest men of his time (21). Based on the number of comments by Toledo canons and religious figures, it is possible that Melchor de Santa Cruz had some connection to the interpretive community explored here.

located in the Conde's palace: "Leyendo Diego López de Ayala, canónigo de Toledo, un cartel de justa en casa del conde de Funesalida, despabilando un paje, mató la vela. Dijo el canónigo: —Alumbrad aquí, que esta carta no viene a matar candelas" (21-22).

Another example, however, helps qualify the relationship between the two, since in it the canon asks the Conde to favor him by bestowing a municipal appointment on one of his former servants (270). This relational structure recalls the instrumental aspect of networking that Paul McLean emphasizes in his study of patronage in Renaissance Florence. As McLean stresses, this structure is not uni-directional (7). Accordingly, we find that while López de Ayala dedicates his translation of the *Treze questiones* as service to an individual of higher rank, the canon himself receives similar adulation when Pedro López de Santa Catalina dedicates his *Libro segundo de Espejo de caballerías* to him. The examples of contact between the canon and the *conde* do not necessarily indicate that they belonged to the same intellectual networks, but the references are nonetheless intriguing, since later Condes de Fuensalida hosted literary academies like the one López de Ayala organized in his library (Blecua 459-62).

A few other pieces of documentation place López de Ayala in contact with other Toledan nobles. For example, there are protocols in the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo and a related document in the archives of the Condes de Cedillo that record a business transaction between the canon and the descendants of the founder of the Colegio de Santa Catalina, Francisco Álvarez de Toledo, whose relation to López de Ayala's circle will become clearer below. The documents show that in 1557, in order to repay funds López de Ayala had borrowed from the Cathedral's treasury, he sold a royal privilege of *juros al quitar* of the town of Ocaña to Antonio Álvarez de Toledo, Doña

Aldonza de Toledo and Doña Catalina de Meneses.¹⁶⁶ There is a significant difference between business transactions and intellectual interpretive interactions; however, as McLean's study seeks to demonstrate, these relationships were not mutually exclusive; cultural interactions could serve to strengthen social identities and relations.¹⁶⁷

Although the connections between non-ecclesiastical figures and López de Ayala's interpretive community are often tenuous, his interactions with other ecclesiastical figures are far more evident. The center of ecclesiastical life in Toledo was, of course, the cathedral and, within it, the Cathedral Chapter. The Toledo Cathedral Chapter had a base of forty canons of various ranks.¹⁶⁸ López de Ayala occupied one of the highest ranks not because of his position as *obrero*, but because of his title as one of the Dignities of the Choir of the Archbishop, *vicario del coro*, which he held from 1509 until his death. The prominent role López de Ayala played in his professional activities at the cathedral has already been discussed. What is important here is that the cathedral atmosphere placed him in close contact with several other noteworthy intellectuals. For example, Blas Ortiz, author of the *Itinerarium Adriani Sexti ab Hispania* (1546) and *La Catedral de Toledo* (1549) was also a canon at the cathedral, and the Toledo Cathedral portioner, Blasco de Garay, in addition to his editorial work on López de Ayala's translations, wrote the prologue for Ortiz's *Itinerarium*.

¹⁶⁶ The last two are identified as the daughters of Francisco Álvarez de Toledo and Doña Catalina de Meneses. The documents in question are *Protocolo* 1498 (ff. 959r-960r and 998r-1002v) and *Documento de venta de juros por Diego López de Ayala a Antonio Álvarez de Toledo*.

¹⁶⁷ See p. 5 of McLean's study, for example.

¹⁶⁸ See Fernández Collado (38).

As noted previously, Garay's work on the translations may have helped him secure his position at the cathedral; the circumstances constitute yet another example of the political uses of cultural production. In addition to internal hierarchies, however, frequent ideological divisions evident in the votes recorded in the *Actas Capitulares* make it difficult to determine who López de Ayala formed strong relationships with and which of these relationships extended to the realm of interpretive or literary communities. We have already noted one of the internal divisions based on lifestyle, since López de Ayala joined with Bernardino Zapata and several other canons in protesting a statute intended to associate canonical revenues with residency and reduce the number of clergy adopting a secular lifestyle.¹⁶⁹ It is likely that many of the connections the *obrero* forged through his participation in the ecclesiastical network centered on the Toledo Cathedral overlapped with his intellectual interpretive community. In a few cases, there is clear evidence of this overlap; an examination of these cases yields some clues to the composition of the community in question.

Perhaps one of the most important contacts the canon would make was his close friendship with the Spanish humanist and Erasmian Juan de Vergara (1492-1557). Vergara, whose lifespan coincides neatly with López de Ayala's, was a native of Toledo, descended from *conversos* on the maternal side (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 64). He was one of the first students at Cisneros's recently founded Universidad de Alcalá, which Marcel Bataillon identified as the seat of Erasmianism in Spain (171). Having excelled in his academic pursuits, Vergara earned a place in the collaboration on Cisneros's Complutensian Polyglot Bible and was later offered Antonio de Nebrija's chair at the

¹⁶⁹ The official protest is recorded in the *Actas Capitulares* (5: 19v-20r). See also (Mathers 162-67).

Universidad de Alcalá, which he rejected out of modesty (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 64). At Cisneros's insistence he began working on a Latin translation of Aristotle's works,¹⁷⁰ and in 1517, based on his superior abilities, the Archbishop employed him as his secretary of Latin correspondence. Croy maintained Vergara in the position and called him to Flanders in 1520 to report on the state of the archdiocese; while on a visit to the Netherlands the humanist met Erasmus personally and became one of his devout followers and correspondents.¹⁷¹ Once he had returned to Spain, Vergara became the link between the Erasmians at court and his humanist admirers in Alcalá (Bataillon 172). He continued to serve as the secretary of Latin correspondence under Archbishop Fonseca and was rewarded for his many years of service with a canonry at the Toledo Cathedral in 1527. From 1530 to 1533, he received special dispensation from the Cathedral Chapter to accompany the Archbishop in his duties outside Toledo; Vergara assisted, for example, with obtaining the necessary authorizations for progress on the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos, a task that would have placed him in close interaction with the *obrero*, Diego López de Ayala.

Vergara's admiration of Erasmus, however, caused him difficulties with the Inquisition of Toledo. The Inquisition's suspicions became exacerbated when Vergara acted on behalf of his brother, Bernardino de Tovar, who was on trial for suspicion of Lutheranism.¹⁷² For a time, Vergara benefited from the protection of the Archbishop;

¹⁷⁰ See Fernández Collado (102-03).

¹⁷¹ See González Ruiz ("Blas Ortiz" 64) and Bataillon (167-72).

¹⁷² See González Ruiz ("Blas Ortiz" 65-66) and Bataillon (499-508). The Erasmianism Vergara exhibited was common to many important ecclesiastical figures in Spain at the time, including the Archbishop of Toledo; although Vergara was accused otherwise, he distanced himself from the ideas of Martin Luther and the *alumbrados* (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 64).

however, on June 23, 1533, during an absence of Archbishop Fonseca, the Inquisition imprisoned Vergara. This unusually high-profile arrest caused a stir, and both Fonseca, who died soon thereafter, and the Cathedral Chapter worked in Vergara's favor. His trial lasted two and a half years, and in response to accusations of friendship and letters exchanged with Erasmus, Vergara responded:

Digo, señores, que si este es crimen, comun crimen es de muchos, assi grandes Principes como de todos estados y naçiones que a Erasmo preçian y estiman por su doctrina, y reçiben del cartas y se las escriuen con mucha beniuolençia; y entrellos veo al Papa y al Emperador N. Señor y a los mas Principes de la christiandad, ecclesiasticos y seglares. (Serrano y Sanz, Part 3 468)

The canon Blas Ortiz, involved in the humanist's sentencing as *vicario general*, made a futile attempt to lighten the impact of the sentence. The sentencing finally took place after multiple delays on December 20, 1535, and Vergara was ordered to pay a large fine and spend a year in seclusion. On December 21, he suffered the humiliation of a public *auto de fe* in Toledo's Plaza de Zocodover.¹⁷³ Vergara's seclusion was to take place at the Monasterio de San Agustín, but after a petition by the Cathedral Chapter, he was permitted to complete the remainder of the year in the upper cloisters of the cathedral.

Vergara's experiences are relevant for this study, since over the course of his trial and sentence, there is evidence of a connection with López de Ayala. During Vergara's imprisonment in 1533, Diego personally managed the negotiations with both the Archbishop and the court on the Capilla de los Reyes Nuevos, (Gonzálvez Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 53-54). Beyond this professional connection, López de Ayala appears to have maintained a close friendship with Vergara. He offered personal guarantees and obtained

¹⁷³ For transcriptions of some of the testimony given against Juan de Vergara, see M. Serrano y Sanz's three-part article, "Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo."

permission for Vergara to spend the Christmas holidays from December 24, 1535, to January 6, 1536, under house arrest before his seclusion, and López de Ayala welcomed him into his own home during this period (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 66; Bataillon 507-08). López de Ayala's close friendship with Vergara supports the hypothesis that Ayala had his own Erasmian tendencies, cultivated through his close involvement with Cisneros and Charles's Flemish court.

Vergara's terms in prison and seclusion caused him multiple health issues, which coincided with those suffered by López de Ayala, as noted previously. The injuries Vergara suffered as a result of his sentencing and imprisonment, both physically and emotionally, would prevent him from continuing his intellectual activities during the latter part of his life (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 66). López de Ayala's connection with Juan de Vergara continued to be evident during the last decades of both canons. Vergara, on occasion, deferred to López de Ayala's votes on Cathedral Chapter matters. Often, the two canons received simultaneous leave for health reasons (*Actas* 8: ff. 162r and 273v; 9: f. 268r; 10: f. 27r). More important is the *copla* Vergara dedicated to López de Ayala on the subject of the latter's illnesses:

Die	Toma tres partes de dieta
golo	y quatro de golondrina
pez	con otras tres de resina
	de la de color muy prieta
ay	Y el quexido tomarás
	de cosa que mucho duela
ala	Y una de las con que buela
	el águila y sanarás. (MS. 9.939, Biblioteca Nacional de España, f. 13; qtd. in Weiner, "Sebastián" 544) ¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Vergara, however, would be the first to succumb to his failing health and died at the beginning of 1557. The *Actas* record his burial on February 21, 1557, followed by the acceptance of his inheritance for the Hospital del Nuncio four days later (10: ff. 107r-08v).

The *copla* evokes the tradition of poetic exchanges between authors like those collected during this same period by Sebastián de Horozco in his *Cancionero*.¹⁷⁵ It reiterates that the relationship between the two canons went beyond their professional association to induce a literary one. It is likely that this *copla* is not the only one Vergara sent to López de Ayala and that he received others in exchange. Vergara's activities at the Universidad de Alcalá and his interactions with Erasmus and others paint him as an intellectual with a level of erudition superior to that of Diego López de Ayala, as manifested in his translations. Yet, the *copla* points to an interpretive interaction and an overlap of intellectual and literary circles.¹⁷⁶ It also suggests that there was an Erasmian element shared by certain members of these circles that could have drawn them closer at a time when the Inquisition was taking an increasingly harsher stance on Erasmus's philosophy.

The Colegio de Santa Catalina in Toledo

While many ecclesiastical intellectuals in the sixteenth century like Juan de Vergara had connections to the Universidad de Alcalá founded by Cisneros in 1499, many also became involved with Toledo's institution of higher education, the Colegio de Santa Catalina. Francisco Álvarez de Toledo, a canon who held the post of *maestrescuela*

¹⁷⁵ See Weiner, "Sebastián de Horozco y sus contertulios" (537).

