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Los Angeles

“Dezir quiero de Granada, todo quanto he visto en ella”:
A Geocritical Approach to Sixteenth Century Iberian *pliegos sueltos*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

by

Roxanna Colón-Cosme

2022

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2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

“Dezir quiero de Granada, todo quanto he visto en ella”:
A Geocritical Approach to Sixteenth Century Iberian *pliegos sueltos*

by

Roxanna Colón-Cosme

Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor John Dagenais, Chair

My dissertation performs a spatial reading of transgressive, sacred, gendered, intertextual, and literary spaces in a selection of Iberian *pliegos sueltos* (chapbooks) from the sixteenth century. Employing Bertrand Westphal’s notions of Geocriticism and the methods of spatiotemporality, transgressivity, and referentiality, my research demonstrates how the representations of space in the *pliegos sueltos* promote the political hegemony of the Christian kingdoms in the transition from Muslim to Christian Iberia and generate an imperialistic discourse. First and foremost, the *pliegos sueltos* constitute a dispersed, unstudied, and ephemeral literary corpus. Therefore, I take an intertextual approach in exploring the literary construction of space in the *pliegos sueltos* and apply what I call ‘intertextual geographies’ as a methodology to examine texts that, despite their scatteredness, are geographically and thematically interlinked. I examine how the massive itemization of sacred spaces and the architectural public reforms represented in these *pliegos* *sueltos* reveal the preponderance of the Spanish crown's authority in an emerging urban space. I argue that the portrayals of past and present Iberia, primarily focusing on Granada and Valencia, displayed the anxiety of a community aspiring to be politically and religiously homogeneous. I examine the subordinate intertextual relationship between medieval *romances* (ballads) and their sixteenth century *glosas* (glosses), which comment, supplement indeterminate passages, and even alter medieval ballads. I defend that sixteenth century *glosas de romance* appropriate the content of medieval *romances* and were responsible for a new understanding of the medieval past rendered in the *romancero viejo*. Furthermore, I assert that *pliegos sueltos* participated in the practices of chorography and literary cartography of the sixteenth century and intended to map an emerging (Christian) urban space in Iberia and amend its Muslim past. As a result, I provide a broad, hybrid, and heterotopic representation of medieval and early modern Iberian space. From this geocritical reading of the Iberian chapbooks, I bring attention to a genre—the *glosas de romance*—and a literary corpus—the *pliegos sueltos*—that have fallen out of the cultural hierarchy of books and can shed light on the geopolitical makeup of medieval-modern Iberia in the context of conquest and urban transformation.

This dissertation of Roxanna Colón-Cosme is approved.

Teófilo F. Ruiz

Javier Patiño Loira

Roberta Morosini

John Dagenais, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

DEDICATION

Nuevamente a Pablo,

tu amor sin orillas lo hace todo posible.

Semper ad meliora.

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INTRODUCTION

In a *pliego suelto* published in 1525, Francisco de Lora observes: "Y por esto sin temor de murmuración acorde *glosar* por la mas *nueva arte* que pude este *romance* el mas *viejo* que *oy*: trata de como el rey moro de Valencia despues de aver sela ganado el Cid ruy diaz con todo aquel reyno vino poderosamente sobre aquella ciudad" (Lora, *BDH* 2; emphasis mine). The remarkable passage, inserted in an unusual prologue, ponders about two types of literature, or "*arte*": a new one referring with all probability to the *glosas de romance* printed on *pliegos sueltos*, and an old one, the medieval *romance* of oral tradition.[1] Lora's *pliego* interconnects old and new forms of literature by glossing, in a brief printed chapbook, the popular (oral) *Romance del Rey moro que perdió a Valencia*. Interestingly, the passage also depicts the efforts of a Muslim king who attempts to reconquer Valencia after losing it to the Cid. This small excerpt undoubtedly captures a multifaceted space of transitions: from old to new literary forms, from orality to printed literature, from Muslim to Christian Iberia. As the reader will encounter in the pages of this dissertation, the Iberian chapbooks, better known as *pliegos sueltos*, neatly encapsulate the literary hybridity, material diversity, and geopolitical transitions from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century. The exploration of these shifts, examined from the novel framework of spatial studies, will help us uncover if the appreciation of these small texts should be like Francisco de Lora expected in his *glosa*: "Y como no puedo ocurrir con servicios de cantidad: querria hazeros algunos de tal calidad que enellos se viesse lo interior de mi voluntad sobrar en riqueza a lo exterior de mi possibilidad" (*BDH* 2).

---

[1] I say unusual since, of all the *pliegos sueltos* consulted so far, this is the only one that includes a prologue. To consult this and other *pliegos* mentioned throughout the dissertation, see the Bibliography of Primary Sources. The *romances* mentioned throughout the dissertation refer to the metric pattern found in Spanish ballads. They are not to be mistaken with Chivalric Romance literature. The *glosa de romance* is a poetic composition that explains, broadens, and/or revises a *romance*. They will be described in more detail in this Introduction.

Sixteenth century Iberian *pliegos sueltos* often disseminated medieval *romances* that showcased medieval culture, politics, society, and spatialities. In addition, they frequently reproduced medieval *romances* in the form of *glosas de romance*. Therefore, sixteenth century audiences commonly read mediated and glossed versions of popular oral *romances* from the Middle Ages. We could infer their popularity from the number of *glosas* about medieval *romances*, many of which will be studied in this dissertation. Several of the medieval *romances* that were chosen for glossed compositions in the sixteenth century have been labeled by scholars of the *romancero viejo* as *romances fronterizos* and *históricos*.[2] As represented in Lora's passage, these medieval *romances* and their *glosas* were concerned with the representation of space, the dynamics of the border, and the encounters with the Other in medieval Iberia: "trata de como el rey moro de Valencia despues de aver sela ganado el Cid ruy diaz con todo aquel reyno vino poderosamente sobre aquella ciudad" (Lora, *BDH* 2).

---

[2] The *romancero* refers to the set of *romances* (ballads) that were sung in the Iberian Peninsula and were later collected in *cancioneros*, *romanceros* and *pliegos sueltos*. The difference between *romancero viejo* and *nuevo* lies in its origin. While the former was transmitted orally, their author tends to be unknown and eventually passed on, in divergent or glossed versions, to written literature; the latter, by contrast, were composed for inclusion in *cancioneros*, *romanceros* and *pliegos sueltos* and were often written by a known author.

Because of this, my approach to *pliegos sueltos* entailed a theoretical framework that catered to their insistence on spatial representation. The representation of space is characteristic of the literary arts; as Robert Tally expresses in an interview, “all literary works are somehow engaged in a project of literary cartography” (Darici 29). However, the necessity of mapping space is indeed exacerbated when it comes to representing frontier spaces in continuous spatial flux. Many scholars have been concerned with naming and understanding these borderline spaces: Anzaldúa’s notion of the “third country” in the context of “la frontera”; hooks’ radical “margin” and “community of resistance”; Bhabha’s “third space”; Soja’s revised “thirdspace”; to name a few.[3] Similarly, illuminating the space represented in the *pliegos sueltos* calls for an understanding of hybrid and bordering spaces.

This dissertation analyzes the diverse representations of Iberian space in the *pliegos sueltos*. They include transitional, transactional, and sacred spaces; spatial hybridity; intertextual and literary spaces; spatiality of the body in the context of conquest; sensoriality of the cityscapes; movement in and outside the *pliegos sueltos*; and notions of mapping as ways of ordering and conquering space. I explore how these various spatial representations expose the sociopolitical hierarchies, dynamics of conquest, and structural and architectural changes that legitimize the political and religious transition from Muslim to Christian Iberia. Furthermore, I argue that the literary space represented in the *pliegos sueltos* problematizes our notions regarding sixteenth century Iberia and creates new, often contradictory, interpretations or possibilities to understand the Iberian relationships among the peoples who shared said space.

---

[3] See Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*; hooks, *Feminist Theory* and “Choosing the Margin”; Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*; Soja, *Thirdspace*.

This dissertation aims, ultimately, to study sixteenth century Iberian *pliegos sueltos* and their *glosas de romance* as a literary corpus that, so far, has not received much critical academic attention.

Literature Review

Vulgares Cantiunculae

Miguel de Eguía, a leading figure of the printing press in Navarra, edited and published Erasmus's works and was one of the most influential preachers of Erasmian thought in the Iberian Peninsula (Bataillon 163–65). In 1525, the Navarrese printer, appealing to the Iberian Erasmists, published the following opinions concerning the *pliegos sueltos*: "Nuum quum nescio quo Hispaniae nostrae fato accidit ut in typographicis offinis vulgares cantiunculae, nonnunquam etiam obscoenae, et inepti rhytmuli, aut his etiam indoctiores libri assidue operas exercant..."[4] Eguía attacks Iberian printers, like himself, for publishing obscene songs and books with no value. These expressions echo those from Erasmus himself who, in *Apologia ad Stunicae conclusiones* (1524), lashed out against editors and publishers alike and stated that street vendors are "esos rapaces ambulantes que van por Roma pregonando huevos, almanaques, cancioncillas y otras bagatelas semejantes" (*apud* Bataillon 131).[5] Interestingly, Miguel de Eguía also published the only Spanish-language book in opposition to the Dutch philosopher (Asensio 88). It seems like Eguía decided to disassociate from the Erasmists after their ideas fell out of fashion and were persecuted by the Inquisition. While the decision could have been triggered by fear of the Inquisition, it is also possible that Eguía just started printing what was timely, just like other printers he criticized were already doing. As we will observe, the modes of literary production in the sixteenth century shifted towards the printer who could decide what was appealing and worthy of publishing and what had already transpired.

---

[4] See passage in Spanish, "Pero, a causa de no sé qué fatalidad, los talleres tipográficos de España están acaparados permanentemente por coplas vulgares y hasta obscenas, por versos ineptos o por libros de menor valor aún" (Bataillon 163; Romeo de Lecea 33, 148). Also see Sanz 349–50.

[5] In *Apologia,* Erasmus reacts to a negative publication against him (for which no publisher took responsibility) hence the negativity towards the editorial industry.

Nowadays, some believe that online or digital reading is a fundamentally different experience from reading printed material. Similarly, back in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the ephemerality and topics of the *pliego suelto*, and other forms of peddler literature, must have imposed an interesting and troublesome experience for those accustomed to reading manuscripts or more significant printed works, reading about different themes and genres, or not reading at all. However, whatever the case may be, it seems that high cultured medieval and early modern readerships perceived the publications of *pliegos sueltos* as an inconvenient and bothersome form of literature that went against the decorum of their religious or political beliefs.[6] But why is that?

---

[6] The discredit and low regard for the *pliegos sueltos* have been addressed by Manuel Alvar: "Los romances en pliegos de cordel fueron durante el siglo XVIII una literatura despreciada por los hombres cultos. Su descrédito duró hasta nuestros días en que los investigadores han querido ver en ellos problemas sociológicos que pasaban desapercibidos a los historiadores literarios" (*Romances* 33). Similarly, Francisco Mendoza Díaz-Maroto considers that the *pliegos sueltos* are commonly measured by an aesthetic which responds to, and is governed by, cultured literature; without considering that the *pliegos* were conceived with a different reader in mind (25).

The *pliegos sueltos* were small, brief, inexpensive printed pamphlets that spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula from the beginnings of the printing press in the fifteenth century.[7] They were typically printed in quarto format and consisted of booklets of one or two gatherings, eight to sixteen pages.[8] These chapbooks were very popular throughout Europe and had a crucial role in disseminating popular culture.[9] While this sort of street literature has often been associated with a lower class, it is critical to note that, in sixteenth century Iberia, some of the *pliegos sueltos* included brief excerpts of well-known literature and oral materials such as *romances*. They were also an important medium to disseminate *glosas de romances*, *coplas*, and other forms of popular literature. While we recognize that many people were illiterate and only had access to oral literature, the publication of *pliegos sueltos* was beneficial to those who were readers but did not had the financial means to acquire a large, printed book or a handwritten text.[10] Iberian *pliegos sueltos* integrated into the material reality of Iberia and provided sixteenth century readerships with an economical method to approach printed literature.

---

[7] Extensive terminology has been used to refer to this literary corpus: *pliegos sueltos*, *pliegos poéticos*, *pliegos sueltos poéticos*, *pliegos de ciego*, *pliegos de cordel*, *literatura de cordel*, *cuadernos sueltos*, among others. However, the most recent criticism of Iberian chapbooks tends to privilege the term—*pliegos sueltos*—even when using these labels interchangeably, see Puerto Moro, “El universo” 259; Di Stefano, “Pliegos sueltos” 211; Russo 14; and Gomis, “Los surtidos” 204. *Pliegos sueltos* will be term used throughout this dissertation.

[8] The quarto format consists of eight pages of text printed in a single sheet of paper, which is then folded two times to produce four leaves.

[9] In addition to Europe, the expeditions to America brought them to Brazil where the *literatura de cordel* enjoyed great popularity until the last century. For more information on *literatura de cordel* in Brazil, see Chozas and Torres Pereira.

Even the nomenclature of the Iberian chapbooks reflects on their material qualities and dissemination process.[11] For example, the name *pliego* (sheet of paper, leaflet, pamphlet) recognizes their materiality, disposition, insubstantiality, and ease of transportation. The term *suelto* (loose, disconnected, detached) suggests a material that can easily come unbound and further acknowledges the ephemerality of these printed documents. The other widespread term, *pliegos de ciego*, reflects on the chapbooks' diffusion since it was often blind men who trumpeted and sang the chapbooks in the town squares and village fairs.[12] Undoubtedly, Iberian chapbooks were portable pieces of literature that could be carried around and read everywhere.

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[10] The *pliegos sueltos* had a big oral audience, possibly bigger than readers. María Sánchez Pérez explains that "la mayor parte de esos textos eran leídos en voz alta, recitados de memoria, salmodiados o cantados" and adds

> toda esa inmensa producción de milagros, casos, relaciones de sucesos de batallas, de «casos horribles y espantosos», de villancicos, de letrillas, etc., es decir, todas estas composiciones que integran nuestros pliegos sueltos poéticos del siglo XVI, circulaban igualmente entre ricos y pobres, entre gentes pertenecientes al ámbito rural, urbano e incluso cortesano, pues, además de las lecturas silenciosas e individuales, por las calles y plazas se recitaban, cantaban y bailaban todas estas piezas. (147)

Therefore, both readers and hearers had access to the contents of *pliegos sueltos*, see Sánchez Pérez 145–47 and Frenk 37–38. For the costs of manuscripts and prints in the sixteenth century, see Pallarés 35.

[11] Similarly, the nomenclature for the *pliegos* published throughout Europe, and beyond the sixteenth century, acknowledged their materiality and mobility: in England, they were known as chapbooks and broadside ballads; in Germany as *volksbuch* (book of the people); and in France they were denominated as *bibliothèque bleue* (blue library) due to their blue covers, and *littérature de colportage* (peddling literature) because of their displacement and distribution process. For more information on chapbook literature, see Shepard, *History*; and about channels of distribution for *pliegos sueltos*, see Gomis, "Los surtidos" and *Menudencias*.

Miguel Ángel Pallarés Jiménez believed that the *pliegos sueltos*, as a published document of an inferior quality, represented an inexpensive way to keep occupied the printing press in times of inactivity: "los tipógrafos debieron editar gran cantidad de pliegos sueltos para tener ocupadas sus prensas en los tiempos de inactividad entre encargos de más enjundia; dichos pliegos disminuían los riesgos económicos que suponían ediciones más serias, eran baratos y el capital invertido se recuperaba rápidamente" (39). The particulars highlighted by Pallarés probably contributed to the accessibility of the *pliego sueltos* or, at least, made them a more cost-effective way to gain access to literature. Several accounts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries similarly reflected on the literary accessibility engendered by the introduction of the printing press in Spain. For instance, the colophon of the *Libro de albeitería* (1495) reads:

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[12] Since the fourteenth century blind men begun to be associated with songs (*coplas/cantares de ciego*) that were orally broadcasted. This is how it is represented in the *Libro de buen amor*:

> Cantares fiz algunos, de los que dizen los çiegos,
> e para escolares que andan nocherniegos,
> e para otros muchos por puertas andariegos,
> caçurros e de bulras: non cabrian en diez pliegos. (Ruiz 389; st. 1514)

Later on, the blind became one of the main broadcasters of popular literature. Peter Burke, in *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978) studies the figures associated to the transmission of popular culture and explains that "Many of these vagabond-entertainers seem to have been blind. In Spain, the common name for a street singer used to be *ciego*, 'blind man'. Such terms often reflect stereotypes rather than realities, but in this case, there is a good deal of supporting evidence" (99–100). Similarly, Julio Caro Baroja, in *De los arquetipos y leyendas* (1991), expresses "Dentro del mundo tradicional hay, en efecto, un personaje que ha tenido mucha importancia en la transmisión no solo oral, sino también escrita, de leyendas y otros relatos, en verso o en prosa. Este personaje es el *ciego*" (192).

> Gozen los letores de nuestros días, et los que vinieren, de bien tamaño como es el arte de la emprenta: porque parece una maravilla por Dios revelada para que hayan lumbre los ciegos de la ignorancia. Pues muchos primero andavan turbados en las tiniebras por mengua de libros, no instruydos en la doctrina de los costumbres de la virtud, et mal enseñados en la muy sancta et sagrada scriptura: la qual bien saber es provechosa como necesaria. Et pueden agora sin mucho trabajo con pocos gastos haver tanta parte como el ingenio de cada uno tomar pudiere… . (*apud* Pallarés 34)

Similarly, a letter from 1490 denounces the inaccessibility of the manuscripts as they were "muy caras, segunt el barato que oy hay de libros" (*apud* Pallarés 35, 693). Consequently, the *pliegos sueltos* were at least one of the most inexpensive forms of printed literature at the time.

Unfortunately, the same material conditions that guaranteed the *pliegos sueltos* accessibility and mobility also contributed to their disposal. The bibliographer Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino explained how the *pliegos* were often subject to mistreatment and breakage; therefore, the handful of Iberian chapbooks preserved today do not reflect the "many millions" of *pliegos* that were printed and are now lost (*Diccionario* 17). If, in fact, "millions" of *pliegos sueltos* were printed, as Rodríguez-Moñino believed, then we could infer that the *pliegos sueltos* were vastly popular. The *pliegos sueltos* intervened in the public space as an economical form of street literature and contributed to the material reality of the printed book.[13]

In a way, the *pliegos sueltos* were a literary corpus from and for the streets. Their physical characteristics contributed to their mobility, making them an ideal format for the transmission of information. According to Leslie Shepard, the chapbooks had an important role in rescuing oral materials and fomenting readerships in impoverished communities:

> Street literature became the one great composite form for the traditionalist, the reactionary, the agitator, the journalist, the hack writer, and the back-street entrepreneur. It covered every known aspect of *conventional literature* and even invented *new categories* (like "cocks," "catchpennies," and "long-song sheets"). It kept alive beautiful *old folk songs and ballads* in the squalor of the industrial revolution, it gloated over crimes and executions, it gave up-to-the-minute news (sometimes before it happened), it circulated lies and rumours, it strengthened conservative loyalties and patriotism, it fomented riots and radicalism. It created an urban folklore, and printed *non-books* for poor people. (*History* 50; emphasis mine)

We can confirm similar effects and uses in the sixteenth century Iberian chapbook like the publication of fragments of conventional literature and the conservation and transmission of medieval *romances* through *glosas de romances* popularized in *pliegos sueltos*. As we will uncover in the pages ahead, the *pliegos sueltos* were everyday objects that carried culture, historiography, and literature, a sort of portable knowledge. The fact that the materiality and mobility of the *pliegos sueltos* can communicate as much information as their contents is an idea that I would like to accompany us along with these pages.[14] While I cannot attest to how fifteenth and sixteenth century audiences engaged with these materials, it is essential to recognize that real individuals handled them and read them. These texts traveled and circulated in Iberia, while their contents also represented movement and the geopolitical changes of Iberian cities in development. Consequently, the spatial representations embedded in the *pliegos sueltos* were perhaps inspired by the mobility and materiality of their physical form.

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[13] For people with low financial means, the *pliego suelto* could have meant a first encounter ever with printed literature. About the utilitarian aspect of the *pliegos sueltos*, see Sanz 349–60; also see Rodríguez-Moñino, *Diccionario* 18–20.

These brief *pliegos*, mostly of eight pages, offered readers the opportunity to approach, even in a limited way, the popular or canonical literature that was being read in the Iberian Peninsula and get glimpses of medieval oral materials. For this reason, I believe that the *pliegos sueltos* were fundamental in developing a literary culture in the peninsula. Nonetheless, the lack of bibliography about them is surprising. There are, of course, numerous works done on the bibliographic, thematic, and typological elements of the *pliegos sueltos*. However, these works do not comprise the critical and literary validity of these texts. The growing regard for popular literature has increased research on *pliegos sueltos*, though literary criticism on the subject is still minimal. Therefore, I deem necessary an analysis that considers more than just a formal description of the *pliegos sueltos*. Doing so from a contemporary point of view, in the light of new literary theories and critical approaches, can help us uncover the literary interest of a corpus that does not have to be in the background and that can extensively contribute to the study of sixteenth century Iberian literature.

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[14] Jonathan Walker building on the works of James McLaverty and Donald Francis McKenzie argues "that physical properties often activate dramatic meanings, which has the effect of transforming a text's materiality from dispensable qualities of its 'formal presentation' to correlative elements of its literary production," therefore, "I take as meaningful not only the words on the page but also the disposition of the text on the paper, the condition of the paper itself, decorative elements, the ways that the writer or printer has utilized space, as well as the historicity of these documents" (202). In the realm of medieval manuscripts, John Dagenais recognizes how "It seems, in fact, that we have found a place for the literary text everywhere except in the one place where it undeniably resides: in the physical text" ("Bothersome" 247) and that "Medievalists must attempt to recover the literature that now wanders in and out of successive modern editions, stripped of both the cultural and the physical surroundings that gave it being" (*Ethics* 42).

Pliegos sueltos*: A *Status Quaestionis

To understand the validity of the work ahead is imperative to provide a brief background on how the academic studies regarding the Iberian *pliegos sueltos* stand today. Early studies about *pliegos sueltos* were limited to the publication of necessary but inconclusive catalogs and bibliographic works. These included catalogs of *romances* and rare books by Agustín Durán, José Gallardo, and Menéndez Pelayo. The proper start of the literary conversation about *pliegos sueltos* in Ibero-Romance was brought by the scholar Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino. From the early 1960s, Rodríguez-Moñino began publishing articles and catalogs that sought to present a broad view of the *literatura de cordel*.[15] In 1962, *Los pliegos poéticos de la colección de*

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[15] Rodríguez-Moñino told María Cruz García de Enterría (who at the time was a graduate student and later became a prominent scholar on the Iberian *pliegos sueltos*) that the best way to study a dispersed corpus, such as the *pliegos sueltos*, was by writing partial works, concentrating on a library or a particular archive, that allowed for a "estudio serio con las necesarias justificaciones" (García de Enterría, *Sociedad* 13–4, 20).

Marqués de Morbecq, highlighted the factors, mainly of a material nature, that have affected the conservation of *pliegos sueltos*. Rodríguez-Moñino also explored the role of the Duke of T'Serclaes of Tilly—to whom the collection is due—in the preservation of *pliegos sueltos*.[16] The text includes a bibliographic study documenting the *pliegos sueltos* of the collection and a facsimile version of these *pliegos*. Rodríguez-Moñino continued publishing catalogues such as *Los pliegos poéticos de la colección Campo de Alanje en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (1963), the *Catálogo de la biblioteca del Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros* (1966), among others. In 1968, *Construcción crítica y realidad histórica en la poesía española de los siglos XVI y XVII*, product of a speech given by Rodríguez-Moñino in New York in 1963, reflected on how the poetry of the *siglo de oro*, often valued as a homogeneous poetic school, is a corpus divided from a historical and geographical perspective.[17] Rodríguez-Moñino questioned a literary space that has been constructed in an anachronistic way, assuming the knowledge, dissemination, reading, and popularity of poetry from the early modern period. Rodríguez-Moñino recommended that literary critics avoided generalizations and assumptions when studying a literary corpus and urged a literary examination from a geographical and generational approach to fully understand the poetic production in question. Rodríguez-Moñino's most important work about the *pliegos* was the useful *Diccionario bibliográfico de pliegos sueltos poéticos (siglo XVI)*

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[16] Rodríguez-Moñino explains the sales and acquisitions of rare Ibero-Romance books, such as the ones in Salvá's library, and the supervening circumstances of the famous library of the duke before passing it to his son the Marqués de Morbecq (Rodríguez-Moñino, *Morbecq* 9–40).

[17] The speech was pronounced at the 9th International Congress of the Federation of *Modern Languages and Literatures* celebrated on August 27, 1963.

(1970) which gathers the production of *pliegos sueltos* of late fifteenth and the sixteenth century. The *Diccionario* includes the bibliographic information of 1,179 *pliegos* and discusses the printing and selling processes of the *pliegos sueltos*. The catalogue was revised in 1997 by Arthur Lee-Francis Askins and Víctor Infantes de Miguel under the name of *Nuevo diccionario bibliográfico de pliegos sueltos poéticos (siglo XVI)*. Posthumously published, *Los pliegos poéticos de la Biblioteca Colombina (siglo XVI)* (1976) concluded the series of catalogues by Rodríguez-Moñino thus forming the bibliographic basis for the studies of the *pliegos sueltos*.

His contemporary, Julio Caro Baroja explored the *pliegos sueltos* in the *Ensayo sobre la literatura de cordel* (1969). Caro dedicated six chapters of the book to the study of the "Romancero de romances vulgares," which delimited the various thematic categories found within this so-called "vulgar" corpus. Even though Caro guarantees a social approach to the topic, the essay leans more into describing the categories and archetypes found within the corpus. These thematic categories seem only to serve the purpose of cataloging since they are not explained and understood within their social and literary context. Furthermore, Caro employed the descriptive and formal parameters of lengthier literary genres to define the characteristics of the shorter texts included in the *pliegos sueltos*. For instance, the study does not consider the oral-to-written transition of the *romancero viejo*; and that lengthy works, such as theatrical plays, were adapted (shortened) to fit within the limited extension of the *pliego suelto*. Recognition of these formal alterations concerning the genre is essential. Finally, and not trying to dismiss the study of this book, an investigation that tries to be panoramic should start, of course, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (just like the bibliographer Rodríguez-Moñino does). However, in this case, the *pliegos sueltos* analyzed belonged to the library of Caro's uncle and are primarily from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Therefore, the general conclusions presented in the *Ensayo* are problematic since they are not representative of a broad corpus.

In the same year (1969), the scholars Frederick J. Norton y Edward M. Wilson published a facsimile version of two *pliegos sueltos* from the early sixteenth century: the *Romançe de Amadis* (1515–19) and the *Juyzio hallado y trovado* (1510), which is known only from this version. The book includes the facsimiles, a bibliographic study of *pliegos sueltos* before 1520, and the entries and explanations of 83 *pliegos poéticos* from the early sixteenth century. Norton and Wilson also included a chapter on the transcription of poems and their variants. It is a handy resource that provides the necessary information to place, temporally and geographically, the first productions of the *pliegos sueltos* and expands the study of the Iberian poetry in the transition to the early modern period.

The *pliegos sueltos* in Ibero-Romance also proliferated outside the peninsula. Indeed, the Sephardic community living in the Mediterranean found in the *pliego suelto* a viable way to transmit their literary culture. In 1971, Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman in *The Judeo-Spanish Ballad Chapbooks of Yacob Abraham Yoná* created a compendium of twenty-five chapbooks and various *pliegos sueltos aljamiados* published between 1891 and 1920 and attributed to Yacob Abraham Yoná. The book comprises studies of the *romances*, reproductions in *aljamiado*, and individual bibliographies of Sephardic and Hispanic versions of the *romances*. In 1981, Armistead and Silverman, with the collaboration of Iacob M. Hassán, amplified their study in *Seis romancerillos de cordel sefardíes*. Here the scholars included a new chapbook and an additional publication of Yoná. These works highlighted the popularity of the culture of *pliegos sueltos* in the Sephardic community and traced the diffusion of the medieval *romancero* until the twentieth century and in Sephardic communities in exile.

Some scholars decided to continue the bibliographic work of Rodríguez-Moñino and published catalogs that amplified the contents of the *Diccionario bibliográfico*. Dedicated to *romances* are the *Romancero popular del siglo XVIII* (1972) by Francisco Aguilar Piñal and the *Romances en pliegos de cordel* (1974) by Manuel Alvar. The latter offers facsimile versions of *pliegos sueltos* printed in the eighteenth century, including adaptations of literary works from the fifteenth and sixteenth century. According to Alvar, the *pliegos sueltos* carry old motifs of Iberian literature that contributed to the literary culture and the establishment of a national identity (34–39). In 1976, José Manuel Blecua published the *pliegos sueltos* of the Library of Catalonia.

The scholar María Cruz García de Enterría, in *Sociedad y poesía de cordel en el barroco* (1973), explored the *pliegos sueltos* of the seventeenth century from a social perspective. García de Enterría reflected on the portability of the *pliegos sueltos*, the public who in her opinion is "el gran olvidado de la historia de la literatura" (15), and the influence they had on the thematic content and distribution of *pliegos sueltos*. The project discussed the lack of literary criticism regarding the production of *pliegos sueltos* in the seventeenth century and reflected on the political impact of *pliegos sueltos* as a tool of political protest. The thesis does not develop the fascinating ideas regarding the influence of the reader and the portability of the *pliegos sueltos*, briefly mentioned in the introductory chapter. However, the text offers a valuable contribution to the criticism of seventeenth century *pliegos sueltos*.[18]

A necessary resource for the study of chapbooks is *The History of Street Literature: The Story of Broadside Ballads, Chapbooks, Proclamations, News-Sheets, Election Bills, Tracts,*

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[18] See García de Enterría, *Literaturas marginadas* (1983) for her continued work on *pliegos sueltos*.

Pamphlets, Cocks, Catchpennies, and other Ephemera (1973) by Leslie Shepard. After an extensive study on the *Broadside Ballads*, Shepard reflected on the small-format book as a social artifact.[19] Shepard explained that the incredible popularity of *pliegos sueltos* had to do with the economic constraints of the time: the difficult access to literature and illiteracy rates made the *chapbook* a more affordable option. As a result, while a seemingly unreliable source of information, street literature played a significant role, for more than 400 years, in the transmission of knowledge in England. The study has a modern component that superficially reviewed the influence of *pliegos sueltos* on contemporary advertising and news media with surviving specimens, exhibited in facsimile, from Ireland, Puerto Rico, and Brazil.

La imprenta y los pliegos poéticos (1974) explored the transition from manuscript to the printing press. Carlos Romeo de Lecea discusses the reader's role and orality; investigates and distinguishes between *pliegos* created to be sung and to be read; and clarifies how, in the transition from manuscript to print, there was no clear distinction between the terminology used. In addition, the study considered some of the complications related to the study of *pliegos sueltos*, such as authorship problems resulting from the variants and adaptations. Finally, the publishing apparatus, ranging from printers, authors, and the printing press, is, for Romeo de Lecea, a pivotal piece to understanding the *pliegos sueltos*.

Joaquín Marco, in *Literatura popular en España en los siglos XVIII y XIX (Una aproximación a los pliegos de cordel)* (1977), overviewed the *pliegos sueltos* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from a literary perspective. Marco recognized the realistic nature of *pliegos sueltos*, which, although "en su mayor parte, derivan de obras literarias, pretenden adquirir verosimilitud, ser 'historia,'" they aspire to be credible narratives that acquire a historical meaning (28). Of course, the reality encountered in the *pliegos sueltos* should differ from readers' everyday lives. Marco pondered on the role of *pliegos sueltos* in the transmission of the *romancero viejo* and reflected, just as Romeo de Lecea did, about the printing industry of the *pliegos sueltos* and the role of publishers, printers, and inquisitorial censorship in the content of the *pliegos*. Marco defended, and I concur, that the *pliegos sueltos* facilitated access to literature. While researching *pliegos sueltos* from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Marco's study outlined valuable information to analyze the *incunables* and *pliegos* from the sixteenth century.

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[19] See Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: A Study in Origins and Meaning*.

Later, in 2000, Francisco Mendoza Díaz Maroto published *Panorama de la literatura de cordel española*, a general study on *pliegos sueltos*, using as a representative sample his own personal collection. Mendoza runs on an interesting paradox about the *pliegos sueltos*: they are studied from the aesthetics of canonical literature but were designed for a demographic interested in a far more diverse corpus. The study discusses the *pliegos literarios* (*pliegos sueltos* based on a recognized literary work); however, it does not consider the adaptations and transformations a literary genre undergoes when it is limited to the material space of the *pliego suelto*. Even with its flaws, this text provides a valuable and renewed bibliography on the *pliegos sueltos*.

Also in 2000, Luis Díaz Viana studied the *pliegos sueltos* from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries in "Se venden palabras: Los pliegos de cordel como medio de transmisión cultural." The article offered a noteworthy reflection on the transmission of knowledge through the *pliego suelto*. Díaz does not believe that the *pliegos sueltos* could be considered a literary genre; however, he understands how these publications could "enmarcarse dentro de una 'poética' más o menos reconocible" (27). While not an independent genre, the *pliego suelto* constitutes a "vehículo de transmitir cultura" (27) that stands as complementary. According to Díaz, the *pliegos sueltos* represent a constant debate between learned and popular, written and oral, rural and urban literature, denoting their intrinsically hybrid nature.

Miguel Ángel Pallarés Jiménez examined the innovations of the printing press in Zaragoza in *La imprenta de los incunables de Zaragoza y el comercio internacional del libro a finales del siglo XV* (2003). The text provided information regarding the insertion of the printing press into the preexisting manuscript book industry and studied the book trade channels that connected Aragon with the printing presses in Italy and the Mediterranean. As we might assume, the primary motivations for publishing *pliegos sueltos* were monetary. The *pliego suelto* represented a low-risk investment since the capital was recovered quickly. The text also described the *incunabula* in Zaragoza, including the 1493 printed version of *Cárcel de amor*. It is a book of interest to study the beginnings of the printing press in the Iberian Peninsula.

Santiago Cortés Hernández, in "Elementos de oralidad en la literatura de cordel" (2005), reflects on how the *pliegos sueltos* often produced materials related, in some way, to oral culture. Just like Díaz, Cortés Hernández described the *pliegos sueltos* as a hybrid material: which benefits from the stability provided by the printed medium but rescues materials from orality. According to Cortés Hernández, the inconsistencies in the impressions of *pliegos sueltos* threatened the apparent material stability of the printed *pliego suelto*. Cortés Hernández recognized that, although to a lesser extent than orality, the medieval and early modern literary text was conceived as unstable and not fixed (of course, this applies to both prints and manuscripts). Finally, Cortés Hernández defended that the audience of oral literature was accustomed to works of high literary quality, thus explaining the number of sophisticated texts in the *literatura de cordel* (302).

Pedro Manuel Cátedra García compiled the presentations given in the Fourth Congress of 'Lyra minima' in *La literatura popular impresa en España y en la América colonial: formas y temas, géneros, funciones, difusión, historia y teoría* (2006). This massive book discusses the research possibilities of printed popular literature. From the section of "Formas y temas" the articles of José Manuel Pedrosa and Blanca Periñan seem interesting. The first, entitled "Sobre el origen y la evolución de las 'coplas': De la estrofa al poema, y de lo escrito a lo oral," presented a typology about *coplas*. The second, "Más sobre glosas de romances," reflected on the *glosas de romance* and the processes of rewriting. On the other hand, María Sánchez Pérez, in "'A todos quiero contar | un caso que me ha Admirado': La convocación del público en los pliegos sueltos poéticos del siglo XVI," reviewed how literary texts were broadcasted in the early modern period and the main features of the dissemination of *pliegos de cordel*. In the section that explores the functionality of the *pliegos sueltos*, Mariana Masera, in "Algunos aspectos de la multiculturalidad en las literaturas novohispanas: España, África y América," recorded the displacement of *pliegos sueltos* to the Americas; and Jacobo Sanz Hermida, in his presentation entitled "La literatura popular, ¿una escuela portátil?," talked about the *pliego suelto* as a pedagogical material. Regarding the diffusion of popular literature, the presentation of María Teresa Cacho, "Fuentes impresas de poesía española en cancionerillos musicales italianos del siglo XVI," shared about the Hispanic production of *pliegos sueltos* in Italian libraries, the bilingual productions in Spanish and Italian, and the similarities between Italian and Spanish *pliegos sueltos*. Also "El impresor-editor y los romances" by Giuseppe Di Stefano reflected on the figure of the printer-editor of *pliegos*; and Mario Garvin, in "Sobre sociología de la edición: El orden del 'Cancionero de romances' (s.a. y 1550)," explored the process of adaptations in the *pliegos sueltos* and considered how the difficulties of access to the *pliegos sueltos* prompted a preference for the *cancioneros* to study the corpus of the *romancero*. From this section is also interesting the presentation "Hacia la definición de una retórica formal para el pliego suelto poético (1500–1520)," by Laura Puerto Moro, which explained the importance of the *romancero* in the success of the *pliegos sueltos* and outlined a formal rhetoric about the *pliego suelto*. These are just some of the interesting articles included in this book, and although, for the most part, they outline, only superficially, some thematic, theoretical, or genre-wise issue of printed popular literature is an excellent source to locate the main critical concerns of the *pliegos sueltos* and Iberian popular literature.

Finally, Laura Puerto Moro, in "El universo del pliego poético postincunable (del despegue de la literatura popular impresa en castellano)" (2012), created a new *status quaestionis* around the *pliego suelto*. The article listed the primary studies about the *pliegos sueltos*, explained the characteristics of the corpus from 1500 to 1520, and catalogued the readers of these *pliegos sueltos* as part of "una floreciente cultura urbana" … "de base burguesa y emulación palaciega" ("El universo" 260–62). Puerto described the relationships between the printers and the thematic scope of the *pliegos sueltos*. The article also explained the woodcut images (xilografías) that appeared in many *pliegos* and how they were often created for longer works, such as *La Celestina*, and then repurposed for the *pliegos sueltos* ("El universo" 277). Finally, the article described the dissemination and sale routes of *pliegos sueltos* and provided a list of *pliegos poeticos* from 1500 to 1520 with their respective bibliographic information.

As illustrated, the study of the *pliego suelto* boomed in the 1960s and 1970s, then was neglected for a few decades and resumed in 2000. While the bibliography mentioned is not directly related to the dissertation topic, it reaffirms the unexplored potential of the chosen corpus. This bibliographic review has led me to several preliminary conclusions: the *pliegos* *sueltos* have received some critical attention, but for the most part, they focus on a different period from the one we intend to study; they are bibliographic-type works, catalogs, or simply, preliminary studies that still have room for more significant considerations.[20] The lack of critical studies regarding the *pliegos sueltos* from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could be due to several factors. On the one hand, the material qualities of *pliegos sueltos* make them a dispersed corpus that requires much effort to locate. On the other, their marginal status as a less valuable corpus (sometimes regarded as *subliteratura*) left them ignored for a long time.[21] Reflecting on the disregard of the medieval page, John Dagenais notes how commonly "Students of *texts* have to look at pages bearing something that fits our categories of text —it has a certain length, or maybe an author, or at least a recognizable genre" thus excluding from the academic study anything that does not fit into the characteristics (pre)conceptualized for a specific discipline ("Decolonizing Medieval Page" 39). Similarly, the *pliegos sueltos* are deficient of the length, the familiar author, the recognizable genre, and the characteristics that could have made them fit into the literary categories appealing to "students of *texts*." The *pliegos sueltos* have started gaining traction as a valid literary corpus, but there is still a long way to go from the bibliographic studies started by Rodríguez-Moñino in the 60s.

