DE ACTIBUS ALFONSI DE CARTAGENA: BIOGRAPHY AND THE CRAFT OF DYING IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CASTILE

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1. Manuscript tradition, authorship, and date

De actibus Alfonsi de Cartagena episcopi Burgensis is known to scholars as a source on the life of Alfonso García de Santamaría, later called Alfonso de Cartagena, a leading figure in the ecclesiastical and literary history of fifteenth-century Castile. In this paper I approach the text from a different perspective, attempting a literary study of the work together with critical edition, translation, and commentary.[1]

De actibus is preserved in two fifteenth-century witnesses, *M* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 7432, fols 89-92) and *F* (Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 77, fols 54r-60). A further witness, now lost, is listed in Father Sigüenza's sixteenth-century catalogue of the Escorial library: 'Alfonsi de Cartagena libri Genealogiae Regum Hispanie cum tractatu quodam incerti authoris de eiusdem Alfonsi uita et

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[1] References to *De actibus* are to line-numbers in my edition below. The work is used by Manuel Martínez Añibarro y Rives, *Intento de un diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de autores de la provincia de Burgos* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1889), pp. 88-115; Luciano Serrano, *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena: obispos de Burgos, gobernantes, diplomáticos y escritores* (Madrid: CSIC, 1942), pp. 119-260, and Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos: historia de la judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios* (Madrid: CSIC, 1952), pp. 416-64. The text was first edited by Yolanda Espinosa Fernández, *La 'Anacephaleosis' de Alonso de Cartagena: edición, traducción, estudio*, 3 vols, Colección Tesis Doctorales, 243/89 (Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1989), I, 38-49.

actibus. membr. II.[*in ras.* ~~F-15~~]1 17'.[2] In all three cases the text was copied as a postscript to *Anacephaleosis regum Hispanie*, a genealogical roll of the kings of Castile on which Cartagena was engaged in the months before he died

De actibus is anonymous in all the witnesses. A clue to its authorship has been sought in the subscription on fol 71*v* of *M*, at the end of the penultimate quire of *Anacephaleosis*:

> hunc librum scripsit Iohannis sancii de nebreda capellanus ecclesie Burgensis de mandato Reuerendi patris domini alfonsi ~~de cartajena ep~~ [*in ras.*] huius nominis secundi Episcopi Burgensis /a quo compositus fuit Et fuit perfectus liber iste ultimo die febroarii Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo sexto pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini Domini Pape Calisti tercii Anno primo Rregnante domino nostro enrrico quarto Regni eius Anno secundo. uicessimo anno sui Episcopatus

On the basis of this note it has been assumed that Juan Sánchez de Nebreda, Cartagena's amanuensis at the end of his life, was the author of *De actibus*.[3]

Cursory inspection of *M* disposes of this hypothesis *De actibus* occupies a separate quire of four leaves added at least five months after Nebreda's subscription of 29 February 1456 (Cartagena's death occurred on the following 22 July); the hand does not match any of those in the rest of the MS.[4] Its Latinity and orthography are also different. The date in Nebreda's subscription, 'ultimo die febroarii

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[2] Guillermo Antolin, *Catalogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols (Madrid. Imprenta Helénica, 1910-23), V, 331-487, at pp. 335-36

[3] Martínez Añibarro, *Intento*, p 98, 'atribuido á Juan Sánchez de Nebreda'; Serrano, *Los conversos*, p 237 (but more cautiously, 'hecha por uno de los familiares de don Alfonso', pp 119-20, n. 3); Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, p 493 n. 65, Espinosa, *La 'Anacephaleosis'*, I, 37, n. 4.

[4] Espinosa, *La 'Anacephaleosis'*, I, 147, points to the difference between Nebreda's hand and the rougher script of *De actibus*. Different again is the hand in Nebreda's copy of Cartagena's *Doctrinal de cavalleros* in BN MS 12.796 ('Istum librum perfecit Iohannes de Nebreda', fol. 119*v*) from the Count of Haro's library; see Jeremy Lawrance, 'Nueva luz sobre la biblioteca del conde de Haro: inventario de 1455', *El Crotalón: Anuario de Filología Española*, I (1984), 1073-1111, at pp. 1105, §148, and 1108-11.

Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo sexto', shows five divergences from that of Cartagena's death in *De actibus* 340-42 'uicesima secunda die menssis Iullii anno a natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi milesimo quadragentesimo quinquagesimo sexto' (see apparatus *ad loc.*). Nebreda's 'domini Domini Pape Calisti tercii' is distinct from *De actibus* 383, 'dominus calixtus papa tertius' Furthermore, the copy of *De actibus* is not original, but an apograph Its mistakes are clearly due to scribal incomprehension. What author, however careless, would write 'carga ginesis' for 'Cartaginensis' or 'cum poste llanus' for 'Compostellanus' (*De actibus* 22, 36)? Variants in *F* suggest that these and other mistakes in *M* were correctly written in the archetype from which both descend (see Section 4 below). In sum, it is highly improbable that Nebreda was either copyist or author of *De actibus Alfonsi de Cartagena*.

The question of authorship must therefore be tackled afresh from internal evidence. The writer was a cleric with strong ties to the diocese of Burgos Besides his devotion to the bishop he shows intimate knowledge of the cathedral and Sarmental palace, its building works, treasures, and festivals, and of the chapel of the Visitation and its library, which he used as the basis for his account of Cartagena's pastoral and literary works. By contrast, he shows little interest in his subject's career in the royal council. It is safe to assume, then, that our author was one of the circle of clerics associated with Cartagena's celebrated cathedral *schola*. His style, though vivid, is not elegant or even correct, but his narrative is lucid and shows practice in writing.

While the barbarous Latinity of *De actibus* excludes authorship by either of the two most famous writers from this *schola*, Alfonso de Palencia and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, both of whom polished their orthography and grammar in humanist Italy, there is another candidate from the same circle who merits consideration, Diego Rodríguez de Almela (*ca* 1426-89). Almela, whose father had been a *familiar* of Cartagena's father Pablo de Santamaría during his tenure of the see of Cartagena, entered Alfonso de Cartagena's service as a *paje* with a scholarship from the chapter of his native Murcia in 1440, at the same time as Palencia and Arévalo. Almela recalled, in the

dedication of his *Valerio de las estorias*, how Cartagena put him to learn Latin and gave him the run of his library.

> Como yo estoviese de hedat de catorze años en servicio del muy reverendo mi señor don Alfonso de Cartajena de gloriosa memoria, obispo de Burgos, ⁊ por su merced me mandase aprender gramatica, algund tanto introducto enella, como en su camara oviese muchos libros de diversas sciencias theologales ⁊ de philosophia, leys, ⁊ canones, ⁊ asi mesmo muchas estorias ⁊ cronicas asi dela sacra escriptura como de emperadores, reyes, ⁊ principes, señalada mente delos de España, por non estar ocioso [. . .] di me aleer.[5]

As was his custom with clever students in the *schola*, Cartagena provided Almela to a living in the cathedral chapter of Burgos, and made him his *camarero*.[6] Almela accompanied Cartagena on his final pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, and would have been present at the scenes recounted in *De actibus* 219-350.[7] After the bishop's death Almela remained in Burgos until 1464; he then returned to Murcia, where he was appointed to a canonry by the good offices of Cartagena's nephew Juan Ortega de Maluenda, bishop of Coria.

Almela idolized Cartagena, speaking of him in many works and writing a eulogy in *Valerio de las estorias* (a work planned by Carta-

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[5] Diego Rodríguez de Almela, *Valerio de las estorias escolásticas e de España* (Murcia: Lope dela Roca, 1487), facsimile rpt edited by Juan Torres Fontes (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1994), 'Prologo', fol. A1, at p. 7. Almela's prologue is dated 23 March 1462.

[6] *Familiaris* and archpriest of Urbel (Santibáñez-Zarzaguda?), granted a *media ración* in the cathedral 24 September 1455, in Burgos, Archivo Capitular (henceforth ACB), Reg. 14, fol. 164 (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 198); 'criado ⁊ camarero del dicho mi señor el obispo', in Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, fols. A1v/p. 8, and A3v/p. 12. On Almela (or Almella, equally common in contemporary sources) see Torres Fontes' introduction to Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, and Diego Rodriguez de Almela, *Cartas (BL MS Egerton 1173)*, edited by David Mackenzie, EHT, 25 (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1980).

[7] ACB, Capilla de la Visitación (henceforth CV), Libro 1, fols lxxxv-lxxxvi. Cartagena signs a document in Santiago 12 June 1456 witnessed by 'Diego Rodriguez de Almella beneficiado en la iglesia de Burgos, arcipreste de Urbel' (Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, pp. 446-47); see n. 50 to the translation below.

gena himself) which shows detailed parallels with *De actibus*.[8] When the first German printer arrived in Valencia Almela contracted him to publish Cartagena's *Oracional*, together with two shorter treatises and Fernando Pérez de Guzmán's *Coplas sobre la muerte de don Alfonso de Cartagena* (Murcia: Gabriel Luis de Ariño & Lope de la Roca, 1487). On a visit to Rome in 1467-68 Almela obtained a bull to found a chapel of the Visitation in the new cathedral of Murcia, in imitation of Cartagena's chantry of the same name in Burgos (cf. *De actibus* 207-18).[9] Almela admitted his Latin was mediocre ('porque mi sciencia es poca, propuse el su deseo escrivir en nuestra lengua castellana', *Valerio de las estorias*, 'Prologo', fol. A1v/p. 8); in securely attributed works he uses the language only in two subscriptions, too short for certain identification but by no means incompatible with the Latinity of *De actibus*.[10] In sum, Almela's candidacy for authorship of *De actibus*, though speculative, is rather persuasive.

The copies of *De actibus* are undated. Its circumstantial details of Cartagena's death in Villasandino on Thursday 22 July 1456 (see Section 2) are unlikely to have been recorded long after the event. On the other hand, the list of the bishop's works concludes: 'Omnia uero predicta librorum uolumina reposita sunt in libraria eclesie Burgensis translata et scripta post obitum eius' (*De actibus* 157-58). Since the task of collecting and copying Cartagena's works 'after his death' must have taken some time, it is logical to conclude that *De actibus* was completed in 1457. There are signs that the text was consulted by later writers, notably Cartagena's protégé Fernando de

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[8] Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, VIII.6.9, fol. S6/pp. 289-90; compare *De actibus* 34-156 and nn. 24, 34, 37, 39, 45, and 53 to my translation. On Cartagena's original plan for the Spanish Valerius see 'Prologo', fols A1-1v/pp. 7-8. 'En su vida cognosci ser su deseo que, como Valerio Maximo delos fechos romanos ꝛ de otros fizo una copilacion [. .], que asi su merced entendia fazer otra copilacion delos fechos dela sacra scriptura ꝛ delos reyes de España, de que cosa alguna Valerio non fablo, lo qual el feziera en latin escripto en palabras scientificas ꝛ de grand eloquencia, si biviera.'

[9] Bull of 20 August 1466, cited in Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, pp. xiii, xviii.

[10] Almela, *Cartas*, pp. 16, 76 ('Eiusdem dominationis vestrae devotissimus orator et fidelissimus servitor et capelanus Didacus canonicus Cartagenensis')

Pulgar for his *semblanza* in *Claros varones de Castilla* (written *ca* 1483-85).[11] Among other correspondences of content, Pulgar's conclusion, 'Finó conosciendo a Dios e dexando fama loable e claro exemplo de vida', shows affinity with the main theme of *De actibus*, as we shall now see.

2. *Form and genre*

De actibus is avowedly an account of Cartagena's life and works. However, despite its title and connexion with the bishop's historical *Anacephaleosis* (to which it is linked by internal allusions at beginning, middle, and end, 13, 149-56, 357-66), *De actibus* is no straightforward biography. It consists of an encomium whose specific centre of interest is revealed in the climactic scene of Cartagena's exemplary death, which occupies nearly half the narrative (*De actibus* 219-390). The account of this death includes careful details of the pious dispositions of the bishop's will and testament, as well as a long account of his last words and actions. The *agonia* is accompanied by miracles and omens and closed by plangent lamentation. These scenes are preceded by a pilgrimage to the jubilee in Santiago for the acquisition of indulgences for Cartagena's soul in Purgatory (he died on the road back to Burgos). The biographical account of his deeds and charitable works (*De actibus* 34-218) functions as a prologue to the death; the whole work is structured as a paradigm of the *nouissima* or last things of a good Christian.

Seen in this light, what makes the literary pattern of *De actibus* interesting is its blending of two distinct genres. The first, corresponding to the introductory biographical section, is the *semblanza* or pen-portrait. Properly speaking, *semblanzas* were a collective genre, being assembled in galleries of short lives whose purpose was to epitomize a generation, a cultural movement, or a national character, and often arranged into comparative series (good *v.* bad, ancient *v.* modern, etc.). They belonged to an ancient biographical genre,

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[11] Fernando del Pulgar, *Claros varones de Castilla*, edited by R. B. Tate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 65-68.

typified by Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, which was revived and popularized by Italian humanists in the fifteenth century.[12] In Spain the genre achieved its classic form, the anthology of retrospective sketches of the leading men of the writer's own generation, in Fernando Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y semblanzas* and its imitation by Fernando de Pulgar, *Claros varones de Castilla*. The popularity of the genre was reflected in a variety of less well-known works in Latin and Spanish such as Bartolomeo Facio's humanist *De viris aevi sui illustribus* written in Naples for Alfonso V of Aragón, Pérez de Guzmán's *Mar de historias* (based on Giovanni Colonna's *Mare historiarum*), Cartagena's *Anacephaleosis*, Alfonso de Toledo's *Espejo de las istorias* on heroes of antiquity, Books XXIII-XXV of Lucius Marinaeus's *Opus de rebus Hispaniae memorabilibus*, and Pere Miquel Carbonell's *De viris illustribus Catalanis*.[13] There were also a number of translations of Plutarch's and Suetonius's *Lives*, the most important being the magnificent two-volume *Plutharcho* of Alfonso de Palencia (Sevilla: Compañeros alemanes, 1491).[14]

De actibus signals its affiliation with the *semblanza* by its opening quotation from the deuterocanonical *Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach* ('Let us now sing the praises of famous men, our ancestors in their generations', Sirach 44:1), the passage which provided the *thema* of Fernando Pérez de Guzmán's poetic *Loores de los claros varones de*

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[12] Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1948), pp. 18-27, gives a brief overview of the rise of humanist biographical collections from Filippo Villani's late fourteenth-century *De civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus* through Bruni, Biondo, Cortese, Aeneas Silvius, and Vespasiano da Bisticci to Giorgio Vasari's sixteenth-century *Vite*.

[13] See B. Sánchez Alonso, *Historia de la historiografía española*, I: *Hasta la publicación de la crónica de Ocampo (-1543)*, 2nd edition (Madrid: CSIC, 1947), pp. 308, 377-78, and 344-46.

[14] J. S. Lasso de la Vega, 'Traducciones españolas de las *Vidas* de Plutarco', *Estudios Clásicos*, VI (1962), 450-71; Jorge Bergua Cavero, *Estudios sobre la tradición de Plutarco en España (siglos XIII-XVII)*, Monografías de Filología Griega, 6 (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, Departamento de Ciencias de la Antigüedad, 1995).

España, and inspired the title of his prose *Generaciones y semblanzas*.[15] *De actibus* is longer than a typical *semblanza* by Guzmán or Pulgar, but in other respects it resembles them, characteristic are its choice and arrangement of material, beginning with the subject's lineage and proceeding to an account of his deeds shaped by medieval estates-theory (ecclesiastical in this case, and hence concerned with scholarship, pious works, and pastoral duties rather than martial exploits). Also typical of the genre is *De actibus*'s moral purpose. Its encomiastic content is shaped by the requirements of rhetoric, omitting much of substance in Cartagena's career while including anecdotal and exemplary material.[16]

These formal resemblances to the *semblanza* are offset, however, by striking divergences. The tone of *De actibus* is quite different from that of Guzmán's and Pulgar's biographies, with their affectation of dispassionate balance, the forensic concern to portray subjects as blends of contrasting vices and virtues, and the final judgment on their place in the scale of contemporary history. *De actibus*, by contrast, ends with lamentation, a paean on the defence of Belgrade against the Turks by János Hunyadi, and a verse epitaph. To explain why our text is so unlike a *semblanza* in these respects we must turn to the second of the two generic strands in its makeup. It is here that the concentration on Cartagena's deathbed provides the clue. The pattern of our text is determined by the *artes bene moriendi*, texts

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[15] *De actibus* 1-4. Our author probably knew both Guzmán's texts, given the latter's contacts with Cartagena during the 1450s while writing *Generaciones y semblanzas* (started *ca* 1450, completed after the deaths of Juan II and Álvaro de Luna in 1453-54); see Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, edited by R.B. Tate, Colección Támesis, B2 (London: Tamesis, 1965), p. xvi.

[16] Francisco López Estrada, 'La retórica en las *Generaciones y semblanzas* de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán', *Revista de Filología Española*, XXX (1946), 310-52, Carlos Claveria, 'Notas sobre la caracterización de la personalidad en *Generaciones y semblanzas*', *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia*, X (1951-52), 481-526, José Luis Romero, 'Sobre la biografía española del siglo XV y los ideales de la vida', *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, I-II (1944), 115-38; and Tate's prefaces to Guzmán, *Generaciones y semblanzas*, pp. xv-xx, and Pulgar, *Claros varones*, pp. xviii-l.

about the art of dying which spread throughout Latin Europe in the fifteenth century.[17]

The *ars moriendi* tradition needs to be distinguished from the general late-medieval fascination with the macabre, with its commonplaces about purgatory, indulgences, worms, and the iconography of Fortune's wheel, Death's dance, and the cauldrons of Hell. The distinctive contribution of the crafts of dying was their concentration on a particular space, the deathbed, and on the ritual of the *gisant*—that is to say, the behaviour of the Christian at his *transitus*, the moment at which the soul leaves the body to run the gauntlet of invisible hosts of demons. The biblical *locus* for this ritual occurs in a source whose relevance to *De actibus* has already been mentioned, *Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach* (11.26-28, cf. n. 66 to my translation):

> For it is easy for the Lord on the day of death to reward a man according to his conduct. An hour's misery makes him forget past delights, and in the last end of man his deeds are revealed. Call no man happy before his death: by how he ends a man becomes known.

Artes moriendi set out to describe the perils of this terrible 'day of death' and teach techniques for combatting them.[18] In Spain their influence can be traced in works ranging from Manrique's *Coplas a la muerte de su padre* to *Dança general de la muerte*.[19] *De actibus* is a humble but significant example.

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[17] Mary Catharine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: the Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942); Dietrich Briesemeister, 'Die Überlieferung der *Ars moriendi* im mittelalterlichen Spanien', in *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, 3 vols (Oviedo: Universidad & Madrid: Gredos, 1985-87), I, 381-93.

[18] Philippe Ariès, 'L'heure de la mort, mémoire d'une vie', in his *L'Homme devant la mort*, 2nd edition, 2 vols (Paris: Le Seuil, 1977), I, 99-140.