¹⁷⁶ González Ruiz affirms that Juan de Vergara stood at the center of an intellectual group in Toledo described in Alfonso García Matamoros's *Pro adserenda hispanorum eruditione* ("Blas Ortiz" 94). Matamoros's text identifies Juan de Vergara as perhaps the most learned man in Spain, supported by the praise of Alvar Gómez de Castro; however, the text does not mention an intellectual community associated with Vergara's household (214-15). The uncharacteristic nature of this discrepancy in González Ruiz's work suggests a confusion of sources rather than content. If that is indeed the case, then the existence of an additional intellectual community gathered around Vergara supports the idea of smaller circles with overlapping members. It is likely that Vergara's circle expressed more academic interests compared to the apparently literary focus of López de Ayala's circle.

at the Toledo Cathedral, received bulls from Pope Innocent VIII in May of 1485, granting him authority to establish the Colegio de Santa Catalina.¹⁷⁷ Whereas Cisneros founded his university in Alcalá expressly to avoid urban space issues and, more importantly, intervention by the Cathedral Chapter,¹⁷⁸ Álvarez de Toledo established the Colegio de Santa Catalina with a specific connection to the cathedral. The school aimed to provide youths in the cathedral choir with limited means an opportunity to prepare themselves for the clergy. In 1522 a bull granted by Pope Leon X elevated the institution's status to "university." Gonzálvez Ruiz describes the mid-sixteenth century as a Golden Age for the Colegio de Santa Catalina ("Blas Ortiz" 94). The continued growth of the institution brought to Toledo new intellectuals and, as in the case of the Universidad de Alcalá, there appears to have been an association with Erasmus, who mentions the institution in correspondence with Archbishop Fonseca (Pisa 41). During this crucial period, Diego López de Ayala had both professional and personal links to the institution.

The first documented interactions between Álvarez de Toledo and López de Ayala occurred during Cisneros's expedition to Oran (1509). On at least two occasions, the *maestrescuela* wrote letters to López de Ayala on behalf of Cisneros to inform him of the expedition's progress.¹⁷⁹ Since both held important offices in the Cathedral Chapter,

¹⁷⁷ Francisco Álvarez de Toledo (1452?-1523) was the brother of Fernán Álvarez de Toledo, secretary of the Catholic Monarchs and a member of one of Toledo's most influential families, of *converso* origin. He served Pope Sixtus IV in Rome. He worked closely with the Archbishop Mendoza in the conversion of the Moors in Granada and accompanied the Archbishop Cisneros in his conquest of Oran. Álvarez de Toledo died imprisoned in Valladolid in 1523 due to his involvement in the Comunidades uprising. The *maestrescuela* directed and inspected all instruction administered by the Toledo Cathedral. See Fernández Collado (42-43 and 62-63) and Pisa (41). The two authors give conflicting dates for the bulls: May 7 for Fernández Collado and May 3 for Pisa.

¹⁷⁸ See Díez del Corral (71).

¹⁷⁹ See Gómez de Castro (*De las hazañas* 271 and 276).

they would have continued to sustain regular interactions even after this period. Proof of this connection lies in the existence of an important document for the history of the institution founded by the *maestrescuela*. The Biblioteca Nacional de España houses a Latin revision of the organizational charter for the institution, the *Constitutiones collegii Sanctae Catherinae*, completed on November 12, 1546. The author and signer of the document is none other than Diego López de Ayala, vicar and canon of the Toledo Cathedral. According to Beltrán de Heredia, this Latin document actually derives from a Latin version written by Francisco Álvarez de Toledo and mentioned in the founder's will (209). In 1540 or 1541, the new *maestrescuela* Juan Álvarez de Toledo, a nephew of the founder and son of Fernán Álvarez de Toledo Juan Álvarez de Toledo, sought authorization from Rome to revise the existing document, but the revision would not occur until after his death.¹⁸⁰ López de Ayala's involvement in the Latin revision could have been a consequence of his relationship with the founder, his professional capacity at the cathedral or his relationships with the founder's descendents, but it seems most likely that his role in the process stemmed from a combination of these factors.¹⁸¹ During the sixteenth century, the Colegio de Santa Catalina developed as the legacy of a notable Toledan family, and López de Ayala's participation in its evolution suggest that he maintained close contact not only with the founder, but with several of his intellectual

¹⁸⁰ See Vaquero Serrano, *El libro de los maestrescuelas* (138-42). Vaquero seems uncertain about whether the new charter was completed just before or after Juan Álvarez de Toledo's death. Since the *maestrescuela* died on July 25, 1546, and the revised charter is dated November 12, 1546, it appears that the document did not reach completion during Juan's lifetime.

¹⁸¹ It may be pure coincidence, but Melchor de Santa Cruz includes an anecdote protagonized by Francisco Álvarez de Toledo in the same section as one of the quips by López de Ayala. See p. 21 of *Floresta española*.

descendents. A few of these figures deserve special emphasis here because of their prolonged and extensive interactions with Diego.

The three *maestrescuelas* who followed Francisco Álvarez de Toledo, all of them his nephews, were Bernardino Zapata from 1524 to 1530, Juan Álvarez de Toledo from 1530 to 1546 and Bernardino de Alcaraz from 1546 to 1556. These three nephews, along with several other members of the Álvarez de Toledo family including Rodrigo Zapata, Juan de Vargas, Pedro de Peralta and Bernardino de Sandoval, all held canonries at the Toledo Cathedral, which provided the family with significant influence within the Chapter and the Imperial City over the course of the century.

The name Bernardino Zapata appears frequently in the *Actas Capitulares* of the Toledo Cathedral, and López de Ayala often appears in conjunction with the *capiscol* (precentor) Bernardino Zapata. For example, the *capiscol* joins the *obrero* and others in protesting the statute aimed at curbing the lay lifestyle many canons adopted after their period of residency.¹⁸² Carmen Vaquero Serrano has identified two separate Bernardino Zapatas of the Álvarez de Toledo family who were canons in the Toledo Cathedral in the sixteenth century. The first was the nephew of Francisco Álvarez de Toledo and held the post of *maestrescuela* immediately afterwards until his death in 1530; the second, Bernardino Zapata de Herrera, was the nephew of the first, held the title of *capiscol*, served as a patron of the Colegio de Santa Catalina and lived until 1569 (*El libro* 103-26).¹⁸³ Multiple entries in the cathedral logs, as well as protocols in the historical

¹⁸² The group of canons in protest also includes a Juan Álvarez Zapata, another member of the Álvarez de Toledo family.

¹⁸³ Fernández Collado considers these two to be the same individual who held the dignity of *maestrescuela* beginning in 1524 and that of *capiscol* beginning in 1525 (103). The possession of two separate dignities

archives, attest to the frequent professional interaction of both of these individuals with Diego López de Ayala.

There is scant evidence of any connection between the *obrero* and Juan Álvarez de Toledo, but the opposite is true for Bernardino de Alcaraz (1484-1556), whose lifeline, like the lives of so many other influential figures of the period, coincides neatly with López de Ayala's. As in the case of the *capiscol* Bernardino Zapata, we find Bernardino de Alcaraz's name in conjunction with that of the *obrero* López de Ayala in numerous cathedral documents and archival protocols; however, the concurrences are far more frequent. In fact, Alcaraz appears in the list of those present on September 24, 1506, when the Chapter first voted to confirm López de Ayala in his canonry (*Actas* 3: f. 11r). On May 1, 1518, the same day that the Chapter first voted López de Ayala to the office of *obrero* before he was ousted by Gómez de Fonseca, the Chapter also elected Alcaraz to the post of *visitador* (4: f. 160r); the *visitador* worked closely with the *obrero* in the role of auditor. Although López de Ayala had to relinquish the post until after Croy's death, it does not preclude further collaboration with Alcaraz, particularly considering the Chapter's almost unanimous support of the would-be *obrero* and opposition to Gómez de Fonseca's appointment. In later years, López de Ayala and Alcaraz often acted on behalf of the Chapter in the same commissions. This was the case, for example, when they, along with the canons Pedro de la Peña and Antonio de León, journeyed to meet with Archbishop Tavera regarding a tomb within the cathedral (Salazar y Mendoza 312).

by the same individual, however, is uncharacteristic. (Note that the office of *obrero* is a term appointment, whereas dignities, like López de Ayala's status as *vicario del coro*, tended to be lifelong like canonries.) Furthermore, the dates given by Fernández Collado for the succession of these dignities (50-51) agree with Vaquero Serrano's assertion: Bernardino Zapata was replaced as *maestrescuela* by Juan Álvarez de Toledo in 1530, and Bernardino Zapata (de Herrera) was replaced as *capiscol* by Francisco de Herrera only in 1570.

Similarly, the Cathedral Chapter named them, along with the *capiscol* Bernardino Zapata, the Bishop Pedro del Campo, the *capellán mayor* Juan de Vargas and the canons Juan Ruiz, Antonio de León and Rodrigo Zapata, to participate in the synod called by Tavera (Vaquero Serrano, *El libro* 150).¹⁸⁴ López de Ayala and Alcaraz were also among the administrators of the Capilla de don Pedro Tenorio in the cathedral (Torroja 67).

Additionally, we find Alcaraz collaborating with the *obrero* on one of the cathedral projects identified as an example of López de Ayala's sophisticated iconography, the upper level of the choir (González Ruiz, "Blas Ortiz" 55). In this instance, the Chapter named both Alcaraz and his relative Juan de Vargas on September 11, 1535, to work with the *obrero* in the planning stages of the choir addition. The timing is significant, since it shows Alcaraz as a participant in the design stage of a sculptural composite intended for interpretive consumption.

Yet, these interactions also extended to the evolution of the Colegio de Santa Catalina. López de Ayala had been expressly called upon to formulate the Latin revision of the charter for the institution founded by the Álvarez de Toledo family, and Bernardino de Alcaraz was already serving as *maestrescuela* when the new charter was approved (Vaquero Serrano, *El libro* 138). According to Alvar Gómez de Castro, in 1552 Alcaraz also established the school's library.¹⁸⁵ Blasco de Garay's prologue to the *Treze questiones* indicates that the gatherings of "estudiosos de las letras" hosted by López de Ayala took place in the canon's library (f. 2r). It seems probable that, given the close interaction of these individuals over decades and their simultaneous connection to the

¹⁸⁴ Note that half of this commission are members of the Álvarez de Toledo family!

¹⁸⁵ See Beltrán de Heredia (215).

Colegio de Santa Catalina, the foundation of the institution's library would have populated many of their conversations. Finally, Bernardino de Alcaraz named their mutual friend Juan de Vergara in his will as his intended successor in the post of *maestrescuela* charged with the direction of the institution that represented his family's humanistic legacy (L. Lorente Toledo 65).¹⁸⁶

We have already seen how Diego López de Ayala also participated in business transactions with other members of the Álvarez de Toledo family. Considering such transactions along with decades of significant professional interactions, it becomes clear that there was a close connection between the canon and the family; the question is whether that connection influenced the construction of their cultural networks. López de Ayala's translations and the description of the gathering he hosted for Garcilaso point more to an atmosphere of courtly entertainment than one of serious academic pursuits; yet, the nature of the iconography of the *obrero* and of his involvement with the Colegio de Santa Catalina and the Álvarez de Toledo family conform more to the circle evoked by the word *studiosos*. López de Ayala's interactions portray him as a consequential member of both of these spheres of cultural activity.