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[20] As showcased, Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino was devoted to studying the bibliographic aspect of sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos*; María Cruz García de Enterría analyzed the social aspect of seventeenth century *pliegos*; Manuel Alvar worked with *romances* from the eighteenth century; Julio Caro Baroja and Joaquín Marco studied, from different perspectives, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and Luis Díaz Viana reviewed twentieth century *pliegos sueltos*.

[21] See Alvar, *Romances* 16.

“Comienza la glosa”

In the sixteenth century, the most common genres published in *pliegos sueltos* were *romances, glosas de romances, coplas,* and *villancicos*. As mentioned at the beginning of this Introduction the *romances* refer to Spanish ballads, and the *glosas de romance* were poetic compositions to clarify, broaden, and rewrite a *romance*. However, why did *romances* required further commentary? The *romancero* has a fragmentary nature. This is due to the oral origin of the *romances*, but also because they commonly have an abrupt beginning—without details and in *media res*—and a truncated end, often deprived of a definite outcome. These characteristics leave much of the *romance* at the mercy of the reader’s imagination, who might consider it necessary to amplify the text to complement meaning.[22] Drawing from Rousseau and Derrida, Jonathan Culler clarifies that writing is “a technique added to speech, foreign to the nature of language,” but it “can be added to speech only if speech is not self-sufficient” (103). Consequently, “The supplement is an inessential extra, added to something complete in itself, but the supplement is added in order to complete, to contemplate for a lack in what was supposed to be complete in itself” (Culler 103). Maybe the fragmentation of the oral *romances* encouraged their insertion into the written page and the production of a supplement, the *glosa*, to further their meaning.

In its most general sense, *glosas* were marginal or interlinear brief notations to define unfamiliar words or phrases in a text. Medieval scribes expanded the functionality of the gloss to include lengthier commentaries and annotations to explain obscure passages in a manuscript text. For instance, the *Glosas Emilianenses*, one of the earliest examples of an Iberian Romance language, were written in the tenth century to elucidate the meaning of a Latin codex.[23] As John Dagenais explains in *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture*, the places of uncertainty in a text constitute an invitation to the development of the gloss, "The obscurity (that locus of indeterminacy) of ancient books is an open invitation to future generations to add the 'surplus' by glossing the letter of the text" (37).[24] Those textual gaps or doubts about the content of a text can be satisfied by a reader/writer, who makes the relevant additions "according to his or her occasional circumstances: educational background, cultural or social milieu, moral status, and ethical concerns of the moment" (Dagenais, *Ethics* 80). Often the glosses of challenging texts, like the Bible or legal documents in Latin, had a didactic purpose:

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[22] Paloma Díaz-Mas examines the different glosses of the *romance Tiempo es el caballero* and confirms that “existe en la época un notable gusto por la *amplificatio* … Prueba de ello es la cantidad de glosas, contrahechuras y otras recreaciones de textos poéticos” (“Cómo se releyeron” 67).

> In the middle ages both teaching and original thinking centered in texts which had been handed down from an earlier period, whether it were an inspired text, the Bible, or a *corpus iuris*, or a classical author. Hence it was essential for teaching purposes that the text should have some standard exposition accompanying it as a gloss, for use in lectures, which should be accessible to all scholars and students, and which everyone could refer to in the certainty of being understood. (Smalley)[25]

However, most of the time, the act of glossing reflected on the practice of reading in the Middle Ages since both activities were closely related:

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[23] See Wright, "The Conceptual Distinction Between Latin and Romance."

[24] For the term of "indeterminacy," see Dagenais, *Ethics* 6, 37, 80; Culler 133–34; and Bruns.

[25] For the study of biblical glosses, see Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*.

> The medieval texts that have survived are surrounded in a very physical way by their readings, by the glosses, *reclamos*, *nota benes*, allegorizing or moralizing commentaries, pointing hands, *accessus*, synopses of ancient myths, and so on. These marginalia (and interlinealia) help us to measure the pace of medieval reading, the places where it starts and stops, refers, expands, takes note. The text is constantly mediated by glosses, and these glosses, in turn, refer not so much to the text as to the larger and invisible world that is medieval reading itself. (Dagenais, *Ethics* 27)

The supplement created by the glosses can provide us with an understanding of the individuals who participated in collaborative efforts of medieval and early modern reading and writing.

Indeed, the ambiguity of the *romances*, their lack of detail, abrupt beginnings and endings, and oral nature were, in this case, an invitation to a reader/writer for the development of a supplement: the *glosas de romances*. Like medieval manuscript glosses, the *glosas de romance* attempted to satisfy the meaning and textual indeterminacies of the oral *romances*. The *glosas de romance* resemble interlinear glosses since they are indeed written in-between the lines of a *romance*. However, their composition consists of disassembling the *romance* into segments that will become the *pie forzado* (forced ending) of the stanzas of the *glosas de romance*.

How did the *glosas de romance* revise and transform the structure of the *romances*? Let us take a look into the formal characteristics of the *glosas de romance*. In the words of Tomás Navarro Tomás the purpose of a *glosa* is “la reelaboración amplificada de un texto mediante el comentario especial de cada una de sus partes” (147). In our case, the amplified text is the *romance*, a poetic composition, usually in octosyllables, with unrhymed odd lines and assonant rhyme in the even lines (*romance* in boldface, end rhyme in italics, emphasis mine):

Helo, helo, por dó viene -

el moro por la calz*ada*, a
caballero a la jineta -
encima una yegua b*aya*; a

The *glosa de romance* consist of a 10-verse octosyllabic stanza that ends with two verses of the glossed *romance* (sometimes just one verse, but this is less frequent).[26] A *pliego suelto* from the sixteenth century, which glosses the *Romance de la farsa de don Duardos*, describes the same structure: “en el cabo de cada copla están se dos reglones del romance que glosa” (221).[27] The stanzas of the *glosa de romance* have a consonant rhyme that follows the pattern of two *quintillas* together (Fuente 159–60), often known as *copla real*, with—abaabcdccd—structure. The glossed *romance* organizes the second half of the stanza: the odd, unrhymed line of the *romance* [9] must rhyme with lines sixth and eighth [6, 8] of the stanza; and the assonant even line [10] has to match with the seventh verse [7] of the stanza of the *glosa*. I take the example of the *glosa* of the *Romance del Rey moro que perdió a Valencia* to illustrate it (*glosa* in normal text, *romance* in boldface, end rhyme in italics, emphasis mine):

Aquel sol de Castell*anos* a 1
llamado Cid por re*nombre* b 2
despues que delos pag*anos* a 3
gano con sus propias m*anos* a 4
a Valencia de su *nombre* b 5

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[26] In this regard, Fuente comments that although there was a tendency to gloss only one stanza “Debido a la extensión del romance, ya no se incluye en cada estrofa un solo verso del poema glosado, sino dos” (163).

[27] See López, “Romance sacado de la farsa de don Duardos” 221–28.

quando mas cuidado t*iene* c 6
de guardar la regla u*sada* d 7
que a buen guerrero conv*iene* c 8
helo helo por do v*iene* *c* *9*
el moro por la cal*çada*. *d* *10* (Lora, *BDH* 3)

In addition to broadening the contents of the *romance*, the *glosas de romances* disrupt their metric and rhyme pattern. The more structured rhyme of the *glosa de romance* (consonant rhyme) transforms the flexible rhyme of the *romance* (which has unrhymed odd lines and assonant rhymed even lines). Hence, the *glosas de romances* anchor the *romance*; they regularize the metric and limit the possibilities of variation for that *romance* that is now bound to the more rigid consonant rhyme structure of the *glosa*.

Studies on the *glosa de romance*

Interestingly, and conversely to the *pliegos sueltos*' situation, the corpus of the *romancero* has been continuously revised and acclaimed by critics. Selections of the *romancero,* old or new, are part of many anthologies of medieval or early modern Hispanic Iberian literature. Likewise, famous scholars of Hispanic Studies such as Ramon Menéndez Pidal, Diego Catalán, Manuel Alvar, and Paul Bénichou, to name just a few, produced several critical works about the *romancero*.[28] Nonetheless, it is crucial to note that the study of the *romancero viejo*, an oral literary genre later added to the written contents of *pliegos sueltos* and *cancioneros*, has always been detached from its materiality. On most occasions, we read *romances* in a decontextualized and fractional form contained in a published anthology. With further efforts, we may review a more complete corpus in the facsimile or critical edition of a *romancero* from the sixteenth century.[29] Generally, the texts and glosses surrounding the *romances* have been completely ignored. However, it is crucial to recognize the role of the *pliegos sueltos* and the *glosas de romances* in the transmission and dissemination of these oral *romances*.

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[28] These studies include Alvar, *El romancero viejo y tradicional* and *El romancero*; Bénichou, *Creación poética en el Romancero tradicional*; Catalán, *Siete siglos de romancero (Historia y poesía)*; Correa, *Los romances*

Regarding the study of the *glosas de romance* the critics have been a lot less generous than with the *romances*. For Hans Janner (1946), the *glosa de romance* constitutes a form of reaction to the literary decline of the fifteenth century: "La fuente de lirismo de los trovadores medievales fue entonces secándose cada vez más, siendo por ende tanto más fuerte el afán de mantener vivo el recuerdo de este dulce arte de la palabra y de la lira. Y dónde repetir y variar mejor que en la glosa todos aquellos cantos amables y agradables de célebres y anónimos trovadores" (191). In a similar vein, Francisco Javier Fuente Fernández (1990) recognizes in the lyrical glosses a literary activity through which poets sharpened their wit by glossing the poems of a more accomplished poet. Fuente studies the *Pliegos sueltos góticos de Praga* and highlights the critical limitations of the *glosas de romances* and their decline towards the seventeenth century. Fuente addresses the issue of anonymity in the *glosas*; the sources used by the

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fronterizos; Díaz Roig, *El romancero viejo* and *El Romancero y la lírica popular moderna*; Di Stefano, *El Romancero*; Menéndez Pidal, *Estudios sobre el Romancero*; among others.

[29] See the section of *Cancioneros* and *Romanceros* in the Bibliography of Primary Sources.

glosadores; the metric, theme, and ways of glossing; and the effects of glossing the *romances*, including their metric regularization.

Virginie Dumanoir, in “De lo épico a lo lírico: Los romances mudados, contrahechos, trocados y las prácticas de reescritura en el Romancero viejo” (1998), attempts to study altered and transformed *romances*. The “rewritten” *romances* are easily identified in the *pliegos sueltos* with verbs such as *contrahacer, mudar*, or *trocar*. The text aspires to make a typological and comparative study between the “original” and the “rewritten” *romances*. However, Dumanoir acknowledges the limitations of the work since, in the end, the genre of *romances* is a consequence of those very same circumstances of variance, orality, rewriting, and glosses. Regarding these rewriting processes, Blanca Periñán and Giuliana Piacentini (2002) assembled the *Glosas de romances viejos: Siglo XVI*. This is a resourceful bibliographic text for locating the corpus of the *glosas de romances* in the *pliegos sueltos*.

Like Dumanoir, Paloma Díaz-Mas, in “Lecturas y reescrituras de romances en los siglos de oro: Glosas, deshechas y otros paratextos” (2013), explains the different processes connected to the activities of rereading, rewriting, and reinterpretation of the *romancero* in the *glosas*. Díaz-Mas analyses the various arrangements and combinations of *romances*, *glosas*, and other “paratextos” in the *pliegos sueltos* and the meanings drawn from those combinations. Also, Díaz-Mas examines the interpretation of the “original” *romance* through the *glosa de romance*:

> Es decir, el procedimiento que consiste en tomar un poema conocido (*letra*; en este caso, un romance) y componer sobre él un poema nuevo (*glosa*), estrófico, en cada una de cuyas estrofas se acaba citando, por su orden, versos del poema que se toma como base, de manera que los versos del romance constituyen también rimas de pie forzado para cada

> estrofa. Con frecuencia la glosa nos informa acerca de cómo se entendía o reinterpretaba el romance. (“Lecturas” 156)

Finally, Díaz-Mas studies the *deshecha,* which is usually a short carol (*villancico*) that often gives closure to the *glosa de romance* and has received even less critical attention than the *glosa*. Díaz-Mas considers that studying these “paratextos” (the arrangement of the *romances* in a *pliego*; the rewriting and reinterpretation of the *romance* through the *glosa*; and the genre of the *deshecha*), printed as an accompaniment to the oral *romances*, can help us understand how the *romances* were read or reread in the Middle Ages (“Lecturas” 156).

Lastly, Jesús Antonio Cid Martínez (2014) studied the *glosas de romance* as the antecedents of the twentieth and twenty-first century popular customs of oral improvisation. For instance, these poetic oral compositions consist of the imposition of a *pie forzado* (forced ending), which the poet/singer must satisfy. In Portugal and Brasil, they are called *repentistas* (those who compose *impromptu*), and in Puerto Rico, they are called *trovadores* (those who compose *trovas*). The critic explains that these customs of forced versification come from the glosses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cid concludes that these *pies forzados* of the twentieth century result from a medievalism that combines, as often happens in the oral tradition, learned elements into popular traditions.

The *glosas de romances* facilitated the preservation of early written accounts of notable medieval *romances,* such as the *Romance de Abenamar* and the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, sometimes even before their addition to the famous *cancioneros* by Hernando del Castillo and Martin Nucio.[30] However, just like the *pliegos sueltos*, the *glosas de romance* had been, for the most part, completely disregarded by critics. They had not enjoyed the same critical attention as the *romancero* even when they were instrumental in its dissemination.[31] When studying the *glosas de romance* it is crucial to recognize that their neglect had a lot to do with their unassumed literary value. The *glosas de romance* are often treated as pieces of text from which to extract sought *romances*; all the surrounding text is ignored and treated as a complete nuisance:

> Casi siempre se ha destacado el aspecto de la vehiculación del romance y a este se ha concedido mayor atención critica en cuanto texto de mayor importancia literaria. Y es que, sin lugar a dudas, el romance tiene un peso específico seguramente mayor que su

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[30] See, respectively, Armistead, "Para el romance" 31–32; and Di Stefano, "Los textos" 41–43. Martin Nucio himself presented as his sources the *romances* dictated from memory and the printed *pliegos sueltos* (Fuente 166). The *cancioneros* mentioned are the *Cancionero general de muchos y diversos autores* printed in 1511 by Hernando del Castillo and the *Cancionero de romances, impreso en Amberes sin año* (1547?) by Martin Nucio which include songs, *coplas*, *villancicos*, and *romances*, many of which had already been published in *pliegos sueltos*.

[31] Díaz-Mas confirms it: "Las glosas han recibido relativamente poca atención en los estudios sobre el romancero, que se han centrado sobre todo en los textos de los romances (incluso desgajándolos de la glosa en la que se insertaban) y han tendido a considerar la glosa como una molesta adherencia—frecuentemente de un valor estético discutible—, producto del gusto del siglo XVI por la *amplificatio* y el *contrafactum*" ("Lecturas" 156). Fuente shares the same preoccupation: "si los romances son los que han merecido la atención de este género de literatura, no ha sucedido así con las glosas de romances, las que apenas se citan de pasada" (158). For a case study on the different *glosas* and rewritings of a specific *romance*, see Díaz-Mas, "Cómo se releyeron"; for a study on the value of the *glosas* in preserving the variants of a *romance* and aiding in its dissemination, see Fuente.

> desarrollo glosado. Digámoslo abiertamente: las glosas tienen muy limitado valor literario. A pesar de lo cual hay que lamentar que haya quedado siempre fuera del campo critico la observación de su interesante bi-textualidad. (Periñán and Piacentini 13)

The above passage clearly states the supremacy of the *romance* in the face of the presumed artistic limitations of the *glosas de romance*.

This brief *status quaestionis* about the *glosas de romance* allows us to understand the importance of the work ahead. Several of the few texts that have studied the glosses, such as Dumanoir, Periñan, and Piacentini, consider the gloss as a bothersome supplement that should be recognized only for its intertextuality but that has no intrinsic literary value. As we will encounter, and as Díaz-Mas supported, the *glosas de romance* will present us opportunities to understand how early modern readers reacted to medieval materials, and that is, in itself, a more productive way of treating these interesting supplements whose purpose was to comment and elucidate the meaning of the *romances* and sometimes even to challenge those presumed meanings.

At this point, it is essential to note some critical aspects about the *glosas de romance*. First, they often commented and developed texts born in orality; thus, it is a corpus that lends itself to a myriad of variance. Second, the *glosas de romance* were most often published in *pliegos sueltos*; therefore—*glosas de romance* and *pliegos sueltos*—were concepts that were probably closely connected in the sixteenth century. Lastly, the *glosas de romances*, as we will prove onwards, do not quote and gloss the text passively; instead, through its amplification, they modify, appropriate, and reshape the understanding of the *romances*.

Spatial Studies

How to study such a dispersed corpus recognized for its ephemerality and scatteredness? Many of the materials printed in sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos* shared a valuable commonality. For instance, the *romances* and *glosas de romances* frequently narrate historical events and frontier encounters and depict heroes and legends. Often, sixteenth century *romances* sang about conquest and conquerors in the transition from Muslim to Christian Iberia. Because of this, several of them have been categorized as *fronterizos* by critics. I am not exceedingly fond of the overzealous categorization of the *romancero viejo*. However, the territorial connotations of these medieval ballads and *glosas de romance* are undeniable. Undoubtedly, the *pliegos sueltos* needed a theoretical framework that recognized the spatial concerns of the literary genres included in them.

Spatial studies have gained traction in the last couple of decades. Initially, the study of space was limited to its geography, and space was delimited and charted, not necessarily studied or analyzed. However, eventually, the study of space became a way to study culture, and scholars started questioning the influence space exerts on society. For example, in the classic *The Country and the City* (1973), Raymond Williams discredited the supposed difference between the countryside and the city. He reflected on how misconceptions about the country, represented as an idyllic space suspended in a past time, were instrumental in creating a capitalist urban discourse in England (9, 12, 121–32).

One of the most influential works on the subject is *La Production de l'espace* (1974) by Henri Lefebvre, who theorizes space from a sociohistorical perspective. To Lefebvre, space is produced and influenced by the modes of production of capitalism and by hegemonic structures

(31, 287–89).[32] The triad of Lefebvre's space consists of: *perceived space*, known as *spatial practice*, which refers to how the preexisting images of space, charged with symbolism, influence our perceptions of space; *conceived space*, known as *representations of space*, which is the physical makeup of space, a non-lived space, how specific spaces, buildings, streets are planned, constructed, and mapped; and *lived space*, known as *representational spaces*, which refers to the active use of spaces, how human beings interact with space, and how they reinterpret the perceived (mental) and conceived (physical) space, it is the space where the social interactions take place (33).[33] The theoretical basis of Lefebvre's spatial study is built upon the idea that space is ultimately influenced by the hegemony of the ruling class (as explained by Gramsci in the context of Marxism) and its modes of production.

Another important contribution is *L'Invention du Quotidien* (1980) by Michel de Certeau. The work ponders the distinction between *place* and *space* and describes space as a mobile and polyvalent entity that transforms the stability of place, "space is a practiced place" (*Practice* 117).[34] De Certeau's definitions of space draw from previous notions, such as those by Williams and Lefebvre, which understood the influence of hegemony in our understanding of space.

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[32] Hegemony, as coined by Antonio Gramsci, explains the coercive dominance the ruling class exerts in the material and cultural forms of production that are accepted, willingly and without any exertion of force, as the norm by society. This idea, according to Gramsci, results in the perpetuation of social constructions that only benefit the ruling classes. See Gramsci 673.

[33] Like Lefebvre, Edward Said argues that the representation of space tends to be arbitrary and that, as participants of culture, we are not exempt from the influence exerted by geographical space (*Orientalism* 53–54; *Culture and Imperialism* 7).

[34] See de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, esp. ch. 7 and 9, for an insightful analysis on space.

However, Michel de Certeau gives more importance to *lived space* than to *conceived space*. Certeau studies the streets in New York, simultaneously from the perspective of the institutional powers as producers of places and from the everyday life of the individuals who consume and live spaces: “Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers” (*Practice* 117). His idea is to study the practices of everyday life (treated as space) as the process of taking and using planned and mapped territories (place) where the individual might follow certain conditions of place but is never entirely determined by those rules.[35]

Drawing from all these notions of space and many others and merging them with new theoretical currents, Bertrand Westphal introduces *Geocriticism* as an interdisciplinary method for literary theory and analysis of spatial representations.[36] In *La Géocritique, Réel, Fiction, Espace* (2007), the scholar reveals three central notions of spatial study: *spatiotemporality*, used to recognize the multiplicity of space in its timelines and to understand the overlapping temporal references that assert the hybridity of space; *transgresivity*, which explores the inevitability of infringement into the space of the Other and how this constructs a hybrid space (or a *third space* as coined by Homi K. Bhabha); and *referentiality*, which reflects on the fictionalization of reality through literature, the interaction/influence of literature in the real world, exploring, ultimately, how the text and the world merge to offer different representations of a particular space.[37]

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[35] It seems valuable to also mention Michel Foucault’s contributions in his lecture “Des Espaces Autres” (1984), where he explained in detail the term of *Heterotopias* to understand spaces with various, and often contradictory and ambiguous, layers of meaning.

[36] For other current notions on the study of space see Soja, *Thirdspace*; Westphal, *The Plausible World*; Tally, *Melville, Mapping and Globalization* and *Spatiality*.

Although the dissertation will focus on my close reading of the primary texts and the study of the intertextual representations of space in the *pliegos*, Bertrand Westphal's ideas regarding the study of space have informed my theoretical base for the study of the *pliegos sueltos*. I decided to work with Westphal's ideas since his approach to space builds on, but goes beyond, previous theories of space. For instance, he considers the influence of powerful institutions in the construction of space (as Williams and Lefebvre) but also contemplates practiced spaces, spaces lived and transformed by people and society, and hybrid spaces (as Certeau and Bhabha). Space is often studied only from its geographical perspective. However, through the lenses of spatiotemporality, as described by Westphal, we are able to study space (geography) across time (history). Additionally, the geocritical framework places the studied space at the forefront of the investigation. Rather than studying space in a specific literary work or in the works of a specific author, the geocritical study centers on examining concrete spaces; for instance, we will primarily study the spatiality of Granada and Valencia, their places, interspaces, and neighboring communities in the realm of sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos*.

In sum, the Geocritical framework will make possible an intertextual reading of the overlapping and intertextual spatiality of Granada and Valencia. This type of approach will help us analyze these cities (re)imagined and (re)created from a hegemonic perspective, study hybrid spaces from a plural and multifocal perspective, and map the representation of conquered spaces to develop an insight into the imagined and real spatialities of the Iberian *pliegos sueltos*. Undoubtedly, the Geocritical approach will facilitate rethinking a literary corpus that is dispersed physically but interlinked through its topics and represented geographies.

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[37] In addition, Westphal recommends four cardinal points as a method for the geocritical approach: multifocalization, polysensoriality, stratigraphy, and intertextuality (all these terms will be explained in more detail in Chapter I). For the concept of *third space*, see Bhabha 36–39.

Iberian Spaces

How has Iberian space been represented? In 624, Isidore of Seville composed an ode to Hispania: "Omnium terrarum, quaequae sunt ab occiduo usque ad Indos, pulcherrima es, o sacra semperque felix principum gentiumque mater Hispania" (168). The *Laus Hispaniae* celebrates the abundance of the Iberian soil, the desirable weather, and the quality of the people. This paradise-like description constitutes one of the first geographical descriptions of Iberia. Following Isidoro's fashion, Medieval Iberia saw renewed and extensive attempts to explain the Iberian space by similarly portraying a luscious natural space and a paradisiacal cityscape of surplus. Additionally, the description of urban space began to be shaped in opposition to the rough, untamed, and uncivilized countryside.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the urban centers of the Iberian Peninsula started to articulate space, often through literature but also through the creation of maps, panoramic drawings, chorographic descriptions, and other types of cultural production as ways to itemize, organize, and (re)conquer said space.[38] Anton van den Wyngaerde's commissioned panoramic sketches of different Iberian cities constitute one of the leading examples of the practice of Iberian chorography (descriptions of a particular geographic region). Through the bird's-eye sights of Wyngaerde and other efforts of spatial representation, King Phillip II wanted to illustrate the splendor and extension of his kingdoms. Interestingly, the cultural and geographical homogenization project of Philip II resulted in many chorographies that boosted regional pride in Spain. Richard L. Kagan explained that the discipline of chorography served as a model of community for the different regions in Spain: "Chorography in this sense served as a teacher, albeit one with a very specific task: to instruct the inhabitants of a particular place how to think about the community in which they lived," it "offered Spain's city dwellers a history with which they might identify and claim as their own" ("Clio" 99). The strategies of chorography were essential for the conceptualization of Iberian cities and the creation of a sense of regional identity.

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[38] The writing of relationships, chronicles, histories, maps, chorographic sights, and cartographies of the Iberian cities became fashionable and, often, sponsored by the crown. Some of these documents are the *Descripción y cosmografía de España* by Hernando Colón (1517), *Crónica general de España* by Florián de Ocampo (1543),

However, these representations of urban space did not necessarily align with the historical reality. Historian Teófilo F. Ruiz explains that "at the end of the Middle Ages and the dawn of modernity, the boundaries between rural and urban were not as sharp as they may have been in other parts of Europe, or as they are today" and "only a handful of what may be described as large cities or true urban centres existed" (*Spanish* 61). Still, these chorographies, many of which were sponsored by King Phillip II, insisted on representing opulent places and spaces of production and exchange to showcase the superiority of the Spanish Empire.

Libro de las grandezas by Pedro de Medina (1548), *Las antiguedades de España* by Ambrosio de Morales (1575), *Segunda parte de las grandezas y cosas notables de España* by Diego Pérez de Messa (1590), among others. We will explore the topic in more depth in Chapters I and IV.

Regarding the study of Iberian space, it seems necessary to highlight the work of Santiago Quesada. *La idea en la cultura hispana de la ciudad moderna* (1992) discusses the genre of city histories and how they became popular towards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Iberian Peninsula. These chorographic city histories describe several of Iberia's urban centers, and as mentioned by Ruiz, sometimes their veracity was questionable. Additionally, in 2013 Geisler Eberhard edited noteworthy essays about the role and realization of spatial concepts in early modern Spanish literature. The study includes essays on the theater of Juan del Encina, studies of the spatiotemporality in the *relaciones* about public festivals, the geographical space in the *Persiles* of Cervantes, travel stories, the chronotope in the *Guzmán de Alfarache*, the textual space of *La pícara Justina*, studies of space in the works of Lope de Vega, among others.

While not exhaustive, this panoramic background on some works and studies about Iberian spaces considers some of the most impactful literary, chorographic, and critical works about the construction of medieval and early modern Iberian space. It is important to note that the literary representation of Iberian space was often contrary to the space revealed in historical documents. With this consideration in mind, some Iberian chorographies, like city histories, the sketches by Wyngaerde, and map tracings by Ambrosio de Vico, will function as supporting material for some of my readings of space in the *pliegos sueltos*. In addition, I believe that several *pliegos sueltos*, which will be studied in Chapters I and IV, contributed to the practice of chorography and the literary construction of Iberian space in the sixteenth century.

Dissertation Thesis

The analysis of these brief printed texts (*pliegos sueltos*) and unstudied genre (*glosa de romance*) can bring novel perspectives to the academic conversation. Furthermore, the intertextual nature of the *pliegos sueltos* will allow us to represent the diversity of space, resulting in a multifocal, enriching, and less stereotypical literary representation of the Iberian transition to modernity. From the *romances* and *glosas de romances* included in the *pliegos sueltos*, I would like to highlight those that feature encounters, hybridities, and transitions in frontier and conquered spaces in Granada, Valencia, and neighboring communities. For instance, in the *glosas* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* and the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Valencia*, space is a narrative constant, and the displacement through the streets and public spaces of Granada or Valencia provides the opportunity to encounter multiple realities among the members of a hybrid and changing society.

For this endeavor, it will be necessary to set aside whatever previous "knowledge" we have about Muslim, Christian, and Jewish relations and, instead, look for ways to renew our ideas regarding these spaces and their peoples.[39] I intend to look at these texts without any contamination from critical texts where Moorish exoticism and idealistic *Convivencia* took the place of a more serious and in-depth close reading of the complexities presented in sixteenth century texts. Instead, I propose an analysis that builds directly from the space and the people represented in the text. This approach is essential in studying any, presumably hybrid but certainly complex, space. It is imperative also to be aware of our positionality since, as Michel de Certeau notes, “Within the discourse in which I am putting global questions on stage, an ‘idiotism’ comes forth: my way of speaking, my patois, represents my relation to a given place” (*Writing* 56). Acknowledging the influence my positionality exerts on my interpretations and knowing that my reading of the *pliegos* will certainly be anachronistic and considerably different from those who approached these texts in different centuries and using different methods, I will spare no effort to conduct responsible research and sensible reading of the selected corpus.

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[39] Barbara Fuchs in *Exotic Nation* (2008) already explained the problematic and outdated criticism surrounding the historiography of medieval and early modern Spain which pointed towards two extremes: completely negating the links of Spanish identity with the contributions of Jews and Muslims, like Sánchez Albornoz, or, on the contrary, producing overboard defense in regard to the Semitic influence in the Iberian Peninsula, thus, generating a futile, overly simplified, and exotic version of Iberian history, like Castro (1–10).

I seek to provide a diverse interpretation of sixteenth century Iberian spaces. For instance, we will encounter various Moorish kings, all depicted in different spatialities and from different perspectives. At times their representation is influenced by an exotism, but often their representations are far from exotic. These *pliegos sueltos* incorporate propaganda documents of Christian legitimacy, present dynamics of fellowship between Moors and Christians, and expose the very complex power dynamics from one side to the other. Moreover, for sixteenth century society, the *pliego suelto* represented a new style of literature for the road. At the same time, the *pliegos sueltos* map within their pages the very same spatialities in which they physically traveled. I find both these notions fascinating and worthy of study. Exploring the representations of space, displacement, identity, otherness, and conquest in the *pliegos sueltos*, in the transition from the medieval to the early modern period will provide us with a renewed perspective concerning a time and a space in which the geopolitical boundaries were everything but static.

For the purposes of this study, I analyze around thirteen works published in *pliegos sueltos* in the sixteenth century. Additional *pliegos sueltos* have been cited as complementary resources to illustrate relevant aspects and tendencies of the *pliegos sueltos* and the materials published in them. Apart from *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada*, which is a type of couplet called *perqué,* the rest of the primary sources examined are *romances* and *glosas de romance*.[40] All the selected texts provide representations of Iberian cities in transition, conflictive frontiers, and conquered spaces and bodies. These *pliegos sueltos*, of eight pages or less, are available in printed facsimile or digital form.[41] These texts belong to the Biblioteca Nacional de España, both in facsimile and digital format; the University of Prague in printed facsimile; and the *pliegos sueltos* of the Marqués de Morbecq in printed facsimile. This doctoral dissertation contains four chapters in which I will analyze sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos* from a spatial approach.

Chapter Organization

Chapter I performs a geocritical reading of the sacred, transgressional, commercial, and hybrid spaces in Granada, Almería, Lorca, and Valencia. The chapter maps the Iberian cities and uncovers the transactional spaces on the road from Granada to Valencia using the Geocritical framework. By studying the crossings, movements, and limitations of the space represented, I analyze the spatial depictions of these cities and explore the elements privileged in those representations. From the reading of Iberia's geographical space prevailed ideas of Christian legitimization and propaganda; interventions of the Andalusian past; structural changes in the Iberian cityscapes; religious exchanges and non-assimilation; constant threats to political hegemony; and commercial practices that hinted toward the communication of Iberia with the Mediterranean.

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[40] Jesús Luque Moreno clarifies about the meter *perqué*: “El «perqué» es una especie de pareado a base de versos octosilábicos en la que los dísticos definidos por la rima no coinciden con las unidades de fraseo: la frase va del segundo verso del dístico al primero del siguiente, de manera que siempre deja la rima en suspenso: ab bc cd de, etc” (62).

[41] The accepted pagination to consider a print text a *pliego suelto* has varied over time. Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino considered *pliegos sueltos* those prints that had up to 32 pages, whereas María Cruz García de Enterría limits them up to 16 pages (two *pliegos sueltos* together). However, the most common *pliegos sueltos* consisted of a single sheet, folded twice, resulting in eight pages.

Chapter II centers on literary spaces and the intertextualities of the *pliegos sueltos*. The recognition of the intertextual nature of the *pliegos sueltos* is intrinsically important for this chapter. The chapter analyses *pliegos sueltos* that refer, recommend, and cite other texts published in *pliegos*. It also explores how the medieval tradition of the *romance*, now rescued in printed form by the *glosa de romances*, provides an intertextual relationship in the world of the *pliegos sueltos*. These circumstances: *pliegos* interconnected thematically, geographically, or by means of a referent, and the intertextual relationship between *glosa* and *romance,* create what I call an 'intertextual geography.' Meaning representations of space interlinked through their intertextuality, creating a spatial continuity in the *pliegos sueltos*.

Chapter III focuses on the analysis of the body, gender, and feminine spaces. The chapter studies geographical conquest as a romantic victory, body regarded as a landscape, transgressions into private and domestic spaces, conquered spaces and bodies, and captivity. This chapter explores the overarching idea of the inescapability of the body's representation in the imperialist discourse. Analyzing the body and gender representations in this chapter provides an intersectional understanding of the *pliegos sueltos* and, thus, a more comprehensive reading of sixteenth century Iberian space.

Chapter IV explores the space from an urban perspective; it delves into the concept of a city at the height of the sixteenth century and its representation in the *pliegos sueltos*. Also, the chapter investigates the *glosas de romance* from a spatiotemporal perspective in which the medieval past is subordinated to the new spatialities of the sixteenth century. Additionally, the chapter proposes a chorographic reading of two *pliegos sueltos* and explores the figure of the author as a cartographer and creator of worlds. In this section, I read and analyze the Iberian intertextual map traced in previous chapters. Finally, the chapter considers how the spatial representations of—past and present—Iberia could have helped shape a sixteenth century spatial referentiality and mentality.

My focus of study will make possible: studying hybrid spaces in their transgressions and timelines; an intertextual reading of the geography in the *pliegos sueltos*; mapping conquered cities, peoples, and bodies; analyzing the imagined city from the imperialist perspective of the author (author as a conqueror); and reading the intertextual map provided by the varied, hybrid, and complex spatial representations in the Iberian chapbook. The geocritical study of the *pliegos sueltos* from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will be fundamental to rethinking a corpus that has not received critical attention and provide new ways to understand medieval and early modern Iberian spatiality.

CHAPTER I

From Granada to Valencia: Mapping Sacred and Transgressional Spaces in *pliegos sueltos*

A 1431 letter from Álvaro de Luna to King John II of Castile reveals the importance of positionality in space: "Este día continuamos nuestro camino derechamente a la Vega de Granada, fasta la ver muy bien a ojo, e devisar el Alfambra, e el Albayçín, e el Corral. E posímonos en tal lugar que los de la çibdad bien podían ver las vatallas e la ordenança dellas" (Carriazo 45). In the *glosa* (1547) of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* (1482), a king, fearing his imminent defeat, replaces his mule for a horse to have a better sight of his hostile surroundings: "apeose duna mula / y en un cavallo cavalga."[42] Similarly, a *pliego suelto* that serves as a textual map of the city of Granada asserts the necessity of going up to the Albayzín to appreciate the journey to the Alhambra and avoid getting lost: "subid al alyzin / donde estan hasta la fin / los moriscos apartados," "y mira que no os perdays / hasta tanto que bolvays / por donde anduvo abenamar."[43] These passages reveal the importance of spatial positioning when approaching the border and the Other. Over the following pages we will engage with frontier and hybrid spaces where the limits between one community and the other are transactional and bound to transgressions. This chapter offers a spatial reading of the Granada, Almería, Lorca, and Valencia represented in some *pliegos sueltos* from two perspectives that are central to most societies: religious and geopolitical boundaries.

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[42] See Palma, "Romance nuevamente glosado por Pedro de Palma" 250.

[43] See Martínez, "Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada" 5.

We will analyze the spatial representation of cities like Valencia and Granada to become acquainted with the elements privileged and the methods used in the literary representations of these real Iberian places. Granted, that representation of reality is always conditioned and altered through writing. Nonetheless, those spatial literary representations contribute to the analysis of the heterogeneous reality of any given space. When studying the relationship between reality, literature, and space, Bertrand Westphal explains: “The perception of reality has become as complex as determining its spatiotemporal coordinates. Reality engages literary discourse, which extends to all representational arts thought of as fictional, in a dizzying spiral … The distinction between real space and represented or transposed space has blurred” (*Geocriticism* 84). While no one denies how reality shapes literature, it is also necessary to acknowledge the constant influence of literature on reality and its representation.

The Geocritical Approach in the Study of Space

In his book on *Geocriticism*, Bertrand Westphal introduces three valuable theoretical methods for studying space: spatiotemporality, transgressivity, and referentiality; and four elements conducive to the geocritical approach: multifocalization, polysensoriality, stratigraphy, and intertextuality. This chapter will employ most of these geocritical approaches to facilitate our understanding of the religious and transgressive spaces found in the *pliegos sueltos*.

Spatiotemporality encourages understanding the multiplicity of space in terms of its various timelines and overlapping temporal references. Analyzing the layers of time in space supports the depiction of both spatial and temporal hybridity. The spatiotemporal approach studies the continuity of space and time and encourages the analysis of spaces governed by multiple timelines. This approach will enable us to examine the instances in which past, present, and, sometimes, future are represented simultaneously. Moreover, spatiotemporality advances the study of different spatial levels on the same geographical position. This methodology will be valuable when we study spaces that retain the past spatiality in a pre- and post-conquest historical context.

On the other hand, *transgressivity* helps to recognize space as fundamentally fluid and acknowledges its capacity for mobility and movement. It also understands space in its permanent state of transgressions and boundary-crossing as it explores the inevitability of infringement in the space of the Other. Transgressivity explains hybrid spaces as “space cannot be understood except in its heterogeneity” (*Geocriticism* 37). Furthermore, “Third space is the spatial formulation of transgressivity, which is itself a movement, transition, or crossing in defiance of established norms” (*Geocriticism* 72). These ideas in regard to the transgresivity of space will be advantageous when we study the ever-changing spatialities of the frontier. However, the spatial transgressions explored through the theoretical framework of Geocriticism are not exclusively territorial. They can include the movement from a known space to an unknown one, from one argument to another, and are not “necessarily the result of a volitional act; it sometimes emerges from a poorly negotiated transition, an involuntary movement that causes turbulence” (*Geocriticism* 44).