[19] Jeremy Lawrance, 'La muerte y el morir en las letras ibéricas al fin de la Edad Media', in *Actos del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, 21-26 de agosto de 1995, Birmingham*, I, *Medieval y lingüística*, edited by Aengus M. Ward (Birmingham: Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Birmingham, 1998), pp. 1-26; and 'Death in *Tirant lo Blanc*', in *Tirant lo Blanc: New Approaches*, edited by Arthur Terry (London: Tamesis, 1999), pp. 91-107.

3. *Sources and style*

The primary source of *De actibus* was personal acquaintance with Alfonso de Cartagena. Several details of the biography are found in no other account, and bear traces of autopsy or oral information, such are the story about the Hussite spies who set fire to the bishop's lodgings (*De actibus* 97-108) and many details of Cartagena's words and actions on his deathbed (237-351). Circumstances such as the presence of Cartagena's brother Pedro and his sons (243-44) and the memorable vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary (306-14) cannot be attributed to invention or the conventions of *ars moriendi*.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the author also conducted research in the library and archive of Burgos cathedral. Among numerous details which reveal consultation of documents are the terms of Cartagena's last will and testament (*De actibus* 249-60) and his wish to take part in the crusade against the Ottoman Turks, explicitly quoted from *Anacephaleosis* (357-66). Both derive from volumes chained in Cartagena's chapel of the Visitation (see nn. 34, 53 to my translation). In fact the bulk of the factual information about the bishop's career turns out to be based on this collection (*De actibus* 34-156, see nn. 10-11, 14, 16-18, 24-35, and 50 to the translation).

Another source may have been the epitaphs on the family tombs in the Dominican friary of San Pablo. Pablo de Santamaria's epitaph, which should be compared with *De actibus* 16-33, ran as follows:

> Hic requiescit corpus Reverendi Patris Domini Pauli, / miseratione divina Episcopi Burgensis, Magistri in theologia, / Archicancellarii & Consiliarii serenissimi Dni. nostri Regis / Joannis hujus nominis II. Qui venerandus Pontifex hanc / Ecclesiam cum Sacristia & Capitulo suis sumptibus ædificavit. / Additiones ad postillam Magistri Nicolai de Lyra & librum qui / dicitur Scrutinium Scripturarum ad fidelium eruditionem / & infidelium impugnationem composuit. Et post haec & / multa alia pia opera, liberatus de corpore mortis hujus / profectus est ad omnipotentem Deum senex & plenus dierum / XXIX. die Augusti Anno Domini MCDXXXV. ætatis vero suæ / LXXXIII. Clementia divina illum in gloria sua collocare dignetur Amen.

Gonzalo de Santamaria's epitaph, which also supplies phrases in *De actibus* (e.g. 'legitimo [ ] matrimonio', 17; 'una ex parte parietis,

et ex altera parte', 28), ran as follows:

> Hic quiescit corpus reverendi patris domini Gundisalvi episcopi Seguntini decretorum doctoris auditoris et consiliatoris serenisimi principis domini nostri Iohanis huius nominis secundi regis Castelle et Legionis: hic venerandus pontifex fuit filius ex legitimo matrimonio natus reverendi pontificis domini Pauli cuius corpus in altero pariete tumulatum estetit. Et post multa pia opera liberatus de corpore mortis huius profectus est ad omnipotentem Deum 17 mensis Decembris anni 1448, etatis vero sue 49. Clemencia divina illum in gloria sua collocare dignetur Amen.[20]

Cartagena was buried not in San Pablo, but in the chapel of the Visitation in Burgos cathedral. The epitaph on his alabaster tomb may have been available to the author of *De actibus*.

> Hic quiescit corpus reuerendi patris dñi Alfonsi de Cartajena eps. burgensis qui inter alia opera pia capellam hanc fieri fecit in qua setem capellanos et duos acollitos perpetuo instituit: fuit amator pacis et pacem inter Iohannem Castelle et Iohanem Portugalie reges atque inter imperatorem Albertum et regem Polonie firmauit: plures libros ad utilitatem publicam condidit. Defensorium fidei: Oracionale. Memoriale uirtutum: Doctrinale militum: Genealogiam regum Ispanie: Duodenarium. et de preheminencia sesionis inter Castelle et Anglie reges tractatum edidit et in concilio Basiliensi pro regno Castelle sentenciam obtinuit et in fine dierum suorum sanctum Iacobum anno iubilei uisitauit et in diocesim suam rediens spiritum altissimo redidit in opido de Villasendino XXII Julii anno Dñi MCCCCLVI etatis uero sue anno LXXI.[21]

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[20] San Pablo was demolished in 1865; the epitaphs are recorded in Henrique Flórez, *España sagrada, XXVI, contiene el estado antiguo de las iglesias de Auca, de Valpuesta, y de Burgos, justificado con instrumentos legítimos, y memorias inéditas* (Madrid: Oficina de Pedro Marin, 1771), p. 387; and Isidro Gil y Gabilondo, 'Descripción histórica y pintoresca del Templo de San Pablo de Burgos', *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos*, II (1926-29), 325-33 (posthumously printed).

[21] M. Martínez Burgos, 'En torno a la catedral de Burgos, II: Colonias y Siloes', *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González*, Año XXXIII, No. 128 (3er. Trimestre, 1954), 215-26, shows the tomb was started before Cartagena's death (ACB Reg. 13, fol. 11, 1449, 'ubi iam monumentum lapideum sub quo corpus nostrum recondatur [...] sculptum et fabricatum est', p. 217). See Martínez Añibarro, *Intento*, p. 98, and Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, p. 491 n. 51.

Parallels between the epitaph and *De actibus* are the list of books and the emphasis on Cartagena's role as peacemaker between Castile and Portugal and Albrecht II and Władysław III (for other contacts see nn. 48 *ad fin.*, 55 to the translation).

Further sources were probably contemporary letters, sermons, and *relaciones* on Cartagena's death, genres which in the fifteenth century fulfilled the role of newspapers. As a rule such ephemera do not survive, but we have evidence of their existence in a letter to a friend written a few days after the event by the Burgos poet Fernando de la Torre. Torre excuses himself for not having mentioned his friend's *encomienda* to Cartagena's brother Pedro on the grounds that the latter was overcome by grief at the bishop's funeral, 'en esto, *pues es tanto notorio*', he goes on to say, 'no me quiero detener'. Despite the brevity topos, Torre detains himself with a long but uninformative passage from his own consolatory letter to Don Pedro.[22]

One other contemporary testimony survives, Fernando Pérez de Guzmán's elegiac *Coplas sobre el tránsitu de don Alfonso de Cartajena*, 'Aquel Séneca espiró / a quien yo era Luçilo'.[23] It is impossible to establish priority between this text and *De actibus*, but there is evidence of contact between them. Guzmán uses an *exaggeratio* to express the loss which Cartagena's death caused to moral and natural philosophy, law, theology, oratory, history, and 'toda sotil poesia'.

> oy perdieron un notable
> e valiente cavallero,
> un relator claro e vero,
> un ministro comendable. [ ]

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[22] *La obra literaria de Fernando de la Torre*, edited by María Jesús Díez Garretas (Valladolid: Universidad, 1983), CXCVI, pp. 361-62, from Madrid, BN MS Res. 35, fols 78-87, an *epistolario* sent to the *alcalde mayor* of Toledo, Pedro López de Ayala, in January 1457 (dated 'LVI', i.e. Incarnation style).

[23] *Coplas que fizo el noble cavallero Ferrand Pérez de Guzman sobre el tránsitu del reverendo padre don Alfonso de Cartajena, obispo de Burgos*, in El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, MS h.II.22, fols 173-74. The verses were printed by Almela in Alfonso de Cartagena, *Tractado que se llama el Oracional de Fernand Perez* (Murcia: Gabriel Luis de Ariño & Lope de la Roca, 1487), fol. L6.

La yglesia nuestra madre
oy perdió un noble pastor,
las religiones un padre,
la fee un grant defensor;
pierdan e ayan dolor
los que son estudiosos
e del saber deseosos
un grant ynterpetrador (*coplas* III, ll. 1-4, IV, ll. 1-8).

This is reminiscent of the bystanders' lament on Cartagena's death in *De actibus* 346-48 ('defensor fidei, augmentator religionum, pater uiduarum et orphanorum, recreator pauperum, captiuorum redemtor, amator pacis, litium mitigator'). Again, Guzmán talks of the inscrutability of divine providence ('Señor de la alta tribuna, / ¡quánto escura e quán sin luna / es tu hordenança secreta!', *copla* VII, ll. 4-6), and of human ignorance of God's purpose in robbing Spain of its greatest souls:

quánto grande es la distançia
de nuestra gruesa ygnorançia,
husada a mal presumir.

del tu juyzio divino
alto e ynestimable,
Señor nuio uno e trino
de sçiencia ynconparable.
Lo que a nós razonable
paresçe, Señor perfecto,
al tu eterno conspecto
no es grato nin açeptable (*coplas* IX, ll. 6-8, X, ll. 1-8).

The same topic appears in a similar context in *De actibus* 348-52.

> Verum Dominus iustus iudex, cuius iudicia abissus multa neque humane cognitionis egent, properauit educere eum de medio iniquitatum, ne malicia immutaret cor eius, placita enim erat Deo anima illius. Ideo liberauit eum de hac lacrimarum ualle.

whose last phrase also finds its echo in the conclusion of Guzmán's elegy.

> El fénix de nuestra Esperia
> sçiente e muy virtuoso
> ya dexó la grant miseria
> deste valle lagrimoso (*copla* XII 'Fyn', ll. 1-4).

These coincidences are no more than commonplaces, but both texts belong to the same milieu and their authors must surely have known each other.

These, then, were the material sources of *De actibus*. As for stylistic models, I have mentioned *semblanzas* and *artes moriendi* as patterns for the work's structure. Three details merit further comment. The first is the miracle of the midnight epiphany of the Virgin in a supernatural sunbeam which shines through the closed window of Cartagena's chamber in *De actibus* 306-14. The episode alludes to the family's surname Santamaria and the fleur-de-lys of their coat of arms, both of which expressed their claim to be descended from Mary through the Levite ancestors of Pablo de Santamaria (before conversion Shlomo ha-Levi, *rab mayor* of Burgos). The miracle's telling owes much to the conventions of medieval hagiography, where visions are commonly portrayed as beams of light in both written and pictorial representations. In view of Cartagena's special devotion to the Virgin of the Visitation, one cannot help noting a parallel in the Lesson prescribed for the feast of the Visitation, the beautiful typological *figura* from Song of Songs 2:8-14: 'Hark! My beloved! Here he comes, bounding over the mountains [. . .] there he stands outside our wall, peeping in at the windows, glancing through the lattice' ('stat post parietem nostrum respiciens per fenestras, prospiciens per cancellos').[24]

The second noteworthy detail is the 'solemnis proposicio de mundi contemptu et de spe uite future' which Cartagena makes on his

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[24] *Missale Romanum*, Proprium Sanctorum, Die 2 Julii In Visitatione B.M.V., Lectio. The connexion lies in the first line, 'Ecce iste venit *saltens in montibus*', cf. Luke 1:39 'Exsurgens Maria abiit *in montana cum festinatione*' (see *De actibus* 210); penetrating mysteriously through closed doors or windows was a symbolic figure of virgin conception. For iconographic parallels see Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Visions and Representations of the Medieval World*, Everyman Art Library (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1966), pp. 18-25.

deathbed (*De actibus* 242-99). The part of this sermon given in *oratio recta* (262-99) offers nothing of note, but its circumstances —the presence of Cartagena's brother and nephews— are significant. Pablo de Santamaria dictated an *Epistle to His Sons* on his deathbed in the episcopal residence in Cuevas de San Clemente, where he had gone to avoid the plague, on 28 August 1435. Pablo's action followed the medieval Jewish tradition of the צואה (*savva'a*) or 'ethical will', a custom which originated in the injunction to Abraham to 'command (יצוה, *yesavve*) his children and his household after him to keep the way of the LORD by doing righteousness and justice' (Gen. 18:19).[25] Could Cartagena's *proposicio* be modelled on his father's Judaic example?

The last element of *De actibus* for which no analogue can be found in the conventions of *semblanza* or *ars moriendi* is the closing epigram of seven hexameters (*De actibus* 391-97). The scansion is amateurish and the text doubtless corrupt, but the apostrophe 'o lector' in 397 locates the poem within the ancient tradition of lapidary epitaphs addressed to a passing reader, of which a well known example in Spanish is Juan Ruiz's *petafio* for Urraca/Trotaconventos ('El que aqui llegare [. .] un paternóster diga', *Libro de buen amor*, strophes 1576-78, at 1574a-c). The poem masquerades as a kind of funeral inscription, although anyone could verify that it was not inscribed upon Cartagena's tomb. It thus strikes a consciously literary note in what claims otherwise to be factual narrative.

The Latin of *De actibus* is crude. The syntax is predominantly SVO rather than SOV, while the vocabulary suggests school-Latin, not Cicero. Some features are frankly vulgar.

(*a*) ablative absolute in the active, and as subject of a verb ('Ipsoque transeunte per ciuitatem Auinionis, fecit ibi quamdam solemnisimam proposicionem', 44-45)

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[25] Israel Abrahams (ed. & trans.), צואות גאוני ישראל (*Hebrew Ethical Wills*), 2 vols (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1926). Pablo's *Litera missa tempore obitus sui* is copied with his testament in ACB, CV Libro 2, fol. 45 (Cantera, *Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria y su familia*, pp. 33--36; Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 107-08).

(*b*) ablative gerund used as adverbial or participle ('Alfonsus existendo in predicto concilio generali, defendendo et procurando', 60-61; 'erat [. . .] disponendo inire prelium', 81-82; 'consolando', 243; 'notificando', 247; 'dicendo', 261)

(*c*) confusion of reflexive/non-reflexive 3rd-person possessives ('clientuli *sui* et familiares post *eius* obitum posuerunt nomen eius', 163-64; 'fratrem *suum* et subcessores *suos* [i.e. eius]', 218, 'communicauerunt [. .] de manu *sua* [i.e. Alfonsi] omnes de domo sua', 227-28, 'pars *sui* [i.e. magni Turci] exercitus capti fuerunt', 384; and see apparatus *ad* 213, 242); cf. the early loss in Castilian of the opposition preserved in French *son/leur*, Catalan *seu/llur*, Italian *suo/loro*.

(*d*) possessive or partitive *de* ('singulare de operibus', 155-56; 'fratribus de capitulo', 169, and see apparatus *ad* 380-81)

(*e*) lexical items such as *ambaxiator*, 37; *copie*, 71 (see translation and note *ad loc*.); *gens armorum* 'gente de armas', 81; *treuga*, 90; *guerra, frontaria*, 113; *lombarda* 385.

Also noteworthy are substandard constructions such as *quatenus* + subjunctive in indirect commands ('rogo [. . .] quatinus deprecentur', 324-25, a usage typical of the papal chancery), concessive *licet* + imperfect subjunctive ('licet esset extraneus', 87; 'licet esset clausa fenestra', 308, but cf. correct 'licet ego sim', 296), and collective nouns with plural predicate ('regni Bohemie, qui erant dicti inperatoris aduersarii', 93-94, 'pars [ ] capti fuerunt', 384).[26]

Despite this rugged inelegance of language, the verse epitaph shows literary ambition. Examination reveals further signs of sophistication. The author carefully manipulates the resources of *amplificatio* and the Three Styles prescribed in *ars dictaminis*. For example,

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[26] Concord *ad sensum* is not unknown in classical Latin; see B. L. Gildersleeve & González Lodge, *Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar*, 3rd edition (London: Macmillan, 1936), §211, Remark 1, Exception *a*, pp. 148-49; M. A. Caro & R. J. Cuervo, *Gramática de la lengua latina para el uso de los que hablan castellano*, 10th edition (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1972), §125, pp. 285-86. But there is no parallel for such shockers as *regnum qui erant* or *pars capti fuerunt*. The solecistic tense of the latter is a patent calque of Romance 'fueron cautivados'.

the *captatio benevolentiae* of the exordium (*De actibus* 1-10) aims to delight with tropes of the Middle Style such as a biblical *proverbium*, an allusion to a vernacular poem, rhythmic cursus in *clausulae* ('mérito collaudándos', 'peruénerit ad pórtum'), and alliteration, anaphora, asyndeton, and a nautical conceit in the amplification of a *sententia* from Ecclus. 11:30 ('lauda post mortem, magnifica post consumationem, lauda nauigantis felicitatem, sed cum peruenerit ad portum'). By contrast, the climax of the narration (*De actibus* 336-52) seeks to move with tropes of the Grand Style such as the prosopopeia of the bystanders' rhetorical questions, pathetic doublets and repetitions ('meror et luctus', 'cur deseris [...] quare relinquis?', 'quantus luctus [...] quanta lamenta'), and an *exaggeratio* of seven laudatory epithets ('defensor pacis' to 'litium mitigator'). The author shows himself to best advantage, however, in the Low Style of narrative. In his accounts of the adventure of the Bohemian incendiaries (97-108), the miraculous sunbeams which play about the bishop's deathbed (306-14), and the scene of Cartagena's passing (328-42) homely diction and paratactic syntax are used to dignified effect:

> Et neniente presbitero [...] dixit 'Ecce uideo intrare per huius camere fenestram quosdam solis radios' [...] Et responderunt ei quod illi radii solares [...] erat beata virgo Maria [...] Et sic recepit sacre unctionis pinguedinem [...] Et accedentes obsculati fuerunt manus eius; et dedit eis benedictionem.

The model here is the *sermo humilis* of Jerome's Vulgate. There are many biblical and liturgical echoes (e.g. 289, 292, 343, 348, 389).

These stylistic effects raise the intriguing proposition —anathema to humanists— that one may express ideas forcefully in barbarous Latin. In his preference for the humble style the unknown author of *De actibus* was doing no more than follow the precept of Cartagena, who wrote in one of his last works:

> desplázeme quando veo tender a aquel estillo antiguo gentil e pagano e con grande studio inquirir aquellas oraçiones e viejos tractados que fizieron los griegos e aun los romanos ante que la santa fee resçibiessen, e arredrarse de la suave e sana eloquençia de los santos doctores [...] e de otros muchos que los siguieron e siguen, mezclando con sus fablas e escripturas actorizables dichos

del canon muy sacro, que por duque e guiador de nuestras fablas e aun pensamientos devemos tener.[27]

This idea, which derives from a famous *distinctio* in Gratian's *Decretum* (D.37), is already adumbrated in Cartagena's first works of 1422-23, *Memoriale uirtutum* ('nec altum loquendi modum quaesiui, sed plane et pedestri stilo et uerbis ad nostram doctrinam utilibus usus sum', Escorial MS Q-ii-9, fol. 1r) and *Tulio de los oficios* ('es de trabajar principalmente en la Santa Escriptura e en los libros de los catolicos e santos dotores', BN MS 7815, fol. 33v)[28]

4. *Textual criticism and editorial criteria*

The codicological description of Madrid, BN MS 7432 is as follows:

1 (fols 1-88) Cogitanti michi fratres dilectissimi ~ Qui in trinitate perfecta uiuit et regnat Deus in secula seculorum Amen [= Alfonso de Cartagena, *Anacephaleosis*]

* Contemporary marginal additions and notes (for date see 86v on Cartagena's 'cognomento de cartajena' and the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and 87-88v on the nobles 'presently' at the court of Enrique IV, i.e. after 23 July 1454)

2 (fols 89-92v) [*rubric*] ¶De actibus reuerendisimi in Christo patris et domini domini alfonsi de cartajena Episcopi burgensis. | Eclesiasticus uates ~ super addas olector

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[27] *El 'Oracional' de Alonso de Cartagena: edición crítica (comparación del Manuscrito 160 de Santander y el incunable de Murcia)*, edited by Silvia González-Quevedo Alonso, Hispanófila, 28 (Chapel Hill: Albatros, 1983), p. 49, with corrections.