Alvar Gómez de Castro

As the Colegio de Santa Catalina grew, so did its potential for attracting notable intellectuals. This was the case for Alvar Gómez de Castro (1515-1580), the well-known

¹⁸⁶ Vergara, as noted, died early in 1557, soon after Alcaraz, and the office of *maestrescuela* passed, instead to Bernardino de Sandoval (?-1572), nephew of the *capiscol* Bernardino Zapata. Fernández Collado lists Sandoval's acquisition of the post as occurring in 1566 (52 and 98); however, Carmen Vaquero Serrano has encountered documentation which shows him active in the office as early as 1556 or 1557 (*El libro* 177-83).

humanist historian who had held the Greek professorship at the Universidad de Alcalá. Gómez de Castro settled in Toledo in 1548 to fill a Greek professorship that Bernardino de Alcaraz had recently added at the Colegio de Santa Catalina.¹⁸⁷ In fact, Alcaraz fulfilled the role of patron for Gómez de Castro, and the humanist often repaid him in verse.¹⁸⁸ For example, in answer to a query by Alcaraz on whether he had missed him while away in Guadalajara, he replied with the following sonnet:

A la pregunta humana y amorosa
que ayer fue preguntada de tu parte,
la respuesta que entiendo agora darte
hará que tu merced no esté quexosa:

El ánimo que ama no reposa
desde que de la casa se departe,
adonde de sí dexa buena parte,
hasta que ve la buelta deseosa.

Allá, en Guadalajara, nunca he estado
después que me partí de tu presencia,
acá, contigo, siempre me has tenido.

Testigo es Dios del cielo y mi conciencia
y el ánimo contino apasionado
con deseo de verse ya venido. (*Sonetti 278*)

The intimate tone of the poem evokes a close friendship, but there was clearly also a relationship of patronage. Gómez de Castro refers to Alcaraz directly as his patron in a collection of Latin verses he had written to honor the *maestrescuela*, including the 480-line *Naiades*.¹⁸⁹ In that poem, the poet praises the *maestrescuela*'s efforts in the Colegio

¹⁸⁷ See Vaquero Serrano, (*El maestro* 118-19 and *El libro* 161-63).

¹⁸⁸ See Vaquero Serrano, (*El maestro* 33). In the prologue to his biography of Cisneros, Gómez de Castro also states the following: "Pero luego, por providencia divina, fuí llamado a Toledo por Bernardino Alcaraz, erudito toledano, hombre muy culto y muy rico en su ciudad."

¹⁸⁹ In *El libro de los maestrescuelas*, Carmen Vaquero Serrano has transcribed these poems in their entirety (378-419).

de Santa Catalina and describes how his good deeds are celebrated around Toledo by mythological creatures, such as the nymphs by the Tagus River. In some ways, the poem recalls the mythological landscape in the description of Toledo in Garcilaso de la Vega's eclogues. Yet, here the language is Latin, and the poem is clearly intended for an intellectual audience rather than for courtly entertainment.

In addition to Gómez de Castro's close connection to Bernardino de Alcaraz, the poet-scholar maintained a friendship with another individual in Diego López de Ayala's circles of interaction, Juan de Vergara. The two humanists corresponded,¹⁹⁰ but during Gómez de Castro's time in Toledo, they also sought out personal contact. Gómez de Castro relates this fact in the prologue to his biography of Cisneros:

[En Toledo] tuve ocasión de encontrarme con frecuencia con Juan Vergara, que había sido secretario de Jiménez por razón de su saber y de su valor personal, y hablamos muchas veces de la prudencia, de la grandeza de ánimo y de las demás virtudes de Jiménez, y al fin inspiré en aquel hombre, aunque ya anciano y atormentado de horribles enfermedades, tal deseo de escribir que se decidió a escribir los hechos de Jiménez. (*De las hazañas* 24)

As the citation demonstrates, the discussions between the two humanists inspired Vergara to attempt the biography. Death interrupted his intention, however, and the project fell instead to Gómez de Castro (25). Additionally, both scholars were renowned for their abilities in Greek and Latin. Not surprisingly, Gómez de Castro included selections by Vergara in his collections of Latin inscriptions. The most relevant of these inscriptions for the current discussion is the one Vergara composed for the dedication of the library Bernardino de Alcaraz established for the Colegio de Santa Catalina in November 1552. The inscription identifies Alcaraz's relation to the founder and states that he established

¹⁹⁰ See, for example, Vaquero Serrano (*El maestro* 122-23).

the school's library at his own expense.¹⁹¹ Furthermore, it places Vergara, Gómez de Castro and Alcaraz in the context of a shared circle of humanism in Toledo.

Based on the connections explored so far, López de Ayala also appears to have participated in this humanist circle of activity. The relationship between Gómez de Castro and Vergara would seem to be a case of two individuals who enjoyed the patronage of Bernardino de Alcaraz and who shared studies, thus becoming friends. We have already examined the links of Vergara and Alcaraz to Diego López de Ayala and would expect to find some contact between the *obrero* and Gómez de Castro, as well. The previously cited epitaph Gómez de Castro composed in honor of López de Ayala is but one clue that the two humanists interacted. Gómez de Castro also credits the *obrero* on multiple occasions for his assistance in gathering the information necessary for the biography of Cisneros. In the prologue, he notes that López de Ayala shared with him all of his correspondence from the Archbishop, but he also cites conversations with the canon, indicating a sustained relationship.¹⁹²

Despite López de Ayala's clear connections to this humanist intellectual circle, there appears to have existed a qualitative difference in his pursuit of erudition, as suggested by Gómez de Castro's treatment of him. In *De las hazañas de Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, the humanist regularly praises the learned culture of Vergara but fails to do the same for the *obrero*. Similarly, we find that the epitaph for him is in Spanish, but the one for Bernardino de Alcaraz written in 1556 is in more erudite

¹⁹¹ The Latin inscription is transcribed in Carmen Vaquero Serrano's *El libro de los maestrescuelas* (167).

¹⁹² See, for example, *De las hazañas* (68 and 505).

Latin.¹⁹³ It would seem that López de Ayala was less intellectually ambitious than some of his humanist contacts, a characteristic that could explain the ambience of courtly leisure in his translations and literary gatherings. Gómez de Castro noted how the canon tended to favor his pleasures over more serious concerns:

Ciertamente López de Ayala era el encargado de tratar todos los asuntos con Carlos y tenía acceso a él cada día y si se hubiera dedicado, siquiera por breve tiempo más a la severidad de su vida que a su talento, sin duda se habría visto encumbrado en honores y habría ocupado en el reino un puesto nada oscuro. Pero a cada uno le arrastran sus gustos, y cada uno, con tal de hacer sus caprichos, suele despreciar lo demás. (*De las hazañas* 401)

This observation appears directed more as a criticism of the canon's choice to eschew high political aims in favor of literary and possibly even intellectual concerns, but it also seems to tell us something about López de Ayala's approach to life. Gómez de Castro's comment intentionally evokes a verse from a Virgilian eclogue to the effect that we are each drawn to our pleasures: "Trahit sua quemque voluptas."¹⁹⁴ Even Cisneros himself perceived this trait in the canon: "la verdad es que yo siempre te tove en possession de poco solícito, aun en tus cosas propias" (20). We have suggested that López de Ayala was at the center of sixteenth-century Toledo's intellectual interpretive community and that the broader network was comprised of overlapping circles of activity or interest. The interactions analyzed here imply that the canon participated in humanist intellectual circles but was more apt to use his own resources to cultivate a related circle of courtly leisure.

¹⁹³ Weiner ("Sebastián" 549) and others have cited a Latin epitaph for a Diego López as also pertaining to the *obrero*; however, authors like Carmen Vaquero Serrano have since discounted this theory (*El libro* 409). The Latin epitaph appeared in 1552, well before Diego's death, and the full title is "De obitu D. Didaci Loppii, Bernardini fratris." The individual in question is actually Diego López de Toledo, brother of Bernardino de Alcaraz (Vaquero Serrano, *El maestro* 145).

¹⁹⁴ See Gómez de Castro (*De las hazañas* 401).

Las casas de recreo

There is one final figure to evoke in this discussion of the intellectual interpretive community of sixteenth-century Toledo, because he adds a particularly valuable perspective. The figure is Pedro Vázquez, one of the best-known jurists of his time and an adviser for the Colegio de Santa Catalina.¹⁹⁵ He participated in poetic exchanges and tournaments with Alvar Gómez de Castro and appears to have had a close relationship with the humanist.¹⁹⁶ Additionally, Vázquez participated in poetic exchanges with the patron and *maestrescuela*, Bernardino de Alcaraz.¹⁹⁷ Not unexpectedly, there are links that connect the jurist with Diego López de Ayala, as well. He appears, for example, in the list of those present to approve the canon's *Constitutiones collegii Sanctae Catherinae* (f. 27v). Far more important, however, is the existence of a dialogue written by Vázquez and protagonized by López de Ayala and his echo. The text, *Síguese otro diálogo entre Diego López de Ayala, canónigo y obrero de la Santa Yglesia de Toledo, y su eco, estando en su heredad y bosque*, appears in an unpublished manuscript by Sebastián de

¹⁹⁵ See Weiner ("Sebastián" 547).

¹⁹⁶ Jack Weiner reproduces a Spanish sonnet and Latin poems by Gómez de Castro for Pedro Vázquez that, along with other documentation, supports the claim of their close friendship ("Sebastián" 545-47).

¹⁹⁷ In one example, Vázquez uses feigned jealousy to enter into humorous banter over the gift of a delicacy, the tongue of a fallow deer, by Alcaraz to Gómez de Castro:

"El doctor Pedro Vázquez al maestrescuela"

Mientras el Griego regalado
da gracias en su epigrama
por la lengua del venado,
el que queda deslenguado
en esta copla reclama,
y, usando de brevedad,
porque no es tiempo de arenga,
llama prodigalidad
dar do no hay necesidad
y añadir a lenguas lengua. (MS. 7.896, Biblioteca Nacional de España, f. 409r; qtd. in Vaquero Serrano, *El libro* 162)

Horozco.¹⁹⁸ As noted previously, the dialogue consists of the canon relating his fears about what good deeds he will be remembered for and how a longstanding and still pending case with García Manrique, treasurer of the cathedral, will impact his burial plans.

It is the setting of the dialogue that holds particular significance for an understanding of the interactions of Toledo's intellectuals. The "heredad y bosque" mentioned in the title does not refer to López de Ayala's home in Toledo or in Casabuenas, but to the recreational home located just outside Toledo on the opposite bank of the Tagus River, a property that would become known as the Cigarral del Bosque. In his *Memorial de algunas cosas notables que tiene la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo* (1576), Luis Hurtado de Mendoza mentions "la casa y Bosque que labró Diego Lopez de Ayala, obrero y canónigo de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo" (506). The description draws attention not only to the house, but also to the woods he had planted on the property. During the sixteenth century these properties typically included a house or small palace and a garden often of small size "que entre el paisaje natural y la vivienda se interponía como lugar 'artificial', creado exclusivamente para deleite de los sentidos y pábulo de la imaginación" (Bonet Correa 139).¹⁹⁹ The intentional cultivation of woods was an exceptional aspect of López de Ayala's property, as reflected in the inclusion of this feature in the name it carried from at least the seventeenth century to the present. The

¹⁹⁸ Jack Weiner describes the work and its relation to the Toledo Cathedral Chapter's internal strife in his article, "Dos documentos del archivo de la catedral toledana y la obra literaria de Pedro Vázquez."