Additionally, *referentiality* promotes the understanding of the relationship between fiction and reality, “between the spaces of the world and the spaces in the text” (*Geocriticism* 6). From the geocritical perspective, referentiality studies the relationship between the spaces represented in the text (or literary, fictional space) and real spaces. In other words, the relationship “between the referent and fictional representation” (*Geocriticism* 76). This approach will enable us to understand how real space can have divergent representations. It is important to note that represented space holds glimpses of real space, and this fictionality influences reality. Thus, understanding literary space requires a comprehension of its levels of reality, while comprehending real space involves an appreciation of its levels of fictionality.

The elements of Geocriticism will also be considered in our study of *pliegos sueltos*, although to a lesser extent. For instance, *multifocalization* is a crucial concept to contemplate since it aims to study representations of space from diverse perspectives, including different authors, genres, and disciplines. In the same vein, *polysensoriality*, proposes that the geocritical readings employ all senses, sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch, thus overthrowing the traditional visual hierarchy in the study of space. Moreover, the intersection between time and space, analyzed through the spatiotemporal approach, is emphasized by the concept of "stratigraphic vision." *Stratigraphy* explains the various layers of space and helps us understand a specific space through time (diachrony) or different spaces in a particular time (synchrony).[44]

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[44] On *spatiotemporality* and the "stratigraphic vision" Westphal explains that:

> The impact of the temporal factor on the reading of space also depends on the relativity of points of view. Each individual adheres to his or her own temporal regime or to one that is specific to a group or culture, although several parallel regimes, even competitors, are conceivable. This heterogeneity is expressed in the moment, because, on a planetary scale, the same instant assumes a different valence depending on who is alive at the time. The diversity of temporalities that we perceive synchronously in several different spaces, even in a single space, is also expressed in diachrony. Space is located at the intersection of the moment and duration; its apparent surface rests on the strata of compacted time arranged over an extended duration and reactivated at any time. This present time of space includes a past that flows according to a stratigraphic logic. Examining the impact of time on the perception of space is therefore another aspect of geocriticism. (*Geocriticism* 137)

Finally, the element of *intertextuality*, will be critical since, as we have discussed in the Introduction, the *pliegos sueltos* have a profound intertextual nature that will render varied representations of Iberian space. The geocritical analysis of space aspires to bring together different authors, texts, genres, disciplines, and senses to examine a particular space from an intertextual perspective. As Bertrand Westphal states, echoing Calvino's words, "a place is first of all an intertextual construction" (*Geocriticism* 150). Geocriticism, Westphal asserts, "can reconstruct the intertextual trajectory that leads to this representation of space" and intertextuality benefits the legibility of spaces, as illustrated below:

> Legibility is a characteristic of places, and not just for their use in fiction, cinema, or other arts. It is striking just how much the relations between text and place are the focus of the interdisciplinary field of spatiality studies. This connection gained force as soon as we began to understand that certain material spaces amounted to simulacra. The derealization of the world is incompatible with the perception of a solidly objective reality. Here, the terms of reality seem closer to those of fiction and the interpretative practices proper to fiction. We have seen that urban planners and architects are using the pages of Dickens (e.g., Kevin Lynch), or of Zola, Pratolini, and Vázquez Montalbán (Flavia Schiavo), to explicate the urban space of London, Paris, Florence, and Barcelona. Many geographers do the same, as they read fictional texts in order to expand their studies of representation of *real* spaces. A tradition is now emerging, and new directions taken in cultural geography reveal that it is no longer the book or other written discourses alone that carry the image of the city, but that the city itself is couched in a discursive framework that gives the place its materiality, that *takes place*, or that *makes* it a place. (*Geocriticism* 153, 160)

We will similarly read the fictional text in order to understand its "representation of *real* spaces." The Geocritical approach and elements will be central to my study of sixteenth century Iberian *pliegos sueltos*. In the light of these ideas, this chapter addresses how sacred and transgressional spaces are characterized in the Granada, Almería, Lorca, and Valencia of the *pliegos sueltos*.

Mapping Sacred Space in Granada

The city of Granada was the last stronghold of Islamic occupation in the Iberian Peninsula and, therefore, it was the most coveted city, the most precious conquest. Consequently, Granada has inspired many literary texts in Iberian literature, and several authors have expressed their appreciation for the mighty city. The *pliego suelto* on which we will base the first part of our analysis states "Granada es la gran ciudad / porque otra ciudad tan maña / no se halla en toda España." Through the analysis of this spatial account of the Andalusian city, we will arrive at our conclusions regarding the literary spatial representations of Granada.

Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada, published in a *pliego suelto* in 1550, features a comprehensive itinerary through the cityscape of Granada.[45] Sebastián Martínez, its author, maps the main streets, town squares, and neighborhoods of Granada, gives the readers some instructions on what the visitor should do while exploring the city, and incorporates some references about the people and their occupations, economy, and customs. This octosyllable composition is among the first documents to feature both a comprehensive cartographic document and a tourist guide about Granada.[46]

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[45] The text of the *Partidas* was originally published in Burgos in 1550, 58 years after the conquest of Granada by the Christian kings Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, and 59 years before the massive expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. For the study of this *pliego suelto*, I consulted the Burgos edition of 1550, "Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada," published digitally by the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* (*BDH*) of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, and the Granada edition of 1571, "Las partidas de la muy noble nombrada y gran ciudad de Granada," housed in the Jagiellonian Library and published in *Granada 1540*, see Luque 123–30. All further references to this text, unless otherwise noted, will be from the *pliego* in the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* using the following convention: (Martínez, *BDH* 1–8).

The text of the *Partidas* recommends an implied visitor, "porque el que viniere a vella," a route through Granada:

> Dezir quiero de Granada
> todo quanto he visto en ella
> porque el que viniere a vella
> halle todo lo que digo
> que yo como buen testigo
> contare bien sus partidas
> pues las tengo conocidas
> dire por do aveys de entrar. (Martínez, *BDH* 1)

The accuracy of the journey is guaranteed by the author's knowledge of the topic, "pues las tengo conocidas," as he is confident that this implied visitor will find all the recommendations included in the itinerary, "halle todo lo que digo." Therefore, the readers of the *Partidas* can explore the cityscape of Granada through the literary text. However, the first lines of the text also hint toward the possibility of using the *pliego suelto* as an actual map (especially considering its portability), as a cartographic document to guide a physical visit to the Andalusian city, “dire por do aveys de entrar.” The *Partidas* is, indeed, a document that could be understood and read as a map of the city of Granada, a *textual map,* as I will often refer to it.

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[46] For a typographic study of the *Partidas*, facsimiles and information about subsequent publications of cartographic documents about Granada, see Luque.

The first page of the *Partidas* introduces the reader to some of the worship spaces of the city. The sites of prayer are depicted as geographical markers: “llegando a Santandres,” or “passares por Santiago.” Probably a reader acquainted with Granada’s architecture (or the rest of the peninsula for this matter) would have understood the mentions of these Christian saints in the text as references to specific spaces of prayer available in the city. For instance, the churches of San Andrés and Santiago are still located in the Calle Elvira of Granada. The *Partidas*’ text is anchored in Granada’s spatiality and establishes a direct referent between the 1550’s text and the real places of 1550’s Granada.

Furthermore, the referentiality of the Granada in the *Partidas* is not only linked to the reality of the sixteenth century but also to the Granada of present times. Most of the churches and convents mentioned in the textual map of the *Partidas* can still be found in present-day maps of Granada.[47] Some of these churches have remained places of worship, while others have been renovated and used as hospitals, governmental buildings, or tourist attractions. Here, and as we will continue to corroborate along the journey through the *Partidas*, the depiction of the Granada from 1550 provides a series of referentialities that will allow us to connect it with different renditions of real Granada and study their spatiotemporal representations.

The textual map of the *Partidas* describes to the reader-traveler the particulars about the daily activities in the city:

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[47] For a current digital map of the pedestrian route traced in the *Partidas*, see Appendix A, sec. 1.

andareys hasta la fin
por la calle del Chabatin
donde esta la verceria
a do dicen cada día
missas en señor sant Gil. (Martínez, *BDH* 1)

The street mentioned, Chabatín, or al'Hattabin, as it was known during the Muslim occupation, ends at the Placeta de San Gil, where a homonym church was located (Luque 70). Using the *Partidas*' textual map, the reader-traveler of 1550 was able to find the Church of Saint Gil and attend the daily masses offered there. Furthermore, the churches and convents listed throughout the itinerary, approximately 31 in total, reveal one of the central concerns of this *pliego*: mapping and portraying a massive Christian space. The text constructs a collective cityscape shaped by Christianity.[48]

These Christian spaces in Granada are used to (re)create the city, (re)construct Granadan identity, and (re)write history. Towards the last decades of the sixteenth century, there were many efforts, like the composition of city histories, chorographies, and maps, to demonstrate the longevity and continuity of Christian history in Granada. For instance, Justino Antolínez de Burgos, a historian and the first abbot of Sacromonte, was commissioned in 1623 to write the *Historia eclesiástica de Granada*. The work contains three parts: the first recounts the history of the Catholic Church in Granada; the second talks about the commissioner of the work,

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[48] These spaces of prayer become apparent time and time again in the *pliego*, not only with the mention of churches and convents, or information about daily masses, but also when talking about the action of praying: "do por los fieles christianos / cantan cada dia responso" (Martínez, *BDH* 5).

Archbishop Pedro de Castro; and the third defends the findings of the Lead Books of Sacromonte.[49] Additionally, the Archbishop hired the architect Ambrosio de Vico to illustrate the *Historia eclesiástica* (1623) with a map of Granada, called the *Plataforma de Vico*.[50] The whole project, the *Historia eclesiástica* (1623), the commissioned map, and further excavations ordered at the site of the Lead Books were all part of an elaborate counter-reformist agenda led by Archbishop Pedro de Castro (Harris, "Forging History" 946–49).

Other books about the religious history of Granada were published in the seventeenth century including the *Historia eclesiástica: Principios y progressos de la ciudad, y religión católica de Granada* (1638) by Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza. This second *Historia eclesiástica* connects Granada to the ancient Iberian city of Iliberis, creating a Granadan past older than Rome itself and exalting the holy past of the city: "en sabiendo, que Iliberia fue en

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[49] The Lead Books of Sacromonte were a series of relics and 22 circular lead leaves discovered in the caves of Sacromonte between 1595 and 1606. They contained Christian texts written in Latin and pre-Islamic Arabic (known as Solomonic) dated from the Roman period. The discovery meant that Latin and Arabic-speaking Christians had arrived in Iberia in the early years of Christianity, well before the Muslim invasion of 711. However, the Lead Books of Sacromonte were a forgery made in the sixteenth century. See Harris, "Forging History" and *From Muslim to Christian Granada*; and García-Arenal, *Los plomos del Sacromonte* and *The Orient in Spain*.

[50] Vico's map traces a massive religious space, just as the textual map of the *Partidas*. Interestingly, where nowadays we would find the key or legend of a map, the *Plataforma* includes a box with a list of all the places included in the map, the list resembles, almost perfectly, the places mapped out in the *Partidas* almost a century before. There are two engraved versions of Vico's tracings, one by Francisco Heylan (1613) and the other by Felix Prieto (1795). See both engravings of the *Plataforma de Vico*, and details of the list, in Appendix B. For more information regarding Vico's tracings, see Gómez-Moreno, *El arquitecto granadino Ambrosio de Vico* and "La plataforma de Ambrosio de Vico."

Granada, se sabe quien predicó en ella, quien fueron sus Prelados, que mártires tuvo, y el discurso de sus vidas y sucessos: los hechos admirables de los sucessores, los Concilios católicos en ella celebrados, que son los materiales con que se llena el fuste desta historia" (pt. 1; ch. 20; fol. 28).[51] The invasion of the Muslims was understood by Bermúdez as the work of Satan who tried to obscure the sacred past of Illiberis (the ancient counterpart of Granada), including the relics and lead books who were supposedly discovered in the sixteenth century:

> Veía el Demonio que Iliberia era ciudad apostólica, y santa, ilustrada con las plantas de Santiago el mayor, y cultivadas las suyas con voz Evangélica de san Cecilio. Veía que era Iliberia un sagrario de sacrosantos misterios: una urna santa de cenizas de doze mártires santos: y assí no quiso que sus vassallos Gentiles la venerassen, ni hiziessen memoria della en sus escritos. Pero la Magestad divina que atiende con particular providencia al honor de sus santos, a sus sepulcros, y cabernas de su habitación, y martirio, con plumas de azero escrivió en láminas de plomo, y en piedras duras, memorias eternas aver sido Iliberia en esta ciudad. (pt. 1; ch. 9; fol. 9)[52]

The established connection between Iliberis and Granada, followed by the accounts of the arrival of Saint James in the Iberian Peninsula and the discovery of the Lead Books of Sacromonte are all manipulated and interlocked in the *Historia eclesiástica* (1638). Bermúdez attempts to

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[51] Archaeological investigations have confirmed Illiberis location within the confines of the city of Granada, see Roldán.

[52] Contrary to Bermúdez de Pedraza's exposition, A. Katie Harris notes how "There were few Roman ruins to point to as evidence of prominence in antiquity, and archaeological excavations in the area had revealed little. The city's early Christian history was hazy and ill-recorded; no records existed of martyrs, relics, or miracles which Granada could claim as proof of Christian pedigree" ("Forging History" 950).

"reconfigure Granada's history into a tale of Christian civic identity created, temporarily suppressed, and finally restored," thus, "The documents of the Torre Turpiana and the Sacromonte provided the evidence needed to correct Granada's distasteful past" (Harris "Forging History" 949, 951). The ecclesiastical histories by Antolínez (1623) and Bermúdez (1638), the *Plataforma de Vico* (1623), and before them, the textual map of the *Partidas* (1550) were all different efforts that allowed sixteenth and seventeenth century scholars to reinvent Granada's past by claiming an ancient Christian continuity or by nullifying the last vestiges of the Muslim conquest.[53]

The Christian agenda in the journey through the streets of Granada becomes apparent. The textual map advises the traveler, after passing by the cutlers and barbers, to go "por do el auto de la quema / do condenan los infieles" (Martínez, *BDH* 2). The *auto de la quema* refers to the Inquisition's public act where those condemned for heresy were burned. The passage provides a polysensorial experience for the reader-traveler to imagine the visual, auditory (screams), and olfactory (burnt flesh) spectacle of the space where the killings were made. A few lines onwards, the text reaffirms the role of the Inquisition in abetting Christianity and bringing the parishioners towards the light: “y luego a la inquisicion / do sustentan la luz” (Martínez, *BDH* 2). The constant mentions of the Inquisition and the *auto de fé* give the impression that this type of public punishment was common, as common as the daily masses in the church of Saint Gil.

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[53] This agenda of Christian legitimation in Granada not only can be deduced from the city's published histories, the textual map of the *Partidas* and the *Plataforma de Vico,* but it is also demonstrated by other historiographical documents of the time. After 1492, the crown developed an urban policy of affirmation of the new power that included many urban renovations in Granada. The *ayuntamiento* inaugurated new buildings in the most representative spaces of the city, widened the streets, eliminated cemeteries, founded convents, and opened or remodeled big public squares. Furthermore, they were so eager to extirpate Islam from the cityscape that they demolished some of the main mosques and the rest were converted into Christian churches. See Cortés Peña, *Historia de Granada*; and "Libro de Provisiones I, ff. 445, 1528."

The extended inventory of churches and the references to the Inquisition illustrate the intent and religious context of this journey through Granada. However, it is also vital to note the silences of this textual map. Granada had a long Muslim occupation until 1492, and many Muslims and Moors remained in the Andalusian city until 1609. However, in this representation of 1550’s Granada, not much is revealed about the city’s previous inhabitants. Al-Andalus’ erasure in this textual map becomes a narratorial technique that furthers the legitimation of the Christian establishment. The massive enumeration of Christian sacred spaces dominates the cityscape. In turn, the preeminence of Christian authority and their sites of prayer obliterates any traces of Muslim occupation and fictionalizes the spatial reality of Granada. Addressing the omissions that often affect maps, Westphal indicates that “the erasures go unnoticed, because what is apparent is more visible than what is not … The space is transformed into a controlled place within a system that emphasizes certain aspects in order to omit others. To interpret a map, to interpret the seizing of place in an arbitrary (subjective) standard is also to flush out the silences and retractions” (*Plausible* 147). As we will confirm, the “baptism” of places in Granada acknowledges the constitution of a new set of networks and spaces for Christian worship. Even when, in the actual disposition of the city of Granada, Muslim presence still was substantial until the Muslim expulsion of 1609.[54]

The (re)creation of Granada's spatiality becomes more evident as the journey develops. While the mention of the churches functioned as an unwarranted inventory of Christian sacred spaces, the symbolic "baptism" of those places will acquire great importance in the problematic erasure of the Andalusí past. The following passage uncovers the spatial and temporal multiplicity of our textual map:

> y a la capilla real,
> ques preciada y de valor
> y ala iglesia mayor
> que otro tiempo fue mezquita
> donde la gente maldita
> adoraba al sancarron. (Martínez, *BDH* 3)

The *iglesia mayor*, now a place of Christian worship, was, in another time, a sacred space for the followers of Muhammad. The passage showcases overlapped layers of spatiality to understand Granada. While the *iglesia mayor* dominates the present time, the mention of the mosque recovers the past timelines of space. Therefore, two timelines, al-Andalus/post-conquest Granada, past/present, *iglesia*/*mezquita*, intersect in the spatiality of the now transformed

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[54] It is always important to recognize the caveats of representational space versus real space: "If the intersection between representational verisimilitude and surreptitious fictionality is mobile, and if representational modes vary, then represented space is identical to itself, albeit in different phases of engagement with the processes affecting it" (Westphal, *Geocriticism* 119).

(converted) mosque-church. Granada's structural and architectural conversions, an essential part of the urban reforms carried out by the crown, preceded or accompanied the forced religious conversions that took place before the expulsion of 1609. These architectural conversions announce the religious and political adjustments that will be introduced into Granada's spatiality. They suggest the new modes of interaction with the now displaced Muslim community, "donde la gente maldita / adoraba al sancarron."

Furthermore, this spatiotemporal reference amplifies the spatial perspective offered to the reader-traveler who moves through the *pliego suelto*. The sight of the 1550 building is now accompanied by the cultural and religious space of al-Andalus, allowing the traveler to learn or remember Granada's past life. This intersection between time and space represents two different but interlinked spatial realities: after all, both spaces were meant for people to congregate and perform their religious activities. "Sacred spaces are human constructions" (Kristan-Graham 3) and, I may add, as any construct, they can be modified, repurposed, restructured, the same as the architecture attached to them. Michel de Certeau reflects on this past and present conundrum:

> In their respective turns, each "new" time provides the *place* for a discourse considering whatever preceded it to be "dead," but welcoming a "past" that had already been specified by former ruptures. Breakage is therefore the postulate of interpretation (which is constructed as of the present time) and its object (divisions organizing representations that must be reinterpreted). The labor designated by this breakage is self-motivated. In the past from which it is distinguished, it promotes a selection between what can be *understood* and what must be *forgotten* in order to obtain the representation of a present intelligibility. But whatever this new understanding of the past holds to be irrelevant—shards created by the selection of materials, remainders left aside by an explication—

> comes back, despite everything, on the edges of discourse or in its rifts and crannies: "resistances," "survivals," or delays discreetly perturb the pretty order of a line of "progress" or a system of interpretation. These are lapses in the syntax constructed by the law of a place. Therein they symbolize a return of the repressed, that is, a return of what, at a given moment, has become unthinkable in order for a new identity to become thinkable. (*Writing* 4)

Indeed, the geographical erasures of al-Andalus dominate the journey; however, we are capable, as curious travelers, of perceiving brief glimpses of the spatiality of the past.

"Granada es la gran ciudad": Social Networks and Diversity

As discussed earlier, a multifocal perspective is required to study space as a heterogeneous and plural entity that incorporates all aspects of a culture. This plurality is especially true in the *Partidas,* where the textual map takes us through the sites of prayer but also through spaces that demonstrate Granada's cultural heterogeneity. At one point, the textual map notifies the traveler to beware of a specific street, "calle los colcheros," where the reader-traveler may find "pellegeros" (Martínez, *BDH* 2). The word *pellejeros* could mean both a person who prepares, trades and sells skins or a pick-pocket. The textual map presents a piece of practical information, although ambiguous, to consider when traveling the city. Heterotopia, a term used by Michel Foucault to describe spaces with various, often contradictory, layers of meaning, explains how we perceive certain spaces, especially when they fall out of our norm or are unclear. In his words, "L'hétérotopie a le pouvoir de juxtaposer en un seul lieu réel plusieurs espaces, plusieurs emplacements qui sont en eux-mêmes incompatibles" (Foucault, 3rd principle). The street "los colcheros" is an ambiguous and heterotopic place. Understanding the warning of this specific street will differ depending on the context and knowledge of the reader-traveler of the *pliego suelto*. Therefore, the way a traveler will approach this street will be significantly impacted by their accepted meaning of the word *pellejeros*.

As we continue traveling through the textual map of the *Partidas*, we encounter rich Genoese, "Ginoveses ricos," located in "aquel campo quadrado / quel del Principe es llamado" (Martínez, *BDH* 2). This public square of El Realejo, nowadays called *Campo del Príncipe*, was, during the Nasrid period, a space dedicated to various public events and equestrian festivities. Later, in 1497, on the occasion of celebrating the wedding of John, Prince of Asturias, and Margaret of Austria, they renovated the *plaza* and turned it into a commercial space, the largest in the city.[55] Interestingly, the Genoese, historically known as merchants, occupy a space in Granada's textual map associated with the commercial practices of the time. This reference probably hints at Spain's financial relations with the Genoese moneylenders and Granada's commercial networks with the ports of Genoa and the rest of the Mediterranean. David Abulafia in *The Great Sea* captured the frictions of this Mediterranean heterogeneous space of commerce:

> Then, with Columbus's entry into the Caribbean islands in October 1492, Castile also acquired a source of precious metal that was ruthlessly exploited by imposing heavy taxes in gold on the Indians, even though they were supposedly free subjects of the Crown. The Genoese, despite their unpopularity in Spain, installed themselves in Seville and, with royal approval, ran the trans-Atlantic trading operations. At the same time, they turned their hands to finance. Turkish pressure on the Genoese possessions in the eastern

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[55] For more information on the royal wedding see Olmos, "Las bodas del Príncipe Don Juan y la Infanta Doña Isabel" and Checa, "Fiestas, bodas y regalos de matrimonio." See "Campo del Principe" in *GranadaPedia*.

> Mediterranean increased, and so the Genoese allied themselves more insistently with Spain, the power that seemed best able to stand up to the Turks. (411–12)

The textual map of the *Partidas* similarly confirms the commercial practices between Granada and the Genoese, which took place in big town squares like the one mentioned in connection with Genoa's merchants.

The visit to the commercial square of *Campo del Príncipe* serves as a prelude to the mercantile journey ahead. Commercial space is further explored as the textual map guides us through the *Alcayceria*, an Arabic-style bazaar where, still in present times, vendors sell jewelry and souvenirs:

> y de alli al Alcayceria
> donde esta la fina seda
> do se gasta la moneda
> en damascos y almayzales
> do debaxo veos portales
> se venden los ricos paños
> do se hazen los engaños
> en los tratos de valía
> donde esta la joyeria
> de todas diversidades. (Martínez, *BDH* 3)

Here the reader-traveler can find (and buy) rich silks, *damascos*, and *almayzales*.[56] While all these Arabic textiles were brought and primarily worn by Moors, after the fifteenth century, these pieces of clothing were in vogue among Christians who sported them as part of their general attire (Maillo 402–403). For their popularity, these luxurious fabrics were also exported to the Mediterranean: "Granada, though a Muslim state until 1492, became a centre of operations for Genoese, Florentine and Catalan businessmen, who regularly visited Almería and Málaga, buying silk, dried fruits and ceramics" (Abulafia 393). Additionally, "Granada served as a link (through its great port at Málaga) between North African and Christian markets, while developing its own specialised economy as an agricultural centre and producer of silk and other luxury items" (Ruiz, *Spanish* 23). Thus, this journey through Granada's commercial networks is significant to understanding the city in a broader Mediterranean context. Although the influential Christian presence in this textual map is undeniable, and the journey initially seemed to be an exclusively propagandistic and pro-Christian text, we realize how further explorations of the textual map of the *Partidas* can lead us to a spatial document that locates Granada's network of trade.

The Christian places of worship marked the initial part of this journey. Subsequently, the text presented the opportunity to explore the commercial practices and the Mediterranean networks in Granada. We traveled through the bazaars where Christians, Genoese, and, although it was not mentioned, probably Moorish people exchanged goods, including the fine silks exported through the Mediterranean. As the journey develops, we notice how the initial boasting of a newly acquired, renovated, and Christian Granada does not hinder the acknowledgment of other aspects of the culture. Granada's representation becomes even more heterogeneous when, going up the Albayzín, we encounter the Moorish community located in this section of the textual map:[57]

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[56] The *Damascos* are an ornate silk featuring a "patterned textile, deriving its name from the fine patterned fabrics produced in Damascus (Syria) in the European Middle Ages. … Crusaders who had passed through Damascus introduced the fabric to Europe in the 11th century," see "Damask" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Similarly, the *Almayzales*, "Del árabe hispánico *almayzár*, y este del árabe clásico *mi'zar*," are Moorish fabrics, "Toca de gasa usada por los moros," see "Almaizar" in *RAE, Diccionario de la lengua española*, 23rd ed.

> y subid al alyzin
> donde estan hasta la fin
> los moriscos apartados
> muy subidos y apretados. (Martínez, *BDH* 5)

The Moorish community appears to be living at the end of the hills of the Albayzín. Furthermore, they appear to be segregated from the rest of the population and living in very cramped and overcrowded conditions.

Teófilo F. Ruiz explains that the *Moriscos*, after the forced conversions of Muslims in 1504, were very reluctant to accept the Christian's ways of life:

> Therefore, the *Moriscos* were perceived as a fifth column, ready to join invaders and give information to the enemy, and part of a huge conspiracy to destroy Christendom. …

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[57] The Albayzín is one of the oldest neighborhoods of Granada: it consists of the Alhambra, the Realejo (Jewish quarter), and the Arrabal of Bib-Arrambla. Without doubt this was a space of continuous encounters between different cultures and styles of life.

> In Spain, once the Inquisition's campaign against 'judaizers' began to run out of steam in the 1520s and 1530s, the Holy Office began to pay closer attention to the *Moriscos*. As I indicated earlier, the fears of heresy and dissent were not unfounded, for as the evidence from the Inquisition's tribunal of Cuenca and elsewhere shows, most *Moriscos*—notwithstanding their conversion—lacked even the most basic knowledge of Christianity. In the former kingdom of Granada, where memories of independence remained alive, the confrontations between Christians and *Moriscos* reached a boiling point. (*Spanish* 118)

The living conditions of the Moorish people in Granada are better understood when we consider the instability of Christian-Moorish relations. The representation of these Moriscos living "apartados / muy subidos y apretados" could be demonstrating the institutional repression placed on a community that is not fully assimilating to Christianity. While we do not know how the Christians lived in these reconstructed neighborhoods of Granada, we have a noteworthy account of how life was on the side of the Moorish community still living in Granada.

As we went up the Albayzín, we were able to connect with a population that has been segregated, although still is part of the social reality of Granada. The living conditions of the Moorish community seem to align inversely with the opulence of a city under (re)construction. After introducing the hybrid space of the Albayzín, the cityscape appears more heterogeneous and activates the reader's knowledge regarding the previous life in al-Andalus by introducing and quoting two Moorish-themed *romances*. We will further explore the intertextualities of the *Partidas*' text in the following chapter.

Marian Interlude: From Granada to Almería

As we continue traveling through the Iberian spaces represented in sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos*, we encounter the *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen*, "Ya se salía el rey moro / de Granada a Almería," which denotes a journey that transgresses both the sacred and the political boundaries in the dynamics of the border. The *romance* depicts a Muslim king and 300 Moorish soldiers traveling from Granada to Almería. While in the beginning, the text appears to be a frontier *romance* associated with warfare, a few lines onward, we discover how the *romance*, expanded by the *glosa*, depicts the religious journey of a renegade Christian, a *tornadizo*, who, against all odds, preserves his Christian faith. The *glosa de romance* studied in this section was composed by Alonso de Alcabdete and is featured in a *pliego suelto* housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España.[58]

As we embark on this expedition from Granada to Almería, we notice how the dangers of a belligerent space condition the journey:[59]

En el tiempo questa tierra
estava mas peligrosa
quando por lo llano y tierra
no faltava jamas Guerra

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[58] The *romance* and *glosa* consulted are in a *pliego* called "Glosas nuevamente compuestas por Alonso de Alcabdete" available in the first volume (I) of the published facsimile collection of *pliegos sueltos* from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE): *Pliegos poéticos góticos de la Biblioteca Nacional I*, pp. 237–44. I will cite using the following convention: (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 237–40).

[59] When quoting *glosas de romance*: normal text will be used for the *glosas*, bold face to denote the original *romance* and italics for added emphasis.

> de moros mas temerosa
> sin pensamiento de lloro
> y con sobrada alegría
> demostrando su tesoro
> **Ya se salía el rey moro**
> **de Granada a Almería**. (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 237)

The land emerges as a dangerous force where warfare is a constant. However, this hostile environment is about to be traveled by a surprisingly joyful Moorish king, who "con sobrada alegria" is heading to Almería. The Moorish king will travel accompanied by a cavalry of 300 men. The massive number of soldiers occupy the entire landscape, "cubiertos aquellos cerros." The soundscape is also filled with the loud racket, "gran trisca," made by the exhilarated Moorish cavalry. R. Murray Schafer, in his iconic book about *Soundscapes*, describes the particular sounds that disrupt the rural soundscape, "the noise of war and the 'noise' of religion":

> To Virgil the sounds of war were brass and iron, and the acoustic image remains intact to this day, though to it must be added the explosions of gunpowder from the fourteenth century onward.
>
> The world's literature is full of battles. Poets and chroniclers seem always to have been amazed at the noise they made. …. Armies decorated for battle presented a visual spectacle, but the battle itself was acoustic. To the actual noise of clashing metal, each army added its battlecries and drumming in an attempt to frighten the enemy. (49–50)

Similar to Schafer's remarks, the warfare space depicted in the *pliego* introduces aural contamination in what appears to be a technique to intimidate enemies. When we remember the coordinates of this journey, which is presumably dangerous, this acoustic technique becomes logical. As is customary in many *romances*, it includes a detailed description of the rich garments, “almayzales tocados,” and weapons, “lanzas con luzidos hierros / corazas de argenteria,” that adorned and armed the Moorish cavalry (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 237). The noisy soundscape, accompanied by the intricate visuals of the Moorish battle garments, contribute to the polysensoriality of this passage.

As we just observed, the spatial description of the first two stanzas presents several elements of warfare. The landscape from Granada to Almería is depicted as dangerous. Therefore, the Moorish king traveled with many soldiers, and the cavalry was equipped with horses, “encavalgados,” weapons, protective gear, and, probably, their acoustic racket terrorized any neighboring enemies. The venture seemed to be determined by the Moorish cavalry’s disposition for war:

Todos escaramuçando
con sus lanças muy polidas
se van allí señalando
las adargas blanqueando
lindas marlotas vestidas. (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 238)

However, as the journey advances, there is a transition in tone, and the cavalry begins a dialogue about concubines or mistresses, “barragania,” and the grace of their respective “amiga” (lover). The disposition for war turns into a spirited conversation about lovers, and the atmosphere transforms from a hostile space to one of camaraderie and rejoicing upon the remembrance of the beloved ladies:

yendo ya todos cesando
con el cansancio y fatiga

de dos en dos se juntando
Cada qual yba hablando
de las gracias de su amiga.
Van en aquesto entendiendo
que no en Guerra ni otra cosa
muchas apuestas poniendo
cada uno debatiendo
quien la tenia mas hermosa. (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 238)

The Moorish cavalry delight in the descriptions of their respective ladies, one more beautiful than the last, while an amused king listens to the conversation. We insert ourselves in an intimate conversation carried between the soldiers after a day of skirmishing in the hills, "todos escaramuçando." Nevertheless, this affective debate comes to an end when a *tornadizo*, a Christian renegade, takes the word.[60]

For the following stanzas of the *glosa* the *tornadizo* describes the fairest lady of all. All the characteristics employed to depict the woman have to do with her enviable physical attributes: "gran hermosura," "linda acabada," "luziente criatura," "perla esmerada," "fulgente guia," "rosa granada" (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 238). Hearing this caused a lot of distress and envy among the soldiers and the Moorish king. They distrusted the *tornadizo* and began to slander him, “falsa canalla,” since it was unlikely that such an idyllic woman existed in real life. Conversely, the Moorish king, marveled by the traits of the described lady, pondered on the possession of a woman with such characteristics:

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[60] Religious renegades, on either side, were regarded as unreliable and deceitful. Their former religious group feared that they could provide their new king and community valuable information that could lead to future attacks and raids. In fact, a renegade might decide to return to their original sect and share their experiences living with the Other. Regardless of the case, the appearance of this Sevillian *tornadizo* alters the tone of the narration for a second time.

Muger de tan gran faycion
de tantas gracias dotada
de tan alta perficion
con muy sobrada aficion
debe de ser desseada

…………………………

Tal amiga como aquesta
para mi pertenecia. (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 238–39)

In *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, Gillian Rose explores the dynamics between gender and space. In a section devoted to oppressive spaces for women, Rose states that a territory regarded as female is often won through violence and conquest, and “This image of territory is quite complex. In one sense it refers to the universal claims made by masculinism. It imagines that universality in terms of a spatial conquest. Everything in that space is known and captured by the Same; hence the sense of oppression for those caught in it” (98–99). Consequently, according to the coordinates of the *glosa de romance*, the Moorish king’s possession of territory implies the possession of the female bodies within that territory, “**para mi pertenecia**.” In this context, being the conqueror of the *landscape* equals being the possessor of the *bodies* within that landscape.

The king's proposition to acquire the described lady, "yo desseo mucho vella / o hazme mercedes della" (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 239), is faced with a boisterous condition imposed by the *tornadizo*:

> dixo en alta boz crescida
> si mantienes esta ley
> **yo te la dare buen rey**
> **si me otorgas la vida**. (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 239)

We have arrived at a point of no return. The renegade is pleading for his life; therefore, we should assume that he is about to cross a boundary, to make a transgression. The *tornadizo* knows that his actions and following words must be carefully chosen. Failure to do so could have severe consequences for him, triggering a plea for life in advance. We must remember that transgression, as coined by Bertrand Westphal, sometimes "means violating a moral, rather than a physical, limit" (*Geocriticism* 42). The emboldened renegade reaches his pocket and takes out the image of the Virgin Mary. All along, she was the fairest lady of the graceful conversation about lovers, the woman proclaimed as the king's property, and the object (a prayer card, a religious medallion, a figurine?) that declares the regained Christian faith by the *tornadizo*. The expedition from Granada to Almería was, for the *tornadizo*, an inner journey towards recovering his lost faith.

Indeed, the *tornadizo* regrets his conversion to Islam and is retracing his path and reinserting himself back into Christianity. Similarly, the journey from Granada to Almería returns to the state revealed in the first few lines: a hybrid and conflictive space where the landscape is dangerous and the enemies' attack imminent. The love-themed conversation lasted a minute, but now the journey has traced a full circle into the path of perilous warfare. The non-assimilation of the *tornadizo* confirms the hybridity of these fluid spaces where the represented reality could be reversed. The geographic, political, and religious transgressions seem to be characteristic of this intermediary space, a landscape somewhere (nowhere) between Granada and Almería. In this out of nowhere threshold, sacred space is not anchored by multiple churches, as in the studied cityscape of 1550 Granada. In this case, sacred space is merely embodied by an object representing the Virgin Mary.

Furthermore, the space of Moorish camaraderie is transgressed and violated by the confession of faith of the Christian renegade. The threshold between Granada and Almería becomes a hybrid space where religious integrity is disputed. This hybrid space constitutes a heterotopia: "'countersites' where 'real' sites are represented, contested, and reversed. … Heterotopia is another name for the sphere of intimacy that resists codification and that each individual tries to expand at leisure" (*Geocriticism* 63–64).[61] It is, precisely, in this interspace where the *tornadizo* creates his own alternative sacred space. A site where the Virgin Mary is the lady of heaven, “de los cielos señora / y clara estrella de oriente” (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 239). And where the *tornadizo* reconstructs his religious path, chooses Christianity once again, and resists the religious spatial codifications of the Granada-Almería interspace.

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[61] Bertrand Westphal further explains Foucault's heterotopia and how it functions in the reading of hybrid and transgressive spaces:

> The Foucauldian heterotopia is the space imbued by literature in its capacity as a "laboratory of the possible," the investigator of the integral space that sometimes occurs in the field of reality and sometimes outside of it. Heterotopia enables individuals to juxtapose in the same site several spaces that had previously been incompatible. For heterotopia operates on a dual principle of opening and closing that makes these spaces, at various times, isolated or accessible. So it assures itself a practical function in, and in relation to, the dominant space. It acts both as a space of illusion and as a "heterotopia of compensation," to use Foucault's term, in order to form a space better organized than the dominant space. (*Geocriticism* 63–64)

The Moorish king feels betrayed by the *tornadizo*. He is infuriated and offended because the renegade’s confession of faith created a shadow on the joyful love conversation. The religious conversion of the *tornadizo* has transgressed a space of intimacy where the cavalry felt sufficiently comfortable talking about their special ladies. The private conversation about women is juxtaposed with the renegade’s lecture about Virgin Mary’s graces. In a way, the *tornadizo* imposes his newfound faith on the Moorish cavalry; he ruptures the Moorish intimate spatiality and intercepts it with his desired sacred space.

The *tornadizo*’s actions cannot be forgiven by the king, who sends him to prison in Almería, not because he has chosen to be a Christian, but because he has betrayed his lord and the trust that was placed in him, “como aquel que a su señor / tal traycion le a cometido” (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 239–40). The journey from Granada has branched into two paths: the Moorish cavalry remained in the interspace between the two cities, and the *tornadizo* was imprisoned in Almería for his lifetime. The *tornadizo* has fallen victim to a conflictive space in which he, either by fortune or by his own will, must live, not fully assimilated, in a social, political, geographical, and religious reality foreign to his Christian spatiality. The transgressions presented in this journey to Almería were emphasized, rather than by the dangers of the landscape, by a pilgrimage towards a change in religion.