[28] See López Estrada, 'La retórica en las *Cienaraciones y semblanzas*', 339-49; Karl Kohut, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der Diskussion um das Verhältnis von Christentum und antiker Kultur im spanischen Humanismus: die Rolle des *Decretum Gratiani* in der Übermittlung patristischen Gedankengutes', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, LV (1973), 80-106; Ottavio Di Camillo, *El humanismo castellano del siglo XV* (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1976), pp. 49-66; Alonso de Cartagena, *Libros de Tulio: De senetute, De los oficios*, edited by María Morrás, Poetria Nova, 2 (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad, 1996), pp. 60-100, 206-07

1456-*ca* 1457?, paper, i + 92 + i, 290 × 210, foliated in ink 1-2 (s. XVI), 3-92 (s. XVIII-XIX?). (1) A[12], B[10], C-D[12], F[10], I[8], G[8] lacks 1, H[6] lacks 1, J[8], K[4]; quires B, D, F with catchwords (fols 1-88); (2) L[4] (fols 89-92), separate and detached from the rest at the spine. Text by two or three hands in 1, and by another in 2, as follows: (1.i) B-E in *redonda* book-hand, neatly ruled in single column 175 × 110, with spaces for 3-line initials, rubrics, and illuminations; (1.ii) A, F-K in varieties of a gothic *bastarda*, ruled in single column 220 × 110, with calligraphic penstrokes and spaces for rubrics and initials, signed by 'Iohannes Sanctii de Nebreda' on the last leaf of G (fol. 71*v*), where three lines are recopied from the bottom of 70*v* as a bridge to the first leaf of the next quire, H (fol. 72); (1.iii) the outer bifolium of C (fols. 23/34) in a cursive *bastarda*, 130 × 140; and (2) L, untidy *bastarda* in single column of *ca* 45 unruled lines, with rubricated *titulus*. Bound in gilt-stamped *pasta española* (s. XVIII) with a red morocco *tejuelo* inscribed 'CARTAG | GERCIA | REINI | HISPAN'. The original signature of the Biblioteca Real Pública, T-184, appears inside the front cover and twice on the verso of the flyleaf; the provenance is unknown.[29]

The number of leaves in quires A-K is irregular, and the text has been untidily accommodated (the first leaves after the sewing in G and H have been cut out, leaving stubs at the gutter after the present fols 68 and 75, while the outer bifolium of C was added by a second hand to supply omitted text, and there are blank pages at the end of A at 12*v*, H at 75*v*, and K at 88*v*). The simplest explanation for these anomalies is that this was the original *borrador*, assembled from foul papers copied in stints by two or more amanuenses and subsequently collated and corrected. From the presence of marginal additions and notes by Nebreda, Espinosa Fernández deduces that Hand 1's quires were written first, after which Nebreda annotated and corrected them and added the remaining quires at beginning and end.[30]

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[29] *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, XII (Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1987), pp. 93-94.

[30] Espinosa, *La 'Anacephaleosis'*, I, 146-49. She also shows that the watermarks of the two stints are different, though she does not consider the intriguing possibility that Hand 1 may be Cartagena's holograph.

I have not been able to see Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, MS 77. My description is based on photographs and the catalogue by Prete.[51]

1 (fols '2-54', i.e. 1-53) Liber genealogie Regum hyspanie compositus per modum arboris (fol. 36 blank). (fols '54*v*-60', i.e. 53*v*-59) [*rubric*] De actibus reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Alfonsi de Cartagena episcopi burgensis | [*space for 3-line initial with guide-letter* E]cclesiasticus vates ~ cum Christo quiescat Amen. (fol. '59', i.e. 60, blank)

2 (fols 61-107) Cardinal Niccolò Roselli, OP, Inquisitor General of Aragon (d. 1362), *Liber ex diuersis registris et ex libris Camerae apostolicae*. (fols 107*v*-117) *Aliqua ex solempnibus factis summorum pontificum*. (fols 117*v*-120*v*) *De mirabilibus ciuitatis Rome*. (fols 128-130*v*) *Oracionales et gesta notabilia facta per dominos summos pontifices*. (fols 131*v*-138) Fetellus archidiaconus (s. XII), *Liber locorum sanctorum Iherusalem*. (fols 139*v*-147) *De ortu et operibus morte sepultura ill. et sanctorum uirorum qui in scriptura S. commemorantur*. (fols 147-48) *De Machometo*. (fols 148-208) [Cardinal Boso (fl. 1154-78),] *Gesta Romanorum pontificum*. (fols 208-235*v*) Various *Acta pontificum* from Gregory IX to Clement VI. (fol. 235*v*) Finito hac die xxiiii mensis maii AD Mcccclxix (fol. 236 blank)

3 (fols 237-98) *Constitutiones pontificiae*, the last dated 1468

* (fol. i) Index of the present contents of the MS, s. XVI

** Marginal notes on fols '2-11' (i.e. 1-10) and '54*v*-60' (i.e. 53*v*-59) in a later cursive (s. XVI-XVII?)

s. XV^2 (*ca* 1469), paper, i + 298 + ii, fols 61-235 with old foliation 1-175 and fols 237-98 with old foliation 1-62. Collation A-F^{10}, remainder uncertain. A composite MS of three separate items, the last two

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[51] Serafino Prete, *I codici della Biblioteca Comunale di Fermo: catalogo*, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 35 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1960), pp. 100-05. By his own account Prete's foliation begins on the inserted flyleaf and miscounts the leaves of the last item; I place his folio numbers for the first item in inverted commas, and silently emend the rest. I am grateful to Fabiola Zurlini and the Biblioteca Comunale di Fermo for kind help in providing photographs of the MS.

dated 1469 and after 1468. Item 1 is in a handsome fifteenth-century book-hand with gothic traits, in ruled double columns of 40–42 lines, spaces for initials with guide-letters, blank ruled spaces at the foot of the columns for arms and miniatures of the kings. On fol. i, arms and mottoes of Giovanni Ludovico Della Rovere, archbishop of Turin 1503-10, and a note of s. XVI, 'Habui ab Illmo. Cesare Costa patruo meo archiep. Capuano' (i.e. the jurist Cesare Costa, 1530-1602); antique signatures '4 CA 2/77', 'Q.q.7/31'.

The stemmatic relation between the two witnesses is shown by the following three arguments:

(*i*) Significant errors common to *M* and *F*:

87	ut homo ad hoc onus	ut hò ad hoco ⁊ *M* homo ad cor *F*
89	atendentes	acendentes *M* accedentes *F*
116	prouidentia	preheminencia *MF*
372-73	coactus ~ relinqui	dictus ~ relinquis *M* uictus ~ relinquens *F*

The second and third cases demonstrate that both witnesses descend from a single archetype. The first and last passages likewise indicate a common origin, although my corrections are conjectural.

In 206 the phrase 'aut [uel *F*] alias per uiam subsidii gratiosi' is probably an interpolated gloss on the preceding phrase, 'exigere aliquid per uiam subsidii'. Either the copyist of the archetype included a reading from another MS (*alias*, 'elsewhere, i.e. in another witness'), or he was unable to read his exemplar (*alias*, 'otherwise'). Either way, the archetype cannot have been the original.[32]

(*ii*) Significant errors unique to *M*

39	duos reges *F* dominos regis *M*
41	notarios *F* notis *M*
160	sibi quoniam si ipso uidente *F* sibi ipo Videte *M*
190	erat *om M*

[32] This archetype was perhaps the lost Escorial MS (see n. 2 above), which may have come from the chapel of the Visitation (see nn. 10, 34 to the translation, and another case in n. 28). Flórez, *España sagrada*, XXVI, 398, notes that Burgos cathedral was extensively plundered by Philip II's librarians.

277	inee *om M*
290	nullum *F* multum *M*
316	dicta *om M*
341	quatuorcentesimo *F* quadragentesimo *M* (cf. 377)

These show that *M* was not the source of *F*. It is the unintelligent but reassuringly unadventurous work of an amateurish copyist.

(*iii*) Significant errors unique to *F*:

2	cap.° .44°. *M* capitulo uicesimo *F*
106	sedicione *M* seductione *F*
110	Reuersus uero *M* reuerendus uero episcopus *F*
112	et infantem Enrricum *om F*
151	reginis *M* regnis *F*
183	Toribi *M* ibi *F*
209	Maria, quando *om F*
273-74	et turbationes regnorum et propter negotia multiplicata *om F*
305	unctionis *M* benedictionis *F*
391-97	*uersus hexametros om F*

F cannot be the source of *M*. It is a clear professional copy with much improved orthography, but makes dangerous stabs at stylish improvement (*dum existeret*, 60; *deuotissime*, 260; *ipsius regni*, 380-81) and commits errors of trivialization (e.g. *migrarunt*, 7; *tempora*, 154; *momentanea*, 177; *celebrationis*, 211; *obitum suum*, 213). It also interpolates a connexion between *De actibus* and the preceding *Anacephaleosis* ('librum *hunc*', 13). The omission in 112 (and perhaps in 273-74) could be political, from a desire to avoid allusion to Enrique IV's role in the *turbationes* of his own and his father's reign.

The conclusion is that both witnesses derive independently from the archetype. Reconstitution from two witnesses is technically impossible, but in most cases choice between the indifferent variants is relatively simple. Conjecture is required in three places (87, 116, 372). The only previous edition, by Espinosa (*La 'Anacephaleosis'*, I, 38-49), seems to be an uncritical working transcript of *F*.

My copy text is *M*, which is closer to *De actibus*'s Burgos milieu, being bound with the foul papers of Cartagena's *Anacephaleosis*. Its barbaric orthography reflects the phonology of Iberian Latin, note

especially the reduction of geminates and betacisms in *acesit*, *interbalo*, *beniebat*, *resurecionis*, etc., and the indistinct graphs *c*, *t*, and *ct* in *-acio/-atio*, *-entia/-encia* and spellings such as *uicto* (i.e. *uico*, 196), *uicta* (i.e. *uita*, 250), *perdicta* (365), *media note* (apparatus *ad* 307; cf. *media nocte*, 99), *obcessum* (i.e. *obsessum*, 374), *rescepit* (261, cf. *recepit*, 80), and *intelletu* (295), which show that our copyist always pronounced *c*, *t*, *ct*, and *sc* next to a front vowel as /ts/. That these spellings were present in the archetype is strongly suggested by the stray preservation of a few such flies in the amber of *F*'s more polished orthography (e.g. *prefacta* for *prefata*, 188, *obscultati*, 328), sometimes even in places where *M* spells correctly (e.g. *addito* for *a dicto*, 57, *indicti* for *induti*, 104; *perdictione*, 107; *sumam*, 258).

I supply modern punctuation. The text is written without break in both witnesses, but a division into five sections is indicated with *litterae notabiliores* in *M*, here marked by *calderones* (¶) and indented paragraphs. The division has little to recommend it in logical terms, but is convenient for cross-referencing between text and translation. The apparatus lists all substantive variants, but not the orthographic differences which affect most words. Conjectures are enclosed in square brackets; the abbreviations *adnot*, *in marg*, *ins*, and *om* are used for *adnotavit*, *in margine*, *insertum*, and *omisit*.

The translation and commentary seek to explain the literal meaning and literary texture of *De actibus*. I do not attempt to contribute original matter on Cartagena's life and works. For these the reader is referred to the biographies by Serrano and Cantera Burgos and the bibliographies of Martínez Añibarro, Fallows and Morrás.[35]

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[35] Noel Fallows, 'Alfonso de Cartagena: a Tentative Bibliography', *La Corónica*, XX (1991-92), 78-93; María Morrás, 'Repertorio de obras, manuscritos y documentos de Alfonso de Cartagena (*ca.* 1384-1456)', *Boletín Bibliográfico de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval: Cuadernos Bibliográficos*, V (1991), 213-48.

5. *Text*

¶De actibus reuerendisimi in Christo patris et domini Domini Alfonsi de Cartagena episcopi Burgensis

Eclesiasticus uates filius Sirac uocatus Iesus in suo libro *Eclesiastico* quem in canone Sacre Scripture recipimus capitulo 44 clarisime docet nos debere laudare uiros illos qui in suis etatibus claruerunt, dicens: 'Laudemus uiros gloriosos.' Similiter Petrus cancellarius regis Castelle in suo metro quod dicitur *Maris stella* asserit uiros illustres qui acumine ingenii refulserunt esse merito collaudandos. Et hoc signanter agendum est postquam a seculo migrauerint gloriose, nam scriptum est 'Ne laudaueris hominem in uita sua', quasi dicat: lauda post mortem, magnifica post consumationem, lauda nauigantis felicitatem, sed cum peruenerit ad portum.

¶Cum igitur reuerendus pater dominus Alfonsus de Cartagena Burgensis episcopus inter precipuos nostri temporis ecclesiasticos uiros uita et sapientia claruerit, fecit enim librum *De genealogia regum Ispanie* et quam plures tractatus alios, idcirco dignum est ut actus eius precipuy publicentur, ne illa que sunt digna relatu cum corpore sepelliantur. Fuit enim filius domini Pauli gloriose memorie. Qui quidem Paulus sue iuuentutis tempore legitimo fuit matrimonio copulatus, quo quidem stante matrimonio duos inter ceteros progenuit filios, Alfonsum scilicet et Gondisaluum; sed relicto coniugii iugo adhesit eclesiasticis dogmatibus, et in Parisiensi studio sacre pagine magister efectus rursus fuit in pontificem sublimatus primo quidem Cartaginensis, postea Burgensis. Quem dominus Iohannes Secundus in hoc nomine rex Castelle suum prefecit maiorem cancellarium omni tempore uite sue. Iste fecit insignem ecclesiam Sancti Pauli circa ciuitatem Burgis de ordine Predicatorum Sancti Dominici cum capella, dormitorio, sacristia et libraria miro lapideo tabulatu. Cuius corpus honorifice nunc iacet humatum in capite dicte ecclesie

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Titulus Cartagena *F* Cartaiena *M* (*rubricam scripsit manus altera, cf. II, 218, etc.*) 2 44°. *M* uicesimo *F* 7 migrauerint *M* migrarunt *F* 13 librum *M* librum hunc *et in marg. adhuc* Alfonsi huius libri authoris laudes *F* 22 Cartaginen *F* carga gine6 *M* 25 Burgis *M* burgen *F* 26 capella *M* capitulo *F* | tabulatu *F* tabulato *M*

Sancti Pauli una ex parte parietis, et ex altera parte iacet sepultus Gondisaluus predictus eius filius, qui fuit episcopus Seguntinus. Nichilo minus fecit librariam Burgensis eclesie, et fecit quasdam *Additiones super Nicholaum de Lira* in glosa super totam Bibliam, necnon librum *De scrutinio Scripturarum*, quos uidelicet cum aliis posuit in dicta libraria ecclesie Burgensis.

¶Dominus autem Alfonsus uir clarus ingenio et semper castus continuis studiis et ecclesiasticis fuit dogmatibus applicatus, utriusque iuris doctor. Qui dum esset decanus Compostellanus et Segouiensis fuit bina uice misus ambaxiator in Portugaliam per predictum dominum Iohannem regem Castelle. Qui diuina gratia et sua solerti industria pacem perpetuam inter duos reges et duo regna firmauit, cuius uidelicet pacis et concordie instrumentum confectum publice per notarios se constat signatum in quodam libro qui intitulatur *De concordia pacis* in dicta libraria. Vlterius fuit missus ambaxiator per dictum dominum Iohannem regem ad concilium generale congregatum in Basilea ciuitate, que est in Alamania. Ipsoque transeunte per ciuitatem Auinionis, fecit ibi quamdam solemnisimam proposicionem et repeticionem *Super legem Galus*, ubi erat totum Auinionis colegium congregatum XXII doctorum et licenciatorum et quam plurimorum bachalariorum et literatorum. Deinde procesit in Basileam, ubi per cardinales concili fuit honorifice receptus et per uniuersos prelatos et alios asistentes in concilio multipliciter honoratus. Vbi per multum temporis residens fecit quamdam proposicionem solennem *Contra Anglicos super preheminencia sesionis trono et selle et corone regis Castelle*, in qua quidem proposicione euidentisimis racionibus et probabilibus argumentis deduxit quomodo rex Castelle debebat et debet in sesione precedere et prior sedere quam rex Anglie. De qua preheminencia optinuit sententiam et decisionem cum bula plumbata pro rege Castelle contra regem Anglorum a dicto concilio, que modo reposita est in sacrario Burgensis eclesie, et eius

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30 *in marg* libraria *adnot F* 34 *in marg* Alfonsi gesta *adnot F* 36 et cum postellanus segouien. *M* segobien ac compostellanus *F* 39 duos reges *F* dominos regis *M* 41 notarios *F* noctis *M* | se *om F* 46 Galus *F* Galos *M* 47 xxij *M* .xvii. *F* 48 basileam *M* Basilea *F* 49 cardinales *F* cardinalis *M* 57 a dicto *M* addito *F*

transumptum insertum est in fine dicti tractatus.