¹⁹⁹ The house erected by the canon reflected the architecture of Alonso de Covarrubias and demonstrated López de Ayala's preference for Italianate Renaissance aesthetics. The moulding also included inscriptions in Latin. For a more detailed description, see Vegue y Goldoni (124). The house has since been demolished and replaced by a luxury hotel, but a pair of stone columns have been preserved at the entry to the lobby.

relevance of this feature becomes clear when one considers Martín Gamero's analysis of the role of these Toledan recreational properties in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

En aquellos siglos éstos eran los Liceos y Academias de nuestros sabios, puntos de expansión de los amigos, retiro y entretenimiento de los poderosos, que solían dedicarse a vagar todas las tardes del año y largas temporadas en primavera y otoño por esos campos eternamente alfombrados de flores o vestidos de yezgos y helechos. (106)

Early in the seventeenth century, Tirso de Molina would appropriate this common use of Toledo's recreational properties to provide the backdrop for a series of intellectual debates in *Cigarrales de Toledo* (1621). The properties represented an escape from the urban and access to the natural world idealized in pastoral literature, but they also provided a setting for the sort of intellectual and literary interactions that galvanized the Toledan intellectual interpretive community.

It has already become clear that the *Arcadia* translation could have fueled the social gatherings hosted by López de Ayala for Toledo's intellectual interpretive community. Debates like those that appear in the *Treze questiones* also seemed to find their way off of the page. Although there are no known descriptions of these debates with regard to López de Ayala, the description of his recreational property seems to confirm his desire to reenact them. It is but a short step from the property López de Ayala adorned to the scene of the group of nobles that took shelter from the afternoon heat in the shade of a wooded garden to debate questions of love. The use of the translations in their Toledan context support Burke's assertion that the concept of "passing the time" that arose in the early modern period reflected a change in attitudes, with the pursuit of leisure activities becoming more intentional (142-44). The performance potential of López de

Ayala's translations helps explain the apparently positive reception of the translations indicated by their circulation in manuscript form and the multiple printed editions they later engendered. Rather than simple thematic correspondence with Spanish courtly literary production in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the texts point to an evolution of courtly genres in Spanish literature guided by reading practices and the interests in leisure and strategic interaction of an erudite cultural elite, a "leisure class."

The Contours of the Sixteenth-Century Toledan Intellectual Community

The objective here has been to examine Toledo's intellectual community through the lens of one of its members, Diego López de Ayala. The relevance of this exercise is its ability to shed light on the literary life of sixteenth-century Toledo, which Jack Weiner identified years ago as one of its least known aspects ("Sebastián" 537). Since then, Weiner himself has contributed significantly to our understanding of the Imperial City's literary life during that critical era, as have other scholars like Carmen Vaquero Serrano. Yet, their efforts have not exhausted the possibilities or the utility of further exploration. Diego López de Ayala, because of his perennial involvement in Toledo's intellectual circles, but especially because of his artistic and literary activities, provides a productive angle for new examinations. We have already demonstrated the relation of his translations to the evolution of courtly literature during the Spanish Renaissance, but the relation of the texts to the canon's socio-political role suggests that the city's intellectual interpretive community used them as a means of interacting; the choice of texts influenced and was influenced by the socio-cultural interactions of participants in a courtly and intellectual elite.

Paul McLean reminds us that when social capital is at stake, it gives networking the "capacity to *constitute* us as social actors, changing our identities and preferences through interaction" (12). We have already seen López de Ayala seeking patronage and beseeched for it in literary dedications; we have also referenced poems sent by Alvar Gómez de Castro and Pedro Vázquez to one of their patrons, Bernardino de Alcaraz. McLean's letters of patronage show networking in, perhaps, a rawer state, but the examples of literary culture evoked here also serve as mediators in negotiations of social capital. It follows logically, then, that the socio-cultural networking of sixteenth-century Toledo shared the constitutive aspect that McLean describes. Beyond being objects of contemplative leisure, López de Ayala's translations are a sample of the type of cultural artifacts linked to networking that helped shape the identity and preferences of the canon and his contacts. The intentional inclusion of learned culture in Gómez de Castro's erudite poems and in López de Ayala's selection of Italian texts to translate serves to distinguish this elite network, both socially and culturally, from others; it is this aspect that gives this particular network a relatively finite identity.

The limitations of this study prevent it from describing the myriad connections that constitute the elite socio-cultural network of sixteenth-century Toledo; however, the analysis of several of the more conspicuous links between López de Ayala and his contemporaries suggests certain generalized characteristics. These are the contours of the Imperial City's Renaissance intellectual community. There are three traits, in particular, that seem to unite the community: humanism, Erasmianism and ecclesiastical or social notability. The first two traits have links to the efforts of Archbishop Cisneros and his foundation of the Universidad de Alcalá. We have already noted Cisneros's great

admiration for Erasmus and his patronage of some of Spain's best-known humanists. Marcel Bataillon affirms that the humanists associated with Alcalá moved in a decidedly Erasmian direction: "L'humanisme, sous la direction de maîtres jeunes, s'engage à Alcalá dans une direction résolument érasmiennne" (170). As many of the individuals associated with Cisneros or the university became established in Toledo, including Diego López de Ayala, Juan de Vergara and Alvar Gómez de Castro, they continued the legacy of this intellectual current in Spain. The third characteristic is somewhat more complex, since there appears to be less information on the participation in Toledo's intellectual of social notables without an ecclesiastical association. It would seem, however, that the majority of the members of the intellectual interpretive community had at least an indirect connection to the Toledo Cathedral. The members with the most influence in the Cathedral Chapter, such as López de Ayala and Alcaraz, also benefited from the greatest social capital.²⁰⁰ It is for this reason that Diego López de Ayala was able to build such a capacity to influence the trajectory of the city's intellectual community.

Like any network, the intellectual interpretive community of sixteenth-century Toledo was also dynamic. Social capital was a commodity that was not distributed equally among its members. Furthermore, within the broader community there were divisions. There likely existed a division between circles more intent on academic intellectual activities and others drawn to more leisurely applications of sophisticated, erudite culture; Gómez de Castro's interactions with Alcaraz pertained more to the first arena, and the literary gatherings hosted by López de Ayala derive from the interests of

²⁰⁰ Their social capital was, of course, also a product of noble lineage, which enabled them to attain dignities within the Cathedral Chapter.

the second. Even this classification, however, is overly simplistic, since individual members may belong to multiple groups and may participate in each of them in varying degrees. Such was the case, it seems, for López de Ayala, who apparently contributed more actively to the community of contemplative leisure and less substantially to the erudite academic one, at least in terms of literary output.²⁰¹

A Legacy

We have already considered the significance of Toledo's surrounding recreational properties as a venue for the city's intellectual interpretive community. Martín Gamero notes that, in addition to Diego López de Ayala, Juan de Vergara owned one of these properties, which he also used as a space to cultivate the Muses with like-minded friends:

Allí, solo o en compañía de sus buenos amigos, a los cuales reunía frecuentemente en una especie de consistorio literario, consagraba el tiempo que le abandonaban ocupaciones graves o estudios serios, al dulce trato con las musas y a la composición de aquellas elegantísimas inscripciones latinas de que están llenos los monumentos de nuestra ciudad. (106)

Aside from the recreational properties and the libraries of wealthy patrons like López de Ayala, it is clear that members of the intellectual interpretive community sustained cultural interactions in other settings, as well. For example, Pedro Vázquez and Alvar Gómez de Castro participated in a poetry tournament organized to honor the Archbishop Silíceo's first visit to Alcalá de Henares in 1546 (Weiner, "Sebastián" 540-41). Yet, there is a disparity between the relative scarcity of references to these academies during López de Ayala's lifetime and the abundance for the period that immediately follows.

²⁰¹ His role in the art, music and architecture of the Toledo Cathedral point to a more complex relationship.

The canon played a significant role in the rise of such academies in early modern Spain. The process echoed, not unexpectedly, one that was occurring in Italian cities during the same period and that had clear associations with the rise of leisure. Burke references, for example, upper class discussion clubs with names such as the "idlers" (*Oziosi*) and the "unemployed" (*Sfaccendati*) (147). The circles in which López de Ayala was active participated in the sanctioning of upper class leisure activities that Burke observed, yet their interactions were also clearly strategic with implications for a process of networking and a quest for social capital through cultural production. Over the course of the canon's lifetime, these circles would become increasingly institutionalized and lead to a legacy of more and more organized intellectual interactions through academies.

To cite but a few examples, Jack Weiner references poetry tournaments that occurred in Toledo after López de Ayala's death in 1565 and 1568 on the occasion of the arrival of Saint Eugenius's remains and the death of Elizabeth of Valois, respectively ("Sebastián" 538). The Conde de Fuensalida hosted a literary academy during El Greco's life in Toledo (Blecuá 459-62). Furthermore, Tirso de Molina used the setting of a Toledan recreational property as the backdrop for the intellectual and literary debates in his *Cigarrales de Toledo* (1624). These literary academies did not arise out of a void; they represent, instead, the continuation of a tradition of intellectual interpretive communities that thrived in Toledo during the sixteenth century due to the efforts of Diego López de Ayala and his contemporaries.

On the other hand, the legacy of the López de Ayala's literary academies also represented a continued evolution. The example of the Inquisition of Toledo's targeting of the Erasmianism of a figure like Juan de Vergara would culminate in the trial of

Archbishop Carranza in the 1560s. These events would take their toll on the character of intellectual discourse in Spain, and that of López de Ayala's lifetime would fade into memory.

Conclusion

"Perhaps the simplest observation we can make is that in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process."

--Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (2)

This dissertation began as a contextualized study of two sixteenth-century Spanish translations. At a certain point in the process, however, that focus shifted to the principal translator, the canon Diego López de Ayala. The shift was by no means arbitrary. Instead, through research it became clear that a close study of the multifaceted endeavors that comprised this individual's life experience has the potential to further our understanding of a transcendental period of Spain's history.

This dissertation confirms that López de Ayala was one of the most visible Toledans of his time. Despite his probable illegitimacy, he represented one of the most influential archbishops in Spanish history at the royal courts of Ferdinand the Catholic and the future Emperor Charles. He suffered setbacks because of his associations with Cisneros as Charles and his advisor Chièvres implemented heavy-handed control of Toledo's archdiocese. Later, he played a key role in the Comunidades uprising and became one of the cathedral's most productive and influential *obreros*. Over the course of the remainder of his life, he accrued influence and wealth that he would attempt to bequeath as a personal and family legacy to his nephews. As part of this process, he constructed a high-profile image of himself within the community.

One of the main elements in the identity and image López de Ayala constructed for himself was the artistic patronage in which he participated as *obrero* of the Toledo Cathedral during an almost forty-year tenure. In this role he participated in aesthetic choices that served as a driving force for artistic developments throughout Spain in both religious and secular domains. Since the Archdiocese of Toledo was second in wealth and power only to Rome, the canon's efforts essentially shaped the physical image of Spanish Catholicism as one of the key components of the vast new Christian empire.

Apart from his professional activities, López de Ayala cultivated his taste for literary culture. His translations of the *Questioni d'amore* by Giovanni Boccaccio and the *Arcadia* by Jacopo Sannazaro demonstrate an affinity for Renaissance humanism and Neoplatonism. They also correspond to and interact with manifestations of courtly leisure. Their appeal to the canon and his cohorts highlights the importance of performance elements in literature consumed by social readers. López de Ayala's translations represent more than written texts; they serve as models for intellectual and courtly leisure.

The translations were objects of entertainment for an ever-changing intellectual interpretive community in Toledo. The influence and wealth that López de Ayala accrued over the course of his life enabled him to galvanize a significant part of this socio-cultural network. The intellectual interpretive community of sixteenth-century Toledo displayed a preference for erudite humanistic culture and esoteric complexity. It also demonstrated a support for Erasmianism that would eventually result in the persecution of some of its members by the Inquisition of Toledo. Within the network, there is evidence of a division into more or less erudite circles in which the canon participated to varying degrees. The

esoteric nature of the culture promoted by this network helped a socio-cultural elite maintain its distinction. The cultural artifacts engendered by the community, in turn, provided opportunities not only for social, but also strategic, interactions. Like any network, Toledo's intellectual interpretive community was complex and changeable; active members like López de Ayala helped shape it and were shaped by it.