Ludic Encounters: Wagering Almería and Lorca

Through the spatial reading of *pliegos sueltos* we have explored the streets of Granada and traveled from Granada to Almería. This section will explore the geopolitical situation of a weakened Almería close to being seized by the Christians. Luys de Peralta's *glosa* of the *Romance de Fajardo*, "Jugando estava el rey moro / y aun al ajedrez un dia," depicts a chess contest in which Fajardo, a Christian knight, and a Moorish king gamble the cities of Almería and Lorca.[62] The loser of the match will have to surrender his respective territory to the victor. Simultaneously, the *romance* and *glosa* offer insights into the friendship between Fajardo and the Moorish king and opportunities to understand the territorial boundaries of that relationship. We will work with the version of the *romance* and *glosa* housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España.[63]

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[62] The *romance*, also known as the *Romance del ajedrez* or *Romance del juego de ajedrez*, dates from around 1453 to 1457, Peralta's *glosa* is from 1503, and its publication in a *pliego suelto* is from 1527 (Beltrán 289). Apparently, the *romance* was inspired by Alonso Fajardo "El Bravo," warden of Lorca until 1458, and the sultan or king of Almería at the time, Mulay Boabdelín (who was also briefly the king of Granada); it is said that this Alonso Fajardo used to work alongside mercenaries from Granada against his cousin Pedro Fajardo (Beltrán 292–93).

[63] I consulted Luys de Peralta's *glosa* of the *Romance de Fajardo* in two *pliegos sueltos* entitled "Glosa nuevamente trobada por Luys de Peralta sobre el Romance de Fajardo." One of them is available in the first volume (I) of the facsimile collection of *pliegos sueltos* in Prague: *Pliegos poéticos españoles en la Universidad de Praga I*, pp. 177–84. The other is available in the first volume (I) of the published facsimile collection of *pliegos sueltos* from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE): *Pliegos poéticos góticos de la Biblioteca Nacional I*, pp. 261–68. While the content of both versions is the same, the display of the stanzas in both *pliegos sueltos* varies, however, for the purposes of this chapter we will consult and cite from the *BNE* version using the following convention: (Peralta, *BNE I* 261–63).

In the space displayed in the *glosa de romance*, which we could assume is Almería, we encounter a courteous scene in which the Moorish king and Fajardo are entirely civil.[64] Numerous affections, "**con amor que le tenia**," "era en el bien empleado / el amor y la afficion," assert their friendship. The courteous relationship between the Muslim and the Christian contrasts with Fajardo's feared personality, "De amigos y de contrarios / era temido y amado" … "**que todo el mundo os temia**" (Peralta, *BNE I* 262–63). Under these affective coordinates, the chess game, where the territories of Almería and Lorca are wagered, takes place. While the atmosphere represented is affective and respectful, it is essential to note that we are witnessing geopolitical spaces wagered as casino chips. If the match's results were to be made a reality, then a seemingly innocent game could decide the future of those gambled spaces. The thought of making important political decisions on a chessboard is both frightening and riveting.

Interestingly, the spatiality of the text has been transposed from the geographical reality of Almería to the material space provided by the chessboard.[65] The movements in this new

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[64] We can make this assumption because when Fajardo denies Lorca to the Moorish king, he notes that several men are waiting in Lorca to defend it, meaning that Fajardo was not in the Christian city at the time of the match.

[65] Westphal offers examples in which a game predisposes and influences the way the reader approaches the literary space of the text:

> We remember that Julio Cortázar forced his readers to hop around from one chapter to another in *Hopscotch*; others have preferred to zigzag on a checkerboard or, as in Georges Perec's *Life: A User's Manual*, on a simulated chessboard of a Parisian city block. Another, Italo Calvino in *The Castle of Crossed Destinies*, lays tarot cards down on the table in a medieval tavern to narrate the stories of the world (Oedipus, Percival, Hamlet, Faust, Justine, etc.). The most obstinate in this virtuoso performance is

spatiality provided by the chessboard will influence the political shifts of the geographical macro space. This transposition is also literary, as instead of reading the text, the narrative is being determined by the chessboard. In this sense, the geopolitical situation of Lorca and Almería is conditioned by the spatiality of the chessboard and fought in each of the squares of the grid. The structure and pieces of the chess game (king, queen, bishop, knight, rook, and pawn) are embedded with geopolitical coordinates of territorial conquest. In its most rudimentary sense, the chess game depicts a battle between two kingdoms trying to protect, at all costs, their respective king. Therefore, it represents a makeshift battleground between Almería and Lorca. Consequently, the introduction of the chess game in the text is self-referential and facilitates the discovery of the text's geopolitical connotations.[66]

Jenny Adams, in her book *Power Play: The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages*, uses the chess game as a method to engage with medieval political order because playing chess was often associated with intelligence and "improving one's ability to govern one's kingdom" (4). Adams mentions an interesting example from Alfonso X the wise's *Libros des ajedrez, dados y tablas*:

> The treatise begins with a story of a king in India, who has a number of conversations with three philosophers. When asked to provide the king with the most essential virtue

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certainly Milorad Pavić, whose works include the novel passing as a lexicon (*Dictionary of the Khazars*), a crossword novel (*Landscape Painted with Tea*), and a tarot novel (*Last Love in Constantinople: A Tarot Novel for Divination*). (*Geocriticism* 22)

[66] Interestingly, the oldest surviving printed book on chess was published around 1497 in Salamanca, *Repetición de Amores y Arte de Ajedrez con 101 Juegos de Partido* by Luis Ramírez de Lucena, see Murray 786.

> (implicitly, the virtue most important for ruling a kingdom), each philosopher has a different opinion: one argues for the primacy of reason, one promotes daring as the most advantageous quality, and one insists on a mix of intelligence and daring. To support their arguments, they each create a game: the first, chess; the second, dice; and the third, backgammon. As the narrator confirms, the first philosopher wins the argument: "And because chess is a more intelligent and honorable game than dice or backgammon, we speak in this book first of it." (Adams 4)

The Wise king himself believed in the supremacy of the chess game and made it a central part of his court. Adams adds that, in general, "writers capitalized on the game's mimetic qualities" and that there are obvious "ties between the game and the political order" (4). According to this set of beliefs, promulgated by Alfonso X the Wise, the victorious contestant of chess would be competent enough to govern a kingdom.

The chessboard acquires spatial significance since it was, at least for the first few stanzas, the only traveled space, the only space where any kind of movement was taking place:

> El juego mucho duro
> sin que ventaja se viesse
> como cada uno pudiesse
> quanto saber alcanço
> por ganallo si pudiesse
> no fue troque por troque
> que sin su sabiduría
> el rey moro por la via
> **jaque le dio conel roque**

el alférez le prendia. (Peralta, *BNE I* 262)

The game was advancing at a slow pace, and the contestants were working their way in the game, one piece at a time, "troque por troque." However, the Moorish king decides to go down the road, "por la via," and makes check "con el roque" (*hacer enroque*, to rook); this meant that he had made a castling, the only chess move that allows the player to move two pieces in a single move. The Moorish king employed an advanced chess move making us infer that he knew what he was doing as an experienced chess player. Would this mean, using Adams' approach, that he was an experienced ruler as well?

After the chess game ended, the spatial focus moved from the chessboard to the space occupied by the Moorish king and Fajardo. The Moorish king was the happiest of all, thinking of himself as the new owner of Lorca:

No poquito fue el placer
que tomo de le ganar
pensando sin mas a tardar
de tenella en su poder
sin mucho lo trabajar
como tenia decoro
que ganelle no podía
puesto que se detenia
a bozes dezia el moro
la villa de Lorca es mia.

Y era esta la postura
que qualquiera que ganasse
sin quel otro lestorvasse
que a su riesgo y ventura
si pudiesse la tomasse
no grossero ni bastardo
alo que le proponía
sin pelo de covardia
ay hablara Fajardo
bien oyres lo que dezia.

(Peralta, *BNE I* 262)

This victory was achieved without doing much, “sin mucho lo trabajar,” meaning not having to go through all the setbacks associated with warfare. The only battleground involved was the chessboard. The king celebrates his triumph by shouting loudly, “en alta boz” (*romance*), “*a bozes*” (*glosa*), filling the soundscape with a tremendous acoustic uproar. However, the celebration will not last long.

Although the territory was gained fair and square through the game of chess, an emboldened Fajardo has something to say:

Has de dessazer la rueda
si esto te haze hazella
porque sin ayuda es ella
para que ninguno pueda
sin su voluntad tenella
especial de agena grey
trabajo en balde feria
digote lo que devia
calles calles señor rey
no tomes a tal porfia.

Pues aquello has de emprender
que pienses al fin salir
con honrra en lo debatir
mas desto es mi parecer
que deves señor huyr
pues si enesto porfiasses
nada no se ganaria
por ser cosa muy baldia
que aunque tu me la ganases
ella no se te daria.

(Peralta, *BNE I* 262-63)

Even though Fajardo recognizes that the game was justly won, he advises the Moorish king not to pursue Lorca. Fajardo believes that doing so will be pointless, “cosa muy baldia,” since the city will not succumb to the Moorish king’s forces, the city will not give herself: “que aun que tu me la ganasses / ella no se te daria.” Lorca, regarded as feminine “ella,” is a land that resists its conquering. Fajardo continues his exposition and justifies his lack of word:

Que puesto que yo quisiesse
en dar te la ser consiente
no podrias con tu gente
ni otra que en tu ayuda fuese
tomalla por mas valiente
de topar con tal encuentro
los cuerdos se guardarían
porque perder se podrian
cavalleros tengo dentro
que te la defenderian. (Peralta, *BNE I* 263)

According to Fajardo, although he would not like to miss on his promise, it would be impossible for the Moorish king to advance to Lorca. The city is well-populated with Christians willing to defend it, thus, making it practically impossible to enter the city. The Moorish king does not have sufficient soldiers for this endeavor, “no podrias con tu gente.” Even if the Moorish king finds the help needed to seize Lorca, it will not be enough to counter the well-protected city. Pursuing Lorca would be a suicidal mission, an endeavor for crazy people, “de topar con tal encuentro / los cuerdos se guardarian / porque perderse podrian.”

Lorca was, at the time of the *romance*, a border city. It was the frontier between the Christian kingdom of Murcia and the Nasrid kingdom of Granada. Lorca was used as a base for surveillance on Granada and was the starting point of many raids and attacks on Almería and Granada. King Alfonso X ordered to populate the city with lots of Christians to better defend it against Muslim attacks: “por saber que he de poblar los alcaçares et la villa de Lorca de christianos que yo gane de moros ... et porque ayan mas et mas do et otorgo a todos los christianos vezinos et moradores en los alcaçares et en la villa de Lorca ... casas mayores hy pobladas con sus cuerpos" (*apud* Torres Fontes XVII). Therefore, when Fajardo says he has many *cavalleros* that will defend Lorca, he refers to a historical fact. Lorca was turned into an enviable and impenetrable fortress and into a hybrid space, a new border, within Iberia's Christian and Muslim geopolitical spaces.

Gloria Anzaldúa, in her iconic book about life in the borders, defines the term: "Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them*. A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition" (3). This definition is helpful when encountering this space because the terms that define this border between Almería, Andalucía, and Lorca, Murcia are also undetermined and in constant transition. As we reflect on this, we notice how Lorca was not just any Christian settlement. It was an essential enclave in these makeshift borders. Furthermore, it was a space newly populated and protected because its geographical position marked a powerful frontier in the geopolitical dynamics of the time.

Under these geopolitical coordinates, we can understand why Fajardo did not honor his word. Lorca cannot be ceded, won, or taken. Fajardo could not give this territory—in payment for a personal bet he lost—because the city was well protected by Christian forces. The Moorish king's reaction to Fajardo's refusal promotes the same idea:

No dudo de lo que dizes
ser verdad como propones
que por mucho que razones
enel caso que autorizes

ay mas delo que tu pones
no pienses que a esso aguardo
ni tan poco te queria
que tenga tal fantasia
no juguemos mas Fajardo
ni tengamos mas porfia. (Peralta, *BNE I* 263)

The Moorish king does not even dream of conquering the fortified city because he is well aware of the repercussions the taking of Lorca could have. The Moorish king's awareness of his disadvantaged position responds to the fact that, at the moment, the Muslims did not possess the territorial dominion and power they used to have. Therefore, the *romance* ends as it starts by recognizing Fajardo's frightening personality: "**que soys vos tal cavallero / que todo el mundo os temia**." The fear that Fajardo inspires, as representative of Christian dominion, is sufficiently powerful to deter, in both his friends and his enemies, the action of collecting the reward of a bet that was legitimately won.

Mediterranean Valencia

In these last sections of the chapter, we will travel along the Mediterranean coasts of the Iberian Peninsula to Valencia. Valencia has been a protagonist in Iberian literature, and it became immortalized by *El Cantar de mio Cid*, as the rescued city, although later lost, for Christianity. It was also an important city in developing the printing press in the peninsula (Romeo de Lecea 64). Like Granada, several writers praised the greatness of the city. Matteo Bandello expresses in *Novelle* from 1554, "Valenza, gentile e nobilissima, che in tutta Catalogna non és piu lasciva e amorosa città." In this section we will study an interesting *romance*, published in a *pliego suelto* entitled “Libro enel qual se contienen cincuenta romances con sus villancicos y desechas” (1525–30), which similarly exalts the beauty and importance of Valencia.[67] This *Romance hecho en lohores de Valencia* will allow us to make a journey through the landscapes, cityscapes, urban, and commercial spaces of this Mediterranean city.

The *romance* reiterates the antiquity of Valencia by praising the fact that Romans inhabited it first. The city’s value seems to reside in its ancient Roman past:

> Valencia ciudad antigua
> Roma primero nombrada
> primeramente de Roma
> y de su gente abitada. (“Libro,” *Morbecq* 168)

Valencia’s Roman past becomes an identity seal that guarantees the antiquity and endurance of the city and possibly its connection with Christianity.[68] Afterward, the *romance* reviews the most important historical and political events such as the conquest of the "nobles [y] fuertes," Visigoths, the occupation of the Muslims, the conquest of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the Cid, and the return of the city to the hands of the Moors until King James I integrated the city into the Aragonese crown ("Libro," *Morbecq* 169).

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[67] The *pliego suelto* entitled “Libro enel qual se contienen cincuenta romances” was published as part of the private collection of the Marqués de Morbecq. It was originally published in Barcelona by the printer Carles Amorós and what seems interesting about it is that, even though its impression does not seem incomplete or disrupted, it certainly does not include the fifty romances promised. Instead, we will find six *romances* (none of them included in the mini table of contents of the second folio), four *villancicos* and one *desecha*. See *Romance hecho en lohores de Valencia*, in “Libro en el cual se contienen cincuenta romances,” *Los pliegos poéticos de la colección de Marqués de Morbecq*, pp. 165–72. All further references to this *pliego* will use the convention: (“Libro,” *Morbecq* 168–70).

[68] Kagan explains, in regards to the chorographies written about Spain, the importance of establishing the city’s relation with ancient times: “It was also necessary to demonstrate the importance and privileges of the city in Roman times as well as to provide information about the city’s ‘Christian antiquity,’ notably its conversion to catholicism [sic], an act which authors, in keeping with the legend of St James’ visit to the peninsula, wanted to link

The city of Valencia is described in feminine terms. Valencia is a queen "poderosa," "exaltada," "querida," "amada," the city possesses the best qualities: "que jamas bien repartieron / de que te nagassen [sic, negassen] nada" ("Libro," *Morbecq* 169). This description is similar to the one pronounced by the *tornadizo* to describe the Virgin Mary. In these depictions, the rhetorical technique of the *descriptio puellae* is employed to project the qualities of the religious entity or landscape, respectively. The city's description, paragon of lady-like virtues, serves as a preamble to the chorography of the Valencian space.

This ode to Valencia is presented in polysensorial terms. Valencia has a perfect climate; the city is not very hot or cold, making it the perfect place to be outdoors in its mild temperature, "templanza mediana" ("Libro," *Morbecq* 169), which provides a soothing tactile experience. As one can imagine, its landscapes are also the best. The author paints a perfect space that seems to be taken out of a picture. Beautiful skies and better soil frame this painting, "de los cielos muy dotada / en mejor suelo del mundo" ("Libro," *Morbecq* 169). Interestingly, even Valencia's air is described in detail as healthy and purified, thus making a fascinating and unique description about the city's air quality: "de ayres sanos: claros: frescos / sotiles purificada" ("Libro," *Morbecq* 169). Overall, the Valencian landscape is remarkable.

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with the Apostle himself" ("Clio" 89). However, in regard to an ancient past, the text also mentions the city's Carthaginian occupation, "gran tiempo Cartagineses / hizieron en timorada" ("Libro," *Morbecq* 168).

However, the space that receives most of the attention is the one composed of diverse and rich bodies of water:

> de rios, fuentes, lagunas
> de estanques y mar cercada
> como Venecia la rica
> sobre aguas assentada. (“Libro,” *Morbecq* 169)

Water, a precious natural resource for human life, is abundant in Valencia. Valencia is praised for its beauty and accessibility to the most basic requirement for existence. Access to water provides the city with possibilities of nourishment, agriculture, livestock, and commerce. Valencia’s seascape is enviable and even compared to Venice, “la rica.”

The Mediterranean cities of Valencia and Venice present multiple parallels between each other.[69] The relationship established with Venice is probably hinting at the most significant connection between the two cities, their access to the Mediterranean Sea.[70] This reference also confirms a direct connection between the Iberian commercial practices and those carried with Venice, “the rich one,” and probably other prosperous ports of the Mediterranean Sea.[71]

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[69] Another *pliego suelto*, which will be analyzed on Chapter IV, similarly exalts the relationship between Valencia and Venice, *Romance nuevo en el qual se glosa el letrero que se puso en el Arco triunfal*.

[70] Although in the case of Venice, this access is mediated through the Adriatic Sea.

[71] Valencia was the city with the largest population of Italians on the Iberian Peninsula. Not only that, but there was a large commercial exchange between Valencia and Venice in which products such as wool, grains, dried fruits and ceramic objects were traded, see Santamaría Arández 144–45.

Furthermore, Valencia and Venice are both characterized in literature, chorographies, and cartographic documents as feminine.[72]

According to the *romance*, the landscape of Valencia constitutes a paradise: “parayso terrenal” (“Libro,” *Morbecq* 169). In the same vein, in the prologue of *Laus Hispaniae* of *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum* (624) Isidore of Seville composes an ode to a paradisiacal Hispania:

> Of all the lands from the west to the Indies, you, Spain, O sacred and always fortunate mother of princes and peoples, are the most beautiful. …
>
> Indulgent nature has deservedly enriched you with an abundance of everything fruitful. You are rich with olives, overflowing with grapes, fertile with harvests. You are dressed in corn, shaded with olive trees, covered with the vine. Your fields are full of flowers, your mountains full of trees, and your shores full of fish. You are located in the most favourable region in the world; neither are you parched by the summer heat of the sun, nor do you languish under icy cold, but girded by a temperate band of sky, you are nourished by fertile west winds. You bring forth the fruits of the fields and the wealth of the mines, as well as beautiful and useful plants and animals. Nor are you to be held inferior in rivers, which the brilliant fame of your fair flocks ennobles. (Baxter 67)

The *romance* similarly praises the quality and abundance of Valencia’s geography, climate, and, as we will explore next, also of the people.

After the detailed description of the lushness of Valencia’s landscape, the journey takes us to the description of the cityscape:

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[72] Regarding Venice as a female body in spatial accounts, see Rose 50.

toda ciudad dentro y fuera
noble, gentil, alindada
ni muy grande, ni pequeña
para ser mas acabada
de todo estado de gentes
muy continuo y muy poblada
palacio donde se afina
la finor mas afinada
madre de cavalleria
clara, antigua muy honrada
toda escuela de virtudes
y de sabios illustrada.

(“Libro,” *Morbecq* 169)

This urban space is depicted as a medium-sized, noble, and beautiful city. The *romance* also states that Valencia is well-populated with “todo estado de gentes.” However, the only spaces described in detail are the palaces inhabited by wise men and the finest people, most of them from a chivalric lineage, “madre de cavalleria.” The lack of diversity in this representation of Valencia seems interesting. This text was produced around 1525 and 1530, while the Moorish expulsion happened between 1609 and 1614. Therefore, excluding this social group from the urban space probably constitutes a manipulation of Valencia’s cityscape. Richard L. Kagan explains the common practice of expunging specific communities and historical events from city descriptions. As an example, *Historia o descripción de la ciudad imperial de Toledo* (1554), a city history by Pedro de Alcocer, completely erases the Revolt of the Comuneros (1520):

> This idealized image of the city as *civitas* further enabled chorographers to argue that population had nothing to do with a city’s importance. Grandeur in their eyes was a function of the quality, not the quantity of a city’s inhabitants, … For similar reasons, chorographers rarely made reference to the presence of Jews or Moors in their cities, emphasizing instead the number and importance of the local nobility, generally by including genealogies of the city’s most prominent families. Nobility was also reflected

> in the magnificence of a city’s public buildings as opposed to the houses of its ordinary citizens. (“Clio” 90)

Ignoring or purging certain aspects of a city’s representation seemed to be a characteristic feature of sixteenth century chorographic and historiographical texts.

As conveyed in the *Partidas*’ textual map of Granada, we notice how Valencia’s idealized urban descriptions resemble a tourist guide in this *romance*. At this point, the tour through the cityscape of Valencia inserts the reader-traveler into the commercial spaces. This commerce is full of riches, pleasures, delights, and beautiful ladies:

> de grandes mercaderias
> y riquezas abundada
> todo jardin de plazeres
> y deleytes abastada
> de damas lindas hermosas. (“Libro,” *Morbecq* 169)

The abundance in the Valencian markets hints at a very prolific mercantile space. The richness of Valencia’s natural resources probably made it a very fitting space to carry some of the mercantile practices in the Iberian Peninsula in connection with the Mediterranean Sea. The commercial spaces and cityscapes of Valencia offer as much satisfaction as the sight of the natural landscape.

The *romance* described the paradisiacal pleasantness of the city, its magnificent geography and climate, large bodies of water, its people, and its commercial practices. The genealogist Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo similarly articulates the excellent qualities of Valencia in his dialogues of *Batallas y Quinquagenas*:

> Yo tengo entendido para mí que es la çibdad de Valençia del Çid una de las muy acompañadas de noble vezindad que ay en nuestra España, de señores e cavalleros de

> título bien eredados, e de ricos çibdadanos, e de todas las maneras de ofiçiales artesanos que una insigne e muy bien ordenada república son nesçesarios; e aun para poder proveer a otras çibdades. E demás de ser la çibdad rica en sí por el tracto de la mar e de la tierra, es la gente del mundo más bien ataviada, e los ombres prinçipales e cavalleros biven e se tractan en sus casas e fuera dellas con tan ordinario exerçiçio de nobleza, que es otra segunda corte ver aquella república. (355)

The chorography of Valencia, provided by the *romance* and other accounts, seems to be promoting a visit to the Mediterranean city. According to Kagan, the discipline of chorography became popular in Spain during the sixteenth century as a way to represent and exalt a specific city and place it on the map:

> In essence, this convention offered authors a means of demonstrating the glories of any city or town within the broader context of Spanish history. It included a geographical description of the city that recounted, generally in glowing, hyperbolical language, the benefits of its physical location, the fertility of its surrounding countryside, and the abundance of its commerce. Consequently, each city appeared as if were a terrestrial paradise, another Eden, where there was never hunger, sickness or want. ("Clio" 89)

The studied *romance* thoroughly coincides with Kagan's description of sixteenth century Iberian chorography. Undoubtedly, the *pliegos sueltos* participated in the literary practices of the time.

At the very end of the *romance*, after traveling through a pleasant cityscape overflowing with natural and material wealth, the journey takes us to the sacred spaces of Valencia. The beautiful ladies of the urban space and the description of the prosperous city, "exemplo de polideza" and "bien regida y gavernada," serve as a transition to introduce the house of prayer:

de damas lindas ermosas enel mundo mas loada

de mas y de mas polidas
galanas la mes preciada
exemplo de polideza
corte continuo llamada
piadosa justiciera
bien regida y gavernada
toda casa de oracion
toda sancta y consagrada
rico templo donde amor
siempre haze su morada

(“Libro,” *Morbecq* 169)

It is unclear if the text wanted to establish a relationship between the city’s appeal, discussed throughout the *romance*, and this small insertion of the sacred space. However, what seems essential in this representation of the Mediterranean city of Valencia is the intertwined relationship established between the lushness of the natural landscape and the richness of the cityscapes and commercial spaces, precisely as demanded by the sixteenth century Iberian practice of chorography.

Shifting Spaces: The Renewed Chorography of Imperial Spain

What does the reading of Granada, Almería, Lorca, and Valencia tell us about Iberia’s representational and real spaces in the context of *pliegos sueltos*? As we encountered in some of the *pliegos sueltos* studied in this chapter, the Iberian cityscapes appear to be under (re)construction, or at least they are in their chorographic representations. In the text of the *Partidas*, we explored the *nuevas plazas*, revamped cathedrals, and new sacred spaces founded in the interest of cleansing Granada from its Muslim past. Likewise, the *romance* about Valencia exalts a chivalric genealogy and a noble past that conceals any sort of diversity in the journey through the city.

These chorographic descriptions are not strange considering that the Iberian Peninsula was going through significant social, political, and structural changes. In Spain, right after the conquest of Granada, the crown developed an urban policy of affirmation of the new power. They instituted these policies by creating new *plazas*, building churches, tearing down mosques, or turning pre-existing mosques into churches, all as ways of renewing and conquering the cityscape. In addition, the crown sponsored many written relationships, chronicles, histories, maps, chorographic sights, and cartographies of the Iberian cities.

For instance, the Flemish artist Anton van den Wyngaerde was commissioned by King Phillip II to draw many panoramic drawings of Iberian cities (1562–70).[73] Van den Wyngaerde's drawings provided an important, although idealized, chorography of many significant Spanish towns, villages, and cities. Van den Wyngaerde represented these Spanish cities as organized, civilized, developed, and, above all, powerful. For example, these bird's-eye representations of Iberian cities gave a preponderant character to the high ceilings of the religious temples and sacred spaces (resembling a tall crown), probably in an attempt to associate the city's opulence with its religious piety. The Flemish artist even exaggerated the dimensions of the churches "to draw attention to Spain's cities as repositories of the faith, a distortion that his patron, a champion of Roman Catholicism, would have undoubtedly appreciated" (Kagan, "Urbs" 83). These spatial ordering efforts also included the newly conquered territories in the Americas. King Philip II ordered the *relaciones geográficas*: surveys to organize his new transatlantic possessions and govern them more efficiently. In short, King Phillip II wanted to illustrate the magnificence and extent of his kingdoms to ascertain Spain's position as the greatest imperial power of the sixteenth century.

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[73] Van den Wyngaerde, commonly known in Spain as Antonio de las Viñas, was the *pintor ordinario* of King Phillip II. See some of his commissioned panoramic drawings of Spain in Appendix C.

These examples constituted ways of organizing, delimiting, structuring, and itemizing the Iberian Empire. Sixteenth century representations of Iberian space worked as methods to reconcile space and time. In these chorographic documents and some *pliegos sueltos* the diversity of the historical past is replaced by the conquered, renewed, opulent, and homogeneous space of the present. At least in the representational layer of space. Naturally, it was not desirable to portray Moorish or Jewish spaces. The spirit of conquest and empire permeated the representations of these remodeled cities, especially Granada. It seems like some *pliegos sueltos*, just as the commissioned works by Philip II, reinforced ideas of hegemony, imperialism, and conquest through the representation of spaces.

In the *Partidas* we encountered a city under (re)construction. The cityscape of Granada was going through many structural and architectonical changes, and the depiction of numerous sacred spaces worked toward the legitimation of the Christian religious transition in the conquered city. In the *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen* and its *glosa*, the interspace between Granada and Almería, a few years before the conquest of Granada, is conditioned by warfare and serves as a religious journey to a *tornadizo*. The analysis pointed toward the problem of non-assimilation in a geopolitical region where the sacred space is fluid and in constant transition. Furthermore, in the *glosa* of the *Romance de Fajardo*, we attended a chess match where the geopolitical hegemony of the Christian kingdoms was a constant threat to the stability of an Almería close to being conquered by Christians. Fajardo is a hybrid figure product of a time when the political boundaries were always negotiable and fluid. Lastly, in the ode about Valencia, an idealized and improbable image of the city emerged, one in which the local nobility completely eclipsed any other type of demographic representation. Additionally, the Valencian geographical coordinates connect the city to the commercial practices of the Mediterranean Sea and its Venetian parallel. The geocritical reading of the *Partidas*, *romances* and *glosas de romance* demonstrated the broad possibilities for space in the pre- and post-conquest representations of Granada, Valencia, and neighboring communities in *pliegos sueltos* from the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER II

Intertextual Geographies: Literary References, Glosses, and Rewritings in *pliegos sueltos*

In the previous chapter, we analyzed *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada* as a textual map. Reading it like a traditional map, we explored the most important buildings, churches, town squares, and places of Granada. The cartographic journey displayed in the *Partidas* concludes with an interesting final direction:

> porque no se os quede nada
> cantares con boz quebrada
> este *Romance* con lloro.
> **Passeavase el Rey moro**
> **por la ciudad de Granada**. (Martínez, *BDH* 7)

The *Partidas*' text asks the reader to sing with emotion, "con lloro," the popular the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*. The curious reference connects the spatial coordinates of the *Partidas* with those of the popular *romance viejo*. Moreover, the mention of the *romance* promotes an intertextual relationship within different materials published in *pliegos sueltos*: the *Partidas,* the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama,* and the different *glosas* that comment, expand and edit the contents of this *romance*.[74]

The *pliegos sueltos,* while often interconnected thematically, were a diverse set of small and inexpensive pamphlets published individually. As such, a recollection of the material qualities of this literary corpus is crucial to comprehending their intertextuality. As represented in the quoted passage of the *Partidas*, the corpus of the *pliegos sueltos* occasionally create a sort of anthology of *romances*, *glosas*, and songs that cross-reference, contest, and establish dialogues among each other. Extensive manuscripts and printed books are typically seen as an integral and unified written material. In opposition, the *pliegos sueltos* are often regarded as brief, fragmented, unfinished pieces of writing. The brevity of these pamphlets possibly encouraged readers, writers, and editors alike to associate the content of a *pliego suelto* with another. While this is a hypothesis that I will not be able to defend fully, I believe that the intertextuality of the *pliegos* could be understood as a way in which the writers and editors of *pliegos sueltos* (consciously or not) integrated and strengthened such a disjointed and ephemeral corpus. Indeed, the materiality of the *pliegos sueltos* compels us (and possibly sixteenth century readers) to do an integrated reading of materials that are interconnected thematically.

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[74] There were three different *glosas* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* published in *pliegos sueltos,* which will be explored in this and subsequent sections of the dissertation.

Furthermore, the genres published in these pamphlets—*romances* and *glosas de romances*—promote a dynamic and intertextual relationship with one another. It is important to note that many *romances viejos*, even when they were later published, “fixed,” in *cancioneros* and *pliegos sueltos*, often had variations in both their oral and printed forms. The *glosas de romances* were just as variable since, sometimes, there were different sets of glosses for the same *romance*, up to nineteen.[75] Additionally, the *glosas de romance* establish a subordinate and intertextual relationship with the glossed *romance*. The world of the *romances* and *glosas de romance* is filled with variance, indeterminacy, and intertextuality.

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[75] This is the case of the *romance* of *La bella malmaridada*, see Periñan and Piacentini 128–44.

As mentioned, the materiality, genres, and thematical concerns of the *pliegos sueltos* make them subject to interlinked readings and explorations. In this chapter, rather than just discussing the physical landscapes and cityscapes, we will also focus on the interconnectivity between different *pliegos sueltos*. We will examine the intertextual nature of *pliegos sueltos* that are geographically and thematically interlinked; the processes of intertextuality, variance, and rewritings; the indeterminacies of the *romances* as invitations for glossing; and the subordinate relationship between *glosa* and *romance*.

I think that both the *pliegos sueltos* and the *romances* and *glosas* published in them create opportunities for intertextual readings. Studying spaces of literary interconnectivity, where multiple realities, spaces, and temporal instances are linked, will allow us to explore the diverse spatial representation of Granada in the *pliegos sueltos*. To accomplish this, we will continue working with the Geocritical framework, especially with the element of intertextuality. Often the construction of a place is preceded by the text. For instance, the city of Paris, Bertrand Westphal explains, is intertextually (re)constructed by the different authors that have aspired to represent the city:

> Often the text precedes the place: Calvino, as well as Eco, come to Paris and *experience* Paris after having read the novels that have informed their inner landscape. The representation of Paris is for them a cross between their direct, polysensorial perceptions and the intertextual construction that makes up their separate personal encyclopedias. Within the Paris of Calvino and Eco, there are, like so many nesting dolls, the Paris of Balzac, of Dumas, and of Utrillo. (*Geocriticism* 152–53)

This approach to the literary construction of space is quite useful. In this chapter, we will uncover the overlapped images of Granada and how they facilitate the portrayal of its spatiality, which encompasses different temporal, geographical, and stratigraphic layers and is connected by a profound intertextuality or, as we will call it, an intertextual geography.

Intertextuality in *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada*

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the textual map of *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada* alludes to two popular Moorish-themed *romances*. The literary references expand the possibilities for the study of Granada by introducing various layers of literary space. The first reference is to Abenamar. The *Romance de Abenamar* fictionalizes the historic encounter in June of 1431 between King John II of Castile and Yusuf IV before the latter became Granada's new Muslim king. The famous medieval *romance* showcases the dialogue between Abenamar (King Yusuf IV), King John II, and a personified Granada who refuses to be possessed by the Christian king.[76]

Close to the Albayzín, before heading towards the hill of the Alhambra, the textual map of the *Partidas* gives the reader-traveler some instructions on how to avoid getting lost:

> y mira que no os perdays
> hasta tanto que bolvays

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[76] Various versions of the *Romance de Abenamar* have been recorded in different *romanceros* and there is no way to point to the specific version referenced in the *Partidas*: "¡Abenámar, Abenámar, moro de la morería / ¿Que castillos son aquellos? ¡Altos son y reluzian" (I); "Por Guadalquivir arriba el buen rey don Juan camina; / encontrara con un moro que Abenámar se decía. / El buen rey desque lo vido desta suerte le decía: / Abenámar, Abenámar, moro de la morería," (II); "¡Abenámar, Abenámar, moro de la morería / el día que tu nasciste grandes señales avia" (III), see Correa 297–305. For a detailed study on the cultural shifts of the significance of the *Romance de Abenamar* (and other works in the *romancero fronterizo*), see Yiacoup, esp. Ch. 1.

por donde anduvo abenamar
y salir al Alcaçavar. (Martínez, *BDH* 5)

The passage advises the reader-traveler to head towards the Alcaçavar, going through Abenamar's path. But, what does it mean precisely?

One of the versions of the popular *romance* mentions three concrete places of Granada: the Alhambra, the Mosque, and the Alixares.[77] Similarly, another version mentions these three Granadan landmarks but incorporates an introduction clarifying Abenamar's location: "Por Guadalquivir arriba / el buen rey don Juan camina, / encontrara con vn moro / que Abenamar se dezía" (Correa 300). According to this account, Abenamar and King John met while walking along the Guadalquivir River. Furthermore, another version of the *Romance de Abenamar* includes the three locations mentioned in other versions—the Alhambra, the Mosque, and the Alixares—but incorporates other prominent places such as the Generalife and the Red Towers. As we can perceive, all the versions of this *romance* feature some of Granada's architectural sights. Therefore, Martínez's choice of any version of this *romance* is not coincidental. They all comprise spatial connotations, thus rendering a practical reference in Martínez's textual map. Furthermore, it seems that 'Abenamar' was a very recognizable reference at the time since the text does not provide any additional context, "por donde anduvo abenamar."

The reference to the *Romance de Abenamar* furthers the mapping of Granada by enabling the reader-traveler (who knows the *romance*) to recall the geographical information of a past

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[77] "El Alhambra era, señor, / y la otra es la mezquita; / los otros los alixares / labrados a marauilla" (Correa 297).

Granada and encourages the creation of an intertextual and practical map of Granada. As Roberta Morosini illustrates, while commenting on Boccaccio's poetics:

> Cartography and poetry are both arts of creating, *poiesis* (from the Ancient Greek *ποίησις*), both shaping and bringing something into being that did not exist before. The ultimate end of poetry and cartography is to record, to keep a long-lasting memory in the pages of books, of spaces where human history unfolded, organizing itself into communities, and invented ways to move civilization forward. (14)

Similarly, the text of the *Partidas* maps/creates the streets of Granada, making a lasting memory of a Granada in reconstruction, of an inviting Granada, of a past and present Granada. The reference to the *Romance de Abenamar* adds more layers of spatiality to that created, shaped, and reconstructed space.

After moving through the sacred, mercantile, and diverse spaces of Granada, the reference to the *Romance de Abenamar* marks the departure of the reader-traveler to the main feature of the city, the Alhambra. Going down the Albayzín, the reader-traveler will start encountering important monuments of Andalusí architecture. First, the "gran casa real," Palace of Charles V, which is described as an opulent space, "donde se gasta el thesoro" (Martínez, *BDH* 6). Then the reader-traveler encounters the Court of Lions, "do murieron los varones / Bencerrages degollados" (Martínez, *BDH* 6). The textual map seizes the opportunity to introduce a piece of historiographical information and remind the reader about the assassination of the

Abencerrajes.[78] The textual map also explains that this area was strengthened, and the walls and barbicans were repaired, "y los muros reparados / con sus fuertes barbacanas" (Martínez, *BDH* 6). The journey towards the Alhambra reveals the security measures put in place right after the conquest of Granada. Essential measures to deter futures attacks on the Andalusian city. Therefore, the reference to Abenamar functions as a strategy to recall Granada's past historical events and the places pertinent to those events, but also to demonstrate a restored and stronger than ever Granada.

Another significant encounter on the way to the Alhambra is at "sancta Elena." In times of al-Andalus this place was part of the defensive system of the Generalife and the Alhambra, then it was named the "Castillo de Santa Elena," and, in present times, is known as The Moor's Chair (Luque 101). The sight of this small castle from the Nasrid period prompts the description of the Moorish activities associated with this place before they lost it in the conquest of Granada:

> mas arriba a Sancta Elena,
> a donde con negra estrena
> se yban a velar los moros (Burgos 1550)   se yban a casar los moros (Granada 1571)
> do gastaban sus tesoros
> en las bodas que hazian
> quando su secta bivian

---

[78] Referring to a prominent family in the Muslim Kingdom of Granada. The Abencerrajes managed to have a lot of political power during the fifteenth century and as a result they were persecuted and repressed. Legend has it that Moorish King Abu'l-Hasan Ali (known as Muley Hacén in the Hispanic world) ordered their assassination.

y otras cosas de mysterio. (Martínez, *BDH* 7)[79]

Over the Nasrid period, this multipurpose site served as a place where Moors watched over their dead, spent their riches on weddings, and other so-called mysterious things. The Moorish castle was a center for the cultural activities of the Muslim community in Granada. However, this space continued acquiring different functions over time. For instance, during the nineteenth century, the Castillo de Santa Elena served, once again, as a military fortress in the Spanish War of Independence. It is an intriguing spatiotemporal image that allows us to study the different layers of time in a single place. Furthermore, the "Sancta Elena" site stimulates a sociocultural account of the Moorish activities in al-Andalus.