¶Insuper dictus dominus Alfonsus existendo in predicto concilio generali, defendendo et procurando ea que ad honorem corone regis et regni Castelle pertinebant, fecit aliam solempnem proposicionem probando *Qualiter de iure et ratione conquesta insularum Canarie pertinebat ad regem Castelle*, et quod sibi debebatur et quod non pertinebat regi Portugalie, quamuis Portugalenses illam magna cum instantia peterent a concilio. Set ipse dominus Alfonsus obtinuit declarationem et sententiam pro parte regis Castelle cum bula plumbata a dicto concilio, que reposita est in dicto Burgensis eclesie sacrario, et eius transumptum insertum est in fine dicti tractatus. Nichilominus fecit in dicto concilio alias plures proposiciones et allegaciones quarum copie sunt in quodam uolumine quod intitulatur *Tractatus et questiones domini Alfonsi Burgensis episcopi*. Similiter tam in dicto concilio quam alibi fecit multos sermones, quorum aliqui sunt scripti et repositi in quodam uolumine quod intitulatur *Sermones domini Alfonsi Burgensis episcopi*. Fecit quoque *Apologiam super psalmo «Iudica me Deus»*, et cetera. De Basilea uero fuit misus ambaxiator per prelibatum regem Castelle ad christianissimum imperatorem Albertum regem Romanorum qui tunc in ciuitate Brecella degebat, que sita est in alta Alamania distans a Basilea per leucas CCC. Inclitus autem inperator recepit eum multum honorifice, tribuens ei donaria multa. Qui erat tunc temporis cum copia gentis armorum disponendo inire prelium aduersus Pollonie regem, qui parte ex altera non cum minori acie ad conflictum prelii equanimiter se parabat. Sed uidens reuerendus pater tanti sanguinis populi Christi effusionem paratam, non recusauit labores et expensas subire neque dificultatem tanti negocii pro inpossibili reputauit, sed confidens de Dei adiutorio acesit ut homo ad hoc [onus] altum, et licet esset extraneus in partibus illis acceptauit pacem et concordiam inter tantos dominos seminare. Illi autem atendentes bonitatem uiri et gratiam labiorum eius dederunt locum treuge, et demum perpetue paci et concordie. Et ecce finaliter

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60 existendo in predicto *M* dum existeret in dicto *F* 68 eclesie *om F* 71 tractatus *M* tractatus in *F* 84 sanguinis *F* sanguis *M* 87 ut hō ad hocoē *M* homo ad cor *F* 89 acendentes *M* accedentes *F* 90 treuge *M* tregue *F*

duxit expediens ut dictus rex Pollonie duceret in uxorem imperatoris filiam. Quo facto disposuit in Basileam redire; sed quia in regressu conueniebat eum transire per confinia regni Bohemie, qui erant dicti imperatoris aduersarii, ideo mandauit imperator ut mille equites armati comitarentur eum, quoniam eo tempore illi Bohemi omnes oderant christianos, tenentes contra fidem errores plurimos et ritus hereticos. Accidit autem ut duo nequam homines de regno Bohemie exploratores et iniqui se sociarent et inmiscerent societati militum predictorum, cumque omnes illi media nocte quiescerent in loco quodam qui erat de dominacione Alamanie, duo illi exploratores aposuerunt ignem in quibusdam domibus loci illius, et in tantum inualuit et exarsit impetus ignis illius ut quasi totam uillam conbureret. Dictus autem dominus et uniuersi qui cum eo uenerant fugientes impetum ignis, quidam fere nudi, alii uero induti cum eo quod saluare poterant, exierunt; uicini uero illius uille, existimantes quod illi de comitiua prefati domini apposuissent ignem, inceperunt preliari cum illis; sed sedicione sedata per dictum dominum Alfonsum, non sine magna perdicione bonorum reuersus est in Basileam. Set breui interbalo temporis elapso misit prelibatus dominus rex Castelle pro eo ut in Ispaniam remearet. Reuersus uero numquam pro posse cesauit que pacis sunt seminare inter dictum dominum regem et regem Nauarre subditum suum et infantem Enrricum et inter alios quam plurimos milites qui ea tenpestate faciebant guerras et rapinas regna et frontarias depredantes. Transtulit autem dictus dominus Alfonsus episcopus ad peticionem dicti domini regis de stillo Latino in Castellanam lingam duos libros *De clementia* et duos *De pr[ouid]encia* et unum *De uita beata*, alium quoque *De septem liberalibus artibus* et alterum *De prouerbis* Senece, librum quoque *Admonitionum*, et alium *De remediis contra Fortunam*, reliquum uero de diuersis tractatibus qui sunt IX libri in uno uolumine, et glosauit illos in locis nescessariis ad euidentiorem

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91 imperatoris *F* imperatricis *M* | 95 illi *M* dicti *F* | 97-98 exploratores *M* expoliatores *F* | 98 millitum *F* milium *M* | 101 inualuit *M* ualuit *F* | 104 induti *M* inducti *F* | 106 sedicione *M* seductione *F* | 107 perdicione *M* perdictione *F* | 110 Reuersus uero *M* Reuerendus uero eps *F* | 111-12 et infantem Enrricum *om F* | 115 *in marg* scripta alfonsi *admot F* | dicti domini *F* domine *M* | lingã *H* linga *M* | 116 prouidencia : preheminencia *MF* | 120 glosauit *M* glosauerit *F*

noticiam contentorum. Nichilominus compilauit et posuit in ordine omnes leges quas uulgo *Partitas* dicimus et de foris Ispanie tangentes actus guerrarum et milicie, cum certis introductionibus et prologis quos fecit super illis ad instanciam domini Didaci Gomeci de San-
125 doual comitis de Castro, et posuit illis nomen *Doctrinale militum*. Vlterius fecit et alium librum qui uocatur *Declamationes super translacionem Ethicorum*. Item fecit alium librum qui dicitur *Duodenarius*, in quo declarat et absoluit nonnullas questiones quas nobilis miles Ferdinandus Petri de Guzman miserat sibi ut absolueret eas.
130 Preterea fecit alium qui uocatur *Memoriale uirtutum*, quem direxit ad dominum infantem primogenitum regis Iohannis Portugalie. Fecit utique librum alterum qui uocatur *Deffensorium fidei*, quem direxit ad dictum dominum Iohannem regem Castelle. Insuper fecit alium librum qui uocatur *Oracionale* super deuota oracione ad petitionem
135 nobilis militis Ferdinandi Petri de Guzman, in quo consistunt duo alii tractatus, unus *Super facto rey militaris* qui dirigitur domino Enecco Lupi de Mendoça marchioni Sante Iuliane, et alius liber factus pro declaracione cuiusdam questionis quam quesiuit dictus dominus Iohannes rex Castelle *Super quodam dicto Iohannis Crisostomi*.
140 Similiter ordinauit quemdam alium librum in defensione libertatis eclesie et episcopatus Burgensis, nam dominus archiepiscopus Toletanus pretendebat ire cum cruce eleuata per diocesim Burgensem, et posuit nomen isti libro *Conflatorium*. Quin imo epilogauit in unum bullas, iura et scripta que difusa inuenit in sacrario dicte ecclesie ibi
145 reposita olim per reuerendum patrem Mauricium gloriose recordacionis in tempore fundacionis prefate eclesie cum lite quam habuerat cum priore et conuentu Sancte Marie de Spino, qui allegauerant non esse subditos suos, contra quos habuit sententiam sumi pontificis, et hunc librum nominauit *Mauriciana*. Ac simili fecit alium librum ut
150 supra dictum est *De genealogia regum Ispanie*. Intus arbore depinxit omnes reges Ispanie cum reginis et filiis descendentibus ab eis, et

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123 actus *M* ad actus *F* | certis *M* ceteris *F* 129 Ferdinandus *M* Fernandus *F* 135 Ferdinandi *M* Fernandi *F* | consistunt duo alii *M* continentur alii duo *F* 137 lupi *M* luppi *F* 142 eleuata *M* erepta *F* (*e e erecta*) 144 scripta *M* scripturas *F* 147 sancte *M* sup sancte *F* | spino *F* spina *M* | allegauerant *M* allegauerat *F* 149 mauritiana *F* mauricianum *M* 150 Intus *M* In cuius *F* 151 regnus *M* regnis *F*

posuit in fine quorumlibet eorum concurrentiam temporum pontificum Romanorum et imperatorum et regum Francorum et pontificum sedis Burgensis usque ad tempus regis Enrici Quarti in hoc nomine suo tempore feliciter regnantis. Et hoc fuit ultimum et singulare de operibus siue codicibus prefati domini Alfonsi episcopi

¶Omnia uero predicta librorum uolumina reposita sunt in libraria eclesie Burgensis translata et scripta post obitum eius. Quod si forte in ipsis codicibus inuentum fuerit aliquid nisi bene scriptum, inputari magis debet uicio scriptorum quam sibi, quoniam si ipso uidente fuisset quicquam male positum, absque dubio non remansisset incorreptum. Ipse uero humilitatis causa numquam uoluit se in suis codicibus nominari, sed clientuli sui et familiares post eius obitum posuerunt nomen eius in tabulis titulorum. Hic etiam pater et pontifex reuerendus mandauit fieri duas turres aculeatas super limina ecclesie ianuarum correspondentes antiquo operi, ita lapideo tabulatu mirifice elaboratas ut eciam omnes magistri geumetrici et marmorum cesores de diuersis partibus uenientes hoc opus singulare mirentur. Iusit insuper cum suis fratribus de capitulo fieri magnificum retrotabulum in precipuy ipsius eclesie altaris ornatum, non sine istoriarum et cronicarum representatione precipua, sed cum magistrali sculptura tabularum et insignibus ymaginum et figurarum coloribus depictum. Et quia ipsius eclesie sue tamquam sponse amantisime spirituali amore languebat, non destitit eam temporali ornatu dotare donans ei ornamenta, cappas, casullas, frontalia auro brocatas et serico, cruces quoque et calices argenti miro argentariorum opere elaboratos. Set quoniam hec omnia momentaria reputauit, singularem et perpetuam memoriam in dicta ecclesia instituit perpetuis temporibus duraturam, ut prima sexta feria singulis in mensibus tocius anni una per capitulum de pasionis Christi et crucis memoria missa perpetuo celebretur, et

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153 et imperatorum *M* imperatorum *F* 154 tempus *M* tempora *F* 158 Quod si *M* Et si *F* 159 aliq̃ nisi *M* aliquid non *F* 160 scriptorum *M* scriptoris *F* 160-61 quam sibi quoniam si ipso uidente fuisset quicquam *F* q̃ sibi ipo Videte fusset q̃dq̃ *M* 161-62 incorreptum *M* incorrectum *F* 162 Ipse uero *F* ipse enim *M* 166 tabulatu *F* tabulato *M* 167 laboratas ut *F* elaborata set *M* 168 cesores *M* scissores *F* 169 insuper *M* itaque *F* 173 spirituali *F* spirituale *M* 176 opere *om F* 177 momentaria *M* momentanea *F* 180 pasionis *M* passione *F*

super eius tumulum ut moris est cum responsorio excatur. Et quoniam in dicta cathedrali eclesia sunt quam plurime reliquie sanctorum ab antiquis Toribi temporibus conseruate quarum noticia obliuionem acepit, ideo ordinauit quatinus semel in anno octauo die resurecionis Domini ostendantur et publicentur. Et ut libencius populus christianus ad ipsarum publicacionem in die quam prediximus conueniant, optinuit ipse dominus a sanctisimo domino nostro papa Eugenio Quarto quam plurimas indulgencias interessentibus in prefacta publicacione. Verum etiam ipso domino existente in Asturiis, transtulit corpus Beate Iuliane uirginis et martiris, quod erat in pulpito uel in medio eclesie uille de Santa Iuliana, et posuit in sumitate altaris cum magna procesione multitudinis populorum qui conuenerant ex omnibus Asturie finibus. Perfecit etiam eclesiam Sancti Iohannis de Ortega ordinis Beati Ieronimi. Fundauit insuper monasterium Sancte Marie Mercedis prope ciuitatem Burgis, et aliud monasterium Sancti Aldefonsi canonicarum Sancte Dorothee quod est in uicto Sancti Iohanis dicte ciuitatis. Nec non fecit multa fabricari ad decorem et perfeccionem pontificalis palacii ipsi ecclesie contigui et in Sarmentali positi, et reparauit multimode omnes domos et posesiones pontificatus sui. Et quamuis non sine magnis expensis et sumptibus factis in hedificiis eclesie sue et aliarum ecclesiarum, monasteriorum, domorum et posesionum ipsius episcopatus, et etiam in sumptibus helemosinarum et aliis ordinariis et extraordinariis distribuisset talenta sibi a Domino credita siue pecuniam domini nostri Iesu Christi, numquam tamen uoluit fatigare clerum seu uasallos eclesie neque exigere aliquid per uiam subsidii aut alias per uiam subsidii graciosi, quod de raro nostri temporis pastore audiuimus. Habuit autem prefactus dominus singularem deuocionem in illa sancta uisitacione quam Domina nostra perpetua uirgo Maria fecit quando, postquam conceperat de Spiritu Sancto, ascendit in montana cum festinatione et uisitauit Helisabeth cognatam suam. Ideo ordinauit festum Visitationis predictum

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183 Toribi *M* ibi *F* 186 quam *M* qua *F* 189 ipso domino existente *M* domino exãte ipo *F* 190 erat *om M* 191 Santa Iuliana *M* Sanctillana *F* 194 Ortega *M* Urteca *F* 195 burgis *M* burgensem *F* 199-200 posesiones ~ sui *M* pontificatus sui possessiones *F* 202 in *om F* 206 aut *M* uel *F* | aut alias per uiam subsidii graciosi *glossam inrepsisse suspicor* 209 Maria, quando *om F* 211 visitationis *M* celebrationis *F*

celebrari per totam diocesim, et fecit fieri cappellam nouam in dicta ecclesia, ubi corpus suum post eius obitum fuit sepultum, et ordinauit siue instituit in ea sex cappellanos perpetuos et unum capellanum maiorem et duos infantulos, quibus dimisit certos redditus et hereditates et ornamenta notabilia dicte capelle nescessaria. Instituit autem dicte capelle patronum honorabilem militem Petrum de Cartagena fratrem suum et subcessores suos. Quibus omnibus supradictis sic dispositis et ordinatis et facta distributione in usum pauperum, helemosinarum et piarum causarum, signanter in redemptionem captiuorum, deliberauit ire in peregrinacionem ad Sanctum Iacobum, cuius festiuitas erat ipso anno in die Dominica, que a fidelibus dicitur Iubileus, id est remissio uel indulgentia plenaria peccatorum. Stetitque in ciuitate Conpostelle per dies XVII, et fuit una nocte ad bigilandum ubi est corpus Beati Iacobi apostoli, et ibi in crastinum celebrauit missam deuotissime in altari precipuo et communicauerunt de altari apostoli de manu sua omnes de domo sua pro maiori parte. Fecitque ibi ofertorium magnum, et dotauit ibi fructus et redditus perpetuos, ut celebretur ibi perpetuis temporibus in feria sexta per singulas ebdomadas totius anni missa una. Interim autem dum ibi stetit, non cessauit uisitare monasteria et eclesias, et dando larga manu helemosinas compleuit desiderium suum de uisitatione tanti apostoli. Adinpleta uero sacri liminis uisitatione et peregrinatione uale fecit, et receptis multis honoribus et curialitatibus a magnatibus et militibus et prelatis in finibus illis tam in progressu quam in regresu, quacumque transierat, reuersus est in diocesim suam. Cumque peruenisset in oppidum de Villacendini sue diocesis, repente uiribus corporis cepit destitui, et artus febre fatiscente continua non durauit nisi per dies septem. Et cum cognouisset mortem sibi fore propinquam, corpore quidem debilis sed animi constancia fortis, conuocatis omnibus suis et aperiens os suum secundum gratiam labiorum eius fecit eis solennem proposicionem de mundi contemptu et de spe uite future, consolando signanter fratrem suum Petrum de Cartagena militem et nepotes suos eiusque clientulos

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213 eius obitum *M* obitum suum *F* 219 usum *M* usus *F* 223 uel *M* et *F* 225 beati *M* sancti *F* 237 Villacendini *M* Villa Sandino *F* 242 eius *M* suorum *F*

familiares ecclesiasticos et seculares aliosque probos et literatos et religiosos qui aderant omnes ad uirtutes ortabatur et ne de suo transitu tristarentur, sed congratularentur ei, notificando eis qualiter ipse iam a multo tempore antea suum condiderat testamentum, quod utique repositum erat in sacrario ecclesie sue. Cuius testamenti tenorem omnes qui postea uiderunt ueraciter cognouerunt hominem in uicta uirtutibus plenum bonum sibi procurasse terminum uite sue, nam mandauit ecclesie sue multa, nec non aliis ecclesiis, monasteriis, hospitalibus, locis piis, pauperibus orphanis, indigentibus uerecundis. Et inter multa specialiter mandauit decem uirginibus pro earum matrimonio certam summam, et hoc in onore sanctarum decem uirginum. Similiter mandauit certam quantitatem pro redemcione captiuorum, et pro satisfacione clientulorum et familiariorum eius. Que quidem mandata summam capiunt decem et octo milium florenorum. Nam solum pro capis dicte eclesie sue mandauit tres mille quingentos florenos. Facta autem ea quam prediximus propositione, multum deuote cum lacrimarum fonte rescepit eucharistie sacramentum dicendo uerba magne et profunde deuotionis. In illa autem proposicione inter cetera astantibus dixit

'Ego, inquam, reffero quam plurimas gratias Deo, quoniam ego licet indignus cognosco orationem meam exauditam esse a Domino. Nam in orationibus meis tria ab altisimo domino Deo petiui. Prima petitio mea fuit, iam elapsi sunt triginta nouem anni quibus a ciuitate Conpostelle recessi in qua tunc temporis decani dignitate fungebar, et tunc et ex tunc semper proposui in mente et in uoluntate mea statui aliquando redire ad sanctum apostolum uisitandum; et rogaui ex tota anima mea dominum et apostolum eius, ne permiteret me ab hac luce migrare donec prius redirem ad sanctum apostolum uisitandum. Sed propter aliqua inpedimenta et turbaciones regnorum et propter negocia multiplicata non potui adimplere optatum usque in presentem, in quo ut uidistis uisitaui et steti ibi per XVII dies, uadens et rediens

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246 qui *M* qui ibi *F* 248 antea *M* citra *F* | condiderat *F* condidit *M* 250 uicta *M* uita sua *F* 259 sue *om F* | mille *M* mille et *F* 260 propositione *F* ppositrem *M* | multum deuote *M* deuotissime *F* 261 lacrimarum *M* lacrimis *F* 265 esse a domino *M* a domino esse *F* 266 deo *ins supra lineam F* 272 apostolum uisitandum *M* Iacobum uisitandum apostollum *F* 273-74 et turbaciones – multiplicata *om F*

sanus et fortis in persona mea usque modo in primum locum diocesis mee. Et ecce nunc ista mea deprecatione audita uocat me Deus antequam superueniant aliqua noua magna negotia que iter impediant saluationis mee. In prouecta etate LXX annorum parcit etati mee, quoniam grauis est corpori milicie pugna et periculosa pastoralis gregis dominici cura, in qua iam per uiginti et unum annum certaui; de quo quas possum et ualeo altissimo refero gratias Deo uero. Secunda autem petitio quam a Domino in orationibus meis petiui erat quod in tempore obitus mei non permiteret me Dominus premi uel affligi doloribus acutis capitis uel lateris stomachi uel illarum partium uel menbrorum mei corporis propter quos forte ad impacientiam prouocatus minus de salute anime cogitarem sicut uerus et fidelis christianus debet in tali positus articulo cogitare. Et istam petitionem ut cernitis concesit mihi miserator et misericors Dominus, quia per Dei gratiam nullum dolorem in aliqua corporis mei parte sentio, nisi corporis resolutionem, qua percipio me uocatum ad illum terminum qui preteriri non potest, quia statutum est hominibus semel mori; de quo infinitas gratias refero Deo meo. Tertia petitio quam a domino Deo petiui erat ne in tempore obitus mei fuissem priuatus isto modico sensu uel intelletu quem mihi contulerat Deus meus. Et uideo nunc per Dei gratiam quod, licet ego sim debilitatus et languens corpore ex defectu nature, atamen sicut uos ipsi conspicitis sanum et integrum habeo intelletum; de quo quam plurimas ago gratias Christo Iesu Deo uero.'