The circumstances of the canon's life experiences are compelling in their own right, but they also have broader implications for our understanding of changing mentalities in the Spanish Renaissance. López de Ayala's translations should be considered as media functioning in the construction of the self rather than simply as objects of leisure for a cultural elite. They open a space where there is interplay of literary representation and empirical reality. The texts possess a performance potential, for example, the capacity of the love debates depicted in the *Treze questiones* to serve as models for recreating similar exchanges between members of Toledo's intellectual interpretive community. The purpose of recreating such debates derives at least partially from the opportunities such recreation creates for honing argumentative abilities, eloquent speech and convincing displays of Classical authority. The socialized experience of the *Treze questiones* becomes, then, a practice ground for the "thespian virtuosity" Paul McLean refers to with regard to strategic interactions (41). The literary performances the translations engendered were simultaneously recreational and instrumental. McLean also states that "all selves are interactively or *interdependently* constructed" (196). For López de Ayala's context, this implies that the literary gatherings he hosted formed part of the process of construction of a multifaceted identity through a

variety of interactions. The contemplative leisure of his intellectual circle connects literary representation to life performance.

To explore this point, let us consider further Wolfgang Iser's assessment of the pastoral romance and Sannazaro's *Arcadia*.²⁰² The protagonist of the *Arcadia*, Sannazaro's literary avatar Sincero, flees Naples for Arcadia. In Naples he could not disclose his love to the object of his affections, so he hopes to find solace in the songs of the lovelorn shepherds of the distant and idealized land. Sincero crosses the boundary from the empirical world into an idealized literary one. Yet, he cannot escape his past even in this apparently distinct world and must eventually return to Naples. There, he pauses and appreciates the songs of shepherds of his own world:

Donde yo bien que con las orejas llenas viniessen de los cantares de Arcadia: empero por oyr aquellos de mi tierra: y ver en quanto a ellos se acercauan: no me parecio inconueniente el pararme. Y a tan gran otro tiempo por mi ansi mal despendido: a queste breue espacio: esta pequeña tardança agora ayuntar. ... me plaze summamente de auerlos con atencion oydo ... por alegrarme del mi cielo que no del todo vazias auia querido dexar las sus seluas. Las quales en todo tiempo nobilissimos pastores han de si producido: y delas otras tierras con amorosos acogimientos y materno amor assi traydo. Por donde seme haze ligero de creer: que de verdad en algun tiempo las Serenas alli morassen: y con la dulçura de su cantar detuuiesen a los que por su camino se yuan. (López de Ayala and Salazar f. 58v)

Sincero has come from the idealized literary world of Arcadia, but by passing through that world he has come to appreciate the beauty of his own world and imagine in it to some degree the ideals of Classical Antiquity. As Iser puts it, "In crossing the border between a historical and an artificial world, the pastoral romance provides a vivid portrayal of literary fictionality that is lodged neither in the artificial nor in the historical

²⁰² See Iser (46-56).

world. Rather, it embodies an act that allows for worlds to be surpassed within the world" (48).

Diego López de Ayala did not author the *Arcadia*, yet as the translator of Sannazaro's explicit description of the interplay of literary and empirical worlds, he implicates himself in this crossing of boundaries. The use of the *Arcadia* and the *Treze questiones* not only as texts for reading, but also as sources of theatrical representation results in the convergence of the literary and empirical worlds, which is also apparent in the staging of an *entremés* inside the cathedral after mass in which a shepherd symbolizes the Archbishop; in the masks and mythological representations that flooded the streets in times of celebration; in Pedro Vázquez's dialogue between López de Ayala and his own echo.²⁰³ Yet, the convergence does not simply offer glimpses of separate realities. Instead, it uncovers an idealized potential suggested, as Iser would have it, by the refraction of the empirical world in the mirror of the literary world (48).²⁰⁴ As demonstrated by the *Arcadia* excerpt above, this process was not a secondary, subconscious one, but an objective that individuals like López de Ayala would pursue consciously.

We might term such a pursuit an approach to life. It is an approach conditioned, in part, by the influences of humanistic and Erasmian currents of thought.²⁰⁵ Such an approach is evident in the canon's alteration of his recreational property. We know that

²⁰³ Regarding the staging of the *entremés*, see Díez del Corral (121). See also Díez del Corral (222-34).

²⁰⁴ It is important to note that the ideals here are not universal, objective ones; rather, they are linked to the aims and mentality of the socio-cultural elite.

²⁰⁵ According to Paul McLean: "Humanism undoubtedly was a crucial factor in the development of a new conception of the self" (202). It is my contention here that a mentality or approach to life is a principal factor in the construction of one's identity.

other such properties also had woods. Alvar Gómez de Castro, for example, recalls having written one of his poems while wandering the woods on the recreational property of the Duque del Infantado (Martín Gamero 107-08). Yet, only López de Ayala's property would later carry the name Cigarral del Bosque; the woods of his property became the principal trait of its identity. The explanation lies in the brief description of the *cigarral* given by Luis Hurtado de Toledo, a contemporary of López de Ayala: "la casa y Bosque que labró Diego López de Ayala" (506). The significance of the woods lies in their construction. Consider García Martín's description of the world of Toledo's recreational properties during this era:

Triunfa el aspecto más puramente representativo de la esencia renaciente, el hombre traslada sus conceptos teatrales de la vida a sus creaciones. El jardín y sus espacios contextuales pretenden exorcizar sus temores con respecto a la naturaleza haciéndolos humanos, sin ignorarlos, pues lo representa, pero de tal modo que el individuo que los 'sufre' reconozca en ellos un engaño consciente. (83)

The sheltering cool of the wooded garden in the *Treze cuestiones* and the pastoral landscape of the *Arcadia* suggest an idealized version of the Nature we already experience in the empirical world. López de Ayala's construction of woods on his property constitutes a conscious attempt to surpass the world as it is and approach the world as it could be.

If we return for a moment to the idea of the city of Toledo as a city with a desire to show its best to the world in one of its finest hours, López de Ayala's intellectual gatherings respond consciously to that moment. The special combination of factors that gave sixteenth-century Toledo its prominence also made possible the sort of cultural effervescence in which López de Ayala participated. It gave him an opportunity to strive to fashion the intellectual and cultural life of the Imperial City, a second Rome, into what

he thought it ideally should be. The translations he produced for the contemplative leisure of Toledo's intellectual interpretive community provided opportunities for encounters between literary ideals and the historical world. The convergence of the two indicated possibilities for a historical reality more aligned with the ideals of the socio-cultural elite.

Diego López de Ayala led a multifaceted life, encompassing activities in political, musical, literary, artistic and intellectual spheres. Rather than considering these aspects of his experience as distinctly separate, it seems more productive to understand his activities as interrelated. López de Ayala's service as Cisneros's envoy to Charles and his commissions of church music respond to clearly distinct needs; they are, nevertheless, the work of the same individual. This single individual's view of his role in the world would both shape and be shaped by such efforts. López de Ayala's translations represent far more than a fleeting pastime. They are, instead, part of the interplay of literary representation and life performance, a medium for exchange between the real and the ideal self that inspires the individual to the artful construction of a better self.

Appendix A:

Will and Testament of Diego López de Ayala (February 7, 1556)

Testamento²⁰⁶

[f. 702r] En el nombre de Dios todo poderoso, Padre, Hijo y Espíritu Santo, tres personas y una esencia divina, y de la gloriosa Virgen María, su madre, reina de los y señora de los ángeles, *nuestra* señora y abogada de los pecadores y mía más que de nadie porque soy más pecador, porque así como es cierto que avemos de morir, así nos es incierto cuándo ni adónde moriremos, por manera que habemos d'estar así aparejados, como si cada ora oviésemos de morir. Por ende, sepan quantos esta carta de testamento vieren como yo, Diego López de Ayala, vicario y canónigo en la Sancta Iglesia de Toledo, estando sano de mi cuerpo y libre y sano de mi entendimiento, creyendo y confesando firmemente todo lo que la Iglesia Santa Cathólica de Roma cree y confiesa y predica, y así lo protesto desde agora para aquel artículo postrero, de vivir y morir en esta sancta fe cathólica, y con esta protestación ordeno esta mi carta de testamento y prostrimera voluntad, firmada de mi nombre al cabo de cada plana, la qual quiero que vala también como si fuese fecha y otorgada con las solemnidades todas que el derecho *requiere* en caso que no aya dispusición de ser otorgada ante notario o escrivano público.

Primeramente, encomiendo mi espíritu en las manos de mi *señor Jesu Christo*, el qual de nada lo crió y con su preciosísima sangre lo redimió, y suplico le tenga por bien y le pido por su *pasión* y méritos de su bendita madre y de sus santos, que en el día de su terrible juicio merezca yo oír y se diga por mí, "venid venditos del mi Padre".

Iten quiero que mi cuerpo sea sepultado en la dicha Santa Iglesia de Toledo en la Capilla Primera del Sagrario, delante de *nuestra* señora, debaxo de las lámparas de plata en la sepultura que los muy *reverendos* y *magníficos* señores Deán y Cabildo me señalaron en el año de mill e quinientos y veinte años en catorze días del mes de março, como parece por fe del secretario Hernando Alonso y está en el Libro Capitular asentado de mano del dicho secretario, de que tengo confirmación del *illustríssimo* señor don Joan Martínez Silíceo, Cardenal d'España y Arçobispo de Toledo²⁰⁷. Y mando que sea puesta sobre la dicha sepultura la piedra de jaspe que yo tengo para ella con su orla y letrero y armas que no hagan tropieço²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁶ With the aim of simplifying the reading of the transcription, the punctuation, accents and capitalization follow modern conventions. The separation of words is also current, except in cases of syntactic phonetics, noted with an apostrophe as in the case of *d'ello*. Abbreviations have been expanded with the previously omitted letters in italics. The nasal bar is transcribed as *n*. When *u* and *i* serve as consonants, they appear as *v* and *j*, respectively; when *v* and *y* serve as vowels, their transcription reflects modern conventions. Tall *s* appears as a normal *s*, and *ñ* is restored where it appears as *n*. All other variations and spellings have been faithfully transcribed. Foliation, signatures, omissions and doubtful sections appear in brackets.

²⁰⁷ As noted previously, López de Ayala was not buried in the cathedral despite so many guarantees. The fact that the canon describes the original authorization with such specificity yet still indicates a second choice seems to imply that he was already concerned about not being granted this final wish.

²⁰⁸ This would be the same stone Alvar Gómez de Castro cites in his epitaph.

Y si esta sepultura no se me diere, mando que mi cuerpo sea enterrado en la Capilla Mayor del Monasterio del Carmen, que es de mis pasados²⁰⁹.

Iten mando que mis obsequias, honrras y cabo de año se hagan como suelen hazer por otros beneficiados de la dicha santa iglesia y, ansí en esto como en los lutos, lo remito a mis albaças. Y quiero *que* la Confradía de señor San Pedro y la de la Vera Cruz acompañen mi enterramiento, que soy su hermano. Y suplico a mis señores y debdos rueguen a Dios por mí y encargo mucho a mis criados que conviertan las lágrimas en oraciones por que Dios aya piedad de mi ánima.

Iten mando que ante todas cosas se paguen mis deudas lo que paresciere yo dever por conocimientos y testigos que hagan sus dichos fe, lo qual mis albaças paguen ante todas cosas de lo mejor parado de mi hazienda.

Iten mando que luego sean pagados mis criados de todo lo que se les deviere de sus salarios y se las [*sic*] dé un mes de comer después de yo fallecido.