Interestingly, the textual map's journey through the architecture of the Alhambra encouraged the mention of historical and cultural events connected to those spaces: the death of the Abencerrajes, the construction of King Charles V's new castle, and the Moorish activities that took place in the place nowadays known as The Moor's Chair. This geographical journey resembles the typical tour at a museum. Each sculpture and painting prompt the (re)telling of a story, using both a visual and an acoustic input. Thus, the architecture (space) is intertwined with history (time) and serves as a narratorial technique: the encountered spaces encourage the inclusion of several pieces of historiographical and cultural information.

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[79] The *Partidas* refer to a "negra estrena" in relation to watching over the dead or getting married, depending on which version of the text you are reading (Burgos 1550 / Granada 1571), so what does "estrena" means? The *Libro de buen amor* refers to a "mal estrena" and as explained by Blecua this means a bad gift: "Porfiaron grand pieça e pasaron grand pena; / si a Carnal dexaran, diérale mal estrena" (Ruiz 278; st. 1120ab). While *La Celestina* refers to a "por estrena," according to Peter E. Russell this stands for a "dádiva" or a "regalo de buen agüero": "derramen frescos olores / quando entre, por estrena" (Rojas 567; 19.2). In these medieval literary examples, the word "estrena" could mean both a bad or good gift, depending on the context. In this sense, "negra estrena" would mean something like—black gift—therefore, the stanza that would have made more sense would be the one included in the Burgos version (1550), "se yban a velar los moros," instead of the Granada edition (1571) which changes the expression for "se yban a casar los moros," probably to connect it to the weddings mentioned later in the stanza.

The textual map of the *Partidas* ends with yet another reference to a Moorish-themed *romance*. The conclusion of the journey includes a curious recommendation to sing a *romance* with tears and feeling:

> porque no se os quede nada
> cantares con boz quebrada
> este *Romance* con lloro.
> **Passeava se el Rey moro**
> **por la ciudad de Granada**. (Martínez, *BDH* 7)

As we previously noted, the text referenced is the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*.[80] The insertion of this specific literary recommendation is not trivial. This *romance* was very popular in its time. Giuseppe Di Stefano identified the *romance* in three different *pliegos sueltos* and nine *romanceros* of the sixteenth century ("Los textos" 41–43). As a starting point, we can confidently say that this *romance* was part of the literary scene of the sixteenth century, and we could also assume that its publication, echoed as it was, meant that the readers were quite interested in this story.

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[80] There are three main recorded versions of the popular *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*: "Passeava se el rey moro por la ciudad de Granada / cartas le fueron venidas como Alhama era ganada" (I); "Por la ciudad de Granada el moro se passea / desde la puerta de Elvira llegava a la plaça Nueva" (II); "Passeávase el Rey Moro por la ciudad de Granada / desde las puertas de Elvira hasta las de Bivarambla. / «¡Ay de mi Alhama!»" (III), see Correa 357–67. According to the incipit quoted in the *Partidas*, "Passeava se el Rey moro / por la ciudad de Granada," there are two possibilities for the *romance* referenced (versions I and III, as recorded in Correa). The third version includes many geographical and spatial references and has more parallels with Martínez's *Partidas* but I would not make more of it than this brief note.

The *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, also known as *Romance de la pérdida de Alhama*, "Paseábase el rey moro / por la ciudad de Granada," tells the story of the loss of the Alhama of Granada in 1482. The events narrated in this historiographical *romance* are often understood as a preamble to the imminent subjugation of the city of Granada, which will happen in 1492. The *Partidas* introduce a reference that revisits the conquest of the town of Alhama (province of Granada) and preludes the conquest of the city of Granada. The recommendation completes the *Partidas*' itinerary and reinforces the idea of a transition from a Muslim to a Christian state.

Moreover, like the *Partidas*, the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* comprises several geographical references that refer to the mobility through the city. Most of the versions of the *romance* start by mapping a common pedestrian route in Granada: "desde la Puerta de Elvira / llegava a la plaça Nueva," and "desde las puertas de Elvira / hasta las de Bivarambla" (Correa 361–62). This route is similarly documented in the *Partidas* which records the sites from both versions: "tomares por la puerta Elvira," "y veréys la plaça Nueva," and "yres a dar ala plaça / de biva rambla excelente" (Martínez, *BDH* 1, 3). The *romance* also refers to the street that leads to the Alhambra: "Por la calle Zacatín / al Alhambra se subiera," and "por el Zacatín arriba / subido se había al Alhambra" (Correa 361–62). In the *Partidas* this street is also placed in the map: "bolveres al çacatin" and later "subires en el Alhambra" (Martínez, *BDH* 3, 6). About the representation of Granada in all three variants of the *romance*, Şizen Yiacoup elucidates: "Although the more detail characterizations of the city of Granada in the two later variants initially seem no more than superficial, if picturesque, additions to the ballad, they in fact depict locations and architectural features which bore witness to key events in Granadan history" (107). Both the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* and the textual map share a set of spatial coordinates that map historical events. Therefore, the *Partidas*' reference to the *romance* seems more significant than just a quirky literary recommendation.

For instance, in most versions of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, these geographical notions point directly toward the premonition of a Granada that would be lost to the Christians just like town of Alhama: "y ansí mereces buen Rey, que todo el Reyno se pierda, y que se pierda Granada, y que te pierdas en ella," and "Por esso mereces, rey, una pena bien doblada: / que te pierdas tú y el Reyno, y que se pierda Granada" (Correa 361–63). Similarly, the *villancico* that closes the text of the *Partidas* uses the spatiality of Granada to praise a repopulated space, "Sublima se su grandeza / poblando se cada dia," which constitute a better than before and heavily guarded Christian stronghold, "Guardan la tres mil soldados / porque este mejor que de antes," "otra ciudad en Castilla / mas fuerte no hallaran / tiemblan los del alcoran" (Martínez, *BDH* 7–8). The spatial coordinates of both the *Partidas* and the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* draw attention to a powerful Christian-conquered space.

The *Partidas*' references to the famous *Romance de Abenamar* and *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* jumpstart a dialogue between different materials published in *pliegos sueltos*. It activates the readers' cultural memory of the historical events that took place in Granada. Moreover, both quoted *romances* map out geographical coordinates similar to those mentioned in the *Partidas*' textual map. While referring to different timelines, the represented spatiality of Granada is interconnected in these texts. Furthermore, the *romances* quoted in the *Partidas* allow the reader-traveler to communicate the *Partidas* with other texts that circulated in *pliegos sueltos*. For instance, the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* was textually cited in the *Partidas* and republished and glossed in several *pliegos sueltos* (one of which we will study in the following section). Undoubtedly, the inclusion of these literary references furthers Granada's spatial exploration beyond the textual map of the *Partidas* and into the world of *romances* and *glosas* in the *pliegos sueltos*.

Indeterminacy in the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*

As we previously explored, *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada* ended with a direct quotation of the incipit of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*. Additionally, three different *pliegos sueltos* incorporated this *romance* in the form of *glosas de romance*. Indeed, the popularity of this *romance* in the world of the *pliegos sueltos* made it subject to multiple glosses, reinterpretations, readings, and rewritings. As a result, the *romance* developed a sort of exegetical quality, and each new iteration of the text contains extra material for a reader who possibly wanted to hear more about such a famous story.

Two of the *glosas* about this *romance* were *glosas burlescas* (mocking glosses), also called *disparates* (nonsense): the "Glosas de los romances de O belerma" and the "Aqui comienfan vnos disparates, conpuestos por Gabriel de Sarauia muy graciosos y apazibles."[81] These *glosas de romance* employ the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* without having any obvious route or endgame, just for the sake of composing something fun. Each stanza appears to be a whole world in itself, and the use of the two verses of the original *romance* seems to only serve as an anchor to place those "disparates." There is also a more "serious" *glosa*, "Romance nuevamente glosado por Pedro de Palma," which amplifies the contents of the popular *romance*.[82]

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[81] We will explore the *glosa burlesca* in more detail in the Excursus.

Consequently, the mental referent of this *romance* possibly was very different from person to person and varied according to the version of the *romance* they had available. Probably some people only heard the *romance* orally. In contrast, others may have read it in one of the *glosas burlescas* or knew Pedro de Palma's retelling of the *romance*. All these *glosas* constituted different appreciations of the same *romance*. This section of the chapter will examine the spatiality, and the places of indeterminacy and variance, in Pedro de Palma's *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*.

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[82] Di Stefano distinguishes between the style of these *glosadores*: Pedro de Palma is characterized as an emphatic glosser while those of *glosas burlescas* are catalogued as carefree jesters, clearly declaring one style as superior to the other:

> si un glosador enfático como Pedro de Palma extrae del relato amplificaciones patrióticas y las adoba con humores de cruzada, bien resaltados en la 'deshecha contra los infieles' que remata el texto, con su asociación tópica de 'moros y luteranos,' un par de bufones de la pluma como Gabriel de Saravia y un anónimo colega suyo usan despreocupadamente los versos del Romance tan solo y cuanto basta para sostener los fuegos artificiales de sus disparates. ("Los textos" 44)

The *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* narrates the reaction of the king of Granada upon receiving a letter announcing the occupation of the town of Alhama.[83] In most accounts of the *romance*, the Moorish king is judged by both an old Moor and an *alfaquí* (Muslim cleric) who blamed the king for the loss of the town and believed the siege of Alhama and the imminent fate of the city of Granada was fair payment for killing the Abencerrajes.[84] The "Romance nuevamente glosado por Pedro de Palma" (1547) elaborates on the historical account of the *romance*.[85]

Upon receiving the letters about the Alhama, the Moorish king examines his situation by adjusting his position in space. He reaches for an elevated spatial perspective, first by going up the Alhambra, "bien demostrando su mal / se subio luego allalhambra," and then by replacing his mule for a horse, "**apeose duna mula / y en un cavallo cavalga**" (Palma, *Praga II* 250). The elevation pursued by the Moorish king probably responded to the demand for a better sight of his hostile surroundings. Furthermore, this movement could also be due to the necessity of placing the body in a superior and thus more powerful, all-seeing position. At least from a spatial level, the Moorish king has claimed a topographic position of power to address his subjects.

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[83] The historical event narrated in this *romance* is the occupation of the town of Alhama in February of 1482, 10 years before the conquest of the city of Granada. The Moorish king mentioned in this *romance* is Abu'l-Hasan Ali, see Correa 364–67.

[84] In some versions of the *romance* this old Moor is the *alguazil* (sheriff) of Granada. The other character, the *alfaquí*, is a Muslim cleric expert in Islamic law and jurisprudence.

[85] This gloss of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* is available in the second volume (II) of the facsimile collection of *pliegos sueltos* in Prague, see "Romance nuevamente glosado por Pedro de Palma," in *Pliegos poéticos españoles en la Universidad de Praga II*, pp. 249–56. All further references to this text will use the following convention: (Palma, *Praga II* 249–53).

Michel de Certeau, in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, pondered about the pedestrians that walk the streets of New York and those who are panoramic spectators and look down upon the city from a great altitude and distance. The one “On the 110th floor” observes the city without having to practice it: “His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was ‘possessed’ into a text that lies before one’s eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god” (Certeau, *Practice* 92). While inversely, “The ordinary practitioners of the city live ‘down below,’ below the thresholds at which visibility begins,” these pedestrians walk the city and “make use of spaces that cannot be seen” (Certeau, *Practice* 92). Certeau notes a fascinating dichotomy, those who practice the city cannot see it entirely, and those who have a panoptic view of the city below cannot become part of that space; they do not live and practice the city. While the modern skyscrapers and streets of New York might seem miles apart from fifteenth century Alhambra and the streets of Granada, there are indeed interesting similarities between the panoramic god-like spectator and the Muslim monarch and, as we will soon encounter, also between the “ordinary practitioners of the city” of New York and Granada’s subjects.

The Muslim king needs to shorten the distance between his elevated topographic position and the space occupied by his subjects. For this reason, the Moorish king starts to shout, calling for his “cavalleria” and the rest of the population: “mando pregonar alarde,” “dando bozes que se mata” (Palma, *Praga II* 250). Since the message needs to travel across all parts of the landscape, even to those who were working the land, “por ellarrada,” the king has gathered musical instruments to make a massive acoustic racket and disseminate the bad news about Alhama:

mando tocar trompetas
sus añafiles de plata.
Juntados sus instrumentos
hechos por diversas vias
divulgaron por los vientos
sus inciertos pensamientos
por todas las alcarias
publicava grandes lloros
la musica concertada
por alhama y sus tesoros
porque lo yessen los moros
candavan por ellarrada.

(Palma, *Praga II* 250)

The king's desperate call for help is heard in all the spaces of the city. The soundscape is detailed: music, voices, and weeping. The Moorish king's cry is now the lament of an entire city. The anguished sounds of the city construct a collective space of sorrow.

More than ever, the king needs the compassion of his people because they are about to be recruited, both soldiers, "cavalleria," and farmers, "ellarrada," to fight for the beloved Alhama:

Como la morisma grey
oyo señas de bullicio
por mas sublimar su ley
con la fama de su rey
cada qual solto su oficio
la pereza con afinco
todos procuran dexalla
el correr les es propinco
quatro a quatro cinco a cinco
juntado se ha gran batalla.

A Granada ya llegados
los moros con gran hervor
los dellos mas señalados
a punto de guerra armados
fueron a ver su señor
y juntados a consejo
en medio toda ellarmada
con esfuerço muy anejo
alli hablo vn moro viejo
quera alguazil en granada.

(Palma, *Praga II* 250–51)

This call for unity brings together all the people and all the spaces. As the people listen to the king's cry for help, they leave their activities and laziness and occupy the streets. Space is now filled with people, in unison, running as they join for battle. They are armed and ready to fight, "a punto de Guerra armados." The city has become a sound-filled battleground ready to serve the king.[86]

Suddenly, the tone of the *romance* and *glosa* changes. In the *romance*, an upset old Moor, *alguazil* (sheriff) of Granada, places the blame for the unfortunate fate of Alhama on the Moorish king. The old Moor possesses the wisdom and experience necessary to recognize the king's faults and the courage to express them unapologetically to his face. Unquestionably, a king needs the recognition of his people and his elders. Therefore, the reprimand of the old Moor in the *romance* notifies us that there is no possible redemption for the lost dominions of the Moorish king.

In most versions of this *romance*, the encounter with the old *alguazil* is followed by the intermission of an *alfaquí* (Muslim cleric) who also condemns the king for the occupation of Alhama. The *alfaquí* poignantly states: "¡Bien se te emplea, buen rey, buen rey bien se te emplea!" However, in Pedro de Palma's *glosa*, this "It serves you right!" dictum comes not from the *alfaquí* but from a Moor called Alatar de Loja.[87] Interestingly, the Moor Alatar takes the place of the *alfaquí* (who does not appear in Palma's *glosa*) and overshadows the figure of the old *alguazil*. It is Alatar who admonishes and reproaches the king's lack of attention to his elders:

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[86] For the study of the acoustic environment of space, see Schafer.

[87] This Alatar de Loja refers to Ibrahim Aliatar, the *alcaide* (warden) of Loja who fought in the war of Granada. Aliatar was father-in-law and friend of Boabdil (Abu Abdallah Muhammad XII), who was married to Aliatar's daughter Moraima. Boabdil is the son of the Moorish King Abu'l-Hasan Ali and was the last Moorish king of Granada. See Correa 401–02.

> Si fueras aconsejado
> dalgun anciano varon
> yo se cierto de mi grado
> que no uvieras aceptado
> a tu reyno perdicion
> porque los tales corajes
> que tomaste de no nada
> te causaron tristes trajes
> **en matar los bencerrajes**
> **queran la flor de granada**. (Palma, *Praga II* 251)

Not getting advice from the elders of the community contributed to the wrongly made decision to kill the Abencerrajes, who could have defended the city during this subjugation.

Apparently, the Moorish king lost the respect of his subjects by acting in a despotic manner, and a massive exile of subjects followed:

> con tu saña desigual
> …………………………
> quien te hizo carnicero
> en cosa tan mal juzgada
> no te contento ser nero
> **degollaste un cavallero**
> **persona muy estimada**.
> Viendo muchos quan mudado
> estava tu ser en daños
> dexavan perder de grado
> todo lo que avin ganado
> por yrse a reynos estraños.

(Palma, *Praga II* 251–52).

Granada's subjects preferred to relocate to unknown kingdoms and to relinquish their estates than to remain under the rule of a despotic king. The actions of the nefarious Moorish king: the persecution of the Abencerrajes, the exiled subjects, and the subsequent internal wars caused an evident decrease in the population. These situations exposed by Alatar reveal a considerably weakened city, which contrasts significantly with the populated city represented at the start of the *glosa*. In those initial passages, the streets were full of people who, in unison, claimed their city. However, the new narrative denoted by Alatar unveiled an abandoned king whose forces and numbers are considerably decimated.

Moreover, Alatar recognizes the courage of the Christians who have conquered the Alhama—Rodrigo de León and Martín Galindo—by indirectly comparing them to the Abencerrajes. In the *glosa de romance*, the Abencerrajes are described as "**la flor de Granada**" and "espejo en tu cibdad." While, Rodrigo de León, the "Marques de Caliz" is "una flor," "nacida dalto linaje / es de virtudes entero," and Martin Galindo is, similarly, "preciada flor de guindo / un espejo en rica sala / esmalte preciado lindo" (Palma, *Praga II* 251–53).[88] The descriptions of the Christians—Rodrigo de León and Martín Galindo—clearly resemble the portrayal of the Abencerrajes. The voice of the Moor Alatar serves to admonish the Moorish king and to exalt the Christians' good characteristics.

As explained in the Introduction, generally, there are two quoted lines of the glossed *romance* at the end of each stanza of the *glosa de romance*. However, Pedro de Palma's *glosa* deviates from the original quoted *romance*. The author substitutes the *alfaquí* for the Moor Alatar precisely in the section of the *glosa de romance* where the quoted *romance* is supposed to be placed.[89] The *glosa de romance* first introduces an old Moor, "alli hablo un moro viejo / quera alguazil en granada," which follows one of the versions of the *romance* recorded by Correa. However, the second introduction disregards all three versions of the *romance*; it completely omits the *alfaquí*, and it includes the Moor Alatar: "hablo el alatar de loja / buen rey bien se templeava" (Palma, *Praga II* 251). Pedro de Palma's version recreates the content of the "original" *romance*. Nevertheless, there is also the possibility that Palma quoted the version of the *romance* he knew. Perhaps a version that is not recorded in any written testimonies of the *romance,* or that has simply been regarded as a variant.

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[88] The text is referring to Rodrigo Ponce de León, Duke of Cádiz at the time (Correa 509). The "flor de guindo" (flower of the sour cherry) is a white flower.

Interestingly, the Moor Alatar, who does not appear in other versions of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama,* is a significant character in this *glosa de romance* and other *romances* of the time (studied in the following section). As we will uncover soon, the insertion of this character in the *glosa* by Pedro de Palma introduces other literary texts that could be understood as complementary realities and spatialities for this *glosa de romance*. Furthermore, the *glosa* amplified, filled indeterminacies, and offered supplementary interpretations of the loss of Alhama. While in the *romance* we hear about the inadequacy of the Moorish king's decisions, the *glosa* explores, in more depth, the king's dreadful actions that made him deserve his demise.

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[89] The Moor Alatar does not appear in any of the consulted versions the *romance*: "Allí habló un Moro viejo / que era alguazil de Granada" (I); "un Moro allí le dixera" … "Allí habló un Alfaquí" (II); and "Allí habló un Moro viejo / desta manera hablava" … "Allí habló un Alfaquí / de barba crecida y cana" (III), see Correa 357–67.

The *glosa* represents Pedro de Palma's interpretation of the Alhama's events. The author intertwined his own thoughts regarding the story with an existing tradition of *romances* and *glosas* around the events of Alhama. The extra details included in the *glosa* are maybe fulfilling the author's desire, as a reader, to know more about the events at Alhama.[90] Additionally, the rewriting of the *romance*, through the *glosa*, was probably a remarkable method to entertain people who were already acquainted with this popular *romance* and did not mind reading another take on it. Pedro de Palma creates something inspired by a *romance* but, at the same time, new.

The Rewritings of the Moor Alatar

As mentioned, the Moor Alatar did not originally appear in the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*. At least, this is what can be presumed after looking at the different accounts of the popular *romance*. However, in Pedro de Palma's *glosa* and rewriting of the *romance*, the Moor Alatar is a very significant character who had the crucial task of listing the errors which resulted in the loss of Alhama. Furthermore, the insertion of the Moor Alatar promotes an intertextual reading of the different texts published in *pliegos sueltos*, which also include the character of Alatar. In this section of the chapter, we will discuss two *romances*, often published in *pliegos sueltos*, *Romance del maestre de Calatrava* (*romance de Calatrava*) and *Romance del moro Alatar* (*romance de Alatar*), which undertake the stories of Moor Alatar, his cousin Albayaldo, and their encounter with the Maestre de Calatrava.[91]

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[90] John Dagenais notes a necessary shift to a reader-based perspective when approaching medieval authors, since they essentially had a completely different approach to the literary activities:

> I think that this shift from author-based to reader-based paradigm is essential to an understanding of the shape of medieval texts. Reading, not writing, was the dominant literary mode in the Middle Ages. … How does our view of medieval literature change, what new things do we see, when we take as our premise the idea that the impetus for producing texts moves from reading and is conditioned by reading rather than from and by "creative" authors? (*Ethics* 24)

Similarly, the authors of *glosas* had an interesting relationship with their reading materials. Through the *glosas de romance* and the references made to other readings, glossators revealed their predominant condition as readers.

The popular *Romance del Maestre de Calatrava*, "Ay dios que buen cavallero / el maestre de calatrava," is one of the many *romances* that sings the braveries of the Maestre, probably a fictionalization of Rodrigo Téllez Girón.[92] In this *romance de Calatrava*, the Maestre is besieging the valley of Granada with 300 soldiers:

dende la puerta del pino
hasta la sierra nevada

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[91] The *Romance del maestre de Calatrava* was published in different *cancioneros*, *romanceros* and *pliegos sueltos* of the time. The *Romance del moro Alatar* was usually published in the same *pliegos* and placed right after the *Romance del maestre de Calatrava*. We may infer that these *romances* were commonly read together. For general information regarding these two *romances*, see Correa 381–95, 399–403. For *pliegos* containing both *romances*, see "Aquí comienzan seys romances (LXXXVII)" in the *Pliegos poéticos góticos de la Biblioteca Nacional II* 341–48; and "Aquí comienzan seis romances (LXVIII)" in the *Pliegos poéticos españoles en la Universidad de Praga II* 217–24. I will be quoting both *romances* from a *pliego suelto* included in the second volume (II) of the published facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) using the following convention: ("Aquí comienzan," *BNE II* 342–44).

[92] Rodrigo Téllez Girón was the master of the military Order of Calatrava from 1466 until his death in 1482. Although, he was already dead when the events narrated in these *romances* took place, he transpired as a praised hero in all literary accounts. Regarding the *romances* about the Maestre de Calatrava, see Cirot 15–16 and Correa 389–92.

por essas puertas de Elvira
entra arrojando su lança
las puertas eran de hierro
dela otra parte las passa. (“Aquí comienzan,” *BNE II* 342)

The force of the Maestre is to be reckoned with, as the spatial barriers of Granada cannot withstand his army. He manages to enter the city through the gates of Elvira, even though they were made of iron, informing us about the weakened state of Granada or the strength of the Maestre’s cavalry.

For this reason, a certain Albayaldos arrives in Granada to offer his help to the “rey chico”:[93]

oydo lo avia Alvayaldos
en sus tierras donde estava
arma fustas y Galeras
por la mar gran gente armava
sale se lo a recebir
el rey chico de granada. (“Aquí comienzan,” *BNE II* 342)

Albayaldos, perhaps eager for fame or action, comes from his lands, probably Africa, to engage in battle. He offers the Moorish king his armada, weapons, and people to apprehend the Maestre.

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[93] Albayaldos is a fictional character that often appears as the counterpart of the Maestre as in the *Romance del Maestre de Calatrava* and the *Romance de la muerte de Albayaldos*, “¡Santa fe, quan bien paresces / en los campos de Granada!” The “rey chico” is Boabdil the last king of Granada.

Albayaldos' proposal introduces the interesting space of the galley and the material and human resources necessary for warfare.

Apparently, the thought of advancing to combat with the Maestre de Calatrava was daunting. No Moor wanted to confront him, "que no ay moro en mi tierra / que le espere cara a cara" ("Aquí comienzan," *BNE II* 343). Therefore, the request of Albayaldos to capture the Maestre was received hesitantly by a frightened Moorish king:

> calles calles Alvayaldos
> no digas la tal palabra
> que el maestre es niño y moço
> y venturoso en batalla
> y si en el campo te topa
> harate temblar la barva. ("Aquí comienzan," *BNE II* 342)

The Moorish king argues the impossibility of the request explaining how the youth and battle experience of the Maestre gives him the advantage in combat. However, Albayaldos, confident of his victory, decides to go after the Maestre to execute him. As expected, the encounter with the Maestre was devastating and deadly for Albayaldos:

> con la fuerça del maestre
> Albayaldos se desmaya
> cayo muerto del caballo
> su fin alli lo acabara. ("Aquí comienzan," *BNE II* 344)

The remaining Moors at the scene fled and the Maestre stood like the ultimate and invincible Christian warrior. But how does this *romance* connect with the character of the Moor Alatar?

The *Romance del moro Alatar*, “De granada parte el moro / que Alatar se llamara,” takes place a few months after the occupation of Alhama (February 1482) and is close to the events of the battle of Loja in July of 1482 (Correa 401–02). In this *romance de Alatar*, the Moor Alatar is introduced with an interesting statement:

De granada parte el moro
que Alatar se llamara
primo hermano de alvayaldo
el que el maestre matara. (“Aquí comienzan,” *BNE II* 344)

The *romance de Alatar* leads with a piece of information that directly refers to the contents of the *romance de Calatrava* where the Maestre kills Albayaldos (who we now know is Alatar’s first cousin). A reader-listener of the time could have understood this initial reference as a reminder of other existing *romances* about the Maestre.

Alatar, while traveling from Granada to Antequera, notices signs of Christian presence and decides to head towards the enemies. Unfortunately for Alatar, the man who appears on his way is no other than the Maestre de Calatrava. In the *romance de Alatar*, Alatar encountered a triumphant Maestre, on top of a horse he won, during that same day, from “esse Alcayde del Alhama” (“Aquí comienzan,” *BNE II* 345). Interestingly, this *Alcayde de Alhama* was described in the *romance de Calatrava* as the only Moor who did not fear the Maestre:

que no ay moro en mi tierra
que le espere cara a cara
sino fuera el buen escudo
que era alcayde de alhama. (“Aquí comienzan,” *BNE II* 343)

Contrastingly, in the *romance de Alatar*, the same bold warden meets his demise at the hands of the Maestre, who flaunts the warden's horse as a sign of triumph. Additionally, the reference to the *Alcayde de Alhama* alludes to the events from the loss of Alhama represented in the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* and its *glosa* by Pedro de Palma.

Seemingly, these *romances* share a common spatiality and literary space. Both *romances* mention the characters of the Maestre, Albayaldos, and the warden of Alhama. Moreover, the *romance de Alatar* interconnects these characters while adding the story of the Moor Alatar. There is a sort of narrative thread in these *romances*. First, in the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, Alatar admonishes the Moorish king during the imminent loss of the Alhama of Granada. Then, in the *Romance del Maestre de Calatrava*, the Maestre kills Albayaldos, while making an enemy of the warden of Alhama. Later, in the *Romance del moro Alatar* we learn that Albayaldos is the cousin of Alatar, that the warden of Alhama has died at the hands of the Maestre, and that, after a big battle, the Maestre ends up killing Alatar as well by cutting his head off. The mentions of these deaths—that of Albayaldos and the warden—in the *Romance del moro Alatar*, allow us to predict the fate that awaits the protagonist. These *romances* end up being a record of the deaths at the hands of the Christian hero, the Maestre de Calatrava.

Interestingly, the historical accounts say that the Maestre "muere en el cerco de Loja acaescido en 1482, precisamente siendo alcaide de dicha plaza el moro Alatar de los romances" while "Aliatar muere en la desgraciada batalla de Lucena" (Correa 389) which takes place in 1483, a year later. Therefore, both *romances* altered the history of how the Christian Maestre and the Moor Alatar died. These *romances* retell their stories and transpose the historical account. In doing so, these *romances* claim a historical space for the discourse of the Christian conquest, converting the Maestre into a hero, at least from the literary perspective.

The historical disagreements prevailing in these *romances* allow readings in which the timelines intersect, overlap, and most of the time are confusing. The represented reality in these texts is diverse and sometimes contradictory. For instance, the Maestre de Calatrava from the *romances*, the one who killed Albayaldos, the warden, Alatar, and sieged the city of Granada, was as genuine as Rodrigo Téllez Girón, the Maestre of Calatrava who died in Loja in 1482. On the other hand, the literary Alatar, who admonishes the Moorish king in the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, was envisioned quite differently in the *Romance del moro Alatar* where he was decapitated by the Maestre. Going back to the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* we notice that the Moorish king's fault is twofold: because of him, the Alhama is lost, but also because of his actions, the Andalusian landscape has shifted into a space invaded by Christians, and Alatar suffers the consequences. The *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, and its *glosa* by Pedro de Palma, serve as a cautionary tale in which the conquest of Granada is premonished and Alatar's death forewarned.

There are many possibilities for spatial analysis when studying the intertextual geographies of Granada in these texts. The apparently unimportant substitution of the *alfaquí* for the Moor Alatar, in the glossed version of the *Romance del rey moro que perdio Alhama*, allows a narrative continuation across *pliegos sueltos* mapping the path and rewritings of the Moor Alatar. While the *glosa* by Pedro de Palma served to fill the indeterminacies of the *romance*'s content, his insertion of Alatar allows the reader to reach beyond the already supplementary content of the *glosa*.

Intertextual Geographies

As we have documented throughout the chapter, all these texts seem to be interconnected through their historiography, temporalities, and geography. First, we explored the reference to two popular *romances*, *Romance de Abenamar* and *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, in *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada*. These references served as an amplifier to the contents of the textual map of Granada. Additionally, they allow us to perform interwoven readings of different texts published in *pliegos sueltos* and construct an intertextual spatial representation. Second, the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* addressed the *romance*'s uncertainties and attempted to fulfill them through the intertextual form of the gloss. Furthermore, the introduction of the Moor Alatar in the *glosa* by Pedro de Palma, even when the character did not appear in the "original" *romance*, provided the opportunity to interconnect the *glosa* to various *romances* within the corpus of the *pliegos sueltos*. Third, exploring the geographies, characters, and historiographical content of the *Romance del maestre de Calatrava* and *Romance del moro Alatar* enabled us to construct a narrative thread between these *romances* and the *glosa* by Palma. In a sense, the Moor Alatar, killed in the *romance* dedicated to his tale, was vindicated in the *glosa* made by Pedro de Palma.

The relationship between *glosas* and *romances* is especially fascinating. The *glosa de romance*, often treated as a "bothersome by-product" (Dagenais, "Bothersome" 252), has been solely understood as a supplementary text from which to dissect *romances*. However, we notice how the supplemental text of the *glosa de romance* revises, reinterprets, and, sometimes, recreates the contents of a medieval *romance*. For instance, in the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* by Pedro de Palma, the "original" *romance* is modified and subservient to the objectives of the *glosa*. Following the medieval practice of glossing, sixteenth century writers/readers turned to the printed page to elucidate the indeterminacy of medieval *romances*. John Dagenais explains that the

> The medieval page was (and still is) 'open,' subject to modification, to 'suplementation' and to an infinite *différance* of sense. It was/is always in movement and it is our challenge to learn to perceive that motion in all its glacial slowness —not just to see it, but to see it as an essential rather than an accidental quality of that page.
>
> ("Decolonizing Middle Ages" 38)

The *pliegos sueltos*, while not a medieval page, incorporate medieval materials that are similarly open to modifications and supplementation. The meaning of the oral *romances* was understood, modified, and supplemented through their glosses.[94] However, even in the attempts to "fix" the meanings of oral *romances*, through the written form of *glosas*, we still notice that movement and variance are essential parts of these medieval-inspired pages.

For the most part, these thematically, historically, and geographically interlinked texts produced interesting representations of a fluid pre-conquest Granada on the constant brink of war. For example, in the encounter between King John II of Castile and Yusuf IV (1431), fictionalized in the *Romance de Abenamar*, a personification of Granada declares that she is already married and "el moro que a mí me tiene / bien defenderme quería" (Correa 297), at this point the Christian subjugation of Granada is not a reality. In the occupation of Alhama (February 1482), explored in the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, its *glosa*, and the *Partidas*' reference, the conquest of Granada is premonished and represented as imminent, "que te pierdas tú y el Reyno, / y que se pierda Granada" (Correa 363). Additionally, while the historical Maestre de Calatrava died at the Battle of Loja (July 1482), in the *romances* that took historical place after the battle, the Maestre is represented as a victorious and genuinely frightening figure. Both the *Romance del maestre de Calatrava* and the *Romance del moro Alatar* ignored and reverted the historical reality. These *romances* and glosses narrate the success of the different campaigns to subjugate Granada and recreate the adverse historical accounts, like the one about the Maestre, in favor of a Christian agenda.

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[94] For the relationship of the *pliegos sueltos* with orality, see Cortés Hernández.

Reading and analyzing these materials in conjunction with one another is not a groundbreaking practice. Their structure and organization already predispose a conjoined reading. Some of them were published on consecutive pages, disseminated in the same *pliegos sueltos*, read by the same readers. For example, the *romances* about the Maestre de Calatrava and the Moor Alatar where typically published in the same *pliegos* and placed one after the other on the printed page. Additionally, the literary references, like those included in the *Partidas*, communicate these materials across *pliegos*. Moreover, the relationship between *romance* and *glosa de romance* further promotes their intertextuality. The ideas explored in this chapter suggest that these texts pertained to the same literary conversation.

Frequently, the materials published in sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos* recall the main historical events of the fifteenth century. The *romances* and *glosas,* even when not historically sound, allow us to review the events that brought political homogeneity to Iberia. Even on a literary level, the subordinate relationship between *romance* and *glosa* reproduces the conquest dynamics of space depicted in the contents of *glosas de romance*.[95] These *pliegos sueltos* are interlinked through their material structure, glossed content, references, characters, histories, and timelines, but above all, through their geographies.

As we have explored in this chapter, these materials shared the same represented spatiality: pre- and post-conquest Granada. The text of the *Partidas*, and as previously discussed, the practice of chorography (popular over sixteenth century in Spain), tended to replace the diversity of the historical past with the representation of Christian spaces of conquest. Furthermore, in the *glosas* and *romances* Granada is insistently represented through spatialities, histories, and *romances* that belong to the Middle Ages but work towards a sixteenth century Christian agenda. Indeed, both the chorographic and intertextual descriptions of Granada in the *pliegos sueltos* seem to have as their final purpose the representation of an integral, geopolitically homogeneous, and imperial Spain, or, at least, a place that is on its way to becoming one.[96]

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[95] In “Decolonizing the Middle Ages,” John Dagenais illustrated that the colonization of a region of history is just as possible as the colonization of a geographical region (431). In a similar fashion, the relationship between the *romances* and the *glosas de romance* could be understood as a sort of textual colonization.

[96] We will continue exploring these ideas in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

Gendered Spaces: Conquest and the Female Body in *pliegos sueltos*

It is a common belief that women in medieval and early modern times did not participate in public spaces as men did. However, several medieval works defied these traditional notions of gender and their spatiality. For instance, in the *Libro de buen amor* we may encounter the conventional enclosed spaces, like the convent, but we also stumble upon the open, callous, and licentious space of the *serranía* (mountain range) associated with women. The space where we meet the manlike and hypersexualized characters of the *serranas* (mountain women) is not governed by traditional gender ideas. As such, it problematizes the notions of femineity, chastity, and privacy we have often ascribed to women's space in medieval times. Similarly, in the *Celestina* we encounter how women from diverse social strata practice space differently. Melibea, a woman of high nobility, constantly expresses the limitations of living in a restricted space, "Las puertas impiden nuestro gozo, las quales yo maldigo, y sus fuertes cerrojos y mis flacas fuerças…" (Rojas 466; 12.4). Inversely, characters like Areúsa, a low-ranking woman, practices an easy-to-transgress non-constrained space, "¿Quién anda ay? ¿Quién sube a tal ora en mi cámara?" (Rojas 370; 7.2). Through these examples, we corroborate the diverse ways women experienced space in Medieval Iberia and in the transition towards the sixteenth century.

Until now, our journey through the *pliegos sueltos* has been strikingly impacted by masculine spaces. For instance, in the first chapter, we analyzed a *romance* in which a masculine gendered space meant to wage war, "Todos escaramuçando / con sus lanças my polidas," turned into an affective space to converse about love encounters.[97] We have also explored the relationship between the Christian Fajardo and a Moorish king who shared a chess match and a heated debate about the political destiny of Lorca. These encounters took place in remote or public spaces where women did not participate. According to the *pliegos sueltos* explored so far, women's space is not apparent, delimited, or included. Other than historical *romances* and *glosas*, the *pliegos sueltos* often incorporate *romances novelescos* that have a more idealistic and lyrical nature and *coplas* to court women, but is women's space, in any of these categories, represented?

This chapter will employ the geocritical framework to study gendered spaces. These comprehend the representation of territorial conquest as a romantic victory, bodyscapes (the human body regarded as a landscape), transgressions into private/feminine spaces, the body as a spoil of war, and the intersectionality between gender, race, and religion in the *pliegos sueltos*.[98] The study of the interaction between space and the body will be pivotal to understanding space as a heterotopic entity conditioned by hegemony, as explained by Williams and Lefebvre, but also as the lived genuine spaces described by De Certeau and Westphal:

> Without heterotopia, without corporal *portiuncula*, no spatial interpretation would be conceivable. Space revolves around the body, just as the body is located in space. The body gives the environment a spatiotemporal consistency; above all, it confers a measure

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[97] See *Glosa* of the *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen* (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 238)

[98] Bodyscapes refer to instances in which the body is regarded as a landscape, and less often when a landscape is considered a human body, see Westphal, *Geocriticism* 68.

> to the world and tries to give it a rhythm of its own, which can then be scanned in the work of representation. (*Geocriticism* 64)[99]

Having an awareness of the body's participation in space is key to understanding spatial representation.

In Medieval Iberia, the conceptualization of a city or society was often metamorphosed into the different parts of a body. Francesc Eiximenis in the *Regiment de la cosa pública* (1383) exemplifies this idea:

> La quarta és que la cosa pública és composta sumàriament de tres estaments de persones, això és: de menors, de mitjanes i de majors. I aquesta composició és com un cos humà compost de diversos membres; i així ho diu sant Pau (*Ad Romanos*, XII): *Sicut in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent, ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo*; i vol dir que, de la mateixa manera que diversos membres formen un cos i fan diverses funcions en l'home, diverses persones i oficis aplegats fan un cos i una comunitat, la qual és anomenada la cosa pública cristiana. I per això, Víctor, parlant d'aquesta matèria en el seu tractat i volent ensenyar de quina manera la cosa pública era semblant al cos de l'home, diu que en la cosa pública hi ha un cap, que és aquell qui té el regiment o senyoria; els ulls i les orelles són els jutges i els oficials; els braços són aquells que defensen la cosa pública, aquests són els cavallers i els homes d'armes; el cor són els consellers; les parts generatives són els predicadors i els

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[99] *Portiuncula* in Westphal's text refers to—a small and niche portion of space—in other words, the minimal habitat of the human body.