Exposita namque proposicione predicta, et acepto sicut dictum est salutifero corporis nostri Saluatoris Christi Iesu sacramento, et sic multis uerbis et exortationibus confortatoriis parentibus, familiaribus et amicis manu sua pontificali eleuata signaculo crucis facto dedit eius benedictionem, et omnes illi cum lacrimis obsculati sunt manus eius. Quo facto mandauit sibi dari sacre unctionis extreme uenerabile sacramentum. Et ueniente presbitero cum clericis quasi duabus horis

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277 mee *om M* 280 corpori *M* corpore *F* 287 cogitarem *M* cogitare *F* 290 nullum *F* multum *M* 296 sim *M* sum *F* 360 dictum *M* predictum *F*, *eadem manu expunctum* 361 nostri saluatoris ~ sacramento *M* saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi sacramenti *F* 362 confortatoriis *M* confortatis *F* | parentibus ~ amicis *M* parentibus et amicis et familiaribus *F* 363 eius *M* eis *F* 365 unctionis *M* benedictionis *F*

ante mediam noctem dixit: 'Ecce uideo intrare per huius camere fenestram quosdam solis radios', licet esset clausa fenestra

Et responderunt ei quidam de astantibus quod illi radii solares quos ipse tunc uidebat, erat beata uirgo Maria domina nostra que beniebat ad illuminandum eum Et ipse respondit:

'O utinam placeat sibi ut dignetur deprecari Filium suum quatinus misereatur anime mee, ut quando anima mea exierit de corpore meo ducat eam in gloriam suam!'

Et sic recepit sacre unctionis pinguedinem, ad omnia per presbiterum huius sacramenti ministrum dicta multum attente auscultans, ore proprio respondendo Et recepto unctionis sacramento absoluit eum presbiter a culpa et pena solemniter, tam uirtute indulgencie iubilei Beati Iacobi quam uirtute indulgenciarum sanctorum patrum quas obtinuerat pro articulo mortis. Et perfecta absolutione, licet ualde debilitatus, quasi iam animam Deo tradens, dixit:

'Ego indignus constituo me participem omnibus indulgenciis et bonis concesis a sanctis patribus apostolicis intrantibus canonice in sancta sede apostolica; rogo beatisimam uirginem Mariam et apostolos sanctos Petrum et Paulum quatinus deprecentur Dominum ut misereatur anime mee '

Que quidem uerba multum accepta fuerunt in auribus proborum ibi astancium. Et accedentes obsculati fuerunt manus eius, et dedit eis benedicionem. Tunc autem mandabat se deponi de lecto, dicendo quod uoleuat mori in terra et cinere Et licet super hoc plurimum instaret, pietas tamen proborum et deuotorum qui aderant non consensit Illico mandauit ut coram eo ipso audiente recitarentur ibi pasiones quas dominus noster Iesus Christus pro nobis peccatoribus passus est ut saluaret nos, et insuper Psalmi penitentiales cum letania aliique salmi et orationes deuoti per religiosos et clericos ibi asistentes. Et sic integro sensu petiuit sibi dari candelam, quam in sua manu recipiens et crucem in alia, semper ymaginem crucifixi aspiciens inter ipsa uerba orationis inter manus suorum simpliciter occulos

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307 mediam noctem *F* media nocte *M* 313 ut *M* Et *F* 316 dicta *om M* 320 quas *M* quam *F* 326 anime mee *M* mei *F* 335 clericos *M* clericos deuotos *F* 336 dari *F* dare *M* 337 alia *M* aliam *F*

claudendo obdormiuit in Domino, quinta feria in festo Beate Marie Magdalene uicesima secunda die menssis Iullii anno a natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi milesimo quatuorcentesimo quinquagesimo sexto. Tunc meror et luctus omnium una uoce dicencium:

'Cur nos pater deseris, aut quare nos desolatos relinquis?'

Quis enim sufficit dicere quantus erat luctus amicorum, quanta precipue lamenta religiosorum et deuotorum flentium atque dicencium: Quomodo cecidit defensor fidei, augmentator religionum, pater uiduarum et orphanorum, recreator pauperum, captiuorum redemtor, amator pacis, litium mitigator? Verum Dominus iustus iudex, cuius iudicia abissus multa, nec humane cognitionis egent, properauit educere eum de medio iniquitatum, ne malicia inmutaret cor eius, placita enim erat Deo anima illius. Ideo liberauit eum de hac lacrimarum ualle, completa scilicet peregratione desiderata et sua oratione exaudita, quia continue in suis orationibus precabatur quatinus concederet populo christiano uictoriam contra fidei inimicos, signanter contra Magnum Turcum Christi et fidelium inimicum. Cuius perdicionis finem et uitoriam christianorum firma fide credidit euenire; et proposuerat uita comite continuare illam, et inserere in fine libri *Genealogie regum Ispanie* superius nominati, qui terminatur in istoria regis Iohannis Secundi, ubi ita dicit:

> Hoc tempore propter peccata christianorum, quos interdum Deus uisibilibus flagellis castigare decreuit, capta est Constantinopolis a Turcis, occiso imperatore Grecorum et aliis plurimis. Sed Romanus pontifex et nonnulli principes ad eius recuperacionem cum Dei auxilio operam dare intendunt, speramusque in diuina misericordia quod recuperabitur sicut alias temporibus perdicta recuperata fuit.

Hec sunt uerba dicti domini Alfonsi in predicto libro. Desiderabat enim pius pater interuenire in dicta guerra contra Turcum et mori in

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339 beate *M* | sancte *F*, *in marg adnot* murió 22 Julio del 1456 | 341 nostri Iesu Christi *om F* | quatuorcentesimo *F* quadragentesimo *M (cf. 377 infra)* | 343 quare *M* cui *F* | 346 fidei *M* dei *F* | 348 iudex *M* deus *F* | 349-50 educere eum *M* eum educere *F* | 351 erat deo *M* deo erat *F* | 353 quia *M* qua *F* | 354 uictoriam ~ fidei *M* contra fidei uictoriam *F* | 360 quos *F* q̃ *M (cf. 396 infra)* | 361 *in marg* Hoc tempore capta est Constantinopolis *adnot F* | 363 eius *F* eis *M* | auxilio *F* auxilium *M*

illa; sed non placuit Altisimo ut corporaliter uideret illam quam sperabat uictoriam christianorum. Verum tamen ex disposicione diuina actum est ut ipsa die quinta feria qua ipse dominus reuerendus descessit et habuit uictoriam de mundo, ipsa eadem die habuerunt christiani uictoriam et trihunfum de Turco Magno, qua [coa]ctus fuit cum omni exercitu suo relinqui quoddam magnum castrum regni Hungarie, quod obcessum tenebat et quasi dirruptum et sperabat in proximo intrare illud et inde debellare totum regnum Hungarie. Sed placuit summo gubernatori Deo excelsso ut illa die quinta feria XXII mensis Iulii anni milesimi quatuorcentesimi quinquagesimi sexti in festo Beate Marie Magdalene a campali bello fugeret cum omni gente sua a facie comitis Albi qui uocabatur Iohannes Bayboda gubernator regni Hungariorum, qui secum tenebat gentes multas tam de ipso regno Hungarie quam aliarum partium Christianitatis qui uenerant ad ditum prelium ut lucrarentur indulgencias cruzate quas dominus Calixtus papa Tertius fidelibus conceserat hac de causa. Fuit autem uictus dius Turcus, et maior pars sui exercitus capti fuerunt et mortui per Christi fideles, qui ceperunt omnes lonbardas, arma, spolia et machinas, tendas et papiliones quas in magno numero Turci tenebant; uerum etiam ceperunt naues et galeas totumque nauigium quod tenebant in magno Danubii flumine, sicut Domino placuit in illo utique die, ut dictum est, quo dictus pontifex de mundo isto migrauit. Cuius anima in pace cum Christo quiescat. Amen.

Sancta Maria suos solers curare ministros
hunc fulgens trinis donauit premiis unum
ut staret felix presul sede paterna,
ut omnis doctrine uiueret arca profunde,

372-73 qua coactus ~ relinqui . qua dictus ~ relinquis *M* qui uictus fuit cum exercitu omni relinquens *F* 374 Vngarie *F* hungarie *M* 377 mensis *F* mensi *M* | anni ~ sexti *M* anno milesimo quatuorcentesimo quinquagesimo sexto *F* 378 fugeret *M* fugerent *F* 380 Vngariorum *F* Hungariorum *M* 380-81 de ipso regno *M* ipsius regni *F* 383 papa Calixtus *F* 384 sui exercitus *M* exercitus sui *F* 385 lonbardas *M* bombardas *F* 387 ceperunt *M* tenebant et ceperunt *F* | quod *om F* 390 in pace *om F* | *post* Amen *scripsit* 1456 *altera manus in F*

391-97 *hexametros om F* 394 profunde ~ pfunale *M*

ut Domino placeret nec esset genti perosus.
Alfonsus quos uixit hac in sede beatus
annos bis denos unum super addas, o lector.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. I.Q.vi.29, *Libro intitulado Arte de bien morir* ([Zaragoza: Hans Hurus, *ca* 1489-91]), fol. B6v

The woodcut shows the *gisant* at the moment of *transitus*, with candle and crucifix (see ll. 335-39 above and n. 63 to the translation below). As the soul emerges from the mouth it is fought over by devils and angels.

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395 domino *in ruga membranae per abbreviationem scriptum, incertum an* soli *legendum* | gentis *M* 396 quos : q̃ *M (cf. 360 supra)*

6. *Translation and commentary*

On the acts of the most reverend father in Christ and lord Don Alfonso de Cartagena, bishop of Burgos

The prophet of the Church Ben Sirach, called Jesus, in chapter 44 of his book Ecclesiasticus (which we accept in the canon of Holy Scripture) clearly teaches us our duty to praise the men who have been outstanding in each age, saying: 'Let us now praise glorious men'.[1] So too Pedro, chancellor of the king of Castile, asserts in his poem called *Star of the Sea* that illustrious men who have achieved brilliance by the keenness of their genius deserve to be praised.[2] And [1-10]

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[1] **in canone ~ recipimus:** Sirach is in the Septuagint, but excluded from the Jewish canon (Babylonian Talmud, Sanhedrin 100b). Its inclusion in the Vulgate canon was upheld by Augustine and the Council of Trent, but Jerome ranked it as *ecclesiasticus*, 'of the Church (but not canonical)'. The author's knowledge of this debate shows a clerical education. **Laudemus uiros gloriosos:** Sirach 44:1; cf. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Loores de los claros varones de España*, X, in R. Foulché-Delbosc (ed.), *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, 2 vols, NBAE, 19, 22 (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1912-15), I, 706-52, at p. 707:

> Loemos los muy famosos
> prinçipes de muestra España
> segun que Sirac se baña
> en loar los gloriosos
> varones [.]

[gloss:] Jesus Sirac en aquel libro Eclesiastes quel compuso, en la fin del, queriendo loar los prinçipes e los sabios de los ebreos comiençe asi: *Laudemus uiros gloriosos et parentes nostros in generatione sua*.

Gómez Manrique, 'Proemio' to his *Cancionero*, 'Como dize Jhesu, fijo de Sirac, los onbres enseñados sobre las estrellas reluzirán' (Madrid, Real Biblioteca MS 1250, fol. 1v); Pulgar, *Claros varones*, p. 4, 'y aun en aquel libro de la Sacra Escritura que fizo, Jhesu fijo de Sirac quiso loar los varones gloriosos de su nación'. See María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La idea de la fama en la Edad Media castellana*, 2nd edition (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983), p. 271.

[2] **Petrus ~ metro quod dicitur *Maris stella*:** Pedro López de Ayala, *Rimado de palacio*, edited by Germán Orduna, Clásicos Castalia, 156 (Madrid: Castalia, 1987), *coplas* 854-60 'Señora, estrella luziente que todo el mundo guia', pp. 289-91, reworks the hymn *Ave maris stella*, but has nothing to match this quotation.

this is to be done specially after they have gloriously left this world, for it is written, 'Praise no man in his life', as if to say: praise him after his death, magnify him after his consummation, praise the blessedness of the sailor, but only after he has reached port.[3]

And so, because the reverend father Don Alfonso de Cartagena, [11-33] bishop of Burgos, was famous among the chief churchmen of our time for his life and wisdom, since he was the author of the book *On the Genealogy of the Kings of Spain* and several other treatises, it is fitting to publish his chief acts so that those of his achievements worth telling should not be buried with his body.[4] He was the son of Don Pablo of glorious memory.[5] During his youth this Pablo was married in lawful wedlock and while still married fathered various sons, two of whom were Alfonso and Gonzalo; but he abandoned the yoke of marriage and adhered to the teachings of the Church, took his master's degree in divinity at the university of Paris, and was then raised to the sees first of Cartagena and then of Burgos. King Juan II of Castile made him his *canciller mayor* for the whole of his life.[6] He made the famous church of the Dominican friary of St Paul in the city

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[3] **a seculo migrauerint:** cf. 'de mundo isto migrauit', 329-30, an echo which shows careful structuring (*Ringkomposition*). *Migrarunt* in *F* is better grammar, but subjunctive after *postquam* occurs in late Latin (*Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar*, §563, N. 4, p. 362). **Ne laudaueris ~ in uita sua:** Sirach 11:30 'Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quemquam'.

[4] **De genealogia regum Ispanie:** *Anacepholeosis* precedes *De actibus* in all witnesses and is cited again in 150, 358. **actus:** cf. the title *De actibus*. The ensuing account of Cartagena's life treads an ambiguous line between 'acts' and 'works', reflecting a concept of *obras pias* which included writings in defence of the faith. A similar blend of *actos/obras* occurs in Guzmán's *semblanza* of Pablo de Santamaria (*Generaciones y semblanzas*, pp. 28-31) and Pulgar's *semblanza* of Cartagena (*Claros varones*, pp. 65-68).

[5] **domini Pauli:** Pablo de Santamaria, the name taken by Shlomo ha-Levi (*ca* 1352-1435) on conversion to Christianity on 21 July 1390. The text's studious silence on Pablo's Jewish origin, even to the omission of the surname Santamaria (only alluded to in the final verses), contrasts with the attention given to it in Guzmán's *semblanza*, with its famous defence of *conversos*, and by Pulgar.

[6] **in pontificem sublimatus ~ cancellarium:** bishop of Cartagena 1403, Burgos 1415, made *canciller mayor* of Castile in the minority of Juan II (1406-1435).

of Burgos with chapel, dormitory, sacristy, and library in marvellous stone ashlar; his body now lies buried in pomp in the chevet of this church of St Paul by the wall on one side, and on the other side lies buried his son Gonzalo, who was bishop of Sigüenza.[7] He also made the library of Burgos cathedral, and composed some *Additions* to Nicolas de Lyre's *Postillae super totam Bibliam* and a book *On the Scrutiny of the Scriptures*, which he placed with other books in the said Burgos cathedral library.[8]

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[7] **ecclesiam Sancti Pauli:** Pablo and his brother Alvar García refurbished San Pablo, the senior Dominican friary in Castile, establishing a family chantry in its church of Santa María (Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 87-88, Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, p. 72). **Pablo** was buried on the gospel side of the choir, his son **Gonzalo de Santamaría** (1379-1448), bishop of Sigüenza, on the epistle side. On a visit in 1466 the Bohemian Lev z Rožmitalu was given a tour by Cartagena's younger brother Pedro (1387-1478), as recorded by Václav Šašek z Bířkova; see *Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rožmital Ritter-, Hof- und Pilger-Reise durch die Abendlande, 1465-1467, beschrieben von zweien seiner Begleiter*, ed. J. A. Schmeller, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 7.1 (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1844), p. 65; Malcolm Letts (trans.), *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy 1465-1467*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, 108 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1957), pp. 84-85

[8] **fecit librariam:** Pablo carried out work on the *libreria nueva* in the *claustro alto* in 1417 (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 69), and donated a copy of Nicolas de Lyre's *Postillae* with his marginal *Additiones*, a 'liber concordanciarum biblie pulcre et curiosissime scriptus', Giovanni Balbi's *Catholicon*, and other MSS in 1431 (ACB Vol. 19, fol. 118); see Demetrio Mansilla, *Catálogo de los códices de la catedral de Burgos* (Madrid: CSIC, 1952), p. 16. The rich library was catalogued during his episcopacy (ACB Vol. 53, fols 619-49, Mansilla, pp. 155-86), but only *ca* 60 MSS remain and only two can be identified as Pablo's (ACB Cód. 6, Berenger de Béziers's *Inventaria iuris canonici*, and Cod. 10, Guillaume Péraud's *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus*; Mansilla, pp. 72-74, 83-86). **Additiones:** publicized by Cartagena at Basel in 1436 (Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 109-12) and regularly printed with the *Glossa ordinaria*. **De scrutinio scripturarum:** *Dialogus Sauli et Pauli contra Judaeos*, addressed to Cartagena in 1432, a proof of the identity of the Messiah against Joseph Albo's עיקרים of *ca* 1425; printed at Rome 1470 and often thereafter down to Cristóbal de Santotis's edition (Burgos, 1591). Pablo's Hebrew writings and secular *Suma de las coronicas* (for Juan II, 1412) and *Siete edades trovados* (for Catherine of Lancaster, 1418) are overlooked

Don Alfonso was a man of distinguished character and lifelong chastity, constantly devoted to his studies and to the teachings of the church, doctor in both canon and civil law. While he was dean of Compostela and Segovia he was twice sent as ambassador to Portugal by the aforementioned King John of Castile.[9] By the grace of God and his own strenuous industry he signed a perpetual peace between the two kings and their two kingdoms, the document of this peace treaty, publicly drawn up by notaries, is preserved with its seal in a volume entitled *On the Peace Treaty* in the said library.[10] Later he was sent as ambassador by the king Don Juan to the General Council convoked in the city of Basel, which is in Germany. While passing through the city of Avignon he delivered a solemn proposition and repetition *On the Lex Gallus*.[11] It was attended by the whole Avignon college of twenty-two doctors and licentiates and numerous [34-59]

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[9] **decanus Compostellanus [et] Segouiensis:** dean of Santiago 1415, Segovia 1420 (Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 119-26, Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, pp. 416-18). **Portugaliam:** embassies of 1421-23/1424 and 1427.

[10] **constat ~ in dicta libraria:** *De actibus* depends heavily on the *Compilación de memorias e testamentos* (ACB, CV Libros 1-2) and sixteen MSS of Cartagena's works kept in the chapel of the Visitation (*De actibus* 131-32; Pulgar, *Claros varones*, p. 68 'Fizo asimismo algunos tratados [. . .] los quales están oy en la capilla do está enterrado'). These were catalogued in 1487 by Cartagena's grand-nephew Luis de Maluenda (ACB, CV Libro 1, fol. cxvi, henceforth CV Inv.). 'Los libros que estan debaxo de las gradas del altar de la dicha capilla que hordeno e conpuso el dicho señor obispo don Alonso e despues de su fallescimiento se puseron alli con cadenas'; Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, pp. 448-49); §12 is 'otro libro que fizo del trato de la paz de Portugal que el asento con el rey don Juan de Portugal'. All but one of the books were gone by Flórez's time (*España sagrada*, XXVI, 397-98, 'hecha la diligencia, no parecen').