[Diego López]²¹⁰

[f. 702v^o] Iten mando a Salaçar, mi criado, cinquenta ducados para ayuda al casamiento de una hija s[u]ya, o para metella monja.

Iten mando que se digan por mi ánima quatrocientas misas lo más breve que mis albaceas pudieren, con su responso por mí y por mis difuntos.

Iten mando que se digan en el Monasterio del Carmen d'esta ciudad doscientas misas por las ánimas de mis bisagüelos y de mi padre y de Hernando de Ayala, que allí están enterrados, y por mis hermanos, y al fin de cada misa se diga un responso por todos en la Capilla Mayor.

Iten mando²¹¹ que se digan en la Capilla de Santa Úrsula d'esta cibdad doscientas misas por las ánimas de mi agüela y de mi madre y de sus hermanos y hermanas, que allí yazen sepultados, y salgan con el responso sobre la sepultura de mi *señora* doña Bernardina de Guzmán.

Iten mando que se digan en el Monasterio de San Joan de los Reyes d'esta cibdad doscientas misas por el ánima del Cardenal mi *señor* don fray Francisco Ximénez, a quien devo todo el ser y bien i[n]terese que tengo, después de Dios.

Iten mando que se digan cinquenta misas por las ánimas de los beneficiados del Coro d'esta sancta iglesia dicha que han muerto en mi tiempo. Y mando ansí mesmo que se digan otras cinquenta misas por la salud de los beneficiados de la dicha santa iglesia que fueren bibos al tiempo de mi fallecimiento, las quales hagan dezir los señores Deán y Cabildo en el altar más cercano de mi sepultura.

La limosna por cada una d'estas misas sea un real.

Iten mando que de mis bienes, ansí muebles como raíces, se compre renta para dos capellanías que sirvan dos capellanes en la Capilla de Santa Marina, que es dentro en la dicha santa iglesia a la mano hizquierda como entramos en el sagrario, si mi cuerpo allí

²⁰⁹ The Ayalas buried in the Monasterio del Carmen Calzado in the canon's lifetime were Pedro López de Ayala, first Lord of Fuensalida, and his wife, Elvira de Castañeda.

²¹⁰ López de Ayala signs at the bottom of every page as "Diego López," except in the case of the last two pages, where he signs in full.

²¹¹ The word "abuela" appears in the left margin of this section.

fuere sepultado. Y diga cada uno su semana misa, de manera que cada día se celebre misa en la dicha capilla, los quales dichos capellanes sean provehidos por los señores Deán y Cabildo de la dicha santa iglesia de la manera que provén las capellanías de don Pedro Tenorio y don Sancho de Rojas e las demás que son a su cargo de proveer dentro en la dicha iglesia, con tanto que Diego López de Ayala, mi sobrino, sucesor que ha de ser en mi calongía²¹², durante los días de su vida presente los dichos capellanes a los dichos señores Deán y Cabildo para que los provean según dicho es, con que sean presviteros hábiles y suficientes. Y si no lo fueren, que los dichos señores no admitan a los tales nombrados y presentados y, en tal caso, el dicho mi sobrino sea obligado a nombrar y presentar otros a voluntad del Cabildo. Y después de los días del dicho mi sobrino, los dichos señores Deán y Cabildo provean las dichas capellanías según desuso se contiene, sin que aya nombramiento ni presentación de otra alguna persona, a los quales pido y suplico qu'en la provisión de las dichas capellanías tengan mucha advertencia que se den a personas hábiles y suficientes, de buena y honesta vida, sacerdotes de misa y no de otra manera, sobre lo qual les encargo la conciencia. Y en lo que toca al docte de las dichas capellanías y de otras memorias que, siendo Dios servido, entiendo dexar, y a la administración, cera, hostias y umo, visitación y reparación de hornamentos, quiero y es mi voluntad

[Diego López]

[f. 703r^o] que mis albaças lo concierten con los dichos señores Deán y Cabildo. Y en caso que mi cuerpo no sea enterrado en la entrada del dicho sagrario, quiero y mando que estas capellanías se celebren en el dicho Monasterio del Carmen en la dicha Capilla Mayor donde mi cuerpo ha de ser enterrado, y el dicho Diego López de Ayala, mi sobrino, sea el patrón d'ellas y, después de los días suyos, don Pedro de Ayala²¹³, su hermano y el sucesor en su mayorazgo y vínculo que en él hago por este mi testamento, para hazer cumplir los cargos de las dichas misas. Pero que los frailes del dicho monasterio las digan y el monasterio lleve la renta d'ellas y, en tal caso, no an de tener nombramiento los dichos señores Deán y Cabildo.

Iten mando que se compre de renta lo que a mis albaças pareciere para cubrir mi sepultura los días de todos santos y difuntos, y esto se encargue a los sacristanes del sagrario.

Iten mando que se compren tres mill maravedís de renta para los clerizones d'esta santa iglesia para que me digan seis aniversarios de la manera que dizen los de Joan Ruiz, que Dios aya, canónigo que fue en la dicha santa iglesia, los quales se canten en los

²¹² From the *Actas Capitulares* (11: f. 234v) we know that this nephew sent his *procurador*, Francisco de Rojas, to present bulls granting him the canonry with all its income on November 30, 1560, the day after the canon's death. On December 2, 1560, the Cathedral Chapter voted to invest Diego López de Ayala the nephew with possession of the office; however, the *Sucesiones de prebendas* (1: f. 297r) declare that he never took possession: "no tuvo posesion, y la renunció en Don Alonso Niño de Zuñiga, [que] tomó posesion Miercoles siete de Diciembre, de mil quinientos setenta y cinco".

²¹³ Diego López de Ayala, the *obrero*, was the brother of Fernán Pérez de Ayala, also the son of the Comendador de Yegros, Fernán Pérez de Ayala. The son of this brother, Hernando de Ayala, married Isabel de Finolet of Valencia. Together they had at least four children, Pedro de Ayala, Diego López de Ayala, Beatriz de Ayala and Jerónima, all named in the will.

días y meses que mis albaceas señalaren. Y anse de cantar sobre la sepultura donde mi cuerpo fuere sepultado.

Iten mando que se digan cinquenta misas por el Racionero Bracamonte y por Páez, mi criado, adónde mis albaceas mandaren.

Iten mando al Ospital de la Misericordia d'esta cibdad de Toledo ocho ducados para ayuda a curar los pobres.

Iten mando a la Obra d'esta Iglesia de Toledo y a *Nuestra Señora* de Guadalupe y a las otras mandas acostumbradas a cada una un real.

Iten mando al Hospital del Rey d'esta cibdad dos ducados.

Iten mando al Hospital de los Caballeros d'esta ciudad dos ducados.

Iten mando al Hospital de San *Pedro* d'esta cibdad dos ducados.

Iten mando a la Comfradía de la Charidad d'esta cibdad dos ducados.

Iten mando a la Confradía de la Vera Cruz d'esta dicha cibdad dos ducados.

Iten mando a los monasterios de religiosos y religiosas, monjas y beatas d'es[ta] cibdad a cada uno dos ducados por que los dichos monasterios me rezen todo el salterio una bez dentro en los días de mi novenario.

Iten mando a Diego de Mendoça, mi criado, cinquenta ducados por que ruegue a Dios *por* mí.

Iten mando y encargo a Diego López de Ayala, sucesor en mi calongía, que reciba en su servicio a mis criados y los abrigue, faborezca y honre, que pues lleva mi nombre y lo principal de mi hazienda, es justo que lo haga. Y ansí mesmo le encargo mucho y ruego que se sirva en su cámara de Diego de Mendoça y si quisiere ser clérigo, lo ayude para ello y si lego, le case; y se sirva de Antonio de Salazar en aquello que d'él me sirvo, pues sabe cuánto yo le quise y lo bien que me sirvió, y que se honre mucho con él.

[Diego López]

[f. 703vº] Y que tenga por muy encomendados a los hijos de Valdivieso, mi criado, que aya gloria, pues tan bien me sirvió su padre. Y también le encargo y mando que sea muy obediente a la señora doña Isabel Finolet, su madre, y que abrigue a sus hermanos y hermanas.

Iten le mando y encargo mucho que dé a su tía, doña Bernardina de Ayala, que es monja en Santa Úrsula de Toledo, cinco mill maravedís, los cuales le dé en cada un año por todos los días de su vida.

Iten mando que lo que yo dexare hordenado escrito de mi letra, o ajena y firmado de mi letra y nombre, se guarde y cumpla como si fuera escrito y otorgado en este mi testamento.

Iten es mi voluntad, por razón del mucho amor que yo tube al señor Hernando de Ayala, mi sobrino, y tengo a sus hijos y descendientes, de hazer, y por la presente hago, manda y mejoría a don Pedro de Ayala, hijo del dicho Hernando de Ayala y de la señora doña Isabel Finolet, su muger, de los bienes siguientes, combiene a saber: el lugar de Casasbuenas con todo lo anejo y pertenescente al dicho lugar, con todo lo que yo he comprado y hedificado en él según y cómo a mí me pertenesce en posesión y propiedad o me puede pertenescer en qualquier manera.

Iten la casa del campo que yo tengo en término d'esta cibdad de Toledo al pago de la Bastida con el bosque, cercados y árboles y tierra, y con todo lo labrado, comprado y edificado en ella y a ello anexo y pertenescente.

Iten la huerta de la solamilla con el molino de azeite y con lo a ella anexo y pertenesciente y todos los instrumentos ya parejos del dicho molino, los quales dichos bienes quiero, mando y es mi voluntad que los aya, tenga y posea y goze el dicho don Pedro de Ayala y, después de sus días, su hijo mayor varón, con que se llame Diego López de Ayala, ansí de grado en grado los hijos y nietos y descendientes del dicho don Pedro de Ayala, prefiriendo siempre el mayor al menor para siempre jamás. Y en defeto de hijos y descendientes varones legítimos y de legítimo matrimonio del dicho don Pedro de Ayala, quiero que aya, tenga y suceda en los dichos bienes doña Beatriz de Ayala, muger del señor don Diego de Ayala, regidor d'esta cibdad de Toledo, y después d'ella, su hijo varón mayor y los descendientes d'ella por línea masculina. Y en defeto de hijo mayor varón, suceda la hija mayor de la dicha doña Beatriz, llamándose del nombre de Ayala. Y si no casare la hija tal con hombre del apellido de Ayala o no oviere sucesión de la dicha doña Beatriz, sucedan en los dichos bienes los los [sic] hijos y descendientes del señor Hernam Pérez de Luxán, que aya gloria, precediendo el mayor al menor y el varón a la hembra, pero quiero y es mi voluntad que todos los dichos bienes siempre anden y estén juntos, incorporados y vinculados e unidos y no se puedan dividir ni apartar los unos de los otros, y el poseedor d'ellos los tenga siempre en pie, hiniestos y reparados y aliñados, y no se puedan vender, donar ni cambiar ni enagenar por ninguna manera, causa o razón, aunque sea por cosa que parezca ser y sea más provechosa o nezesaria. Y si, por ventura, el poseedor de los dichos bienes intentare ha hazer lo contrario, por el mismo caso sin otra dilación alguna vengán, y quiero que aya y tenga los dichos bienes el sucessor y llamado a ellos como en caso que el poseedor fuese naturalmente muerto y pasado d'esta presente vida, y la tal enagenación sea en sí ninguna

[Diego López]

[f. 704rº] y de ningún valor ni efecto. Y si el tal sucessor llamado a estos bienes fuere negligente y pasaren dos meses después de ser venido a su noticia la tal enagenación que no pida los dichos bienes pudiéndolos pedir, ansí los enagenados como los demás d'este dicho vínculo e fideicomiso, por el mesmo caso sea inábil para los tener y poseer, y venga y suceda en ellos el siguiente, en grado por la manera del llamamiento y horden ya dicha. Y quiero que si, lo que Dios no permita, el poseedor d'este dicho vínculo y bienes cometiere algún delicto por el qual pierda o merezca ser privado de sus bienes, en tal caso quiero y es mi voluntad que aya perdido los dichos bienes dos oras antes que aya pensado cometer el tal delito y sea havido por muerto naturalmente para que suceda en ellos el llamado después de sus días y luego incontinenti que se declare haber cometido el tal delito.