> informants; les cuixes i les cames són els menestrals; els peus que trepitgen la terra són els pagesos que la conreen i la treballen per llur ofici tostemps. (20–21)

The king is the head of the body and is, therefore, in command, while the citizens make up for the various parts of the body which fulfill different functions in that body/city. Each person has a purpose within the structure of the social body that makes up a city. The city emulates a human body.

Moreover, more often than not, spatial construction is regarded as feminine. As we have already mentioned, one of the first geographical descriptions of Spain, the *Laus Hispaniae* (624), remarkably epitomized a paradisiacal and feminine space that is loved and possessed as a woman:

> Omnium terrarum, quaequae sunt ab occiduo usque ad Indos, *pulcherrima* es, o *sacra* semperque felix principum gentiumque *mater* Hispania. … Tu *florulenta* campis, montibus *frondua*, piscosa littoribus. … Iure itaque te iam pridem aurea Roma caput gentium *concupiuit* et, licet te sibimet eadem Romulea uirtus primum uictrix *desponderit*, denuo tamen Gothorum florentissima gens post multiplices in orbe uictorias certatim *rapuit et amauit fruiturque* hactenus inter regias infulas et opes largas imperii felicitate secura. (168–171; emphasis mine)[100]

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[100] Some of the feminine traits associated to the geographical space are lost in the English translation by Kennett Baxter Wolf:

> Of all the lands from the west to the Indies, you, Spain, O sacred and always fortunate *mother* of princes and peoples, are the *most beautiful*. … Your fields are full of flowers, your mountains full of trees, and your shores full of fish. … Rightly did golden Rome, the head of the nations, desire you long ago. And

Closely to this description, Gillian Rose explains:

> The female figure represents landscape, and landscape a female torso, visually in part through their pose: paintings of Woman and Nature often share the same topography of passivity and stillness. The comparison is also made through the association of both land and Woman with reproduction, fertility and sexuality, free from the constraints of Culture. Incorporating all of these associations, both Woman and Nature are vulnerable to the desires of men. (67)

Following Rose's understanding of the association of woman, nature, and male yearning, this chapter studies space from the perspective of the (female) body. We will closely study a city represented as a beautiful and forbidden lover, the women's body regarded as a landscape, and the female body's "disposition" for conquest. As a result, this chapter aims to address the dynamic relationship between the body, gender, and space, to continue adding layers to our understanding of the spatiality of the *pliegos sueltos*.

Valencia, the City-Woman

As we corroborated in the first chapter, the representation of Valencian space in the *pliegos sueltos* is quite fascinating. The text studied, *Romance hecho en lohores de Valencia*, denoted the rich landscapes and commercial life of a paradisiacal Eden at the coasts of the

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> although this same Romulean power, initially victorious, *betrothed you* to itself, now it is the most flourishing people of the Goths, who in their turn, after many victories all over the world, have eagerly *seized you and loved you*: they *enjoy you* up to the present time amidst royal emblems and great wealth, secure in the good fortune of empire. (Baxter 67; emphasis mine)

Mediterranean. Valencia has often been acclaimed for both its beauty and its cultural and literary splendor.[101] In the *pliego suelto* studied in this section, the "Valençia del Çid" will be, once again, represented as a prominent, beautiful, and beloved city.

In 1525, the printing house of Alonso de Melgar in Burgos published the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Valencia*, "Helo helo por do viene / el moro por la calçada." Francisco de Lora, its author, complemented it with a song and a fascinating (but uncommon) prologue.[102] The *Romance*, also known as *Romance del moro que reta a Valencia*, showcases a Moorish king lamenting the loss of Valencia and plotting how to regain the city.[103] The Cid,

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[101] As a matter of fact, many *pliegos sueltos* and books were printed in Valencia and after 1473 the city became an influential city for the printing press in the Iberian Peninsula. See Pallarés 69–70, 95; Romeo de Lecea 64; Berger 35; and Perea 227–29.

[102] This interesting *pliego suelto* introduces the *glosa* to the reader with a prologue. So far, this is the first *pliego suelto* I have encountered that includes one, not even other publications of this same *glosa* by Lora integrated a prologue. This version of the *glosa* was published digitally in the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* (*BDH*) of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. There are two other publications of Lora's *glosa*: the "Glosa sobre el romance del rey moro que perdió Valencia," consulted in a published collection of *pliegos* housed in the University Library of Prague, this version contains the same *glosa* and song of the *BDH* version, but also includes a villancico and omits the prologue; the other is in a *pliego* entitled "Tres romances del cid", this version includes the *glosa* by Lora and two other *romances* of *El Cid* and it is housed in the private collection of the Marqués de Morbecq. Even though three *pliegos sueltos* published the *glosa* by Francisco de Lora, is important to note that the disposition and content of all of them is different, an aspect that is interesting and worthy of study, however, for the purpose of this analysis I will just devote to the study of the *glosa*. All further references to this text will be from the *pliego* housed in the *BDH* using the following convention: (Lora, *BDH* 1–8).

[103] The Moorish king mentioned is probably King Búcar from Morocco.

Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, overhears the resentful Moorish king and commands his daughter Urraca to entertain him while he saddles a horse and girds a sword.[104] The Cid appears to battle the Moorish king shortly after, but the king escapes with a nearby boatman. Upset about his failed attack, the Cid shoots a spear into the water, hoping for a future time in which he may be able to kill the Moorish king. The glossed version comprises more details of this encounter and will allow a more thorough analysis and understanding of conflictive and feminine spaces in the context of Valencia.

In the first verses of the *glosa*, the Moorish king walks aimlessly and sadly glances at the lost space of Valencia. The disappointed Moorish king explores the new circumstances of Valencia's cityscape. The king encounters a building that grabs his attention:

E no viendo de quien asa
de puro coraje llora
mas encendido que brasa
se llego cabe una casa
quel real se dize agora. (Lora, *BDH* 3)

He is lurking around a structure that used to be the palace of the Taifas in Valencia. However, this place was recently gained for the Christians and designated as the Palacio del Real.[105] As we have been studying in this dissertation, the renaming of a place legitimizes and prompts the construction of a new set of realities within it: "In order to take position of a place, the space must be emptied of its spatiality. That is the key word. And what surer way to achieve this purpose than to attribute a new name, a toponomical [sic] baptism" (Westphal, *Plausible* 126). In the context of this *glosa de romance,* the renaming of a place confirms the new Christian reality in the space of Valencia. Then, of course, without relinquishing its past identity entirely. This space constitutes and holds multiple realities while also portraying a fascinating spatiotemporal passage that allows us to study past and present simultaneously.

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[104] Here, Cid's daughter goes by the name of Urraca, but note that the daughters of the Cid were called differently both in real life and in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*: Cristina and María, recorded as Elvira and Sol in the *Cantar*. See López Estrada 33.

[105] Nowadays this palace does not exist, in its place there is a public park called the *Jardines del Real*.

Through the panoramic vision of the Valencian cityscape, the king pays special attention to the security measures reinstalled in the disputed city:

> con una feroz presencia
> sobre una yegua alheñada
> notad bien con que paciencia
> **mirando estava a Valencia**
> **como esta tambien cercada**.
> Que como el cid la gano
> con trabajos no senzillos
> los muros que derribo
> de nuevo los reparo
> cerrando muchos portillos. (Lora, *BDH* 3)

We started the dissertation by pointing out the importance of spatial positioning in the borderland. Here, we confirm the significance of the body's locality to acknowledge space. Sitting on top of a mare, the king recognizes the security measures (re)installed in the city to secure Valencia's walls and gates. It is important to note that similar security measures existed before the Christians took over the city; they had to repair their own transgression, “los muros que derribo / de nuevo los reparo.” The restoration of the city defense system gives the new Christian community living in Valencia a sense of security and protection.[106] Without a doubt, life in these geopolitical circumstances probably created a lot of social unrest and indeterminacy. Furthermore, the reinstalment of security measures and repairing the city walls constitute an appropriation, a conquest of the space. It is a way of claiming space and building, literally on top, the past structures, both physical and political. Together, the renaming of the buildings and the reconstruction of the city walls contributes to the portrayal of a new and strengthened spatial reality in Valencia.

As we continue traveling through the *glosa de romance*, we notice that the lament of the Moorish king for the loss of the city resembles a heartbreak:

Mal fuego te queme aqui
Mahoma lo querra
porque como tu de mi
el mal cid goze de ti
que dudo te gozara
perdi te mis tesoros
o mi ciudad agenada
pues para doblar mis lloros
primero fuyste de moros
que de christianos tomada.
Partese mi corazon
en saber Valencia mia

---

[106] In a more imaginative way, Gloria Anzaldúa reflects on how life in the city is always conditioned by an enclosed living, thus, showcasing, both, our, very human, continuous desire to achieve, at least structurally, a sense of urban security and our very profound fears of housing insecurity: “The world is not a safe place to live in. We shiver in separate cells in enclosed cities, shoulders hunched, barely keeping the panic below the surface of the skin, daily drinking shock along with our morning coffee, fearing the torches being set to our buildings, the attacks in the streets. Shutting down” (20).

> que toda mi perdicion
> este tu nuevo patron
> la convierte en alegría
> pues mahoma ques presente
> bolvera su santa espada
> en favor del inocente
> **si la lanza no me miente**
> **a moros seras tornada**.
>
> (Lora, *BDH* 3–4)

According to the *glosa*, a feminized Valencia, “Valencia mia,” is pleased with her new landlord, the Cid. The Moorish king laments that the Cid, Valencia’s new conqueror/lover, will enjoy and possess the city. The king correlates the possession of space with that of the female body, “el mal cid goze de ti.” Landscapes and cityscapes are often described in feminine and sexual terms. Bertrand Westphal, drawing from the ideas of Steven Marcus, explains the term *Pornotopia*: it “consists of the integral eroticization of space, envisaged as the female body. For, in all these fantasies, the body to be conquered or penetrated is always that of the woman” (*Geocriticism* 68). Valencia is, in this case, the conquered body, a body that is loved, wept over, enjoyed, and conquered as if it were a woman, the city-woman.

Gillian Rose approaches geography from a contemporary and feminist perspective and calls upon the common practice, even among geographers, of equaling the landscape and nature to a seductive woman:

> Pleasure in and awe of Nature are celebrated by geographers, then, but this can often create a certain tension in their work. Pleasure in the landscape is often seen as a threat to the scientific gaze, and it is argued that the geographer should not allow himself to be seduced by what he sees. The need for a certain analytical distance from the aesthetic pleasures of the view is repeated in recent accounts of looking at landscape. Nature then is both desired as a field of knowledge and feared as too mysteriously seductive. (52)

Geographical discourse, both scientific and literary, is permeated by this imagery of the land as a female body. Therefore, it is essential to consider the possible implications of the female landscape in our understanding of cultural geography. The feminization of the landscape conditions our readings of space, and the "landscape becomes a part of that hegemonic culture, a concept which helps to order society into hierarchical class relations" (Rose 63). Unsurprisingly, through our (un)intentional feminization of the land, we solidify notions of hegemony and conquest in culture.

The Moorish king constructs his persona around ideas of conquest and political hierarchy. He is adamant in his authoritative position and aspires to regain the city. The Moorish king believes that, with the help of Mohammed, Valencia is going to return to his dominions. He resorts to dishonorable activities to regain his dominions on the land: "contra la real usança / me haze tomar vengança / delas muy flacas mugeres" (Lora, *BDH* 4). The king plans to take both the wife and daughter of the Cid as repayment for lost Valencia: "**su muger doña ximena / sera de mi cativada**," and "**su hija Urraca hernando / sea mi enamorada**" (Lora, *BDH* 4). The Moorish king's insistence on possessing the Cid's wife and daughter responds to higher motivations. He is seeking to replace his beloved Valencia, the city-woman, with the women in the spatial reality of his enemy: Cid's wife and daughter. In this scenario, dishonoring the Cid by tainting his wife and daughter's honor equals defeating him. There is nothing exotic or idealized about this representation of the Moorish king; he is simply a defeated man who has lost his city, power, and dominion and is looking for ways to restore his dismantled reputation. For the king, the possession of these women does not have anything to do with sex or beauty. Yes, he may think that they are desirable women, but, at the end of it, they are merely a transaction.

These power-seeking dynamics become more apparent when the Moorish king expresses his belief that both wife and daughter are better off with him.

> Pero ninguno lo ignora
> antes es muy verdadero
> valer mas Christiana o mora
> ser de rey amiga un hora
> que mujer de un cavallero
> y pues la desonra enella
> la del padre mucho daña
> para que huelguen conella
> **despues de yo harto della**
> **la entregare a mi compaña**. (Lora, *BDH* 4)

The Moorish king is convinced that it is far more valuable for both a Christian and Moorish woman to be the lover of a king, even if it is just for an hour than expending a lifetime with a *cavallero*. His status as a king is what constitutes his pride. The king recognizes himself as the better man, the powerful man, and therefore, the one deserving the land and the women's bodies within it. The king's spatial preoccupations respond to his adherence to power, to a self-recognition of how meaningless a king is without land to rule. Our discussion of the *glosa* of the *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen* (Chapter I) similarly revealed that the possession of a territory implied the possession of the female bodies within that space. Moreover, it became clear that the conquest of the landscape and the body are intrinsically linked.

The journey through Valencian space acquires different tones as the narration develops. First, we explore a space contested between past and present. The lament of the Moorish king points towards a space that has changed geopolitically. However, space will turn into a place for the Moor's seduction. Upon hearing the Moorish king wandering in the street, the Cid requests his daughter to dress in shorter (sexier) clothes and to entertain the Moor:

Vuestra gracia y hermosura
oy cumple que la mostreys
fingireys desemboltura
del amor y su dulçura
sabiamente os quexareys
y porque vuestras no dignas
palabras enciendan ascua
enlas entrañas malinas
dexad las ropas continas
y vestid ropas de pascua. (Lora, *BDH* 5)

Furthermore, the Cid provides very specific instructions to his daughter with respect to how convincing this act needs to be, all while he gets armed and ready to challenge the Moor:

Aun que de mal se os hara
pues escusar no se puede
por lo mucho que nos va
con saber dissimula
fasta ver lo que sucede
y porque para tal yerro
otra vez boca no abra
con un perpetuo destierro
aquel moro hide [perro]
detene melo en palabra.
Fingireys tenerle fe
mostrandole mil favores
porque mas credito os de
que si puedo yo hare
que le amarguen los amores
no terneys respuesta seca

mas sabrosa y agraciada **mientra yo ensillo a Bavieca**
load su casa de meca **y me ciño la mi espada**.

(Lora, *BDH* 5)

The daughter, Urraca, is turned into the bait; she becomes part of the war strategy to defeat the enemy. The Cid weaponizes and prostitutes Urraca's body, which is now at the expense of warfare. Cid's command in the *romance*, "**detene melo en palabra**," is heightened by the *glosa de romance*, which offers a more vivid description of the directions that Urraca must follow to achieve her seductive mission. Both the *romance* and *glosa*, explore different ways of waging war and defending the land: by taking security measures that strengthen the city, by girding a sword, or by merely exerting the sensuality of a lady. Urraca, the daughter, creates new warfare possibilities: sweet words can be used to defeat in the context of war, "no terneys respuesta seca / mas sabrosa y agraciada." The daughter, dressed in spring clothes, "ropas de Pascua," becomes a threat that can entangle the Moorish king in space and time, "con un perpetuo destierro."

As mentioned before, altitude is necessary for the appreciation of the landscape. At the start of the *glosa*, the Moorish king takes advantage of the aerial view provided by a mare to observe the new conditions of the city and plan a new attack: "sobre una yegua alheñada / … **mirando estava a Valencia / como esta tambien cercada**" (Lora, *BDH* 3). Now, this panoramic view allows the Moor to witness the mirage of Urraca by the window:

Pues la dama que no avia
al moro jamas oydo
que responder no sabia
solamente conocia
quera su padre servido

> colorada como rosa
> mas angelica que humana
> con una vista amorosa
> **la donzella muy hermosa**
> **se paro a una ventana**. (Lora, *BDH* 5)

Urraca has placed herself at a strategic height that enables her to be seen. Hannah Shepherd explores medieval women's visibility in windows, doors, and gates. In Shepherd's book chapter, the woman's body upon a window is similarly regarded as bait:

> In Christian imagery, men tended to hold possession of the gaze when positioned at the window. Renditions of the biblical narrative of King David, who spotted the bathing Bathsheba from his palace window, filtered into medieval conceptualizations of the yearning male gaze. … In later medieval imaginings, the naked women could be seen through the windows of the monk's cell. The women were bait; a passive spectacle to the monk's active, albeit conflicted, gaze. (209–10)

In similar terms, Urraca's self-placement on the window is a strategy to lure the Moorish king's gaze. However, it is essential to note that, in our case, Urraca is not providing a "passive spectacle" as we will confirm shortly.

Undoubtedly, the spatial positionality acquires narrative importance and provides different levels of reading the space. The visual space has been transposed from the landscape of the city-woman, Valencia, to the bodyscape of the woman, Urraca. Her window is a trap, and the king's transgression into her space and her dominions could mean his destruction. Cid's daughter, known for being a summit of honesty, "La cumbre de honestidad," is, instead, looking for ways to entrap him more into her ruse: "y por metello mejor / en su secreta celada / dixo con fingido amor … **buena sea vuestra llegada**” (Lora, *BDH* 6). The Moorish king has trespassed a threshold in which his defenses are lost. Moreover, the daughter, who supposedly does not have malice in her heart, is the one holding power. Formerly the landlord of Valencia, the Moorish king is now in unknown terrain. The spatial boundaries of these Iberian cities are ever-evolving and fluid.

After the paths of the Moorish king and Urraca cross, we are spectators of a double ruse. They untruthfully began to exchange how they had loved each other for a long time. However, the spectator knows that both the Moorish king and Urraca have secret agendas. Deceptively, Urraca pretends to be in love with the Moorish king and remembers the day of the Cid’s conquest of Valencia as a double loss:

Mostro tanta perficion
en su razonar fingido
quel pagano corazon
de enamorada passion
ala hora fue vencido
y como lo vio enel brete
dize no punto turbada
con que mas lo liga y mete
siete años ha rey siete
que soy vuestra enamorada.

Tengo los yo bien contados
por ver quen un solo dia
perdimos nuestros estados
vos estos reynos preciados
yo el reposo que tenia
viendo el moro como llora
quien su vida tiene en calma
respondio luego a la hora
otros tantos ha señora
que os tengo dentro en mi alma.

(Lora, *BDH* 6)

The disrupted space described by the “lovers” is fraudulent and contrary to the one we witness in the text. In the real, although still imagined, space of the *glosa de romance*, the daughter is distracting the Moor from his imminent demise, the Cid is secretly girding a sword, and the Moor is surveying Valencia's situation to plan his next move. Although Urraca and the king's conversation is about love, the spatial disposition is still in the interest of waging war. However, we cannot help but wonder about the validity and transcendence of that other implied reality of love and courtship between the Moorish king and Christian lady, suggested by that second fold of the text.

The Moorish king proposes to Urraca that they flee together, but we all know the impossibility of his request:

> Y pues ala nos cumplio
> lo que los dos desseamos
> muchos reynos tengo yo
> sin los que el Cid me gano
> donde señora nos vamos
> y pues el tiempo es dispuesto
> que mejor no sesperava
> vamonos señora presto
> **ellos estando en aquesto**
> **el buen Cid que assomava**. (Lora, *BDH* 6)

The Moorish king is in enemy lands. Therefore, the thought of leaving Valencia accompanied by the daughter of the Cid is delusional. In this transaction between the two, while Urraca wants to gain time for her father's attack, the Moorish king is, through his seductive tactics, trying to substitute his city-woman with the daughter. We should not forget that Urraca and her mother, doña Ximena, were part of the Moorish king's planned revenge. The Moorish king's description of other enclaves in his possession demonstrates his dominion, even though he lost Valencia. This last display of power, “muchos reynos tengo yo,” is nothing more than a desperate cry to showcase his authority. In this scenario, conquering the bodyscape of Urraca would be the closest he could get to replacing lost Valencia.

After the Cid appears, the Moorish king laments not being able to make love/possess Urraca. This regret comes in geographical terms. Urraca is a sea where the king wanted to make a line, as Moses did when he divided the waters: “y en tu mar hazer queria / una raya por milagro” (Lora, *BDH* 7). Urraca is also a garden spoiled by the winter: “dixo nuestro bien se seca / como rosa conla elada / y en nuevo pesar se trueca” (Lora, *BDH* 7).[107] Urraca’s body is turned into a barren space that cannot bear fruit, into an infertile land, as sterile as the king’s desires to conquer the land and the lady. Reminiscent of the unattainable feminine landscape of Valencia, Urraca’s bodyscape (body as landscape) also resists its acquisition and conquering. While the Moorish king regards Valencia as a lost woman, the city-woman, we may also recognize in Urraca some spatial features making her an also inaccessible woman-city: “Woman becomes Nature, and Nature Woman” (Rose 66). Ultimately, the king’s desire to possess the woman, Urraca, is a veiled desire to repossess the land, his beloved city of Valencia.

The Moorish king’s journey in Valencia comes to an end when he hears Cid’s horse. The king flees and embarks in a nearby boat about to sail. The fluid space of the sea preserves the king's life. However, the Cid enters the waters and shoots a spear at the boat in a last attempt to deter the Moorish king's escape. While in the *romance* it is not clear if this was a successful shot, in the *glosa de romance* we are able to read in detail how much damage the spear has done:

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[107] In literature the women’s body is often read as topography: “a woman was truly the other world: with its own contours, valleys, rivers, streams, hills, ridges, mountains, sharp turns, steep and slow climbs and descents, and above all, movement of secret springs of life. Which explorer, despite the boasts of men, could claim to have touched every corner of that world and drunk of every stream in her?” (Ngugi wa Thiong’o 315).

dixo arrecojed mi yerno
arrecojed me essa lança.
Y como sela tiro
aquel querido de Marte
al moro la lança dio
por el espalda y passo
la mitad dela otra parte
pues el cid que vido ya
su lança bien empleada
dixo rey guardalda allá
que quiça tiempo verna
que os será bien demandada.

(Lora, *BDH* 6)

In the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Valencia* space is represented as female. Valencia is the city-women lamented by the Moorish king, "Valencia mia," and conquered by the Cid, "el mal cid goze de ti." The Moorish king sought vengeance for the lost city by taking advantage of the female body: "me haze tomar vengança / delas muy flacas mugeres." Therefore, Urraca Hernando and doña Ximena were envisioned as reparations for the lost space of Valencia. Both the Moorish king and the Christian knight weaponized the female body in favor of their geopolitical strategies. The Moorish king wanted to capture Urraca to cause dishonor in the Cid, "pues la desonra enella / la del padre mucho daña." While similarly, the Cid used the body of Urraca as bait to neutralize the advances of the Moorish king. The landscape of Valencia is parallel to the bodyscape of Urraca. Both are possessed and exploited by men as part of their conquest schemes: "both Woman and Nature are vulnerable to the desires of men" (Rose 67).

“Soy donzella y femenina”: Liminality and Transgression in the Private Space

Şizen Yiacoup explains, comparing the *Romance de Abenamar* and the *Romance de la mora Morayma*, that “while conquest is expressed in terms of desire in *Abenamar,* desire in *Moraima* is expressed in terms of conquest” (36). In the previous section, we encountered a very similar situation when we simultaneously studied a city, Valencia, represented, conquered, and loved as a woman—conquest expressed in terms of desire—and Urraca, a woman treated as bait and paralleled to a geographical conquest—desire expressed in terms of conquest. As the examples showcased, the correlation of the body with the conquest of a geographical space or vice versa is a common trait of the *romancero*. This connection between body and space seems to be unavoidable. In this regard, Henri Lefebvre explains:

> Bodies (each body) and interbodily space may be pictured as possessed of specific assets: the *materials* (heredity, objects) which serve as their starting-point, and the *materiel* which they have available to them (behaviour patterns, conditioning —what are sometimes called stereotypes). For these bodies, the natural space and the abstract space which confront and surround them are in no way separable, as they may be from an analytic perspective. The individual situates his body in its own space and apprehends the space around the body. (213)

For Lefebvre, the study of space is inseparable from understanding the body’s spatiality and should be recognized within its own set of materials and circumstances. In Lefebvre’s fashion, this section of the chapter “apprehends the space around the body,” studies the transgressions into a private, feminine space, the bodies within that space, and notions of conquest expressed through the subjugation of the body.

The *Romance de la Mora Moraima*, “Yo mera mora Morayma / morilla de un bel catar,” tells the story of a frightened Moorish woman called to the door in the middle of her sleep by a Christian man who, posing as her uncle, attempts to transgress into her private space. I have consulted the *romance* in a glossed version by (Jerónimo) Pinar, “Quando mas embebecida / en la seta de mi fe.”[108] As we have encountered in several of the *glosas de romance* discussed until now, the *glosa* will amplify the original *romance* and offer the reader methods to satisfy some of the uncertainties of the *romance*.

The spatiality of the *romance* and *glosa* oscillates between the inside and the outside. In the private space, we encounter a Moorish woman alone in her chambers because a certain Forayma, perhaps the mother or servant, is not at home: “E apartada de forayma / quien ami solia guardar” (Pinar, *Praga I* 289). The Moorish woman, Morayma, describes herself in the following fashion:

Yo mera mora morayma	En cien mil gracias complida
morilla de un bel catar	servida de mil o mas

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[108] Jerónimo Pinar is also the author of the *Juego Trobado*, a riddle game made for the court of Queen Isabella I of Castille, and many of his works were included in the *Cancionero general de muchos y diversos autores*, printed on 1511 by Hernando del Castillo. I consulted Pinar’s *glosa* of the *Romance de la Mora Moraima* in two *pliegos sueltos*. One available in the first volume (I) of the *pliegos sueltos* in Prague, see “Romance de la Mora Morayma: glosado,” in *Pliegos poéticos españoles en la Universidad de Praga I*, pp. 289–96. The other is available in the *pliegos sueltos* housed in the private collection of the Marqués de Morbecq, see “La glosa del romance que dize Rosa fresca,” in *Los pliegos poéticos de la colección de Marqués de Morbecq*, pp. 251–58. All further references will be from the *pliego suelto* in the Prague collection, using the following convention: (Pinar, *Praga I* 289–291).

y enlos ojos tan polida
que mirar dava mas vida
que ninguna sin compas
E teniendo yo por cierta
ser mi belleza sin par
adesora y ora incierta
cristiano vino ami puerta,
cuytada por me engañar.

(Pinar, *Praga I* 289)

Morayma self-identifies as a beautiful Moorish woman, “de un bel catar” and beautiful eyes. The self-assertion, “mora morayma / morilla,” places her in a particular socio-cultural sphere of Muslim ancestry.[109] Furthermore, we could infer she was a very popular woman since, in the *glosa* she was, hyperbolically, served by more than a thousand. However, the women’s awareness of her beauty makes her vulnerable. The Muslim woman feels the danger of being called at the door at “desora y ora incierta,” ill-timed, during the night. Morayma understands that the private space of the house is the only thing keeping her integrity, and she understands that opening the door could put her on a dangerous path. However, it is essential to acknowledge that this area of liminality, the door, is simultaneously “open to the world and masterable by the individual” (*Geocriticism* 69).

A door, commonly recognized as a liminal space, is a threshold where space morphs into another. Henri Lefebvre asserts them as “Transitional, symbolic and functional, the object ‘door’ serves to bring a space, the space of a ‘room,’ say, or that of the street, to an end; and it heralds the reception to be expected in the neighbouring [sic] room, or in the house or interior that awaits” (209–10). It is indeed a transitional space. *Thinking on Thresholds: The Poetics of*

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[109] There was also a historical Moraima, wife of Boabdil, last Muslim king of Granada, and daughter of Aliatar, *alcaide* of Loja (who was often fictionalized in *romances* and *glosas de romances*, as seen in Chapter II).

Transitive Spaces, edited by Subha Mukherji, goes at length about liminal spaces and the various ways in which we must understand them in literary work. In the first chapter, Gillian Beer establishes the parameters and differences between doors and windows: "What is a window? framed space? A liminal connection between inner and outer? an aperture that reveals a scene beyond, or a scene within? an impermeable membrane? security against weather and intruders? or the source of replenishing light? Doors police the threshold, windows relate the outside world to the interior" (3).[110] In the light of Lefebvre and Beer, we may understand windows as the threshold that provides a connection between inner and outer space, while doors as the liminal space that protects and control the movement within these spaces. Thus, the knocks on Morayma's door must be understood as an attempt to intrude into her internal and private space. Furthermore, the precariousness of a window, not mentioned anywhere in the *glosa de romance*, inhibit the connection between the external and internal space, which is necessary for Morayma's detection of the Christian impostor at her door.

Another infraction into the Moorish woman's spatiality is through language. The covert Christian talks to her "disfrazando el aljamia / **hablome en algaravia / como aquel que bien la sabe**" (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). *Aljamía*, Spanish transcription of the Arabic *al-ʿad̲j̲amiyya*, means 'non-Arabic,' and was the term often used in al-Andalus to refer to the Romance dialects, while *algarabía* was used to refer to Arabic.[111] The Christian disguised his linguistic identity as a speaker of *aljamía* (a non-Arabic language) by talking in *algarabía* like an actual native speaker,

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[110] See also Shepherd 205–17.

[111] See "Aljamía" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. and "Algarabía" in *RAE, Diccionario de la lengua española*, 23rd ed.

"como aquel que bien la sabe." How does the Christian deceive a native speaker of Arabic such as Morayma? Well, we should understand these thresholds between inside and outside, Muslim and Christian, and *algarabía* and *aljamía*, as representative of a time of cultural hybridity. Bilingualism should not be a surprise in this context.

Drawing from travel accounts and literary works, Teófilo F. Ruiz explains that, at least in Eastern Spain, "One could say that the Aragonese spoke two languages: a Castilian borrowed from their nearby neighbour and peppered with their own accents and Catalan words; and Arabic, the language of the largely submissive (but not always peaceful) and exploited Morisco population" (*Spanish* 16). Regarding the Muslim and Morisco communities: "As long as they were allowed to retain their ancestral language (Arabic or forms of Arabic) and practice their religion (Islam) with impunity—even after the forced conversions in 1504—the Moriscos continued to live in Spain in relative peace and to contribute significantly to the Spanish economy and society" (*Spanish* 117). Both passages tell us how Muslims, converted Moriscos and even some Christians spoke in Arabic during medieval times and at least until the early sixteenth century. These encounters between two cultures and two linguistic communities showcase the hybridity of space reconciled within the allegorical parameters of the threshold provided by the door.

The Christian knocks at the door of the Moorish woman, but symbolically, he breaks it down. He achieves this by incorporating insider information, about Morayma's family circle, in his deceiving act. First, he introduces himself as the "**moro maçote / hermano dela tu madre**" (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). In this way, the Christian, passing as Morayma's uncle, disrupts any psychological barrier between Morayma, the door, and him. Second, the Christian takes the opportunity to mention Morayma's "hermano abençaide" who is supposedly aware of this late-night visit (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). Furthermore, he also refers to her as "señora / de facion angelical," and "dayfa garrida" (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). This description hints at the Christian awareness of Morayma's favorable physical qualities, which she has already expressed at the beginning of the *glosa*: "E teniendo yo por cierta / ser mi belleza sin par." We notice how the Christian was acquainted with factual information about Morayma and her family. The Christian at least knew the names of her uncle and brother, Maçote and Abençaide, respectively, and was familiar with her physical appearance. How did he get all this information? That we do not know. What is certain is that the Christian provided a compelling case to convince Morayma of the veracity of his story.

Additionally, the Christian takes advantage of his knowledge about Morayma's cultural space. From the exchange at Morayma's door, we may infer the social conditions of the space that surrounds the protagonists. Posing as a Moor, the Christian informs her that he is fleeing and needs asylum because "**Que un cristiano dexo muerto / tras mi venia ellalcalde**" (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). Furthermore, he explains that the mayor is looking for him, and if he does not find refuge, the authorities will kill him: "**Si no me abres tu mi vida / aqui me veras matar**" (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). The Christian describes a hostile space where the animosity between both religious groups is enough to kill and be killed. We are witnessing what could perhaps be the representation of a medieval city, already captured by Christians, where a community of Muslims still lives. The social conditions represented in the *romance* and *glosa* describe a space where death is ordinary and plausible. Morayma does not question the story's veracity because the Christian showcases a habitual situation in her multi-ethnic community. Indeed, the *romance* and *glosa* represent a bilingual, multicultural, and hybrid space where cultural exchanges and fallouts between

Muslims and Christians were commonplace. The persecution story prompted Morayma's empathy toward someone she believed to be a fellow Moor and a family member.

As we have uncovered, the Christian man was familiarized with Morayma's linguistic, domestic, and cultural environment. Potentially, the Christian knew that she was unaccompanied. As such, the infraction into Morayma's place becomes an easy task because he possesses the cultural knowledge to transgress her intimate space:

> Con palabras engañosas
> quel se supo componer
> hizo mis ansias dudosas
> y con razones mintrosas
> el me quisiera offender. (Pinar, *Praga I* 290)

The Christian's deception is possible thanks to an appropriation of the enemies' culture: "**ala te guarde de mal**" (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). The Christian is so embedded in Muslim culture that he can pass as Morayma's uncle. The cultural exchange between Muslims and Christians at the time makes Morayma's situation possible. Undeniably, when the Christian mentions Morayma's uncle and brother and fabricates the persecution story, he collapses her defense system. Without it, the only structure that lies between both protagonists is the door.

The Christian employed several strategies to open Morayma's door without using force: linguistic expertise, familial appeal, cultural competence, and social awareness. They all demonstrate him as an intern of the Moorish culture. These strategies clarify the cultural hybridity of the represented space; here, the recognition and replicability of the culture of the other are feasible. Consequently, Morayma decides to open the door to help him get out of his predicament with justice: "quise por virtud y amor / libralle dela justicia" (Pinar, *Praga I* 291).

Unfortunately, Morayma falls victim to the deceit produced by a lengthy cultural exchange that has blurred the spatial boundaries between one culture and the other.

The intention and interpretation of this, and other *romances*, have always been much debated. This *romance* has often been understood as a pro-Moorish *romance* depicting a Christian who wants to take advantage of the Muslim damsel or as a propagandistic pro-Christian text which proclaims cultural and political conquest. Some scholars have chosen alternative readings. For instance, Şizen Yiacoup argues that Morayma's betrayal "reflects the historical and political circumstances of the Moriscos in the sixteenth century" and "the debasement of Moraima's body can be read as the infringement of Hispano-Muslim territory and the enforced Christianization of the Morisco population" (41, 45). In contrast, Louise Vasvari in *The Heterotextual Body of the 'Mora Morilla'* claims that the lament of the Muslim woman is devised to fool her absent mother. Furthermore, Vasvari argues that Morayma's delight in her own beauty, "**morilla de un bel catar**," and the flimsy clothes with which she dressed to receive the Christian, "**Vistiera me una almexia / no hallando mi brial**," could hint towards the collaboration and agency of the Muslim woman in a possible sexual encounter.[112] Interestingly, all of these different interpretations are possible due to the uncertainty of the *romance*.

However, arriving at Vasvari's conclusions, in the light of Pinar's *glosa,* would be a lot more problematic. The *glosa de romance* insistently portrays a frightened woman, nervous about her fate and honor. Morayma often describes her state of mind and inner thoughts:

mi onestad con el *temor*
de *medrosa* no hablava

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[112] See Vasvari, esp. ch. 5 and 8.

por respuesta le callava
recelando de peor
…………………………
respondi que me querras
soy donzella y femenina
Como te abrire *mezquina*
que no se quien te seras. (Pinar, *Praga I* 290; emphasis mine)

This passage unfolds an innocent woman afraid of the encounter that is about to happen. While this is not a usual battleground, the space is also represented as dangerous. Her preoccupations and insecurities are continuously explored in the *glosa de romance* until its very end: "E teniendo mas *temor* / que de otra cosa codicia" (Pinar, *Praga I* 291; emphasis mine).

Morayma is surprised at her sleep. Therefore, before tending to the door, she attempted to dress up: "con la priessa que tenia / **Vistiera me una almexia / no hallando mi brial**" (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). Unfortunately, in a hurry and asleep, she does not find her *brial*, a silk robe that would have completely covered her. So, she dresses in an *almejía*, a shorter sheer type of inner dress that shows the body.[113] At this instant, Morayma's body becomes an erotic vision. By her own Motus, as Vasvari sees it, or simply because of her sleepy confusion, the (lack of) clothes transforms her into bait for the man's gaze.

As we might remember, the same happened with Urraca; her own father, El Cid, instructed her to change into sexier clothes to become a temptation for the Moorish king. Interestingly, one of the versions of the abduction of Helen of Troy "suggests that the woman whom the Greeks saw walking on the walls of Troy was not the wife of Menelaus, but merely a simulacrum, a pile of sails, made by Paris, who had accompanied Helen from Sidon to Egypt." According to this version of the story, Westphal explains, "The Greeks lost ten years, perhaps, all for a piece of cloth. It is as if the female body, that of Helen, was destined to become a simulacrum, only an artificial thing holding the gaze of the men laying siege to the city and trying to force open its doors. Of course, the siege of an enclosed place has always been a metaphor for rape" (*Geocriticism* 64–65). In these three cases, Morayma, Urraca, and Helen, the female body—wrapped in suggestive clothes—turns into a sensual vision and a territory to be conquered. Further than reading Morayma's apparel choice as her way of participating in sexual activity, I argue that her (un)dressed status, "con verguença cubierta," transforms her body into the bait.

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[113] See "Brial" and "Almejía" in *RAE, Diccionario de la lengua española*, 23rd ed. and *SpanishDict*.

While the text predominantly showcases a distressed Morayma, some specific instances in the *glosa de romance* make us doubt. One is when the Christian addresses her: "dayfa garrida" (Pinar, *Praga I* 290). *Daifa* could mean concubine, mistress, or prostitute, while *garrida* means beautiful and good-looking.[114] If the Christian called her 'beautiful whore' one might believe that he is knocking on a known door. This idea takes us back to the beginning of the *glosa*: Morayma is served by more than a thousand, "servida de mil o mas" (Pinar, *Praga I* 289). Yiacoup explains, in regard to the ambiguity of this *romance*, that

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[114] See "Daifa" and "Garrida" in *RAE, Diccionario de la lengua española*, 23rd ed. See also Dagenais, "Avras dueña garrida," for an understanding of how the phrase "dueña garrida," used in the *Libro de buen amor*, could have been inspired by the phrase *pulchra puella* often included in the *accessus* (academic prologue) of many medieval manuscripts: "Detur pro penna scriptori pulchra puella" (39).