[11] **repeticionem super legem galos:** Cartagena reached Avignon 18 July 1434 and gave his *repetitio* on the Roman law of inheritance, *Lex 'Gallus' de postumis instituendis vel exheredandis*, a day later (Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 136-37, Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, pp. 420-21). It is copied in the only identified survival from Cartagena's library, ACB Cód. 11, fols. 1-18 (Mansilla, *Catálogo de los códices*, pp. 86-88), which is listed in CV Inv. §5 'otro libro en que estan muchas quistiones e tratados que fizo el dicho señor obispo en el conçilio de Vasylea en que esta la disputa sobre la sylla de Castilla con los enbaxadores de Yngluterra'.

bachelors and scholars.[12] From there he went to Basel, where he was received with pomp by the cardinals of the Council and honoured by each of the prelates and other delegates present at the councils.[13] During his long residence there he made a solemn proposition *Against the English on the Seating Precedence of the Throne and Chair and Crown of the King of Castile*, in which he demonstrated with the most clear proofs and convincing arguments how the king of Castile ought and always should take a higher seat and sit down before the king of England. In this matter of precedence he obtained the council's judgment and a sealed written decision in favour of the king of Castile against the king of England, which was placed in the sacristy of Burgos cathedral, and a copy inserted at the end of the said treatise.[14]

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[12] **Auinionis colegium:** the Avignon popes founded a school for international scholars; R. Creytens, 'Le *studium Romanae curiae* et le maître du sacré palais', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XII (1942), 1-83; Bernard Guillemain, *La cour pontificale d'Avignon, 1309-1376: étude d'une société*, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 201 (Paris: Boccard, 1962), p. 613.

[13] **Basileam:** Cartagena reached Basel on 26 August 1434; on his part in the Council (1431-49) see Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 133-58. **multipliciter honoratus:** Pius II called him 'delitiae Hispaniarum', and remarked, 'sic ornate, sic suauiter disputauit, sic docte atque mirifice ut omnes ab eius ore auide dependerent, iam non [. . .] orationis finem sed longam continuationem desyderantes, ipsumque unicum esse scientiae speculum praedicarent', Aeneas Sylvius Piccolominus, *De gestis Concilii Basiliensis commentariorum libri II*, edited and translated by Denys Hay & W. K. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 10, 20, 28-30.

[14] **proposicionem ~ contra Anglicos:** *Propositio de preeminentia sedium* was delivered on 14 September 1434, and is copied in ACB Cód. 11, fols 136-39v (CV Inv. §5 'disputa sobre la sylla', see n. 11 above) and many other MSS. The Council's *sententia* came on 28 July 1436. Cartagena's Castilian translation for his fellow-ambassador the count of Cifuentes Juan de Silva is in Mario Penna (ed.), *Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 116 (Madrid: Atlas, 1959), pp. 205-33; known as *Tratado de las sesiones*, it was widely read (e.g. *Crónica de Juan II*, año 28 (1434), cap. 3, in Cayetano Rosell (ed.), *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, 3 vols, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 66, 68, 70 (Madrid: Rivadeneira, 1875-78, rpt 1953), II, p. 515, Diego de Valera, *Ceremonial de principes*, in Penna, *Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV*, p. 161).

In addition, while the said Don Alfonso was present at the afore- [60-156]
said General Council defending and representing all matters to do with the honour of the crown of the king and kingdom of Castile, he made another solemn proposition proving *How by Law and Reason the Conquest of the Canary Islands Belongs to the King of Castile*, showing that it was owed to him and did not belong to the king of Portugal, although the Portuguese insistently petitioned the council to grant it to them. However, Don Alfonso obtained the council's judgment and a sealed written decision in favour of the king of Castile, which was placed in the sacristy of Burgos cathedral, and a copy inserted at the end of the said treatise.[15] Furthermore, he made various other propositions and allegations at this Council, copies of which are in a volume entitled *Treatises and Questions of Don Alfonso, Bishop of Burgos*.[16] He also made many sermons, both at the Council and elsewhere, some of which are copied and deposited in a volume entitled *Sermons of Don Alfonso, Bishop of Burgos*.[17] He also wrote *An*

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[15] **propositionem ~ Canarie:** *Allegationes super conquesta insularum Canarie*, dated 27 August 1437, is preserved in various MSS, see *Monumenta Henricina*, 14 vols (Coimbra: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960-73), VI, 139-99, §57.

[16] **copie:** perhaps 'abundance', but the plural makes it more probable that the word is a calque of Romance *copias* 'copies'. **tractatus et questiones:** CV Inv §5 'libro de quistiones e tratados' (see n. 11 above); ACB Cód. 11 contains a series of Council *acta* (February 1432-September 1435) on fols 18-135v, further *consultationes* on fols 140-48v, and *obiectiones et argumenta* on fols 149-58. However, CV Inv §17 'item un bolumen grande que el dicho señor obispo hizo compilar de los fechos del conçilio de Basylea adonde estaba embaxador que comença desdel comienzo del conçilio que fue a [blank] año e se continua fasta [blank]' suggests that ACB Cód. 11 may be a composite of two volumes.

[17] **volumine quod intitulatur sermones:** CV Inv, §7 'otro libro de muchos sermones en latyn del dicho señor obispo'. Lost, sermons for St Thomas Aquinas (7 March, Juan II's birthday) and All Saints 1435 are in Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka MS Rhedig. 177 and Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS 1614, see Alexander Birkenmajer, 'Der Streit des Alonso von Cartagena mit Leonardo Bruni Aretino', in his *Vermischte Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Philosophie*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 20.5 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1922), pp. 129–210, 226–46, at pp. 131 n. 1, 227.

Apology on the Psalm 'Judge me, O God'.[18] From Basel he was sent as ambassador by the aforesaid king of Castile to the Most Christian Emperor Albrecht, king of the Romans, who at that time was residing in the city of Wrocław, which is in Upper Germany about 300 leagues from Basel.[19] The distinguished emperor received him with great pomp and bestowed many gifts on him. At that time he was preparing to go into battle with an army of knights against the king of Poland, who for his part was similarly arming himself for the conflict with an equally large force. When the reverend father saw these preparations for shedding so much Christian blood he spared no effort or expense. Despite the difficulty of the enterprise, he did not think it impossible. Trusting in God's help he approached the high task like a man, and although he was a foreigner to those parts he undertook to sow peace and concord between these great lords. Out of respect for the goodness of the man and the charm of his lips they agreed to a truce, and then to a permanent peace and concord; finally he proposed that the said king of Poland should marry the emperor's daughter.[20] Having

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[18] **Apologiam super psalmo Iudica me Deus**: the Latin *Apologia* on Psalm 43 (Vulgate 42) is lost, and not listed in CV Inv. (unless included in §16 'otro deboçional en que estan muchas oraçiones compuestas por el dicho señor obispo'); the author's Spanish version, *Contemplación mezclada con oración sobre el salmo Iudica me Deus*, survives in two MSS and Almela's 1487 edition of *Oracional*.

[19] **imperatorem Albertum**: Albrecht von Habsburg (1397-1439), duke of Austria, succeeded his father-in-law Sigismund as king of Hungary-Bohemia and was elected emperor in 1438. Cartagena left for Wrocław in March 1438, arriving in November; Diego de Valera went earlier, Pedro Tafur in December (Birkenmajer, 'Streit', p. 152 n. 2; Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 150-56). **alta Alamania**: Wrocław (Breslau) was at that time in Bohemia, 'quam illi [i.e. Hispani] altam Alamaniam cognominant' (*Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rožmital*, p. 64).

[20] **prelium ~ Pollonie regem**: the Hussite lords of Bohemia, suspicious of Albrecht, called on the young Władysław III of Poland. This battle was probably at Tábor, the Hussite stronghold 90 km. south of Praha ('cum Albertus rex Taboreensem urbem obsideret', *Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rožmital*, p. 65). After Cartagena's departure Albrecht died of plague, Bohemia sank into anarchy, and Władysław was crowned László I of Hungary. **rex Pollonie duceret ~ filiam**: the plan failed, but Albrecht's daughter Elisabeth eventually married Władysław's brother Kazimierz IV of Poland (reigned 1447-92) in 1454.

done this he decided to return to Basel, but since the return journey required him to cross the borders of the kingdom of Bohemia, which was at war with the emperor, the emperor ordered him an escort of 1,000 men at arms, because at this time the Bohemians hated all Christians, holding many erroneous beliefs against the faith and heretical rites. But it happened that two wicked men from the kingdom of Bohemia, spies and traitors, joined up and mixed with the troop of knights, and one night when they were all resting in a certain village in German territory these two spies set fire to some houses in the village. So great was the force of the fire that it flamed up and burnt down almost the whole town. The said lord and all those who had arrived with him ran out to escape the fire, some almost naked and others dressed only in what they had been able to save, but the citizens of the town, thinking that the men of the lord's escort had started the fire, began to fight them. Don Alfonso calmed the sedition and returned to Basel, though not without great loss of property.[21] After a short time, however, the aforesaid king of Castile sent for him to come back to Spain.[22] Once returned, he never ceased to spread the cause of peace to the best of his ability between the said lord king and his subject the king of Navarre and Prince Enrique and various other knights who at that time were waging wars and piracy with their raids on the kingdoms and their frontiers.[23] Moreover, at the said king's request the said bishop Don Alfonso translated from literary Latin into spoken Castilian Seneca's two books *On Clemency*, two *On Providence*, one *On the Happy Life*, another *On the Seven Liberal Arts*, and another *Of Proverbs*, as well as the book of *Admonitions* and another *On Remedies against Fortune*, and various

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[21] **disposuit in Basileam redire:** Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 151-52 dates Cartagena's return to Basel via Mainz in January-April 1439.

[22] **ut in Ispaniam remearet:** Cartagena reached Burgos on 17 February 1440 (ACB Reg. 10, fol. 135), having already visited the king at Salamanca (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 154-55).

[23] **que pacis sunt seminare inter ~ guerras et rapinas:** Cartagena's staunchly royalist stance in the civil wars of 1440-45 between Juan II of Castile and Juan of Navarre, the *infantes* of Aragon, and Prince Enrique is recorded in *Crónica de Juan II* and other contemporary sources.

remaining treatises, which make nine books in one volume, and glossed them in the necessary passages to elucidate their content.[24] Likewise he compiled and ordered all the laws which we call in the vernacular *Partidas* and some *fueros* of Spain concerning the works of wars and knighthood, with certain introductions and prologues about them which he made at the behest of the count of Castrojeriz Don Diego Gómez de Sandoval, and called *Doctrinal of Knights*.[25] Furthermore, he composed another book called *Declamations on the Translation of the Ethics*.[26] He also made another book named *The*

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[24] **Transtulit ~ de stilo latino in castellanam linguam:** CV Inv. §10 'los libros de Seneca que son romançeados por el dicho señor obispo por mandado del dicho señor rey don Juan e en algunos lugares estan glosados por el dicho señor obispo', against which is noted, 'furtose del armario e quebraron la cadena e sacaron cartas de excomunion'; cf. Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, fol. S6v/p. 290 'torno de latin en nuestra lengua vulgar doze libros de Seneca E glosolos enlos lugares que convenia'; Pulgar, *Claros varones*, p. 67 'Tornó de lengua latina en nuestra lengua vulgar ciertas obras de Séneca que el rey don Juan le mandó reduzir'. See Karl-Alfred Bluher, *Séneca en España, investigaciones sobre la recepción de Séneca en España desde el siglo XIII hasta el siglo XVII*, trans. Juan Conde (Madrid: Gredos, 1983), pp. 133-48.

[25] **Doctrinale militum:** CV Inv. §11 'doctrinal de los cavalleros que fizo a ynstançia del conde de Castro don Diagomes de Sandobal copilaçion de la General estoria'. *Doctrinal* survives in many copies, one with the addressee's arms (Escorial h.III.4). Noel Fallows, *The Chivalric Vision of Alfonso de Cartagena: Study and Edition of the 'Doctrinal de los caualleros'* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1995). Diego Gómez de Sandoval (1385-1455), *adelantado mayor* of Castile and first count of Castrojeriz, was the most powerful magnate in the Burgos region until his disgrace at the battle of Olmedo in 1445 and flight to Aragon.

[26] **Declamationes super translacionem Ethicorum:** CV Inv. §6 'Declamaçiones eticorum con Leonardo de Areçio', with the same mistake in the title (properly *Declinationes* 'evening lectures'; the typesetter in Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, fol. S6-6v/pp. 289-90 repeats a line, printing both 'declamaciones' and 'declinaciones' and giving rise to a ghost 'declamaciones sobre doze quistiones' (i.e. *Duodenarium*, see next note) which has misled bibliographers); cf. Pulgar, *Claros varones*, pp. 67-68 'una grand disputa con [. . .] Leonardo de Areçio'. See Birkenmajer, 'Streit', and Jeremy Lawrance, 'Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula', in *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe*, edited by Anthony Goodman & Angus MacKay (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 220-58, at 223-27.

Dozen, in which he explains and answers several questions which the noble knight Fernando Pérez de Guzmán had sent him to answer.[27] And he made another besides, called *Memorandum of the Virtues*, addressed to the lord prince heir apparent of King João of Portugal.[28] He composed a second book too, called *Defensory of the Faith*, which he addressed to the said Don Juan, king of Castile.[29] In addition he composed another book called *Orational* on devout prayer at the request of the noble knight Fernando Pérez de Guzmán, in which are included two other treatises, one *On the Deed of Knighthood* addressed to Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, marquis of Santillana, and another book written to explain a question posed by the said Don Juan, king of Castile, *On a Saying of John Chrysostom*.[30] Similarly he ordered another book in defence of the

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[27] **Duodenarius:** CV Inv. §2 'el duodenaryo que endereço a Ferrand Ps. de Guzman'; see Gerard Breslin, 'The *Duodenarium* of Alfonso de Cartagena: a Brief Report on the MSS and Contents', *La Corónica*, XVIII.1 (Fall 1989), 90-102. The work remains unpublished.

[28] **Memoriale:** CV Inv. §3 'memoryale virtutum que endereço a Eduardo príncipe de Portugal', a *compilatio* of Aristotle's *Ethics* addressed to Duarte of Portugal in 1422, 'primogenita scripturarum mearum'. The copy in Escorial Q.II.9 bears the Santamaría arms and gives the author's name anachronistically as 'Alfonso de Cartajena episcopo Burgensi' (fol. 1; cf. 'familiares post eius obitum posuerunt nomen eius in tabulis titulorum', 136-37 below), features which suggest that it may have come from the chapel of the Visitation. The work remains unstudied.

[29] **Deffensorium:** CV Inv. §4 'Defensorium fidei que endereço al rey D. Juan el segundo', on the anti-*converso* riot of 1449: see Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium unitatis Christianae: tratado en favor de los judíos conversos*, edited by Manuel Alonso (Madrid: CSIC, 1943).

[30] **Oracionale ~ super facto rey militaris:** CV Inv. §9 'Oraçional y otros tratados en que esta asimesmo una respuesta que dio al señor marques de Santillana a que juramento son obligados los cavalleros'. On Santillana's *Question on Knighthood* (1444) and Cartagena's reply see Ángel Gómez Moreno, 'La *Questión* del Marqués de Santillana a don Alfonso de Cartagena', *El Crotalón: Anuario de Filología Española*, II (1985), 335-63. **dicto Iohannis Crisostomi:** the *Declaratio* survives in several Latin MSS, and in Cartagena's Spanish version, *Declaración de un tratado que hizo San Juan Crisostomo el qual demuestra y concluye que ninguna persona es dañada sino por si misma* (also printed in Ahuela's edition of *Oracional* in 1487); it remains unstudied.

liberty of the cathedral and bishopric of Burgos, because the lord archbishop of Toledo claimed the right to go through the diocese of Burgos bearing his crozier aloft, and he named this book *Crucible*.[31] Yet again, he collected together the bulls, rights, and privileges which he found scattered in the sacristy of the said cathedral formerly placed there by the reverend father Mauricio of glorious memory at the time of his foundation of the aforesaid cathedral, with the dispute he had with the prior and monks of Santa María del Espino who had alleged that they were not his subjects, against whom he obtained judgment from the pope.[32] To this he gave the name *Mauriciana*.[33]

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[31] **Conflatorium:** CV Inv. §13 'otro libro que se llama confraturio que hizo sobre la libertad de la iglesia de Burgos', to which a later hand adds 'en la question de la cruz con el arzobispo de Toledo'. There is no trace of this compilation on Burgos's claim to be *sede exenta*. Provoked by Alfonso Carrillo's attempt to assert the primacy of Toledo by raising his crozier in the see of Burgos in July 1448, the dispute went to the papal Rota before being resolved in 1453 by royal intervention (Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 201-04). Cartagena's penchant for outlandish titles in *-ale*, *-orium* here reaches its apogee; the allusion to Prov. 27.21 will not have soothed Carrillo ('As the crucible [*conflatorio*] is for silver and the furnace for gold, so a man is tested by being praised. / Crush a fool in a mortar with a pestle along with wheat, yet his foolishness will not be driven out of him').

[32] **reuerendum patrem Mauricium ~ in tempore fundacionis prefate ecclesie:** Mauricio (bishop 1213-38) restored the see of Burgos and founded the present cathedral church of Santa María in 1222. The **scripta que difusa inuenit in sacrario** were perhaps the thirteenth-century *becerros* now in ACB Vols. 70-71, *Libri priuilegiorum ecclesie Burgensis*; in August 1452 Cartagena placed the 'custodia de las arcas' of bulls, charters, and diplomas under the care of his kinsman, the prior Alfonso Rodríguez de Maluenda (ACB Reg. 13, fols 68, 71-72, 76, in Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 197). **lite ~ Sancte Marie de Spino:** patronage of the monastery church of Santa María del Espino (near Santa Gadea del Cid, Miranda de Ebro) was disputed with the abbey of San Millán de la Cogolla; in 1440-43 Cartagena submitted the litigation to the pope, which was the motive for this compilation (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 209).

[33] **Mauriciana:** CV Inv. §14 'otro que se llama mauriçiana en que compilo el dicho señor don Alonso todos los privillegios e libertades de la yglesia de Burgos'. 'Tres quadernos de la *Mauriciana* sin cobertura' are listed in a fifteenth-century catalogue of the Burgos chapter library (Mansilla, *Catálogo de los códices de la catedral de Burgos*, p. 166, §78 and n. 45).

Similarly he composed another book, as mentioned above, called *On the Genealogy of the Kings of Spain*, inside he painted in a tree all the kings of Spain with their queens and the children descended from them, and at the end of each and every one their chronological contemporaries among the Roman popes and emperors, kings of France, and bishops of Burgos down to the time of King Enrique IV, who reigned auspiciously in his own day; and this was the last and most singular of the works or codices of the said bishop Don Alfonso.[34]

All the aforesaid volumes of books have been deposited in the [157-26]
library of Burgos cathedral after being copied and written out after his death.[35] If by chance anything in these manuscripts is found to be other than well written, it should be imputed to the mistake of the copyists rather than to the author himself since, if he had been there to see anything wrong, it would certainly not have remained uncorrected. Out of humility he never wished to be named in his manuscripts, but after his death his *criados* and household added his name

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[34] **De genealogia regum Ispanie:** CV Inv. §1 'la genealogia delos reyes despaña que endereço a los señores de su cavildo'; Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, fol. S6v/p. 290 'Fizo mas un libro del genealogia delos reyes de España | | enel qual libro estan depictos todos los reyes : reynas que fueron en España : sus descendientes'. *Anacephaleosis* (a Greek calque of *recapitulatio*) is an illuminated family-tree ('arbore depinxit') of the royal dynasty from Athanaric to Enrique IV dedicated to the dean and chapter of Burgos, see Espinosa, *La 'Anacephaleosis'*, and R. B. Tate, 'The *Anacephaleosis* of Alfonso García de Santa María, bishop of Burgos, 1435-1456', in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera*, edited by Frank Pierce (Oxford: Dolphin, 1959), pp. 387-401, rpt in Spanish in his *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV* (Madrid: Gredos, 1970), pp. 55-73.