Otrosí, por quanto yo tengo comprados ciertos maravedís de tributo al quitar, de los quales voy pagando el alcance último que se hizo al Racionero Gutierre Hurtado, receptor que fue de la Obra d'esta dicha santa iglesia, en las quantas que le fueron tomadas de la dicha Obra, que montó onze quentos poco más o menos, mando que de los maravedís de tributo al quitar perpetuo o juro o de otra renta que yo dexare para el dicho efecto al tiempo de mi fallecimiento, ante todas cosas se cumpla y acabe de pagar el dicho alcance. Y cumplido y pagado, mando que de lo que restare se den docientos ducados al Monasterio del Carmen d'esta cibdad de Toledo; y al Monasterio de Santa Úrsula d'esta dicha cibdad se den ansí mesmo otros docientos ducados; y a doña Jerónima, hija del dicho Hernando de Ayala, mi sobrino, se le den mill ducados para ayuda a su casamiento; y lo restante que quedare de los dichos tributos, juros o otra renta

que yo he comprado o comprare e dexare para la paga del dicho alcançe, se reparta por partes iguales entre los dichos don Pedro de Ayala y Diego López de Ayala, su hermano, sucesor en mi calongía, para que los *ayan* y hereden por suyos y como suyos para siempre. Y esto con que, ante todas cosas, se obligen al saneamiento y paga del dicho alcançe a que yo estoy obligado a pagar, digo, a la resta que d'él quedare por pagar al tiempo de mi fallecimiento, e con que por todos los días de su vida los aya y goze la señora doña Isabel Finolet, su madre, qu'está obligada ansí mesmo a la paga del dicho alcançe.

Iten mando la heredad que yo tengo en el lugar de Burguillos, aldea y jurisdición d'esta cibdad de Toledo, con la casa, bodega y vasijas que yo allí tengo, a Diego de Guzmán, mi sobrino, racionero en la dicha sancta iglesia, por sus días. Y después venga y la posea el que tubiere el mayorazgo o vínculo ya dicho.

E para cumplir este mi testamento, mandas y legatos píos en él contemnidos, nombro y dexo por mis albaçeas y executores d'él al *illustríssimo* señor Cardenal d'España don Joan Martínez Sillíceo, Arçob[ispo] de Toledo, y al señor Pedro Cebrián, canónigo en la dicha Sancta Iglesia de Toledo, y a la señora doña Isabel Finolet; y si alguna dubda hubiere en la declaración d'este mi testamento, remito la declaración d'ella al doctor Pero Vázquez, sin que aya lugar de apellación; a los quales, y a cada uno d'ellos, doy todo mi poder cumplido, que todos tres o los dos d'ellos cumplan y hagan cumplir este mi testamento, los quales se entreguen de mi hazienda y hasta haber cumplido y pagado todo lo en él contenido, no entreguen ni hereden cosa alguna de mis bienes; y pídoles por mí que lo cumplan y paguen con toda presteza.

[Diego López]

[f. 704v^o] E Cumplido y pagado este mi testamento y las mandas y legatos en él contenidas [*sic*], dexo y nombro por mi universal heredero de todos mis muebles raíces y semobientes, comoquiera *que* yo los aya y me pertenezcan, al dicho don Pedro de Ayala, mi sobrino, hijo del dicho Hernando de Ayala, mi sobrino, y de la dicha doña Isabel Finolet, su muger, para que los aya y herede y tenga por suyos para agora y para siempre jamás, con que la *señora* doña Isabel, su madre, sea usufructuaria de los dichos bienes hasta tanto qu'el dicho don Pedro de Ayala sea de hedad de sesusor [*sic*] y, casándose, luego a la ora se los dé y entregue. Y encárgole mucho que le sea obediente y se case con su licencia y bendición. Y ansí mismo quiero y es mi voluntad que la muger con quien se casare el dicho don Pedro tenga el apellido e se llame de Ayala²¹⁴. E por la presente reboco y doy por ningunos e de ningún valor y effecto todos los otros qualesquier y quales testamento o testamentos que antes d'éste haya hecho y otorgado, en qualquier manera que sea, y quiero que no valgan ni sean cumplidos ni executados en cosa alguna, salvo este dicho mi testamento que agora hago y otorgo; y si no valiere por testamento, quiero que valga por cobdicillo o por epístola o como de derecho mexor aya lugar.

[Diego López de Ayala]

[Diego López de Montenegro]

[Pedro Sótelo]

²¹⁴ According to López de Haro (114), Pedro de Ayala married Elvira de Toledo, the daughter of Diego García de Toledo and Catalina Ramírez de Vargas, and had Luzia de Ayala as their only daughter and heir.

[f. 705r]²¹⁵ En la muy noble e muy leal çibdad de Toledo, siete días [del] mes de febrero, año del nascimiento de *nuestro salvador Jesu Christo* de mill e quinientos e çinquenta e seis años e *en presencia* de mí, el notario público, e *testigos* de yuso escriptos, *pareció presente* el muy magnífico e muy rreverendo señor don Diego López de Ayala, vicario y canónigo de la *Santa Iglesia de Toledo* e obrero d'ella, e dixo *qu'él* tiene fecho e ordenado este su *testamento* e prostimera voluntad, *que* es esta *escriptura* cerrada e sellada, de *que* hazía e hizo *presentación*, *que* va *escripta* [*sic*] en çinco planas e acabado en otra plana y al pie de cada plana firmado de su nonbre e a fin d'él ansí mismo. Por ende, *que* esta *presente escriptura* otorgava e otorgó por tal su *testamento* e prostimera voluntad e por tal e como tal mandava e mandó *que* sea guardado, cunplido y executado; e nonbrava e nonbró por herederos e albaçeas a los en él contenidos; e rrebocó otros qualesquier *testamentos que* aya fecho e otorgado antes d'este e mandó *que* no valgan salvo éste, *qu'es* su *testamento* e prostimera voluntad e por tal lo otorgó e lo pidió por *testimonio*, *testigos que fueron presentes*: Alonso Sótelo e Joan de Horozco e Pedro Cabrera e Martín Calderón e Blas Ximénes, criados del Capellán Mayor de Granada, e Christóval de Aguilera e Joan de Figueroa, criados del dicho Capellán Mayor de Granada.

[Diego López de Ayala] [Alonso Sótelo] [Juan de Horozco]
[Pedro Cabrera] [Martín Calderon] [Blas Ximénez]
[Juan de Figueroa]

E yo, Payo *Rodrígues* Sótelo, notario de sus *Magestades* e notario público de los del número de la dicha çibdad de Toledo, *presente* fui a lo *que* dicho está con los dichos *testigos que* de suso firmaron sus nonbres e lo fize escribir e fize aquí este mi signo de otorgamiento del dicho señor don Diego López de Ayala, *que* yo conosco e aquí firmó su nonbre, e fize aquí mi signo *que* está tal en *testimonio* de verdad.

[Payo *Rodrígues*], notario público.

²¹⁵ This folio, written out by the notary public Payo Rodríguez Sótelo, officially records the will in the protocols.

Appendix B:

Prologue. *Treze questiones*. Toledo: 1549.

[f. 2r] Blasco de Garay al lector.

Blasco de Garay al lector. Entrando cierto dia entre otros, a visitar y besar las manos al muy reuerendo y muy magnifico señor Don Diego lopez de Ayala vicario y canonigo dela sancta yglesia de Toledo y obrero della. Sucedio *que* como me metiesse (segun su costunbre de rescebir sabrosamente a los estudiosos de las letras) en su libreria, y encomençasse acomunicar algunas obras raras *que* auia en ella: tope acaso con vn libro de mano *que* contenia treze questiones muy graciosas: sacadas y bueltas en nuestro Romance de cierta obra Toscana llamada el Philocalo del famoso poeta y orador Juan Bocacio. Delas quales haziendo yo la cata, por diuersas partes, encomençaronseme a encender las orejas de calor con la dulçura de su estilo. Tanto, *que* no pude dexar luego de preguntar, quien auia sido el autor de tan suaue clarea. El qual, dubdoso entre conceder y negar, trayame suspenso, con respuestas que me obligauan a ser adeuino. Una cosa seme declaro luego, por muy cierta, los sumarios de las preguntas *que* yuan en metro (o copuloas por hablar mas Castellano) auerlas compuesto Diego de salazar, *que* primero fue capitán y al fin hermitaño, varon en verdad el mas suficiente en *aquella* arte, assi de improuiso como de pensado, *que* jamas tuuo nuestra España. Delo qual me encomence a alegrar, por ver cosa de hombre, que no solo me tenia por amigo, mas avn muchas vezes hablando entre otros de mi, me llamaua su compañero. Pero como los tales sumarios enel dicho libro fuessen lo accessorio y de menos importancia (avnque ensi muy buenos) no cesse de querer saber adelante quien auia compuesto tan elegante y polida Castellana prosa. Y por la negatiua que se me hizo, de muchos que yo sospechaua auerla compuesto (avn *que* simepre me parecia eceder la obra ala opinion mia) conosci en fin la affirmatiua, que era ser el verdadero interprete de el tal libro, el [f. 2v] dueño en cuyo poder estaua. Del qual (porque no careciesse *nuestra* lengua materna de semejantes riquezas) no con poca instancia trabaje, que consintiesse sacarle a luz pues tan digno era de ella. Puesto que ya a hurtadas sele auia otro antes diuulgado, y como ala sazón no le hallasse titulo, pusole el que a el mejor le parecio, llamandole Laberyntho de amor de Juan Bocacio, como el Laberynto sea libro distinto del Philocalo, avnque todos de vn mismo autor. Assi mismo sacole muy vicioso, como cosa de rebato hurtada. Agora pues amigo lector os le damos correctissimo, y conla vltima lima de su autor afinado. Poreso recebilde y abraçalde de buena gana y voluntad: *que* en verdad no siento en nuestro Romance (por agora) cosa mas elegante y esmerada en estilo. Y esperad tras este, el Arcadia del famoso Sanazaro, traduzida en prosa y en metro como esta en su Toscano, por la misma buena junta de ingenios *que* agora va traduzido este. Y con tanto quedad en hora buena.

Appendix C:

Introduction. *Treze questiones*. Toledo: 1549.

[f. 3r] Comiençan treze quistiones traduzidas de lengua Toscana en Española por vna persona muy cobdiciosa de seruir conellas a vn su amigo.

Leyendo por mi passatiempo el verano passado, vn libro en lengua toscana, que se llama Filocalo: *que* quiere dezir tanto como fatiga de amor. El *qual* compuso el famoso Juan Bocacio: a instancia de madama Maria hija del rey Ruberto de Napoles. Entre muchas materias sutiles de amor *que* la historia trata halle treze questiones *que* se propusieron delante della en vna fiesta: *seyendo* elegida de todos los *que* la celebrauan reyna: para *que* las determinasse. Y paresciendome bien, acorde de traduzirlas en *nuestro* romance castellano: endereçandolas a vuestra merced: ala qual suplico las mande rescebir como embiadas de persona *que* si mas tuuiera, con mas os siruiera: y leed esta breue entrada para *que* por camino derecho os lleue ala fin dela obra. Valete.

Appendix D:

Prologue. *Arcadia*. Toledo: 1547.