> Although it is widely acknowledged that sexual violence is a concomitant of war which serves a form of physical and psychological devastation, the complexity of the ballad's approach to the implied act of sexual violence committed against its female protagonist lies largely in the fact that it intentionally shrouds in mystery the issue of whether or not Moraima played a part in her own destruction; that is, whether she was raped or whether she was in fact seduced. (21)

Moreover, the content of the *glosa*, rather than clarifying and limiting the multiple interpretations of this *romance*, adds more uncertainty and leaves us with a text as ambiguous as the original.

The *glosa* does not solve the ambiguity of the *romance*; however, it does cross out the possible relationship between Morayma and the Christian. Although we read some details that make us doubt the innocence of the Muslim woman, the space in the *glosa* tended to be depicted as dangerous and the mental status of Morayma as dire. What seems even more interesting is that towards the end of the *glosa* the space is transformed into an utterly impersonal one, where Morayma declares:

> no durmiendo ni despierta
> ni con placer ni pesar
> mas con verguença cubierta
> **fuerame para la puerta**
> **y abrila de par en par**. (Pinar, *Praga I* 291)

The famous final sentence of the *romance*, which is entirely open to interpretation, is complemented by the impartial actions and feelings represented in the *glosa*: "no durmiendo ni despierta / ni con plazer ni pesar." We could understand Morayma's final statements as if, in the end, Morayma accepted with a strange resignation the stubborn call of the Christian.

Undoubtedly, the significance of the *glosa de romance* is as elusive as the contents of the original *romance*.

In the *glosa*, the Muslim woman does not appear to be an utterly naïve lady, oblivious to what may happen. On the contrary, she is, at all times, alert and concerned that a man may breach her private space. Morayma was the victim of a calculated con-artist who constructed a false backstory based on Muslim cultural identity. Furthermore, while the *romance* provides the space for many interpretations, the *glosa* resists the reading of the complicit woman ready for a sexual encounter. From this "ni con placer ni pesar" a great apathy, that of a person who understands the situation that lies ahead but does not seeks or desires it, unfolds.

"Haze que venga arreada": The Female Body as a Spoil of War

From the examination of the *glosa* of the *Romance de la mora Morayma* prevailed an ambivalent space that simultaneously implied the availability and elusiveness of the Muslim woman, Morayma. Also, as pointed out by Şizen Yiacoup, the *romance* can be understood from a macro perspective: the debasement of the Muslim woman stands as a literary trope to represent the conquest of the Muslim territory and culture. Comparably, the analysis of the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Valencia*, represented the conquest of space (Valencia) analogous to the conquest of the women's body (Urraca). This section, which explores the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza*, will analyze the intricate relationship between conquered space and the female body as a spoil of war.[115]

In the *Romance del asalto de Baeza*, also known as the *Romance de Pero Díaz*, "Moricos los mis moricos / los que ganays mi soldada," the Moorish king urges his hired Moors to take the city of Baeza, kill its elders, subdue the young, and capture the daughter of a certain Pero Díaz to be his lover.[116] To safeguard the honor of the captured woman, the Moorish king dispatches his trusted man, Captain Vanegas, to guarantee the purity of the captive. As commonly happens in the *romances*, the narration ends abruptly without informing the reader of the outcome of the planned assault.

In the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza* we are introduced to the Moorish king's harangue and presented with supplementary details concerning the assault:

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[115] I consulted the *romance* in two *pliegos sueltos*: one of them available in the second volume (II) of the facsimile collection of *pliegos sueltos* in Prague, see "Aquí comienzan seis romances," in *Pliegos poéticos españoles en la Universidad de Praga II*, pp. 221–22; and the other in the second volume (II) of the published facsimile collection from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), see "Aquí comienzan seys romances," in *Pliegos poéticos góticos de la Biblioteca Nacional II*, pp. 345. However, we will work with Luys de Peralta's *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza* / *Romance de Pero Diaz* available in the same two *pliegos sueltos* consulted for the study of the *glosa* of the *Romance de Fajardo*: one in the first volume (I) of the *Praga* collection and the other in the first volume (I) of the *BNE* collection. (Interestingly, these *glosas de romance* by Peralta of the *Romance de Fajardo* and the *Romance del asalto de Baeza* were published in the same *pliego suelto* and probably read together.) The content of both glosses of the *Romance de Pero Diaz* is the same, however, the display of the stanzas in both *pliegos sueltos* varies, for the purposes of this section we will cite from the *BNE* version using the following convention: (Peralta, *BNE I* 264–65).

[116] Pero (Pedro) Díaz de Quesada had the Señorío de Garcíez in Jaén.

Los que desseays seguirme
y mi servivio contino
todos sin contradecirme
no se en que podeys servirme
mejor eneste camino
que la dicha os haga ricos
de ventura prosperada
que todos grandes y chicos
moricos los mis moricos
los que ganays mi soldada.

Que os junteys acaudillados
quando mi añafil oyays
que despues de ser juntados
de mi sereys informados
enlo que hacer devays
sacada della una pieça
que me tienen señalada
porquel mundo estremeça
derribedes me a Baeça
essa ciudad torreada.

(Peralta, *BNE I* 264)

The Moorish king demands his employed Moors to help him seize the fortified city of Baeza, "ciudad torreada." Trespassing the walls of this powerful towered city will thus require exhaustive preparation, which is disclosed in detail in the *glosa*. The groundworks to defeat Baeza involve the organization of warlords at the forefront of the siege, "acaudillados," and that the Moors are adequately informed regarding the directions they are bound to follow. The Moorish king is not improvising. He is indeed commanding an organized and calculated attack.

Because of this, the Moorish king will not skimp on expenses. With the condition of successfully fulfilling the mission, the Moorish king promises the Moors steady compensation:

Si enesto me complazeys
no aura cosa que pidays
que de mi no la terneys
quen hazello me hareys

mas servicio que pensays. (Peralta, *BNE I* 265)

The financial stability offered to the Moors guarantees their loyalty to the Moorish king. Moreover, the carefully planned strategy, encouraged by well-compensated and properly instructed Moors, secures the Moorish king a victorious enterprise. A classic *quid pro quo* unfolds from the passage.

A destructive discourse overcasts the *glosa*. The cityscape of Baeza will be shaken to its core by the attack because the Moors are commanded to “derribad hasta las tejas” (Peralta, *BNE I* 264). The Moorish king’s impositions unveil a brutal and destructive assault, which also involves the pillage of all the valuable assets available and spoiling any remaining goods, “Lo que no podeys traer / quede tal que no aproveche” (Peralta, *BNE I* 264). The irruption into the space of Baeza will entail the destruction of city buildings and the looting of material possessions. After this disruption, the people of Baeza will inevitably be deprived of functional urban space and experience diminished living conditions. The destructive plan does not only go against Baeza’s architecture and material possessions but over the bodies within space: “**y los viejos y las viejas / los mete todos a espada** … / **y los moços y las moças / los trae enla cavalgada**” (Peralta, *BNE I* 264–65). The siege has as its final purpose the complete annihilation of the community of Baeza. This narrative of destruction undoubtedly represents a time of extreme sociopolitical turbulence and war.

The *Romance del asalto de Baeza* was inspired by a historical attack on Baeza by Muhammed VII in 1407. While the *romance* and *glosa* are told from the Moorish perspective, sixteenth century historian and genealogist Gonzalo Argote de Molina summarized the 1407 siege of Baeza from a Christian perspective:

> El Rey de Granada Mohammed Aben Balva, … saliendo con todo su ejército, en que llevaba siete mil de a caballo y cien mil peones, en 17 de agosto de 1407, cercó la ciudad de Baeza. La cual combatió tres días continuos, siéndole defendida valerosamente por los caballeros y escuderos della, entre los cuales fue señalado el valor de Pero Díaz de Quesada, señor de Garcíez, y de Garci González de Valdés … La defensa que desta ciudad hizo Pero Díaz de Quesada fue tan celebrada en aquellos tiempos, que nos quedó su memoria en cantares. (fol. 289v–290v)

As previously discussed, many *romances* were inspired by the animosity within these continuously shifting geopolitical borders. They recounted the historical events and battles that resulted in the conquests of Baeza and other Andalusian border cities.[117] Historical conflicts in Antequera, Jaén, Baeza, Lorca, Almería, among others, were fictionalized in the *romancero viejo* as the significant events that expedited the future subordination of Granada.[118] The retelling of these medieval (hi)stories in sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos* and *glosas de romance* allowed early modern readers to map medieval spaces of hybridity and conflict. For instance, we have already explored problems of cultural and religious assimilation and complex affective relationships between a Christian and a Muslim, situations that are all consequences of the cultural fluidity of Medieval Iberia.[119] Undoubtedly, the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza* is motivated by a series of interlinked historical events and is in conversation with other *romances* that similarly exalt crucial geopolitical sieges in Iberian medieval border communities.

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[117] For instance, the only *romance* preserved from the fourteenth century was inspired by yet another siege in Baeza, but in 1368: *Romance del cerco de Baeza*, "Cercada tiene a Baeza / esse arraez Audalla Mir" (Correa 211–220). This *romance* was written after the death of King Pedro I of Castile in 1369 and spread by his enemies, the supporters of his half-brother Henry II, who at that time ruled Baeza. The *romance* is narrated from the Christian perspective in retaliation against King Pedro I because he helped the Nasrid king of Granada to siege the city. Other *romances* of this nature include the *Romance de Reduán y el rey chico sobre la conquista de Jaén*, "Reduan, bien se te acuerda" and the *Romance del moro de Antequera,* also known as *Romance del alcaide de Antequera,* "De Antequera partio el moro."

[118] Placing the sites of conflict fictionalized in the *romancero viejo* on a current map provides a visual aid to understand the siege of the city of Granada on a macro scale, see Appendix A, sec. 2.

The complex geopolitical conditions depicted probably imposed a series of difficulties on the Baeza attackers. How to strike down a city that was undoubtedly conditioned to believe in the possibility of an imminent attack? According to the *glosa*, the spatial transgression into enemy lands must be as seamless as possible, “Hagase de tal manera / que cosa que de ver sea / quede como sino fuera” (Peralta, *BNE I* 264). Camouflaging the appearance and secrecy will be the main conditions for an utterly undetectable attack from the side of the Christians:

> si vos lo sabeys hacer
> de son que no se sospeche
> no hagays de día choças
> sino puestos en celada
> cubiertos detras las bocas. (Peralta, *BNE I* 264–65)

The imperceptibility of the assault relies on restricting activities during the day and wearing an attire that covers the mouths and encloses the attackers’ identity. Over this chapter, we have already seen the importance of secrecy and the concealment of identity in conflictive scenarios:

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[119] Referring to *glosa* of the *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen* and *glosa* of the *Romance de Fajardo*, respectively, analyzed in Chapter I.

Urraca changes garments and pretends to love the Moorish King while his father, the Cid, prepares to battle, and the Christian man at Morayma's door poses as her Moorish uncle and falsely portrays a Muslim culture. In these hybrid spaces, the concealment of identity, which could simply mean the concealment of the body or body parts, "cubiertos detras las bocas," becomes essential.

Secrecy or its semblance is a common trait of the consulted *romances* and *glosas*. Regarding the concealment of the physical aspect and any signs of identity, the following passage is striking:

> Que a vuestro salvo podeys
> hazello si soys cossarios
> que si tal forma teneys
> enla cama tomareys
> dormiendo a vuestros contrarios
> no hableys algaravias
> sino lengua aljamiada. (Peralta, *BNE I* 265)

In the analysis of the *Romance de la Mora Moraima*, we encountered a man who talked in *algarabía*, Arabic, to conceal his Christian identity. In this second case, the Moorish men should speak in *aljamía*, non-Arabic, to conceal their Muslim identities. The practice of sartorially changing the identity is instantaneous. A simple change in clothes or covering the face can immediately help blend an individual into another's identity. However, the idea of a linguistic disguise seems a lot more remarkable. As we have previously discussed, this practice implies social proximity and a proper environment for bilingualism. Language becomes thus an immaterial technique to conceal the identity.

Undoubtedly, this first portion of the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza* showcases the Moorish king's cunning strategy: an effective attack propitiated by well-compensated Moors; a destructive attack to obliterate any possibility of recovery; and a surprise attack where the concealment of physical and linguistic identity is required—however, the dynamic shifts. The second half of the *glosa* explores instead the plans to capture the daughter of Pero Diaz, "y trae con alegría / **la hija de Pero diaz / para ser mi enamorada**" (Peralta, *BNE I* 265). The strategy to conquer the land is followed by one to capture a lady.

Like the plan to siege Baeza, capturing the daughter's body will require a calculated strategy. However, this new undertaking brings much anxiety to the surface. The Moorish king is worried about the condition in which these new "goods" will arrive:

Y ninguno sea osado
de le tocar en desonra
mas traelda a buen recabdo
no enel fardaje tomado
mas entre vos con gran honra
y porque siempre en las bregas
soys persona señalada
y en semejantes entregas
yd vos capitan Vanegas
porque venga mas honrrada.

Por serlo vuestra ordenança
pierdo temor de perdella
que vos enla maladança
teneys como enla bonança
coraçon para vencella
que sospecho que no aydos
en toda la rodeada
para cometello nos
porque enbiandos a vos
no recelo en la tornada.

(Peralta, *BNE I* 265)

The daughter, turned into the main prize of the siege of Baeza, needs to be delivered in pristine conditions, meaning untouched by other men. Because of this, the Moorish king decides that the daughter should not travel alone, “como conviene a mi honor / **y a su hermana leonor / de quien sea acompañada**” (Peralta, *BNE I* 265). Leonor, whom we can presume is also the daughter of Pero Díaz, has become part of the spoils of war. Her mention brings about a subject of central importance for this *romance*: the dynamics of (dis)trust. Not only does Pero Díaz’s daughter needs to be accompanied by her sister Leonor, but the Moorish king will also send his most trusted man, Captain Vanegas, to take care of safeguarding the honesty of the captured lady.

Towards this purpose, the Moorish king outlines a series of strategies with which he hopes to delimit the daughter’s space to protect her (and incidentally, his) honor. First, the lady should not be in “el fardaje tomado”; that is, she must not travel with the rest of the material goods taken in the assault. Instead, she should be *placed* next to Vanegas, “entre vos con gran honra.” Captain Vanegas possesses the necessary qualities to take care of the package since he is “persona señalada,” and there is no one “que con discrecion sabeys / cometer quando deveys / y huyr cuando es dispuesto” (Peralta, *BNE I* 265). Ultimately, the Moorish king strategizes the capture, secures the transport details, and establishes the practiced place for the Christian woman about to be captured.

At the start of the chapter, we explored how the Moorish king of the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Valencia*, after a stroll through the city, suddenly decided to contest the newly established boundaries in Valencia. However, this Moorish king was unprepared, and Urraca’s appeal, used as a warfare tactic, was far more dangerous than his secret vengeance. On the other hand, since the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza* ends abruptly, we do not know if the well-prepared strategy to conquer Baeza and Pero Díaz’s daughter was successful. From the historical account, we know it was not, but we are already accustomed to the transpositions of history in the *romancero* and its *glosas*.

The daughter of Pero Díaz is precious cargo for the visual pleasure of the Moorish king and, as such, needs to be well adorned: “de joyas de gran valor / haze que venga arreada / como conviene a mi honor” (Peralta, *BNE I* 265). Clothing and jewelry function as cultural signs that produce a visual message regarding gender, religion, and social condition. Therefore, the suggested embellishment inevitably imposes the Christian women new cultural signs. Without a doubt, the capture of the Christian woman could catalyze notions of a social, cultural, and even religious conversion. Therefore, the (possibly Muslim) ornamentation with which the female body will be decorated can transform (at least visually) her Christian identity. The daughter’s body is thus prized merchandise, with the added value of jewelry, traveling with and about to enter the material possessions of the Muslim king. Additionally, a woman in sexier/skimpier clothes (Urraca and Morayma) or an embellished woman (the daughter of Pero Díaz) imposes a territorialization of the women’s body. Through a change in clothes or a new fit of jewelry, the woman’s body “welcomes” an invasion. The body turns into a landscape available for conquest. As in the preceding sections of the chapter, we see the female body exploited in the interest of warfare and conquest.

Through the territorialization of the female body, there is a sort of erasure of the woman herself; she becomes lost in her transition into a captive body. This idea is represented by the conquered woman’s lack of name. She is simply the “daughter of,” while Pero Díaz, the father, Leonor, the sister, and Captain Vanegas, the capturer, are all addressed by their proper names.[120] The mobilization and territorialization of the daughter's body foster the erasure of her identity. This notion seems to contrast sharply with Morayma's representation since her story is told in the first person and facilitates the recognition of her own identity. However, Morayma's self-assertion, "yo mera mora Morayma," employs the imperfect Spanish tense—*Yo era* / *I used to be*—hinting toward a possible change (erasure?) of her identity. Another erasure is to the woman herself, who is only mentioned but does not have a voice or inner thoughts. While we had access to Morayma's mental space, in the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza*, we can only enter into the mental space of the Moorish king, who is represented to us as an overly prepared and slightly insecure man who needs to protect his integrity, at all costs, by ensuring the purity of the stolen lady.

As we might remember, Yiacoup correlated the sexual offense of Morayma with the transgression of the political and social space of the Moors in the sixteenth century. However, in the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza*, we do not need to make that connection since it showcases, side by side, the transgression of space and that of the body. The spatial destruction unraveled by the Moorish side, "derribad hasta las tejas," is undoubtedly analogous to the sexual transgression Pero Díaz's daughter will likely suffer if captured. Interestingly, in the three glossed *romances* studied over this chapter, the feminine body is often equivalent to a passive space, available for conquest, exploration, and transgression, according to Gillian Rose:

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[120] However, it is important to note that the Moorish king remains unidentified, as it is customary in most *romances* and *glosas*.

> Mechanical theories of the world developed in the seventeenth century represented Nature as passive and female: she was seen as a set of discrete functioning mechanisms that could be controlled and also exploited, and that exploitation was legitimated through the images of conquest, violation and penetration which constituted scientists' claims to know Nature. The transcoding of feminine qualities to Nature, and of naturalness to women, is still strong today, as Haraway's studies of primatology argue. It also continues in geography. The Nature which human and physical geographers study in the field is characterized as feminine. (50)

Rose's understanding of geographical space as intrinsically feminine and exploited is an idea surveyed in these glossed *romances fronterizos*. We have explored medieval and early modern Iberian space as a transgressive entity in constant movement. However, it is essential to note that this movement into, within, and throughout these shifting geopolitical borders is often associated with an imposed transgression into an insistently feminine body. In these *romances* and *glosas,* conquest is often achieved from two perspectives. One is obvious, seizing a gate, a building, trespassing city walls: a structural conquest. The other is the conquest of the body: Urraca, the daughter of the Cid, turned as bait in the attempt to defend Valencia's city walls or a scheme to capture the daughters of Pero Díaz as spoils of war in the seize of Baeza. It seems like the relationship between the landscape and the body is unavoidable. The body, in particular female, experiences conquest just as a culture or a space.

Intersectionality in the *pliegos sueltos*

As seen in this chapter, the conquest of space seems correlated to the conquest of the female body. The *glosas de romance* consulted in the chapter portrayed how the women's body is used as a tactic of warfare (Urraca), victim of a hybrid and conflictive space (Morayma) and turned into a spoil of war (the daughter). Even nowadays, women are treated as spoils of war. In reaction to contemporary battlegrounds, Olivia Ward explains that "women's bodies are used as a battleground. They are marked off as a means for delimiting territories. This practice is common to all those who are taking part in the conflict. They use women to gain military objectives" (27). In a similar vein, Anna Louie Sussman investigates contemporary forms of sexual violence. In one of the stories, a Libyan soldier highlights a gruesome comparison between the space of conquest and the female body: "Were given orders no human being can accept. We were told that any house we entered was ours, any vehicle we wanted was ours, any girl we found, we could rape. Everything was for us" (Sussman, par. 11). In political conflicts, there seems to be an apparent connection between a (feminine) space and the (female) bodies within it; often, the pillage of one justifies the pillage of the other.

There is also an unavoidable linguistic and semantic association between a feminine gender discourse and notions of weakness, sensitivity, empathy, passivity, and weakness. On the contrary, a masculine gender discourse encourages ideas of strength, indifference, violence, dominance, and power. While real men and women do not fit into these gender roles, the way we see the world and understand space is greatly influenced by gender semantics. Carol Cohn's addresses the issue in relation to military training and how defense intellectuals think:

> I use the term *gender* to refer to the constellation of meanings that a given culture assigns to biological sex differences. But more than that, I use gender to refer to a symbolic system, a central organizing discourse of culture, …
>
> So when I talk about "gender discourse," I am talking not only about words or language but about a system of meanings, of ways of thinking, images and words that

> first shape how we experience, understand, and represent ourselves as men and women, but that also do more than that; they shape many other aspects of our lives and culture. In this symbolic system, human characteristics are dichotomized, divided into pairs of polar opposites that are supposedly mutually exclusive: mind is opposed to body; culture to nature; thought to feeling; logic to intuition; objectivity to subjectivity; aggression to passivity; confrontation to accommodation; abstraction to particularity; public to private; political to personal; ad nauseam. In each case, the first term of the "opposites" is associated with male, the second with female. And in each case, our society values the first over the second. (228–29)

Undoubtedly, our social structures are influenced by a gendered discourse that intentionally or not shapes our understanding of the world and how we experience culture and practice space. Under these semantic coordinates, women (Urraca, Morayma, the daughter) and space (Valencia, Granada, Baeza) are linked to a feminine gender discourse, and as such, their availability for subjugation is expected:

> Lo que no podeys traer
> quede tal que no aproveche
> …………………………
> y trae con alegría
> **la hija de Pero diaz**
> **para ser mi enamorada.** (Peralta, *BNE I* 264–65)

> We were told that any house we entered was ours, any vehicle we wanted was ours, any girl we found, we could rape. Everything was for us. (Sussman, par. 11).

The linguistic relationship between women/landscape endorses a discourse of conquest and subjugation that prevailed in the three *glosas* studied in this chapter.

Women and landscapes share a semantic discourse associated with notions of impotence, vulnerability, and subordination. As such, women/landscape representations in the *pliegos sueltos* promote the overarching topic of conquest. Interestingly, through women's (un)willful participation in the schemes of spatial conquest, we have studied the unavoidable relationship between space and the body. So far, we have explored *pliegos sueltos* that map sacred and conquered spaces, present an intertextual and subordinate relationship between *romances* and *glosas*, and exhibit the recurrent imagery of a conquered landscape regarded as a woman and a woman deemed as conquered landscape. In essence, the *pliegos sueltos* echo the discourse of conquest of the sixteenth century. However, our understanding of medieval Iberian space, through sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos*, is not limited to charted and representational conquered spaces. In our analysis of a gendered intersectional space, women are frequently victims, occasionally victimizers, but always bound to being used as part of a warfare strategy in the conflictive dynamics of conquest.

CHAPTER IV

Charting the City: Chorography and Cartography in *pliegos sueltos*

Bertrand Westphal raises a valuable query in his chapter about *Reading Spaces*: “Does the text precede the place?” To illustrate this idea, Westphal analyses the city of Paris experienced, represented, and constructed by Italo Calvino, Georges Perec, and Umberto Eco. How about we revisit the passage:

> Often the text precedes the place: Calvino, as well as Eco, come to Paris and *experience* Paris after having read the novels that have informed their inner landscape. The representation of Paris is for them a cross between their direct, polysensorial perceptions and the intertextual construction that makes up their separate personal encyclopedias. Within the Paris of Calvino and Eco, there are, like so many nesting dolls, the Paris of Balzac, of Dumas, and of Utrillo. (*Geocriticism* 152–53)

On the one hand, we construct our notion of space from the intertextual (and interdisciplinary) iconographic and literary representations of a place. On the other, our direct and real interactions—our *experience*—with space will disrupt, inform, and complement any pre-conceptual referent we may have of a place. Spatial representation is undoubtedly subject to constraints. Umberto Eco stumbles on the same idea when analyzing the natural shortcomings of his literary depiction of Paris: “Paris is far more complex than the locale described by Perec and the one described in my book” (*apud* Westphal, *Geocritism* 152). Comparably, an individual who visits, experiences or lives in Los Angeles is bound to challenge the Hollywood-esque presumptions of the city. Our understanding of space will draw from both our own experiences and intertextual literary representations. As such, the interpretation of Iberian cities in the *pliegos sueltos* must be guided by these notions concerning the intertextual construction of space.

In previous chapters, I have performed close individual readings of *romances*, *glosas de romance,* and the *Partidas*' text, which, at the same time, had steered towards an intertextual and integrated analysis. In some of the examined texts, we have encountered an insistent depiction of the dangers associated with frontier and hybrid spaces, like in the *glosa* of the *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen*, the *glosa* of the *Romance de Fajardo*, and the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza*. In others, the city is the protagonist, and its representation constitutes a form of mapping, itemizing, and conquering space: *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada*, the *Romance hecho en lohores de Valencia*, and the *glosa* of the *Romance del moro que perdió Valencia*, for example. This chapter acknowledges the intertextual spatialities we have mapped out in *pliegos sueltos*. In the following pages, we will explore the representation of Granada and Valencia from medieval times until the late sixteenth century, analyze how their cityscapes are depicted in *pliegos sueltos,* and explore how some *pliegos* participated in and contributed to the disciplines of Iberian chorography and literary cartography. Finally, I argue that the *pliegos sueltos* possibly influenced how their readers and listeners understood the spatialities of the medieval literary past and a renewed sixteenth century spatial counterpart.

The Chorographic Tradition

In previous chapters, we have superficially explained the role of chorography in depicting Iberian space. The art of chorography, "a detailed description of a particular place" (Kagan, "Clio" 85), was in vogue in Europe over the sixteenth century. The discipline of chorography took significant hold in the Iberian Peninsula as well:

> In Spain, chorography was several things at once. In the hands of cosmographers and geographers, it quickly took the form of large compendia attempting to provide a detailed look at the Habsburgs' rapidly growing empire. Fernando Colón never completed his ambitious topographical dictionary of Spain, but the manuscript, housed in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville, served as starting point for such works as Marineo Siculo's *De rebus hispaniae*, as well as for Pedro de Medina's *Libro de las grandezas o cosas memorables de España* (Seville, 1548), which incorporated detailed descriptions of several hundred Iberian cities and towns. Chorography also served as the inspiration for many of the great geo-historical projects launched by Philip II, including the *Relaciones geograficas*; Morales' compendium of Spanish antiquities; and the topographical views of Spanish cities that Philip II commissioned from the Flemish painter, Anton van den Wyngaerde. For a moment, therefore, chorography entered the monarchy's service, joining a team, already comprised of architecture, cartography, painting and history, whose task was to demonstrate the grandeur of the Habsburg domain.
>
> (Kagan, "Clio" 85–86)

As the passage explains, King Phillip II, among several scholars, historians, and painters, made numerous efforts to depict his glorious empire. The monarch constructed magnificent buildings, like El Escorial, to showcase the breadth of his power and commissioned different works that intended to map, itemize, and do an inventory of Spain's topographical and architectural possessions.[121]

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[121] See Fernández-González, *Philip II of Spain and the Architecture of Empire*; and Kagan, "Clio" and "Urbs."

From the fifteenth until the seventeenth century, city histories were one of the most important genres of Iberian chorography.[122] According to Santiago Quesada in *La idea en la cultura hispana de la ciudad moderna* (1992), city histories narrated the history of a city, exalted the regional characteristics, represented their independence based on the concept of a republic, and even distributed the biographies of illustrious citizens (1–5). Since Roman civilization was, for much time, established as the model of the perfect, desired, and civilized city, often the notion and history of an Iberian city was composed after and in imitation of the Roman example. Conceptualizations of the Iberian city drew from both the classical idea of the Roman Republic and from a Christian basis, which serves as a guide to this "Republica ideal" (Quesada 3).

For instance, the standard of a Roman and Christian foundation prevailed in the historical reconstruction of two city histories already mentioned in this dissertation. Pedro de Alcocer's *Historia o descripción de la ciudad imperial de Toledo* (1554) was the model for the genre of city histories. This *Historia* presents an idealized image of Toledo and depicts it as an ancient, imperial, and Christian nation and city:

> somos tan deudores a Dios nuestro señor, por avernos traydo a tan prospero y bienaventurado estado, y a tiempo en que tan limpia y pura bive oy en España nuestra sancta fe católica mucho mas, que en otro reyno del mundo, y a tiempo en que gozamos de tanta gloria y prosperidad, nombre, fama, y alteza, paz, y seguridad, y justicia debaxo de la monarchia y governacion de nuestro invictissimo monarcha CARLOS v. Emperador de los Romanos. (Alcocer, "Libro Primero" ff. 5v)

It continues showcasing Toledo's antiquity:

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[122] Scholars have recorded around 127 Iberian city histories pertaining to these centuries, see Quesada 5.

> Toledo cibdad Imperial, y llamada en las hystorias, cabeça de las españas, de quien haze mención *Titolivio, Ptolomeo, y Plinio*. …
>
> Y no es de maravillar, que aya cerca dela poblacion desta ciudad, tanta diversidad de opiniones, pues las ay también a cerca de la primera poblacian de la cibdad de Roma, cabeça del mundo … Porque quanto una poblacion es mas antigua, tanto menos noticia se tiene de su origen y comienço: y por tanto se tiene por mas noble y antigua.
>
> (Alcocer, "Libro Primero" ff. 10r–11r; emphasis mine)

In a similar vein, the *Historia eclesiástica de Granada* (1623) by Justino Antolínez de Burgos, which constitutes an attempt to manipulate the "discoveries" of Sacromonte, emphasizes the Christian base of the city and its connection with Roman martyrs:

> Nacio este cuidado, o, del amor dela virtud que se sustenta, y crece con los exemplos que leemos en ella, o, del agradecimiento que se debe a aquellos de quien se a recibido algun particular beneficio. Estos respectos movieron mi animo a escribir la Historia Eclesiastica de Granada, el principio que tubo en la Fé. Como fue la primera que dió leyes a España, y a toda la Cristiandad en el Concilio Illiberitano, … Como aunque se perdio España, y la señorearon Moros ochocientos años, no se perdió la Fé generalmente en estos Reynos, ni faltó en Granada, defendiendola, conservandola, y aumentandola *S. Cecilio, Thessiphon, Hiscio,* y sus discípulos dende las cavernas y horros del monte sacro donde padecieron, y manifiesto nuestro Señor milagrosamente sus reliquias, y misteriosos libros, al cabo de mas de mil y quinientos años. (ff. 1v; emphasis mine)

In both examples, the city history exhibits the Catholic Church as an essential pillar for the city supported by the supposed approval of Roman scholars such as Livy, Ptolemy, and Pliny, or

Christian martyrs such as Caecilius, Ctesiphon, and Hesychius.[123] The principles of the Roman Republic and the Catholic Church became fundamental towards the composition of the history of Iberian cities: "la imagen que se difunde a través de la descripción y la historia de estas ciudades, se mueve entre el panegírico y la presentación de una Republica ideal. Ambos aspectos corresponden a una manera preconcebida de ver e imaginar la ciudad, fruto de un esquema mental y teórico que sirve de base a la hora de componer historias de ciudades" (Quesada 3).

City histories and other chorographic documents described the space—from a spatiotemporal perspective—and conditioned the way individuals interacted with said spaces. Chorographic representations of Spain instructed individuals to understand their religious and social environments and identify with a culture. Chorography provided inhabitants of a place "with a language they might use to locate themselves in the world, to distinguish themselves from the inhabitants of other nearby, often rival, cities and towns. Finally, it sought to convert these inhabitants into citizens, members of a community sharing a common past" (Kagan, "Clio" 99). Thus, the practice of chorography informed people as to how to understand their past and present, their immediate space, their regional and national identity, and their positionality.

The production of city histories, maps, panoramic sketches, chronicles, and relationships, among other chorographic materials, fomented an interdisciplinary, multilayered, and intertextual representation of sixteenth century Iberian space.[124] While chorography is a particular practice of topographical and geographical description, I believe that these efforts of spatial representation, characteristic of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, percolated into the *pliegos sueltos*. For instance, texts like *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada* and the *Romance hecho en lohores de Valencia* provided, in chorographic fashion, “a detailed description of a particular place” (Kagan, “Clio” 85). The texts mentioned could have contributed to how readers and listeners of *pliegos sueltos* in Granada and Valencia understood the geographical, topographical, architectural, and cultural layers of their respective cities. Richard Helgerson asserted that “chorography defines itself by opposition to chronicle. It is the genre devoted to place, and chronicle is the genre devoted to time” (132). In the following sections, we will go over some *pliegos sueltos* that were indeed “devoted to place” and that exhibit undeniable similarities with the practice of chorography.

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[123] The three martyrs mentioned were part of the group known as the Seven Apostolic Men—Torquatus, Caecilius, Ctesiphon, Euphrasius, Indaletius, Hesychius, and Secundius—which according to a legend, later added to the tradition of Saint James the Great, were ordained in Rome by Saints Peter and Paul to evangelize Spain, see Alvar Ezquerra 598 and Márquez Villanueva.

“Aunque andeys noches y días / nunca acabares de andar” —Granada

As we have encountered so far, Granada, the last bastion conquered for Christianity in Iberia, inspired many *romances* and their glosses. It also inspired the text of *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada,* a sort of cartographic *pliego suelto* that enables us to map the main streets, buildings, and cityscapes of Granada. Other than its cartographic component, the *Partidas*’ text was committed to depicting Granada’s victorious transition into Christianity. As discovered in Chapter I, this transition was represented through a cityscape dominated by

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[124] Visual chorographic materials were very prominent in early modern Spain, see Granada’s *Plataforma de Vico* and the panoramic drawings by Wyngaerde in Appendix B and C.

Christianity. The journey of the *Partidas* mapped out a series of churches, convents, monasteries, and spaces of Christian worship, which demonstrated the supremacy of the Catholic Church in the cityscape of Granada from 1550. Through this almost excessive itemization of buildings, most of them religious, the *Partidas* brought a renewed understanding of a Granada that seems infinite:

> aunque andeys noches y dias
> nunca acabares de andar
> las cosas que ay que mirar
> pero todo aquello andado
> quando esteys muy reposado
> podeys a dar todos cuenta
> sin que palabra se mienta
> destas cosaz que he contado. (Martínez, *BDH* 7)

The lengthy catalog of buildings in the Granada of the *Partidas* concurs with the techniques employed in city histories of the time:

> En las historias de ciudades podemos observar la importancia dada a la presencia y número de edificios significativos en la ciudad. En este sentido, la cantidad de edificaciones, palacios, edificios suntuarios y casas solariegas, tienen su importancia por cuanto contribuyen a dar lustre a la ciudad. …
>
> De esta forma, la calidad de una ciudad, debe desprenderse no sólo de un número suficiente de ciudadanos ilustres y nobles, sino también debe poder observarse en la

> propia urbe, en el aspecto de sus calles y edificios … Todo ello porporciona [sic] la ‘grandeza’ de la ciudad. (Quesada 132)[125]

Pioneer of many Granadan chorographies, the *Partidas* followed to the letter this numerical itemization of the city, especially by mapping-out buildings belonging to the church, to demonstrate the religious authority and power of the new inhabitants of Granada.[126] Granadan society was eager to leave behind the time when “la señorearon Moros ochocientos años” (Antolínez de Burgos, ff. 1v). In the *Partidas*, Granada’s transition toward Christianity is both religious, “La yglesia cathedral / donde yban moros y moras / alli se dizen las horas,” and political, “Guardan la tres mil soldados / porque este mejor que de antes” (Martínez, *BDH* 7). The structural, architectural, political, social, and religious conversions are often noted through the representation of a renovated/repurposed space, a Granada in reconstruction: “y ala iglesia mayor / que otro tiempo fue mezquita” (Martínez, *BDH* 3).

An essential aspect of this renovated space represented in the *Partidas*, involves the (re)population of the city: “Sublima se su grandeza / poblando se cada dia” (Martínez, *BDH* 7). Granada’s repopulation might demonstrate the successful transition to a Christian state. Concerning the population in city histories, Quesada explains:

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[125] According to Quesada, this changed after the seventeenth century when, instead of focusing on quantity, city histories began to give importance to the quality of those buildings and cityscapes: “Es probable que esto tenga que ver con el estancamiento, e incluso retroceso, en el crecimiento urbano de algunas ciudades” (131).

[126] Before the publication of *Historia eclesiástica de Granada* (1623), *Plataforma de Vico* (1623), *Historia eclesiástica: Principios y progressos de la ciudad, y religión católica de Granada* (1638), among other chorographic materials of the seventeenth century, the *Partidas*’ (1550) represented a renewed geopolitical and religious understanding of Granada in favor of Christian supremacy.

> Hay, en las historias de ciudades, dos tendencias en cuanto a las consideraciones que pueden hacerse sobre la calidad de los ciudadanos y su cantidad. Por un lado, como hemos visto, existe una larga tradición escrita que considera que una buena representación de ciudadanos de calidad es inseparable del buen gobierno de la ciudad. Por otro lado, parece observarse en las historias escritas en los siglos XVI y XVII, un interés por presentar una ciudad populosa, en crecimiento, a la par que podemos ver, en algunos ejemplos, una preocupación, por la despoblación. (130)

In the case of the *Partidas,* we seem to be facing the latter. The text highlights a city populated each day, but we are not necessarily acquainted with the type of citizens living in Granada. By providing an inventory of the Christian churches and being cognizant of the increase in the population, the *Partidas* follow the quantitative trend present in sixteenth century city histories.

According to Ruiz, Granada was already a populous city during the early thirteenth century:

> In 1492, Granada was the last outpost of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula, though the city and the kingdom had a long and fabled past. Already in the early thirteenth century, Granada was one of the largest cities in the peninsula, and its population rose to even greater numbers after the unsuccessful Mudejar rebellion in western Andalusia (1260s) and the subsequent expulsion of the Mudejars from Christian lands. (*Spanish* 23)

Why does the *Partidas* text highlight Granada's population growth? Was not the city already populous? Does the author mean that the city was being repopulated? Is the text establishing a distinction between the previous inhabitants and those new to the city? Probably, a combination of all of these aspects. Both a diminished population precipitated by the conquest of Granada and an attempt to highlight the quality of the city's new inhabitants seem plausible. Also, other instances in the *Partidas*' journey, which we will consider below, suggest an aggressive repopulation and the displacement of the former occupants of Granada.

In the *Partidas*, Granada's social and ethnic diversity seemed challenging to locate. However, there is one instance in which it is apparent. We will return to a previously discussed passage to illustrate it:

> y subid al alyzin
> donde estan hasta la fin
> los moriscos apartados
> muy subidos y apretados. (Martínez, *BDH* 5)

The Moorish community in Granada is restricted to a specific place and living conditions. The Christian-dominated map delimited and charted the space to be practiced by the Moors. This reference to the conditions of the Moorish community in Granada can be further illuminated by the following passage in which Ruiz explains the social conditions of post-conquest Granada:

> Although the terms of surrender guaranteed the Muslim population the right to practice its religion, intolerance set in directly, and harsh measures led to forced conversions and attempts at resettling areas in Granada's hinterland with Christians. The impact of these policies was to create an unstable political situation and social hierarchies based on religion, ethnicity and language, which eventually exploded in violent *Morisco* uprisings in the Alpujarras mountains in the late 1490s and 1560s. (*Spanish* 23)

Granada's new Christian citizens were eager to dispel any vestiges of the past that could associate them with a Muslim community. Therefore, while the Moorish population was supposedly allowed to maintain their religion, it was all under rigorous living conditions and a harsh environment of intolerance. The *Partidas*' passage illustrates how the Christians established, delimited, and enforced a restricted and unbearable Moorish space that triggered the *Morisco* uprisings.