[35] **volumina reposita sunt in libraria ecclesie:** this wording implies that the books were kept in the cathedral library before being moved to the chapel of the Visitation, but cf. CV Inv., 'despues de su fallescimiento se pusyeron alli' (n. 10 above). *De actibus* omits several extant works, notably translations of Cicero, but only one item from Maluenda's list is missing, CV Inv. §15 'Item otro que se llama Catoniana que endereço a don Pedro Rodriguez de Velasco primero conde de Haro', against which is noted 'falta este libro', see Jeremy Lawrance, *Un tratado de Alonso de Cartagena sobre la educación y los estudios literarios*, Publicaciones del Seminario de Literatura Medieval y Humanística (Bellaterra: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1979).

to the tables of contents.[36] This reverend father and prelate also ordered the building over the lintel of the cathedral doors of two spires to match the antique work, decorated with stone tracery so wonderfully that even master-architects and stone-carvers who come from different regions are astonished at this unique work.[37] With his brothers of the chapter he further ordered the construction of a magnificent retedos to ornament the high altar of the same church, complete with outstanding scenes from stories and chronicles, all pictured in masterly sculpture and brightly coloured images and figures.[38] And as he languished with spiritual love for his church as though for a most beloved spouse, he did not cease to endow her with worldly adornments, giving her ornaments, copes, chasubles, and altar hangings of gold and silk brocade and crosses and chalices

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[36] **numquam voluit se in suis codicibus nominari**: this detail is borne out by some MSS. e.g. *Catoniana confectio* (see the previous note) and *M.* in which *Anacephaleosis* is anonymous (note Nebreda's erasure of *de Cartajena* in the subscription on fol. 71v quoted on p. 122 above). For Cartagena's humility cf. Pulgar, *Claros varones*, p. 68, 'Aborrescía los loores que en presencia le dezían, porque si la conciencia acusava de dentro, poco dezía él que aprovechan los loores de fuera [. . .] Quien bien considerare los actos esteriores deste perlado conoscerá sin duda que sus pensamientos interiores más participavan con las cosas celestiales que con las terrenales'

[37] **duas turres aculeatas**: Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, fol. S6v/p. 290 'fizo acabar las torres que estan sobre la puerta real dela dicha eglesia'. The crocketed open-work spires of the west front, now Burgos's best known landmark, were the work of the German master Johannes (Hans) von Köln (1410-81), who was perhaps brought to Spain by Cartagena on his return from Basel. Apparently a cleric complained that the old belfries, unfinished since Mauricio's time, were low enough to throw a *dardo* over (ACB Reg. 9, fol. 349; Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 206); work on the new spires began in 1442 (ACB Libro redondo 1442, fol. 1; Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 189-90) and ended two years after Cartagena's death, in 1458

[38] **retrotabulum**: the *retablo* of the *capilla mayor* was erected in 1444-48 (Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 191-94). Described by Václav Šašek in 1466 as 'pulcherime depicta et artificiosissimo opere caelata [. . .] ita ut omnes a me conspectas longo post se intervallo relinquat' (*Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rožmital*, p. 64), this marvel was replaced in 1562 by the present dreary specimen, more in conformity with Tridentine sentiment.

of silver all wrought with the wonderful craft of silversmiths.[39] But because he regarded all these things as fleeting, he ordained as a singular and perpetual commemoration to be kept in perpetuity in the said cathedral that on the first Friday of every month in the year a mass should be for ever celebrated by the chapter in memory of Christ's passion and the Cross, and that the recessional with the customary responsory should take place at his own tomb.[40] In the same way, because the identification of various relics of the saints from the ancient times of St Toribius preserved in the said cathedral had fallen into oblivion, he ordered that they should be publicly shown once a year on the eighth day after Easter,[41] and so that the Christian populace should more willingly attend their showing on the day I have said, he obtained various bulls of indulgence for those present at

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[39] **ornamenta:** Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, fol. S6v/p. 290 'allende de [...] muchos ornamentos que a su eglesia dio, mando quarenta capas de seda brocado de una color'. The tribute of *capa de seda* or 'ornaments', coloured vestments and altar cloths for the seasons of the liturgical year, was a duty in canon law (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 68, n. 24). Cartagena gave five, in red, blue, white, green, and purple, as well as forty-one copes and his mitre, sandals, crozier, pectoral, and other jewels: for the act of donation, ACB Vol. 46, fols 688-91, see Luciano Huidobro, 'Don Alonso de Cartagena (1435-1456)', *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos*, Tomo II (1926-29), Año 5, No. 17 (4° Trimestre de 1926), 96-100; Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, p. 436.

[40] **de pasionis Christi et crucis memoria missa:** the instructions for the *misa capitular de la Cruz*, founded on 24 November 1447 with dispositions for future *sufragios* over Cartagena's tomb in the chapel of the Visitation (ACB Vol. 19, fol. 823, Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 204), are copied in ACB, CV Libro 1, fol. lxix (Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, p. 444). Observance of the veneration of the Cross, in which clergy and people kneel to kiss the cross on the sanctuary steps, was not at that time confined to Good Friday. **responsorio:** i.e. a chant with alternate verses by celebrant and choir which accompanies the Gradual, Alleluia, or Offertory.

[41] **reliquie sanctorum ab antiquis Toribi temporibus conseruate:** the relics included, besides those of Toribio of Astorga (d. 480), particles of the True Cross and Virgin's clothes, jewels from the tomb of Thomas of India, the head of one of the 11,000 virgins, and another score of precious items, all listed in ACB Reg. 25, fol. 223 (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 233-34).

the procession from our most holy lord Pope Eugenius IV.[42] And again, when this lord happened to be in Asturias he translated the body of the virgin martyr St Juliana, which was in the pulpit or transept of the church of the town of Santillana del Mar, and placed it in the high altar in the presence of a great procession of thronging crowds which had gathered from all corners of Asturias.[43] He also completed the church of the Hieronymite house of San Juan de Ortega,[44] and he founded the convents of Santa Maria de la Merced near the city of Burgos and San Ildefonso of the canonesses regular of St Dorotea in the parish of San Juan in the same city.[45]

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[42] **indulgencias:** bull of 11 February 1444 granting seven-year indulgences of an obol for the cathedral fabric (used to dig sewers. Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 205). Cartagena also promoted the cause of the Santisimo Cristo of San Agustin *extra Muros* (translated to the cathedral in 1836) and is said to have promoted that of the 200 Martyrs of San Pedro de Cardeña (Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 231-32); nonetheless, he reduced the Burgos calendar of holidays to a mere forty.

[43] **corpus Beate Iuliane:** on 6 March 1453 during an episcopal visit to Santander Cartagena witnessed the translation of St Juliana from nave to high altar of the *colegiata*, 'seyendo presentes muchas gentes de la villa e de sus comarcas' (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 219). He established the feast in a pastoral letter defending the cult of saints (Serrano, *Los conversos*, pp. 198, 220).

[44] **ecclesiam Sancti Iohannis de Ortega:** Pablo de Santamaria took over this Austin canonry twenty km. east of Burgos in 1432, when it had only three monks (ACB, Reg. 8, fol. 31; Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 84-85). In 1442 Cartagena obtained a bull confirming its reform by Observant Hieronymites, and then richly endowed it (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 210).

[45] **monasterium Sancte Marie Mercedis:** Cartagena's negotiated with the *ayuntamiento* for the building of this convent near the Puerta de Santa Gadea in 1447 (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 193). **monasterium Sancti Aldefonsi canonicarum Sancte Dorothee:** Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, fol. S6v/p. 290 'Fundo el monesterio de sant Alifonso'. The cenobium founded by the *beata* Dorotea Rodriguez de Valderrama in 1387 next to Nuestra Señora la Blanca, placed under Austin rule by Pablo de Santamaria in 1429, attracted so many *profesas* that in 1456 Cartagena founded the daughter house of San Ildefonso in the *barrio* of San Juan east of the city, see Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 210, and Juan A. Bonachia Hernando & Hilario Casado Alonso, 'La segunda mitad del siglo XIV y el siglo XV', in Carlos Estepa Diez & others, *Burgos en la Edad Media* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1984), pp. 213-506, at p. 445 and map facing p. 496.

Furthermore, he ordered many building works to embellish and improve the bishop's palace next to the cathedral by the Sarmental, and carried out all kinds of repairs to all the houses and possessions of his bishopric.[46] But although he spent the talents entrusted to him by the Lord or money of Our Lord Jesus Christ on expenses and costs of building in his cathedral and on alms and other ordinary and extraordinary expenditure, he was never willing to burden the clergy and vassals of the church or to demand anything by means of a subsidy or otherwise by means of a voluntary subsidy, a thing I have heard tell about few pastors of our time. Moreover, this lord had a special devotion to the holy Visitation of Our Lady the perpetual Virgin Mary when, after she had conceived by the Holy Spirit, she 'arose and went into the hill country in haste' and visited her kinswoman Elizabeth.[47] Therefore he ordered the said feast of the Visitation to be celebrated throughout the diocese and built a new chapel in the said cathedral, where his body was buried after his death, and in it he ordered or instituted six perpetual chaplains, a chief chaplain, and two boys, to whom he left certain rents and properties and notable ornaments necessary for the said chapel, and he gave the advowson of the said chapel to his brother the honourable knight Pedro de Cartagena and his heirs.[48] Having

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[46] **pontificalis palacii ~ in Sarmentali positi:** the Sarmental palace, 'adonde mas continuamente suelen estar los obispos' (ACB Reg. 9, fol. 306, Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 283) was enlarged 1443-47 (Serrano, *ibid.*, pp. 206-09). It occupied the present Plaza del Rey San Fernando west of the south door, but was demolished between 1863 and 1914, see Flórez, *España sagrada*, XXVI, plate facing p. 393; George Edmund Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* (London, John Murray, 1865), p. 27 n. 1, and plan facing p. 34.

[47] **festum Visitationis:** the feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, 2 July, commemorates Mary's visit to her cousin Elizabeth in Luke 1.39-56 (the text quotes part of verse 39). Its observance was instituted by St Bonaventure in 1263, extended to the universal church to end the great Schism in 1389, and again ordered by the Council of Basel in 1441. Cartagena ordered observance of the office of the Visitation throughout his diocese in 1442 (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 200).

[48] **fecit fieri cappellam nouam:** Cartagena arranged to be buried in the chapel on his return from Basel (ACB Reg. 10, fol. 137, 17 February 1440) and on 6 April 1442 had it rededicated to the Virgin of the Visitation; rebuilding began

disposed and ordered all the above, and after making grants to charities and pious causes for the use of the poor, especially the redemption of captives, he decided to go on pilgrimage to Santiago.[49] The saint's festival fell that year on a Sunday, which the faithful call a Jubilee, that is, remission or plenary indulgence of sins. He stayed seventeen days in the city of Compostela, and spent one night in vigil at the body of St James the Apostle; there, on the next morning, he devoutly celebrated mass at the high altar and almost the whole of his household took communion from his hand at the altar of the apostle. He also made a great offertory and endowed the place with profits and rents in perpetuity for the perpetual celebration of a mass on the Friday of every week in the year.[50] During his stay he did not cease from visiting monasteries and churches, and he fulfilled his desire of visiting the great apostle with generous gifts of alms. Having completed his pilgrimage and visit to the holy shrine he took his leave, and after receiving many honours and courtesies from magnates and knights and prelates in those parts wherever he had passed both going and coming, he returned to his own diocese. When he reached the town of Villasandino in his diocese he suddenly began to feel his

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under Hans von Köln (ACB Reg. 10, fol. 170), and on 3 January 1446 the chapter ratified its use as a family chantry under the patronage of Pedro de Cartagena and his descendants (ACB Reg. 5, fol. 164); see Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 204-05. The documents are copied in ACB, CV Libro 1. **instituit in ea sex cappellanos ~ infantulos:** cf. Cartagena's epitaph (p. 131 above), 'septem capellanos et duos acolitos perpetuo instituit'.

[49] **in redemptionem captiuorum:** on Cartagena's ransome of Christian slaves from al-Andalus and al-Maghrib, also mentioned in *De actibus* 256 and 347, see Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 232. Lev z Rožmitálu and his companions Václav Šašek and Gabriel Tetzel were shown hundreds of shirts hung in the cathedral as votive offerings by captives rescued by the bishop (*Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rožmital*, pp. 65, 169-70).

[50] **dotauit ~ totius anni missa:** the deed endowing this anniversary, signed in Santiago 12 June 1456 by Cartagena 'venido aqui en peregrinacion e romeria a visitar los limites del glorioso apostol Santiago en este tiempo que es año de su sancto jubileo', is copied in ACB, CV Libro 1, fols lxxxv-lxxxvi (Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, pp. 446-47). The witnesses include Diego Rodríguez de Almela.

bodily strength ebbing away.[51] Gripped by a continual wasting fever, he lasted only seven days. And when he realized that his death was near, being strong in constancy of mind though weak in body, he called all his people together and, beginning to speak with the accustomed grace of his lips, he made them a solemn speech on the contempt of the world and the hope of the life to come, especially comforting his brother the knight Pedro de Cartagena and his nephews and his *criados* and household, both churchmen and laymen, and the other good clerks and monks who were present, exhorting them all to the virtues and not to be sad at his passing but to rejoice with him, explaining to them how he had long before drawn up his testament, which indeed was placed in the sacristy of the cathedral.[52] All those who afterwards saw the tenor of this testament truly recognized that this man, so full of virtues in his lifetime, had achieved for himself a good end to his life, for he bequeathed many things to his cathedral and also to other churches, monasteries, hospitals, pious places, paupers, orphans, and the decent poor. Among many other things he

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[51] **oppidum de Villacendini sue diocesis:** Villasandino was given to the bishops of Burgos by Fernando III in 1223 (ACB Vol 38, fol 136). Dying in one's own house was important; cf. Jorge Manrique, *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*, strophe XXXIII, ll. 394-96 'en la su villa de Ocaña / vino la Muerte a llamar / a su puerta', and XI, ll. 472-74 'cercado de su muger / y de hijos y de hermanos / y criados', in his *Poesía*, edited by Vicente Beltrán, introduction by Pierre Le Gentil, Biblioteca Clásica, 15 (Barcelona: Crítica, 1988), pp. 170-71, 174.

[52] **cum cognouisset mortem sibi fore propinquam:** from this point *De actibus* is structured as an *ars moriendi*. Recognizing that one's hour had come was the crucial first step in conforming with the will of God: see Ariès, *L'Homme devant la mort*, I, 13-26, and *Libro intitulado Arte de bien morir* ([Zaragoza: Hans Hurus, 1489-91]), in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. LQ vi,29, fol. A3, 'E por tanto el buen christiano [...] no se deve entristecer de la muerte del cuerpo [...] ni turbarse ni tenerla, mas deve la tomar voluntariamente [...] ⁊ deve conformar su voluntad con la de Dios', and fol. B5, 'quando se vee ya para morir, quiere de su voluntad morir ⁊ llenamente consiente en la muerte [...] Suffriendo assi con paciencia la pena de la muerte, satisfaze por todos los pecados'; cf. Manrique, *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*, XXXVIII, ll. 448-53, 'mi voluntad está / conforme con la divina / para todo, / y consiento en mi morir / con voluntad plazentera, / clara y pura' (*Poesía*, pp. 173-74).

specially bequeathed a certain sum for the dowry of ten virgins, in honour of the ten holy virgins. Likewise he bequeathed certain sums for the redemption of captives and for the reward of his *criados* and household. These bequests come to a total of 18,000 florins; just for copes for the said cathedral he bequeathed 3,500 florins.[53] Having made the speech I have mentioned, he then devoutly received the sacrament of the eucharist with welling tears and words of great and profound devotion. Among other things in that speech he said to those standing by:

'For my part, I say, I give many thanks to God, because although I [264-99] am unworthy I perceive that my prayer has been heard by the Lord. In my prayers I asked three things from the Lord God on high. My first request was this: thirty nine years have now passed since I left the city of Compostela, where I once held the office of dean, and ever since then I always meant in my mind and set my will upon the idea that I would one day return to visit the holy apostle, and I begged the Lord and his apostle with all my soul not to let me leave this world before I should first return to visit the holy apostle. However, because of various obstacles and political troubles and the increasing pressure of business I have been unable to fulfil my wish until now, when as you have seen I made my visit and stayed seventeen days, journeying there and back healthy and sound in my person right up to the first town belonging to my own diocese.[54] And behold, God having heard this prayer of mine now calls me to him before any new

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[53] **testamenti tenorem:** Almela, *Valerio de las estorias*, fol. S6v/p. 290 'allende delas obras piadosas que fizo en limosna e redempcion de captivos e muchos ornamentos que a su eglesia dio, mando quarenta capas [...] e asi se cumplio'. The will, dated Santa Olalla (Toledo) 6 July 1453, is copied in ACB, CV Libro 2, fols li-lix, with *Notificación de testamento que hizo en Villasandino estando enfermo en una posada* (Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, p. 491 n. 52), edited in Matías Martínez Burgos, 'Don Alonso de Cartagena, obispo de Burgos: su testamento', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, LXIII (1957), 81-110; see Cantera, *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia*, pp. 433-42.

[54] **rediens sanus – in primum locum diocesis mee:** cf. Pulgar, *Claros varones*, p. 68 'su voto pareció ser bien acebto a Dios, porque le dio gracia que fuese en salvo e cumpliese su romería, la qual cumplida e tornado a su diocesi finó'.

great business supervenes to prevent the course of my salvation. At the advanced age of seventy years He is sparing my senility, for my body finds battling in the fight too heavy and the care of the Lord's flock, in which I have now striven for twenty-one years, too dangerous.[55] For this I give to the true God all the thanks that I am able and strong enough to give. The second request which I asked from the Lord in my prayers was that, at the time of my death, the Lord should not permit me to be oppressed and afflicted by sharp pains in the head or side, the stomach, or those parts and limbs of my body by which I might perhaps be tempted to impatience and so think less about the salvation of my soul than a true and faithful Christian should when placed in this critical moment.[56] And this request too, as you see, has been granted to me by the merciful and compassionate Lord;[57] for by God's grace I feel no pain in any part of my body other than the decay of my physical powers by which I perceive I am called to that end which no man can avoid, since 'it is the lot of men to die but

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[55] **In prouecta etate LXX annorum:** cf. Cartagena's epitaph, 'etatis uero sue anno LXXI' (see p. 131 above), and Pulgar, *Claros varones*, p. 68 'seyendo en hedad de setenta años'. There is no discrepancy: 'in his seventy-first year' and 'seventy years old' mean the same thing, both giving a birthdate in 1385/6. But the figure also reflects the 'threescore years and ten' of man's life in Ps. 90:10 (Vulgate 89:10 'septuaginta anni'), and is a sabbatical number (2 Chronicles 36:20 'the land [. . .] kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years').