[f. 2r] Al muy magnifico y muy reuerendo señor Gonçalo Perez secretario supremo del principe don Phelippe nuestro señor, y arcediano de Sepulueda, etc. Blasco de Garay su seruidor. S.P.D.

Pienso que diran algunos muy magnifico y muy reuerendo señor, delos que me vieren sacar a luz semejantes obras delos rincones de sus dueños, que me voy haziendo otra Iuno Lucina, la qual siendo manera, steril y sin generacion alguna de hijos, tomo por oficio fauorecer alas que parian. Y por el negado vso de ser madre, holgo de ser partera y ayudadora en los partos ajenos. Y avnque en esto, podria ser, que en parte acertassen (puesto que algunas cosas mias andan ya por el vulgo, y otras estan para salir, mas dinas del nombre de abortiuos que de partos) no dexare de traer aqui las razones, que en la diuulgacion dela presente obra, me mouieron. Delas quales quiero (por lo que ami honra toca) poner la primera la obligacion de mi palabra. Pues si esta el hombre no cumple, no tiene con *que* se deua llamar hombre: conforme a aquel trillado refran de nuestra Castilla. El mesmo ala sentencia de Publio, que dezia. Fidem qui perdit: quo se seruet in reliquum? que (como vuestra merced mejor entiende) suena en nuestro Castellano. Quien quiebra la palabra, que le queda con que guardar su credito? Esta palabra empeñe, quando diuulgue las treze quistiones, que del Filoculo del famoso poeta y orador Iuan Bocacio, traslado elegantemente don Diego Lopez de Ayala, canonigo y vica- [f. 2v] rio dela sancta yglesia de Toledo y obrero de ella. Tras la qual diuulgacion prometi dar luego esta obra, porque juntamente con aquella la libre, con importunos ruegos, dela tiniebla, o (por mejor dezir) oluido, en *que* su interprete la auia puesto: sin pensamiento de hazer jamas, lo que agora yo hago por el. Porque mas la tenia para comunicacion y passatiempo de amigos, que para soltarla por el incierto y desuariado juyzio del vulgo. De manera, que ya casi yo temia, *que* por justicia me podian pedir esta palabra; quando rebelde huyesse de cumplirla. La otra razon que a ello me mouio, *que* avnque no es la primera, es la mas principal, fue seruir a. v.m. con cosa no ajena de su delicado gusto. Para lo qual, tuue desta algun concepto, assi por ser tal como todos saben que es, como por pensar, que en la primera lengua que se escriuio, la tenia vuestra erudition y pretentia tan conocida y familiar, que si era menester, de coro (como dizen) relatauades todos los mas notables lugares y puntos de ella. Y no solo eso, mas vuestro singular ingenio, contendia algunas vezes, darnos en nuestra misma lengua Castellana, a gustar los propios versos en que primero fue compuesta: por donde espero agora, no seros desagradable me presente seruicio. Dexado que este es vn trabajo diligentemente de tres singulares varones tomado, y que todos tres fueron vno. Que digo? Que nuevo Quescosicosa propongo? Oyga pues. v.m. si es seruido, y vera *que* no me falta razon para dezir esto. El author que compuso el presente libro en su primer lenguaje que llaman Toscano (mas como. v.m. bien sabe por el nombre dela tierra donde se halba, dicha en su vulgar, Toscana, o Tuscia en latin, que porque en el aya alguna tosqueria como el vulgo piensa) se llamaua Iacobo Sanazaro, caullero Napolitano, avnque de origen Español: tan claro por sus letras; *que* a quererle yo agora de nuevo loar, seria obscurecer sus alabanças con las faltas de mi rudo ingenio. Porque, alo que afirman los mas sabios, o ygualo a Virgilio en el verso Latino, o se acerco tanto a el que a ninguno quiso dexar en medio. Y en el verso vulgar (siguiendo

materia pastoril) vnos dizen que sobrepujo, otros *que* ygualo al mejor delos poetas Toscanos. Este [f. 3r] pues es aquel famoso y no brado [*sic*] entre doctos Iacobo Sanazaro, cuyo nombre querria mil vezes repetir, mas para recreacion de mis orejas, que para hazerle por mis palabras manifiesto. El qual Iacobo, en nuestro castellano quiere dezir Diego. El segundo *que* traslado toda la prosa dela presente obra, fue el ya nombrado don Diego lopez de Ayala, de cuyo poder salio ella conlo de mas, qual a. v.m. la embio, que creo no va mal arreada, assi de stilo y primor, como de propiedad de hablar, no solo Castellana mas Toledana y de cortes cauallero. Avnque algunos medio letradillos podrian achacar los muchos epithetos *que* lleua, diziendo ser agenos de buena prosa: No considerando que toda esta obra tiene nombre de poesia y fiction, donde aquellos largamente se consienten: y que assi estauan enla primera lengua; en que no descuydadamente la compuso su sabio author, de adonde el como fiel interprete la traslado. El tercero fue Diego de Salazar, que antes era capitán, y al fin y vejez suya fue hermitaño, amigo mio tan intimo y familiar que vsaua llamarme su compañero. Delo qual yo holgaua no poco, como hombre que conocia (si algo puedo dezir q[ue] conozco) el valor y quilates de su ingenio. Porque osaria afirmar lo *que* otras vezes he dicho: enel verso Castellano: assi de improuiso como de pensado, ser la Phenix de nuestra Hespaña. Puesto que en prosa no fue de menospreciar, como nos muestran sus claras obras. Este compuso toda la parte del verso que aqui va, harto mas elegante en estilo, que atada ala letra del primer author Lo qual no tengo por inconuiniente, pues es menos principal, apartarse dela letra, quando ni es hystoria ni sciencia que comprehende alguna verdad, que impedir vna tal vena y furor poetico. Assi que fueron tres los que incurrieron enel presente trabajo, varones todos muy señalados, y que todos tuuieron vn nombre de Diego. He aqui luego tres y vno, con que se desata mi propuesto enyigma. Resciba pues. v.m. tan buena junta y terno de ingenios (o por mejor dezir) este triunuirato de eloquentes. Y mire que aqui se le presenta trença de tres ramales texida, que (como dize el sabio) dificultosamente se rompe. Y pues la obra es tal y de tales, prestele. v.m. alegremente su amparo contra [f. 3v] las malas lenguas: porque avnque de suyo va bien fauorecida, no poco de fauor se le añadira con voto de tan principal y general varon, que no solamente en Toscano y Castellano pudiera hazerlo solo, lo que todos tres enella han hecho: mas si fuera menester, la domara a hablar en Griego y en Latin, tan perfectamente, como en nuestros tiempos el mas sabio hazer lo pudiera. Y suplico esto, porque tengo por cierto, que con su escudo amparada, se podran las monstruosas cabeças delos *que* contra ella presumieren hablar, corta, muy mejor que Perseo corto la cabeça de Medusa, cubierto conel Egide de Pallas. Finalmente *que*, con vuestro soplo, bolara muy dichosa por la presentia de todos: y mi desseo de seruir a. v.m. a nadie sera abscondido. Assi por auer sacado a luz, en su nombre, vna obra tan agradable alos juyzios delos *que* algo sintieren: como por passalla vna ligera mano: tanto para hazerla hablar (segun mi posibilidad y pobreza de ingenio) en mas ordenado estilo Castellano: quanto para traduzir mejor la parte del verso *que* en alguna manera yua apartada del verdadero sentido delo Toscano de adonde se saco. Avnque no dudo que sus interpretes: como auisados y singulares varones, auria seguido enesto lo mas apropiado, y *que* mas conuenia para traspasar de vna lengua estrangera enla suya propria. Mas no poy dexe de añadir vn poco de mi trabajo enlo vno y enlo otro, assi por hazer lo que era en mi, como por venir la cosa apaladar que bastaria a ser piedra de toque, no solo desto, mas de todo quanto ay bien scripto. Pero, si

mi obra no yqualare con mi desseo, suplico a. v.m. resciba enella el affecto y no el effecto. Vale. O & praesidium & dulce decus meum.

Appendix E:

Afterword. *Arcadia*. Toledo: 1547.

[f. 65v] Blasco de Garay racionero en la sancta yglesia de Toledo al lector. Ueis aqui amigo lector donde os hemos dado *impresa* el *Arcadia* del famoso Sanazaro; en *vuestra propria* Castellana lengua. Poyesso si antes de agora la vuyeredes leydo, o por ventura la teneis de mano scripta (como muchos hay *que* la tienen) no os maravilleis de ver tanta copia de versos o copulas en esta impresion mudados. Y digo versos: porque en la prosa casi no fue menester poner mano; por el gran primor y cuydado; con que su excelente interprete y singular maestro del vno y otro lenguaje; la traslado. Ni tampoco querria que *pensassedes*; *que* por auentajarme a el ingenio de mi buen amigo Diego de Salazar lo he hecho: Porque antes en verdad estimo y estimare sienpre en mas (como es razon) su troba que la mia; or ser facil; graciosa elegante y muy sonora. Mas como ay muchos tan curiosos; *que* avn en las obras fingidas y de passatienpo; quieren *que* sea fiel la traduccion. Porque vna vez el animo aplicado a dessear vna cosa; dificultosamente se aparta de querer aquella. Dexado *que* el mal interprete sienpre queda subjecto ala ley de no ser creydo que entendio lo que traslado. A esta causa; casi forçado; me puse a traduzir (como de nueuo) las mas delas presentes A eglogas; admitiendo y dexando en su primera forma: todo aquello; que en alguna manera se podia entender en el sentido del Toscano author: si quiera fuesse copula entera o media; o si quiera fuesse solamente vn pie, si con los demas que yo añadia se podia enxerir y juntar. Y avn (por hablar la verdad) consintiendo alas vezes los forasteros vocablos y repeticion de vnos mismos consanantes [*sic*] de que a menudo auia vsado el ya nonbrado amigo Diego de Salazar: mas (alo que creo) por escusarse de fatiga como viejo que era ala sazón: *que* por otra falta que del se pudiesse presumir en este caso. Lo qual me plugo hazer assi, porque no fuesse parte la mudança mia; a *que* [f. 66r] la obra que dasse huerfana del nombre de tan buen poeta, merecedor de mayores titulos *que* aquestos. Y assi es mi voluntad que tocada la parte que aqui se hallare mia (la qual avn *que* sea mas en cantidad sera menos en *qualidad*) toda se atribuya a Diego de Salazar como a primer adalid deste acometimiento. Pues me terne por honrado en *que* la quieran admitir por suya. Y avn no me faltara temor de no ser tal *qual* conuenia para juntarse con parte tan excelente. Puesto *que* la culpa podria atribuyr en alguna manera ala breuedad del tiempo: *que* casi entonces la encomence a emendar, quando ya el impressor la encomençaua a enprimir. De suerte *que* no tuue espacio no solo para madurarla y reposarla, como deuia. Mas ni avn para tornarla a reueer: Siendo precepto de Horatio. Ne precipitetur editio nonumque prematur in annum. Y assi no dubdo; sino *que* puniendo me a corregir faltas ajenas (si tales se pueden llamar las de Salazar) aya yo manifestado las mias proprias. Poyesso sabio lector quando las entendieredes y notaredes tened por bien; ofreciendoseos copia de impressor; de darnoslas a otra buelta mas emendadas. Pues la obra lo meresce; que (segun mi juyzio) es vna nata de toda la poesia. Y en ello tomareys poco trabajo porque ya os dexamos el camino abierto; y casi allanado; para que con menos fatiga podays quitar los tropeçones *que* en el ouiere. Y esta mi diligencia; qualquiera que aya sido; pues se tomo por seruiros: echalda ala mejor parte. Quedad en hora buena.

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