[56] **ad impacientiam prouocatus:** physical pain is the Devil's means of tempting the *agonizante* to despair and rebellion (cf. n. 52 above): see *Arte de bien morir*, fol. A7 'entonce el dyablo acrecienta dolor al dolor, retrayéndole sus pecados de la manera que puede para traherle a desesperación'; and fol. B1v:

> a los que mueren les acaheccn graves dolores. [. .] muchas vezes de accidentes como es fiebre o apostema o otra grave dolentia z tan luenga que da afflictión, la qual a los más [. .] faze impacientes, tanto que murmuran muchas vezes del mucho dolor z se tornan locos.

Cf. Gómez Manrique, *Consolatorio para doña Juana Manrique su muger*, strophe 27 'mueren desesperados / porque tarda su morir / [. .] cuyas almas son perdidas / y por siempre submergidas / en las infernales flamas', in his *Cancionero*, ed. Antonio Paz y Melia, 2 vols. Colección de Escritores Castellanos, 36, 29 (Madrid: A. Pérez Dubrull, 1885), I, 58-74.

[57] **miserator:** cf. James 5:11 'quoniam misericors est Dominus et miserator'.

once'.[58] For this I give infinite thanks to my God. The third request I asked from the Lord God was that I should not be deprived in the hour of my death of that modicum of sense or understanding which my God had bestowed upon me. And now by the grace of God I see that although I may be weakened and languishing in body through the weakness of nature, nevertheless, as you yourselves can see, my understanding is sound and entire; and for this I give many thanks to Christ Jesus the true God.'[59]

And so, having delivered the aforesaid speech and having [300-14] received, as I have said, the saving sacrament of the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and with many comforting words and exhortations to his relatives, household, and friends he raised his pontiff's hand and, making the sign of the cross, gave them his blessing. All of them kissed his hands with tears. After this he ordered them to give him the venerable sacrament of extreme unction, and when the priest and his clerks arrived, about two hours before midnight, he said: 'Look, I see sunbeams coming through the window of the chamber,' though the window was closed.

Some of the bystanders answered him, saying that the sunbeams which he could see at that moment were Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary, who was coming to bring him light. And he replied:

'If only she would please deign to beg her Son to have pity on my soul, so that when my soul leaves my body he may guide it to His glory!'

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[58] **statutum est hominibus semel mori:** i.e. as opposed to Christ. Hebr. 9.27-28: 'Et quemadmodum statutum est hominibus semel mori, post hoc autem iudicium: sic et Christus semel oblatus est ad multorum exhaurienda peccata, secundo [*i.e.* the Second Coming] sine peccato apparebit expectantibus se in salutem'. *Semel*, 'once and for all'; cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, x. 112: 'semel aeterna nocte premenda'.

[59] **sanum et integrum habeo intelletum:** cf. Pulgar, *Claros varones*, p. 68: 'finó conosciendo a Dios'. Full consciousness during the rites of the deathbed was important to ensure conformity with the divine will; *Arte de bien morir*, fol. B5v-B6: 'el dyablo no puede en todas las cosas susodichas forçar al hombre ni sobrarlo [. . .] mientra toviere uso de razón'; and cf. Manrique, *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*, xl, ll. 469-75: 'Así con tal entender, / todos sentidos humanos / olvidados, / [. . .] dio el alma' (*Poesía*, p. 174).

And so he received the rich ointment of holy unction, listening [315-26] attentively to everything said by the priest who was administering the sacrament, and making the responses in his own voice. Having received the sacrament of unction, the priest solemnly absolved him from guilt and punishment, both by virtue of the jubilee indulgence from Saint James and by virtue of the indulgences of the holy fathers which he had obtained for this critical moment of death. When the absolution was complete, though sorely weakened and almost at the point of giving up his soul to God, he said:

'Unworthy as I am, I claim my share in all the indulgences and goods granted by the holy and apostolic fathers who canonically occupied the holy apostolic see; and I beg the most Blessed Virgin Mary and the apostles Saints Peter and Paul to pray to the Lord to take pity on my soul.'[60]

These words were most acceptable to the ears of the worthy men [327-43] standing there. They approached and kissed his hands, and he gave them his blessing. Then he ordered them to lift him down from his bed, saying that he wished to die in dust and ashes; but, for all his insistence, the pity of the devout and worthy bystanders would not consent to it.[61] Immediately he ordered the friars and clerks who

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[60] **Ego indignus ~ anime mee:** the speech corresponds to the final *commendatio animae*: *Arte de bien morir*, fol. B7 'E duespués diga tres vezes. *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*, ꝛc. [cf. Christ's last words. 'Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum'. Luke 23:46] E si no pudiere fablar, digan cada uno de los que stovieren en derredor. *En tus manos, señor, encomiendo la alma de este*, ꝛc., ꝛ en esta manera muere seguro'. **constituo me participem ~ bonis** is legalistic (*particeps* + genitive of thing shared; dative of second party is found in Silver Latin, e.g. Q. Curtius Rufus, *Hist. Alex.*, vi, 7, 8 'consilii fortibus viris esse participem', but makes no sense here): having paid for his indulgences, Cartagena calls in the debt. This seems sordid, but accords with medieval doctrine (note the insistence on the papal sanction of the orthodoxy of indulgence)

[61] **uoleuat mori in terra et cinere:** an attempt to avoid vainglory (*Arte de bien morir*, fol. B3v 'el que stá para morir ha de ser muy cauto que en sintiendo que la sobervia le tienta *se humille ꝛ abaxe* recontando sus pecados'); cf. Gen. 3.19 'In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es, quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris'. But his wish accords neither with Christian ritual nor with the Judaic custom of turning the face to the wall (2 Kings 20:2).

were present to read out in his presence for him to hear the passions of Our Lord Jesus Christ which He suffered for us sinners that He might save us, and also the Penitential Psalms with their litany and other devout psalms and prayers.[62] And so in full possession of his senses he asked them to give him a candle, which he received in his hand, and a cross in the other, and gazing steadfastly at the image of the crucifix, surrounded by these words of prayer and supported in the hands of his family he simply closed his eyes and fell asleep in the Lord on Thursday, the feast of the Blessed Mary Magdalene, 22 July in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1456.[63] At this there was

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[62] **recitarentur ibi pasiones:** reading to the *gisant* is illustrated in a woodcut in *Arte de bien morir*, fol. B4, and explained on fol. B8v:

> Qualquier que es devoto de la passión de Christo no poede ser dannado; e por esso es cosa muy de gran provecho leerla o alomenos oyrla en la dolentia, o que se lea por alguno de los que stovieren presentes quando el enfermo comiença de star en passamiento, segun se lee en la vida de Sancta Marta, la qual quando vino a aquel passo se la fizo leer, e en el punto que él que la leya dixo aquellas palabras, 'Padre, en tus manos encomiendo mi spiritu', ella spiro.

In the *passo de la muerte* readings were 'cosa muy provechosa | | por poner coraçón al enfermo para que sté constante en la fe ⁊ por que se aparten d'él los enemigos' (*Arte de bien morir*, fol. A6); Christ was said to have recited Psalms 21-30 on the cross, 'e por tanto es muy bueno leerlos a los que stán en passamiento' (*Arte de bien morir*, fol. C1). Legends were read for the same purpose: 'Oye lo que dize Jacobo de Voragine en peccadores públicos, ⁊ de Maria Magdalena e de la muger que fue fallada en adulterio, ⁊ del buen ladrón en la cruç, ⁊ de María Egiptiaca, ⁊ de muchos otros grandes ⁊ scelerados peccadores' (fols A8v-B1); cf. *A Lytyll Treatyse Schortely Compyled and Called Ars Moriendi* (s.l., s.n., s.a.), fol. A1: 'Thenne is to be remembered the grete benefeytes of God | | / and specyally of pe passyon of our lorde / and thenne is to be rede somme story of sayntes or the vii. psalmes with pe letanye or our lady psalter', in Edward W. B. Nicholson (ed.), *Ars Moriendi, that is to saye The Craft for to Deye for the Helthe of Mannes Sowle: Photolithograph of the Unique and Perfect Copy Printed about 1491 by William Caxton or Wynken de Worde, Preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (London: Bernard Quaritch & Clarendon Press, 1891). **Psalmi penitentiales:** the seven Penitential Psalms (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142).

[63] **candelam ~ ymaginem crucifixi aspicieus:** candle and crucifix always feature in the *gisant* ritual, see *Arte de bien morir*, fol. B6v (illustrated on p. 157 above) and fol. A7 'ante que la alma salga del cuerpo, vee a Christo puesto en la cruz'; cf. fol. B8v 'El que stá assi aparejado | | encomiéndese del todo a la passión

sorrow and lamentation, and all said with one voice:

'Father, why dost thou forsake us, and wherefore dost thou leave us desolate?'[64]

Who could tell how great was the mourning of his friends and how great especially were the lamentations of friars and devout as they wept, saying: How is he fallen, the defender of the faith, patron of religious orders, father of widows and orphans, restorer of the poor, redeemer of captives, lover of peace, settler of disputes?[65] But the Lord, the just judge whose judgments are a great abyss and have no need of human knowledge, hastened to lead him out of the midst of iniquities lest misery alter his courage, for his soul had pleased God.[66] [344-65]

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de Christo. [. . .] ca en esta manera todas las tentationes ⁊ assechanças del enemigo se vencen'; and cf. *A Lytyll Treatyse Called Ars Moriendi*, fols. A1-1v:

And ever the ymage of the crucyfyxe is to be hadde in his syght wyth other / And holy water is oftymes to be cast upon and about hym for avoydyng of evyll spirytes pe whiche thenne be full redy to take theyr avauntage of the sowle yf they may ¶And thenne and ever make hym crye for mercy and grace ⁊ for the helpe of our Blessyd Lady and of other sayntes in whome afore he hadde a syngyler trust ⁊ love and therupon to make his prayers yf he may.

[64] **Cur nos pater ~ reliquis:** cf. Ps. 22 [Vulg. 21]:1 'Deus, Deus meus, respice in me, quare me dereliquisti?'; Matth. 27:46 'Et circa horam nonam clamavit Iesus voce magna, dicens, *Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani?*, hoc est, Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?'

[65] **defensor fidei ~ litium mitigator:** for the *exaggeratio* cf. Guzmán's *Coplas sobre el tránsito de don Alfonso de Cartagena*, strophes III-IV (p. 132-33 above), and Manrique, *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*, XXVI-XXVIII, II 301-35, 'Amigo de sus amigos [. . .] Camilo en el grand amor / de su tierra' (*Poesía*, pp. 165-67)

[66] **iustus iudex:** cf. Ps. 7:12 'Deus iudex iustus et fortis', 2 Tim. 4:8 'Dominus in illa die iustus iudex', both alluding to Doomsday (on fifteenth-century concepts of the deathbed as a kind of personal Last Judgment see Ariès, *L'Homme devant la mort*, I, 103-25). **iudicia ~ egent:** *abyssus* in this sense is not in the Vulgate, but cf. Rom. 11.33 'quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius et investigabiles viae eius!', quoted by Cartagena himself in *Defensorium unitatis Christianae*, p. 63. **ne malitia immutaret cor:** i.e. to prevent an involuntary movement of rebellion (nn. 56, 59 above), a direct allusion to Sirach 11:27 (=Ecclus. 11:29; see p. 129 above): 'Malitia horae oblivionem facit luxuriae magnae, et in fine hominis denudatio operum illius' (for the phraseology cf. 1 Samuel 10:9 'immutavit ei Deus cor'; Job 12.24 'Qui immutat cor principum populi terrae, et decipit eos').

Thus he freed him from this vale of tears, but only after having completed the pilgrimage for which he longed, and having answered his prayer.[67] For he continually begged in his prayers that He would grant his Christian people a victory against the enemies of the faith, especially against that enemy of Christ and the faithful, the Grand Turk. He firmly and faithfully believed that the final damnation of the latter and the victory of the Christians would come to pass, and had proposed to forward its cause as long as he was alive, and to include it at the end of the book *Genealogy of the Kings of Spain*, mentioned above, which ends with a miniature of King Juan II, where he says:

> At this time, because of the sins of the Christians, whom God decided to punish now and then with visible scourges, Constantinople was taken by the Turks and the emperor of the Greeks killed along with many others, but with God's help the Roman pontiff and several princes intend to work for its recovery, and we trust in divine mercy that it will be recovered, just as it has been lost and recovered in times past.

These are the words of the said lord Alfonso in the aforesaid book, [366-90] for the pious father desired to take part in the said war against the Turk, and die in it, but it did not please the Most High that he should witness in person the Christian victory for which he hoped. Nevertheless, by divine disposition it happened that on that selfsame Thursday on which this reverend lord died and was victorious over the world, the Christians were victorious and triumphed over the Grand Turk,[68] for on that day he and all his army were forced to abandon a great castle in the kingdom of Hungary which he had besieged and all

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[67] **liberauit eum:** *Arte de bien morir*, fol. A2r: 'La muerte no es ál salvo un salir de la presión, [. .] conviene saber, fin ; término de todas las dolentias del cuerpo, libramiento de todos los periglos'. **de hac lacrimarum ualle:** on this proverbial phrase from the hymn *Salve regina* see Fernando de Rojas, *Comedia o tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, edited by Peter E. Russell, Clásicos Castalia, 191 (Madrid: Castalia, 1991), p. 607 n. 73.

[68] **habuit uictoriam de mundo:** the trope *victoria de mundo/de Turco* plays on 1 John 5:5, 'Quis est qui vincit mundum, nisi qui credit quoniam Iesus est Filius Dei?'; 1 Cor. 15:54-57 'Cum autem mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est: *Absorta est mors in victoria. Ubi est mors victoria tua, ubi est mors stimulus tuus?* [. . .] dedit nobis victoriam per Dominum.'

but destroyed, and which he expected shortly to enter, and from there conquer the whole kingdom of Hungary.[69] But it pleased almighty and supreme God that on that day, Thursday 22 July 1456, on the feast of the Blessed Mary Magdalene, that he should be routed with all his host in pitched battle by the count of Belgrade named János *vaivoda*, regent of the kingdom of Hungary, who had with him many hosts both from the kingdom of Hungary itself and from other parts of Christendom who had come to the said battle to earn the indulgences of crusade granted to the faithful for this purpose by the lord Pope Callistus III.[70] So the said Turk was defeated and the greater part of his army taken and killed by Christ's faithful, who captured all the Turks' many cannons, arms, spoils, and catapults, tents and pavilions, and even the ships and galleys and all the fleet which they had on the great River Danube.[71] So it pleased the Lord, and all on

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[69] **trihunfum de Turco Magno:** i.e. the defeat of the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II at the siege of Nándorfehérvár (Beograd) by a crusade under János Hunyadi and Giovanni Capistrano OFM. **coactus fuit ~ relinqui:** my conjecture is a guess, assuming a misreading of 'Sactus'; also possible are *adductus* or *victus* (cf. Livy IX, 3, 8 *victus est ut ipsum in consilium accire*, 'he was prevailed upon to take his advice'), but these are not found with prolative infinitive, whereas this is common with *cogo*. For the calque of Romance syntax cf. *capti fuerunt*, 384.

[70] **comitis Albi ~ Iohannes Bayboda:** Hunyadi János (*ca* 1385-1456), regent of Hungary 1443-53, *vaivoda* of Transylvania and captain of Beograd (the city was in Hungarian hands, with short interruptions, from 1319 until it fell to Süleyman in 1521); cf. 'Iohanne Vayvoda' in the next note, and 'Iohannes Bayvoda' in Alfonso de Palencia, *Gesta Hispaniensia ex annalibus suorum dierum collecta*, I-II: *Libri I-X*, edited by Brian Tate & Jeremy Lawrance, 2 vols (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998-99), I, 72 (Lib. II, 8, §3). Our author shows no awareness of Hunyadi's death from plague on 11 August 1456. **Albi:** usually *Alba Bulgarica*, here perhaps *(castrum) Album* (cf. next note, 'castrum Monteralbense'); the Latin name, like Hungarian *fehérvár*, German Weißenburg, and Italian Castelbianco, is based on Slav бѣлоградъ 'white burgh', attested from 878.

[71] **victus ~ Turcus:** news of the victory was spread by *relazioni* and greeted with enthusiasm throughout Europe. *De actibus* shows contact with Callistus III's letter of 14 August 1456, in *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia, maximam partem nondum edita, ex tabularis Vaticanis deprompta*, edited by Augustinus Theiner, 2 vols (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859-60), II, 280-81, §CCCCXLIII (to the archbishop of Arras), at p. 280:

the day when, as I have said, the aforementioned bishop left this world.[72] May his soul rest in peace with Christ. Amen.

Saint Mary is mindful in the care of her servants,[73] [391-97]
To this one alone the Glorious lady gave three prizes.
To sit upon the throne of his father as bishop,
To live as the ark of every deep doctrine,
To be pleasing to the Lord and hated by no man
For the years that Alfonso lived blissfull in this see
Take two score years, reader, and then add one.[74]

Venerat insanus Turchus furiis accensus et cum validissimo exercitu [. .] castrum Monteralbense clavem regni Hungarie dura expugnatione premens. Disiectis iam muris et defensaculis, castro potiri se credebat, in cuius amissione suprema fortuna universe reipublice Christiane versabatur, eo namque amisso Turco aditus patebat sine obstaculo in Hungariam, unde mox opportunitatem vexande locus Christianitatis noctus videbatur. Sed non est passus Dominus summus tantis tenebris nupticari suam religionem. [. . .] et vires sensumque eripiat barbaris, qui ab unico Christi fortissimo athleta Iohanne Vayvoda et a parva manu plebeiorum et inermium militum crucesignatorum profligati navali terrestrique pugna et in fugam cum maxima eorum strage, amissis etiam admirabilibus eorum machinis et instrumentis bellicis, conversi sunt.

[72] **de mundo isto migrauit:** cf. l. 7 and n. 3 above. The phrase is liturgical (e.g. *Missale Romanum*, Missae defunctorum. In die obitus seu depositionis defuncti. Oratio, 'Exoramus pro anima famuli tui N. quam hodie de hoc saeculo migrare jussisti [. . .] et ad patriam paradisi perduci').

[73] **Sancta Maria:** the verses play on the family surname Santamaria, one of those *converso* 'nombres y sobrenombres [. .] de la letanía' like San Pedro, San Juan, and San Cristóbal satirized by Francisco de Quevedo, *El buscón*, edited by Domingo Ynduráin (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), p. 80. Cartagena signed 'Alonso García de Santamaría' until 1452, despite his brother Pedro's adoption of the more prestigious surname in a patent of nobility in 1440, but by 1455 he used 'Cartagena' (Serrano, *Los conversos*, p. 119 n. 1). This name was preferred by members of his circle such as Diego de Almela and Juan de Lucena (*Diálogo de vita beata*, 1463); Pulgar insisted on 'Santamaría', *Claros varones*, p. 66.

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