According to Kagan, chorography in Spain encouraged regionalism. These maps and city histories served to exalt the things that made each region different and exceptional: “By definition, it was oriented to detail, to particularities, to highlighting minuscule details of small, even insignificant towns. In contrast, the monarchy, with its imperial pretensions, sought glory on a wider, almost universal scale” (Kagan, “Clio” 86). Similarly, in the *Partidas*, the newly enhanced Christian cityscape and the seemingly increasing population make Granada, at least from a chorographic perspective, better than the rest of Iberia. The *villancico* of the *Partidas* celebrates it along these lines:

pues ciudad que tanto cresce
con Reyes y en tal cavaña
no se halla en toda España
…………………………
Guardan la tres mil soldados
porque este mejor que de antes
y estos son los pleyteantes
que en ella estan aloxados
y sin ser del Rey pagados
…………………………
otra ciudad en Castilla
mas fuerte no hallaran
tiemblan los del alcoran
(Martínez, *BDH* 7–8).

In the *Partidas*, Granada stands as the best city in the entire peninsula. Granada is well cared for by soldiers who, even without pay, are willing to defend the last acquisition of the crown of Castile. According to the text, even in the constant threat of a Muslim attack, Christian Granada transpires as a strong enclave, powerful enough to deter any advances from the neighboring enemy.

For the most part, the people "del alcoran" are conspicuous by their absence in the *Partidas*. This erasure, Quesada explains, was also typical of the city histories:

> En cuanto a los 'moros y judíos,' aunque puedan ser nombrados ambos—y a veces conjuntamente—como ciudadanos por habitar en la ciudad, son explícitamente postergados, en el caso, poco frecuente, de que haya una referencia explícita a ellos. …
>
> en la mayor parte de las historias de ciudades, existe una minusvaloración, cuando no desprecio de los extranjeros y de los colectivos formados por moros y judíos. (Quesada 129)

City histories, and analogously the *Partidas*, exalted the pieces of history that were advantageous to their narrative and goals and erased any unwanted aspects. As previously stated, the *Partidas* referred the reader to the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*: "cantares con boz quebrada / este *Romance* con lloro / **Passeavase el Rey moro**" (Martínez, *BDH* 7). In the *romance viejo*, the fictionalization of the events at the Alhama of Granada (1482) served as a premonition to the future subjugation of Granada (1492): "Por esso mereces, rey, una pena bien doblada: / que te pierdas tú y el Reyno, y que se pierda Granada" (Correa 361–63). Therefore, even this literary recommendation, at the end of the *Partidas*, celebrates the success of the "Reconquista" by reminding the readers of the triumph at Alhama. Granada's transition towards Christianity, exhibited in the textual map of the *Partidas*, serves—like city histories and chorographies—to map the expansion and political supremacy of the Spanish crown in the sixteenth century: "The map is the instrument of domestication of the territory of the Other, who himself undergoes a subtle but inexorable Other-ing" (Westphal, *Plausible* 145).

“A ver lo que alli havia” —Valencia

The *pliegos sueltos* also did chorographic-like renditions of Valencia. The *romances* in this section insistently depict Valencia’s spatiality. Mainly we will analyze a *romance* that celebrates the entrance of Margaret of Austria to Valencia: *Romance nuevo, en el qual se glosa el letrero que se puso en el Arco triunfal que se hizo en el Mercado de Valecia en la entrada de la Reyna de España doña Margarita de Austria que dezia. Para mas, si mas hubiera* (1599).[127] Additionally, we will bear in mind the *Romance hecho en lohores de Valencia* (1525), studied in Chapter I. Our analysis of the latter depicted how the abundance of Valencia’s natural landscape was intrinsically interconnected with the vibrancy of its cityscapes and commercial spaces. These two *romances nuevos* showcase the fauna, flora, quality of resources, and mercantile spaces of Valencia; and itemize the buildings, streets, bridges, and other structures that comprise, in chorographic fashion, a large, urban, and sophisticated city.

Monarchical city entries, weddings, and other public celebrations provided fascinating accounts to explore urban space.[128] For instance, one of the first texts to be published in *pliegos sueltos* (1496) were *coplas* to celebrate the wedding of Joanna of Castile (the Mad) to Phillip I

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[127] In the *romance*, a public sign above Valencia’s triumphal arch, which read “Para mas si mas hubiera,” is taken as a motive and glossed in the *romance*’s refrain. The *romance*, which references the many homages that the city prepared to receive royals and aristocrats, was composed to celebrate the entrance of Margarita de Austria to Valencia. It was published in 1599 in the Molí de Rovella, the most relevant Valencian printing press from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. The *pliego suelto* consulted was published digitally by *Google Books*, all further references to it will employ the following convention: (*Romance nuevo* 1–10).

[128] About the topic of monarchical city entries and public celebrations, see, Ruiz, *A King Travels*, esp. ch. 3 and 5.

(the Handsome): *Coplas hechas sobre el casamiento de la hija del Rey d'España con el hijo del Emperador duque de Bergoña conde de Flandes archiduque de Autarixa*.[129] Joanna and Phillip's official wedding did not take place on the peninsula, but the *coplas* seized the opportunity of Joanna's farewell to celebrate the union. The *coplas* described the luggage and the many riches the—about to be—wife took to her new abode. These riches were also carried on her body, dressed in a luxurious red dress, and adorned with precious jewelry, including rubies to combine:

> Su alteza ataviada
> vos dire como la vi
> con una ropa colorada
> descarlata muy preciada
> aforrada en carmeli
> ella trae un gran robi
> y otras piedras relumbrosas. (*Coplas, BDH* 2)

The appeal of an adorned Joanna consistently marvels the spectators in the city.

The *coplas* map Joanna's way to Laredo, from where she will begin her journey to Flanders in the Low Countries:

> A laredo se partio
> la duquesa a grand andar
> y la reyna la siguió

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[129] These *coplas* were printed in 1496 in Burgos by Fadrique de Basilea. I am consulting the *pliego suelto* published digitally by the *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* (*BDH*) of the Biblioteca Nacional de España and I am quoting using the following convention: (*Coplas, BDH* 1–8).

nunca della se partio
falta ver la denbarcar. (*Coplas*, *BDH* 5)

Along with Queen Isabella I of Castille, the people have also gathered in Laredo's port to bid farewell to Joanna. The community of Laredo has deemed Joanna's farewell as an important public celebration. The space is filled with music to celebrate the Joanna's departure: "Los atabales y trompetas / escomiençan de tocar / y las fuertes lombardetas," "Con trompetas y clarones," "Las musicas que tañían / son de tales perficiones" (*Coplas*, *BDH* 5–6). In unison, the Spanish subjects and the foreign guests, "alemanes bergoñones," enjoy the soundscape: "que todos quantos las oyan / conel gozo que sentian / alegro sus coraçones" (*Coplas*, *BDH* 6). These public events, which included entrances to the city, weddings, and even departures, seemed to have been quite significant for Spanish society. The royal entries and processions

> were, first and foremost, ritualized performances of power, but the articulation of that power did not always flow in only one direction. Entries, triumphs, and similar performances worked because of their reassuring familiarity to onlookers. The reiteration of certain motifs, the expectation of a heady bricolage of courtly, religious, classical (mythological), and magical strains, the appeal of flashy and colorful dress, fireworks, and "unheard of artifacts," as the chroniclers often described new mechanical and architectural innovations in the feasts, enchanted viewers while forcefully reminding them of the separation between social groups and the distance between one order and another. (Ruiz, *King* 71)

Spectators of Joanna's departure were indeed marveled by the wealth and riches exhibited by the royals and distracted from their daily lives. Aristocratic public events offered moments of celebration to the subjects and provided them with a polysensory experience of living the city and experiencing the innovations brought to it, all while still establishing social separations.

Pertaining to this topic of royal wedding and city entries, the *Romance nuevo en el qual se glosa el letrero* (1599) celebrates the "dobles bodas reales entre Felipe III y Margarita de Austria y la infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia y el Archiduque Alberto" (Martín 63). Mónica Martín Molares explains that this end-of-the-century wedding created much movement in the printing presses on account of the many chronicles commissioned:

> estas dobles bodas celebradas en Valencia en 1599 dieron lugar a una profusión de noticias que, hasta la fecha, no se conocía en España. Este acontecimiento festivo, político, y social, supuso que los promotores de las fiestas quisiesen dejar memoria de lo ocurrido, encargando así a poetas y humanistas su relación; en otros caso, pudo ser que los propios poetas, atendiendo a la necesidad de protección, decidiesen poner por escrito los hechos, e incluso los libreros y/o editores viesen en el encargo de la redacción de estas relaciones una ganancia segura. (72)

In this spirit, the incipit of the *Romance nuevo en el qual se glosa el letrero* (1599) gave the appearance of being one of the many chronicles and poems made about the famous weddings: "El dia que el Rey Phelipe / se caso dentro en Valencia, / para darle con sus bodas / en el mundo fama eterna" (*Romance nuevo* 2). However, contrary to the assignment, in the *Romance nuevo,* there is almost no mention of the events that took place in Valencia and the noblemen who participated in them. Instead, the city enjoys a protagonist role. In the *Romance nuevo,* the weddings celebrated in Valencia became an excuse to represent the city in all its splendor. While some writers and humanists left memory of the Valencian weddings of 1599, such as the ones studied by Martín Molares, some, like the author of the *Romance nuevo*, decided to exalt the host city instead.

In these *romances,* the preponderance of Valencia's mercantile space is striking. Valencia is a delightful mercantile square brimming with supplies and customers. In the *Romance hecho en lohores* the commercial space is "de grandes mercaderias / y riquezas abundada / … y deleytes abastada" ("Libro," *Morbecq* 169). While in the *Romance nuevo* the abundance in the Valencian markets is comprehensive and represented in detail by Valencia-personified:

> Aqui tengo, dize a todos,
> vino, azeyte, miel, y cera,
> cañamo, trigo, cevada,
> paja, algarrouas, avena.
> Establos, caballerizas,
> mantas, herraduras, xergas,
> caparaçones, coxines,
> estribos, sillas, espuelas. (*Romance nuevo* 4)

The abundance of Valencia's markets helps build an important image about the city's prosperity. This hyperbolical and detailed itemization of the city's abundance is one of the most common aspects of the city histories: "las historias proporcionan numerosos ejemplos de una sociedad abundante. … si bien es verdad que las referencias a la abundancia son con frecuencia retóricas, fruto de la difusión de una imagen modelo del sitio providencial, parece significativo que—

especialmente en el siglo XVI—algunos presenten una sociedad recreada en la compra y en el consumo" (Quesada 78).[130]

Additionally, and as previously revealed in Chapter I, Valencia's enviable landscape is suitable for agriculture and nourishment, furthering the image of abundance in the depicted markets:

> Pescados en abundancia
> tengo de varias maneras,
> aunque sea todo el año
> Viernes, Sabado, y Quaresma.
> No faltan carnes salvages
> bueyes, vacas, y terneras. (*Romance nuevo* 4)

Interestingly, the passage could be reflecting on the rest and holy days of the Muslim (Fridays), Jewish (Saturdays), and Christians (Lent) and how the abundance of fish in Valencia allowed the different religious communities to partake in their various dietary restrictions with ease. Undoubtedly, according to the *romances*, Valencia is a resourceful and agriculturally rich city.

Although the importance of Valencia's overflowing markets and productive agriculture is undeniable, the most decisive factor to the city's significance rested on its commercial maritime benefit. The geographical position of Valencia facilitated the definitive connection of the city with other ports in the Mediterranean. As a result, Valencia was an important trading center in the Mediterranean and enjoyed important commercial relationships with Italy.[131] Interestingly, both *romances* relied heavily upon Valencia’s connection to the Venetian port. In the *Romance hecho en lohores*, Valencia was depicted as equivalent to Venice, “de estanques y mar cercada / como Venecia la rica / sobre aguas assentada. (“Libro,” *Morbecq* 169). In the *Romance nuevo* this connection with Venice is reiterated:

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[130] About the representation of abundance, trade, and consumption in city histories, see Quesada, esp. ch. 5.

[131] About Italian commercial practices during these periods, see Phillips 84; and Abulafia 383–84.

> De la seda que en mi cogen
> se hazen tan ricas pieças
> de differentes laboros
> que en todo el mundo se precian.
> En lo que toca a mis paños
> no se halla differencia,
> en refinos de Segovia,
> ni en rajas de Florencia.
> No hallaras menos en mi
> quanto engrandece Venecia,
> de vidrios, y de cristales
> Para mas si mas hubiera.
>
> (*Romance nuevo* 5)

Initially, the passage features the distinguished objects and textiles available in Valencia. According to the *Romance nuevo,* the city lacks nothing. Valencia is a refined, modern city comparable to the sophisticated cities of Segovia, Florence, and Venice. All the refinement that makes Venice an important and powerful enclave can be equally met in Valencia: “No hallaras menos en mi / quanto engrandece Venecia.”

However, the relationship between Valencia and Venice went beyond their Mediterranean commercial relations. Venice was the model of Roman humanism and the *Rēs pūblica Rōmāna* ideals to which the Iberian writers of chorography aspired:

> La conexión con el humanismo veneciano ha sido destacada ya por Maravall, quien aluda a la relación de temas e ideas en la difusión del humanismo veneciano e hispano. Enmarcadas por esta relación, la vinculación de historias de ciudades hispanas con textos venecianos parece producirse a través de diferentes canales de difusión: relación de entre

> personas, la incorporación de citas y la elaboración de temas comunes; … hemos de considerar que, desde mediados del siglo XVI, Venecia substituye a Roma en la comparación de los ordenamientos políticos, los historiadores—y humanistas en general interesados por la res república—pudieron tener un especial interés por la historia que había conducido a tal ordenamiento, y curiosidad por la lectura de la descripción de Venecia entendida como "República ideal." (Quesada 17)

Editors of *pliegos sueltos* were probably also reading and producing city histories in the printing presses; many were written about Valencia during the sixteenth century.[132] Venice, as the new model for the "República ideal," influenced these chorographies about Valencia and was an important referent for Valencian humanists. Therefore, in both *romances,* the reference to Venice and the comparisons established between Valencia and the Italian city are not surprising. Venice certainly was an inspiration to Valencians, and the established connections are, in part, aspirational and, mostly, inspired by chorography and the ideas of the "República ideal."

Using topography as a geopolitical marker, Valencia-personified invites those who live in the neighboring communities of the European Danube and Po rivers and local rivers, such as the Tagus and Betis (Guadalquivir).[133] Additionally, the city welcomes illustrious visitors such as

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[132] On city histories about Valencia, see Quesada, esp. Ch. 1 and 3.

[133] Note that the *romance* chooses to call the river that traverses Andalusia as Betis, the Roman given name in relation to the province of Hispania Baetica. However, during the sixteenth century, this river was already known, as it is nowadays, as the Guadalquivir River, name which comes from the Arabic, *al-wādī l-kabīr*, meaning "the great river." See "Guadalquivir River" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Undoubtedly, the *romance* places importance into the name given by Romans and erases the topographical name from the times of Al-Andalus.

"Cardenales" and "Nuncios" (Papal Ambassadors). It is important to note that, presumably, these distinguished guests will confer significance to the city:

> Entren, vengan los que abitan
> del Po, y Danubio las vegas,
> los Cardenales, los Nuncios
> con recamaras immensas.
> Embaxadores de Italia,
> y Francia no se detenga
> vengan las casas ilustres
> cuyos campos Tajo riega,
> y de la fertil Vandalia
> todos quantos Betis cerca.
> Vengan grandes de Castilla
> publicando sus grandezas.
>
> (*Romance nuevo* 6)

These foreign and domestic communities are insistently called into Valencia: "Entren, vengan." The invitation to Valencia sounds more like a challenge; European people, including Italian and French ambassadors, ecclesiastical envoys, and even illustrious people from Andalusia (Vandalia) and Castilla—dare to come to me. We understand this calling as a veiled barbed comment because right after it, the *romance* starts describing the magnificent architecture of the city, "Tengo edificios famosos…" (*Romance nuevo* 7), as a way to showcase the city's preeminence. This understanding is more akin to city histories, where anything foreign or non-local is treated with contempt.[134] Most of the time, foreign presence was frowned upon since it was believed to be averse to the good order of the city (Quesada 115). However, Valencia's rivalry with foreign and Iberian communities will become more apparent as the *romance* advances.

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[134] Sometimes an exception was made for foreign merchants "porque contribuyen a la importación y exportación de lo necesario para la ciudad, por lo que, en este sentido, y también en el de la defensa de la ciudad, la cercania [sic] al mar y la presencia de un puerto son favorables" (Quesada 115).

In the *romance,* Spain—but more specifically the city of Valencia—is the most important religious center in the globe:

Y entre todas es mayor
la de la mayor yglesia,
tan sumptuosa, y tan alta
de tantas campanas llena.
Con la que nos mide el tiempo
que esta en la parte suprema,
que no ay otra semejante
de España en toda la tierra.
Pues en el culto divino
tanto mi tiro se estrema,
que Roma, ni otra ciudad
con muchos passos no allega.

(*Romance nuevo* 9)

The holiness of Valencia is even unparalleled by Rome: "Pues en el culto divino / tanto mi tiro se estrema." Let us remember that the practice of chorography insisted on establishing distinctions with other towns or cities. In true chorographic fashion, the importance of the city of Valencia is decided by its comparison to other cities (Segovia, Florence, Venice, Rome), against which Valencia is superior in terms of its ostentatious abundance, refinement, and its extreme piety.

This notion is further represented by the hyperbolical description of Valencia's churches and relics:

de Iesu Christo y su madre,
y de mil santos, que apenas
ay santo, o santa en el cielo
de quien reliquia no tenga.
Pues la del Caliz sagrado

quando otra nunca tuviera
por ser el mismo en que Christo
hizo la postrera cena,
esta sola era bastante
a enriquezer mil yglesias. (*Romance nuevo* 9–10)

Valencia possesses representation of every saint in heaven, including Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. According to the ambitious *romance*, Valencia is a beacon of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, the important city of prayer maybe was competing with the Granada of the time. Close to the *Romance nuevo*'s composition (1599), the supposed discovery of the relics at Sacromonte transpired in Granada (between 1595 and 1606). Therefore, the mention of these Valencian alleged relics perhaps attempted to contest Granada's religious significance at the time. The itemization of Valencia's relics constitutes an effort to further accentuate the city's prestige.

Interestingly, on multiple occasions Valencia is a living body offered to its visitors: "Si ay mas que acudir acudan, / y si ay mas que venir vengan, / que costilla tengo y braço" (*Romance nuevo* 6). Valencia is the body/city described by Eiximenis, one in which all its parts, not just the head, are essential for the city's functioning. This body/city is very far from being a village. Valencia-personified defends:

Tengo edificios famosos
que suben a las estrellas,
muros que al cielo caminan,
y puertas que a treze llegan.
…………………………

A un anillo me comparan,
honda cava me rodea,
todo mi cuerpo es ciudad,
no tengo miembro de Aldea.
Casas gozo de plazer,

alquerias tengo bellas
que todas juntas harian
otra segunda Valencia.
(*Romance nuevo* 7)

Valencia gloats about being an urban body, with buildings "que suben a las estrellas," distant from the detestable countryside, "todo mi cuerpo es ciudad / no tengo miembro de Aldea." Same as in the *Partidas*, in the *Romance nuevo* the buildings, especially churches, are itemized: "Tengo hermitas, y hospitales, / con quarenta y nueve yglesias" (*Romance nuevo* 9). As such, Valencia's urban real estate is dense enough to fill a second city: "que todas juntas harian / otra segunda Valencia." Therefore, the *Romance nuevo*'s representation of Valencia is that of a cosmopolitan, complex, pompous, urban body/city.

Again, as in the *Partidas*, we can notice how these two *romances* about Valencia display a chorographic interest. The *Romance nuevo* sought to reveal Valencia as the ideal coveted republic. One of the ways the text achieves this is by itemizing all the resources that the city possesses: natural, economic, architectural, and even religious. The city's representation is similar to other chorographic texts on Valencia that according to Quesada present: "la buena disposición climática y celeste de la ciudad, las referncias [sic] clásicas que permiten su ubicación desde tiempos antiguos, la abundancia y feracidad de sus tierras, la referencia a un lugar santo que es patria de santos y mártires, la comparación con Roma o la cita de numerosos autores clásicos … y más modernos—como Francesc Eiximenis y Annio de Viterbo…" (6). Undoubtedly, the representation of Valencia in the *Romance hecho en lohores* had glimpses of chorography, but the *Romance nuevo* represents many of the elements typical in city histories, specifically those made to represent Valencia. For example, references to the abundance of the landscape, comparisons to Rome and Venice, and mentions of religious relics. In these texts, Valencia is depicted as a cosmopolitan (feminine) body/city that wishes to receive foreigners and surrender to them, “que costilla tengo y braço,” but that in the end auto-perceives as superior: “Alabar mi Clerecia, / mis letras, y mis escuelas, / o ay para que, pues es cierto / que no tengo competencia” (*Romance nuevo* 10).

Two cities seemed to have caught the attention of sixteenth century authors, glossators, and editors of *pliegos sueltos*: Granada and Valencia. In sixteenth century Iberia, these cities quickly became two important sociopolitical, cultural, and literary capitals. Valencia and Granada’s streets, bridges, tall buildings, and magnificent churches were, more than once, charted. Equally exalted were the lushness of nature, the capabilities for nourishment and agriculture, the richness of the cityscape, and sometimes, even the quality of the people. All these aspects mentioned were pivotal to the practice of chorography.

Chorographic *pliegos sueltos*, along with city histories and sketches about Spain, seem to have the same goal: the proclamation of the new power. The imperialistic ambiance of the sixteenth century is represented in these texts and visual materials that similarly exalt the preeminence of a post-conquest, imperial, and Christian state. Hence, we may understand sixteenth century chorographic spatial compositions as ways of representing a victorious space of conquest. Undoubtedly, the literary representation of space started to acquire an important position in the sixteenth century. There was an eagerness to catalog, record, and itemize space. Chorographic works provided new notions regarding the understanding of space. They represented an organized and ideal city modeled after the classical influence.

It is essential to note that there is a great deal of idealization in how space was denoted through city histories, maps, panoramic sights, and even *pliegos sueltos*. As stated in the

Introduction, sixteenth century urban space was still more an aspiration than a reality.[135] However, it is crucial to understand the complex and, at the same time, unavoidable relationship between real and represented spaces, “It seems too restrictive, or even just plain false, to deny the relationship between referential space and the fictional text, just as it would be naive to evaluate a text based on how well it mimetically copies the targeted space” (Westphal, *Geocritism* 152). While some aspects of these chorographies were aspirational, they still offer an outstanding insight into the early modern imperial mentality, and they probably influenced how sixteenth century people understood their immediate spatialities.

Old *romances*, New *glosas*: Glossing Medieval Granada

The texts discussed in the previous sections, the *Partidas* about Granada and two *romances nuevos* about Valencia, responded to a particular idea: denoting the present state of these cities as closely (but, at the same time, as ostentatious) as possible. From the first section of the chapter, we have uncovered how *pliegos sueltos* also produced and distributed chorographic documents. However, it is essential to note that these were not the typical texts disseminated in sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos*. Instead, the *pliegos* frequently printed ballads that sang the battles and quests towards Iberia’s sociopolitical homogeneity. These *romances viejos*, printed in *pliegos*, showcased literary constructions of space about the changing realities of the Iberian Peninsula. They fictionalized medieval Iberia’s geopolitical composition. Therefore, through the spatial readings of *glosas de romances viejos*, we can uncover diverse representations of medieval Iberian space.

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[135] See Ruiz, *Spanish* 61.

What seems interesting about these old *romances* and their new *glosas* is that while they are not chorographic texts, they had a cartographic disposition. They represented the cartographies of a medieval past in conjunction with the influence of a glossator from the sixteenth century. I believe that both examples, chorographic *pliegos* and *pliegos* with *glosas de romances viejos*, showcase how the practice of spatial representation seemed especially important for sixteenth century writers, including those of *pliegos sueltos*. Therefore, considering the *pliegos sueltos* studied in the dissertation as a representative sample, we will explore Granada's spatiotemporal representation in the *glosas de romance*.

The *romances viejos* known as *fronterizos*, *moriscos,* or *históricos* commonly represented the space of warfare of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were composed during a time of political and social unrest. Armando López Castro illustrates:

> Desde sus inicios, la España medieval es una sociedad de frontera … donde la lucha contra el moro va configurando una cultura de frontera, una ideología caballeresca, que integra la experiencia de la victoria propia y el punto de vista del derrotado. De tal integración surgen los romances fronterizos, producto de una larga convivencia de moros y cristianos, que siguen la línea de los romances históricos de los que derivan y se distinguen por su veracidad histórica y rigor geográfico. (11)

Undoubtedly, the hybridity, border crossings and political shifts of the Middle Ages were embodied in these *romances viejos fronterizos*. Because of this, scholars have questioned the historical value of border *romances*, Angus Mackay wonders: "¿Es que esta poesía, siendo literatura, es historia también? ¿Y si la respuesta es afirmativa, de qué tipo de historia se trata?" (273). Mackay clarifies that the lack of dating precision of the *romances* makes their understating as a historical material problematic. However, Mackay defends that these *romances* *viejos fronterizos* narrated historical conflicts quickly after they happened: "En primer lugar, y contrastando con los romances viejos que fueron compuestos siglos después de los acontecimientos que pretendían narrar, los romances fronterizos y noticieros más o menos nacieron a raíz de los sucesos en ellos contados" (275–76). For this reason, even with their limitations, it is important to recognize the historical character, or rather the historical origin, of these texts.

However, it is not only the historical/time component that seems remarkable about *romances viejos*; they were also very concerned with the representation of geography/space. These historically and geographically inspired medieval *romances* represented frontier spaces of conflict: "La experiencia del límite, espacio humano por excelencia, es un combate, una lucha, en la que nos es dado la posibilidad de extralimitarnos, de situarnos fuera de nosotros mismos. En la España medieval, el enfrentamiento entre moros y cristianos, … se prolonga en los *romances fronterizos*, que son un producto cultural de la frontera" (López Castro 22). The representation of border spaces appeared to be one of the main goals of many *romances viejos*. The *romances fronterizos* had the

> crucial role as a poetic platform on which questions, convictions and misgivings as to the nature and consequences of war, of political hierarchies and well as of cross-cultural encounter could be played out and thought through by ballad audiences. The ballads' capacity to remain meaningful beyond their original historical and geographical setting is a testament to this robust polyvalence. (Yiacoup 55)

The *romances* indeed remained "meaningful beyond their original historical and geographical setting." As we know by now, the *pliegos sueltos* from the sixteenth century incorporated many of these medieval *romances* and, with them, the representation of medieval spaces of transgression and negotiation. What seems interesting about the dissemination of these medieval spatialities is that they were supplemented by *glosas de romance*, which were composed in and influenced by the political and spatial dynamics of the sixteenth century.

Therefore, the medieval spatiality of the *romancero viejo*, published in *pliegos sueltos* and *cancioneros*, needs to be understood beyond a medieval time, as it is shaped by the spatial perspectives of the sixteenth century. Understanding the spatiality of the "original" *romance* needs to be challenged and accompanied by the new spatialities that influenced those who produced the *glosas de romance*. My reading of the *pliegos sueltos* is conditioned and informed by the experiences and perspectives of the twenty-first century. In a (not so) similar way, the glossators of the sixteenth were understanding, commenting, and even rewriting *romances* of the previous century from their post-conquest perspectives. The interlinked spatialities of the *pliegos sueltos* were more seamlessly blended in the format of the *glosas de romance*. As a result, we have explored an inventory of Iberian places that reference medieval spaces of conflict and warfare but that are produced under the influence of the conquest mentality that prevailed in the sixteenth century.

It is important to note that setting these *romances* in a specific time/date is problematic since they were initially oral and had many variations in both the oral and written forms. However, it is crucial to recognize that these texts intended to represent (or fictionalize) specific historical events and were anchored in a particular geography and historiography. Starting from the approximate dates/events of the *romancero viejo*, while understanding the problems this practice involves, will allow us to analyze and situate in time(s) the Granada that emerges from these medieval-modern materials. We will read the Granada represented in the glossed *romancero* from outside to inside, moving from the peripheral neighborhoods and cities inwardly towards the center of the city of Granada.

The *romancero viejo* recorded several sieges that took place in Granada's neighboring cities. Their principle was to represent the battles and conquests that brought the Christian side closer and closer to the conquest of Granada: like the *Romance del asalto de Baeza*, which portrays the siege of Baeza (1407), or the *Romance de Fajardo* (1453), which showcases the dynamics between Lorca and Almería and how they functioned as surveillance sites on Granada.[136] Although the meetings are not precisely in Granada, the sieges' objectives are to close in and eventually conquer Granada. The representation of spaces of conquest, especially in connection to Granada, became one of the main concerns of the so-called *romancero fronterizo*.[137]

As we might remember in the *glosa* of the *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen*, the interspace of medieval Granada and Almería is represented as a dangerous space of warfare:

En el tiempo questa tierra
estava mas peligrosa
quando por lo llano y tierra
no faltava jamas Guerra
de moros mas temerosa
sin pensamiento de lloro

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[136] See Beltrán, "Fajardo" 296.

[137] I once again refer to these literary and historical sites of conquest and conflict represented on a current map, see Appendix A, sec. 2.

> y con sobrada alegría
> demostrando su tesoro
> **Ya se salía el rey moro**
> **de Granada a Almería**. (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 237)

The text of the original *romance*, which surged in the fifteenth century, promptly describes the Moorish king's affairs, "**Ya se salía el rey moro / de Granada a Almería,**" "**Con trezientos moros perros / que lleva en su compañía**" (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 237). As expected, the *glosa de romance* refers to a time of the past: "*En el tiempo* questa tierra / *estava* mas peligrosa … no *faltava* jamas Guerra" (emphasis mine). The text of the *glosa* establishes a disassociation with the past timeline that is being quoted: space was dangerous, but it is not anymore. The representation of the medieval time of the *romance* is contested by the *glosas de romance*, which are influenced by the new geographical reality of the sixteenth century: a political time in which Christians had already conquered Granada, and the interspace between Granada and Almería did not suppose a threat.

Additionally, this *romance* and *glosa* represent a space of religious non-assimilation. The religious renegade of the *romance* showcases a situation that was habitual in these borderline spaces, where often individuals were living hybrid and in-between lives:

> El fenómeno del renegado surge pues en una época y en una región en la que la expansión europea (en este caso, la española) se topa con una cultura que no se deja asimilar … Se remonta a la frontera ibero-africana … cuya génesis, alrededor de 1500, se puede entender, dependiendo de la perspectiva, como el producto de una cruzada estancada o de una colonización fracasada. Esta frontera constituía el primer punto de

> referencia para la retórica del renegado, la cual siempre seguirá estando unida a la idea de transgresión de una frontera cultural. (Koppenfels 71)

The character of the renegade was very problematic because it was a figure that did not entirely pertain to one place or the other. Koppenfels, who reflects on the narratives of captivity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, explains: “El momento de la transgresión implica una zona de ambivalencia, por muy estrecha que sea, que no se deja asignar de forma inequívoca a ninguna de las dos partes” (71). The *tornadizo* of the *romance* pertains to this narrow zone of constant cultural friction in which he converted to Islam, repented, and became a Christian once again. However, the *glosa de romance*’s revision of the *romance viejo* allows the sixteenth century reader to reflect on their own political and religious achievements:

> Debaxo de su seguro
> muy sobrado esfuerço cobra
> teniendo fuerte su muro
> como christiano muy puro
> puso su desseo en obra
> de divina gracia lleno
> y entera se que tenía
> con semblante muy sereno
> **Echara mano a su seno**
> **saco ala virgen Maria.** (Alcabdete, *BNE I* 239)

In the *glosa de romance*, the renegade’s regained Christian faith is denoted through a prolonged internalization into the character’s piety, “christiano muy puro.” The *glosa* praises the action of the renegade who, after being touched by divine grace, “de divina gracia lleno,” decides to return to the Catholic sect. The simple act of taking a Marian object (a prayer card, a religious medallion, a figurine) out of a pocket becomes a powerful scene of the renegade being touched by divine grace. Again, the new geopolitical composition of Almería and Granada imposes over the contents of the *romance viejo*. The *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen* represented the hybridity of the interactions in the interspace of Granada / Almería, while its *glosa* attempted to revindicate the narrated events and represent a truly glorified religious conversion.

Another example of the past and present representations of Granada is through the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* (1482). Several of the previously mentioned *romances* fictionalized the encounters that happened in the neighboring communities of Jaen, Baeza, and Lorca. However, the taking of Alhama constitutes a notable geopolitical expansion by the Christians. After 1482, the Christians were closer to fulfilling the conquering of Granada; their advance was unstoppable and imminent.

While the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* fictionalizes the events at Alhama, the *glosa* goes in-depth to reflect on the aspects that made the taking of Alhama a reality. According to the *glosa*, many of Alhama's subjects disagreed with the Moorish king's practices and decided to leave the town:

> Viendo muchos quan mudado
> estava tu ser en daños
> dexavan perder de grado
> todo lo que avin ganado
> por yrse a reynos estraños. (Palma, *Praga II* 252)

Additionally, the Moorish king's lack of care for the elders' opinion, "Si fueras aconsejado / dalgun anciano varon," the internal wars, and the slaughter of the Abencerrajes left the Moorish king at the mercy of the Christian invasion. The *glosa* insisted on representing a diminished population in Alhama and exalting the inadequacies of the Moorish king. Consequently, the space of Alhama lacked the number of subjects and good governance needed to counteract the advance of the Christians.

According to the additional text of the *glosa*, the Alhama was not only lost because of the imminent advance of the Christians but also because of the deteriorated political environment in Granada. The *glosa* reflects on a morally corrupt leader that does not deserve to have political dominion and on a kingdom that desperately needed to be saved; the exiled Moors as proof: "dexavan perder de grado / todo lo que avin ganado / por yrse a reynos estraños" (Palma, *Praga II* 252). The Muslim Granada represented in the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* seems close to being defeated, but the *glosa* considers all the aspects that made Alhama's defeat a reality. For the audiences in the sixteenth century, the ending of this *romance* was expected. Therefore, the *glosa* needed to conceptualize the geopolitical strife of the medieval past while providing it with a new set of interpretations and justifications for conquest.

This way of understanding the spatialities of the Granada represented in the *pliegos sueltos* seems essential. The *glosas de romance* so far studied mapped out the narratives towards the political homogenization of the peninsula from a sixteenth century perspective. In a way, they conditioned how sixteenth century readers and non-readers understood the old and new circumstances of space. Space used to be dangerous, "En el tiempo questa tierra / estava mas peligrosa," but is now shifting towards a narrative of geopolitical harmony.

In the *pliegos sueltos*, Granada's representation is layered. On the one hand, the glossed *romancero* reviews the historical events of Granada's subjugation. Several of these glosses depicted a dangerous Granada. On the other, chorographic texts, like the *Partidas*, represent a space in reconstruction, a renewed post-conquest Granada where Muslim occupation was ignored and tossed into the background. The remarkable thing about these representations of Granada is that the city's spatiality was understood in a multilayered and intertextual manner. Iberian spaces like Granada had an overlapped rendition through glosses and references that were interlinked within the world of *pliegos sueltos*. This sixteenth century understanding of Granada was probably expected. Maybe this is why the *Partidas* text (1550) referenced the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* (1482); consciously or not, these materials prompted a multilayered understanding of Granada.

Walking the City

The *Partidas* and the *Romance nuevo en el qual se glosa el letrero*, promoted a journey through sixteenth century representations of Granada and Valencia, respectively. Additionally, the *romancero*, commented by sixteenth century glosses, provided an understanding of the spatiality of the medieval past. Both practices allow us to explore, like travelers, spaces of the past and the present and reconstruct a spatiotemporal image of Granada and Valencia. What did it mean for readers of *pliegos* to have these chorographies and glossed representations of Iberian cities? Did they understand these texts as forms of mapping? Did they ever use brief *pliegos*, such as the *Partidas*, to plan out a visit to Granada? Some of these *pliegos* describe the cities and streets they circulated; their implication of movement is two-fold in their contents and mobile qualities.

In a way, the emerging urban space of the sixteenth century is the place of genesis of the *pliegos sueltos*; it is a "productive space" in Lefebvre's terms (31-39). Iberian society preconceived mental images of a Christian, imperial, homogeneous space, their *perceived space*, entailed the vast textual and visual production of space in the sixteenth century. This new mentality regarding Iberian spatiality was conceptualized and represented physically in the form of architecture, maps, textual maps, city histories, and urban reforms, which *conceived space* and conditioned the way people perceived and lived spaces. These mental and physical (pre)conceptions of space are, of course, experienced, problematized, and altered by actual people. However, *lived space* is unavoidably influenced by those same perceptual and material preconceptions. It is important to note that *real* space does not exist as a blank page waiting to be occupied:

> The pre-existence of an objective, neutral and empty space is simply taken as read, and only the space of speech (and writing) is dealt with as something that must be created. These assumptions obviously cannot become the basis for an adequate account of social/spatial practice. They apply only to an imaginary society, an ideal type or model of society which this ideology dreams up and then arbitrarily identifies with all 'real' societies. (Lefebvre 36)

The representations of medieval-modern spaces in the *pliegos sueltos* should be understood as an unavoidable way to represent an already existing productive space: a post-conquest urban space in development aspiring to be religiously and politically homogeneous. The *pliegos sueltos* are a product of this spatiality: "If space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The 'object' of interest must be expected to shift from *things in space* to the actual *production of space*" (Lefebvre 36–37). How is then this "urban" space represented in *pliegos sueltos*? Or better yet, what are the characteristics of the urban scene that is reproduced in the *pliegos sueltos*?

The texts explored so far commonly mapped the streets, bridges, and buildings, essentially, the architectural aspects of the city. Space appears to be dominated by Christianity (churches, convents) and by an eagerness to represent a leading and culturally homogeneous city. Granada and Valencia's urban space is primarily concocted by its magnificent architectural representations, which prove their superior status in regard to other cities. For instance, "Granada es la gran ciudad / porque otra ciudad tan maña / no se halla en toda España" (Martínez, *BDH* 7), and Valencia-personied boasts "pues es cierto / que no tengo competencia" (*Romance nuevo* 10). It seems interesting that the description of space in these texts does not appear to exalt the people living in these spaces, and when they do, it is always to a lesser extent. The streets, buildings, and urban spaces are the protagonists. In the *Romance nuevo en el qual se glosa el letrero* exalting and mapping the city of Valencia was more important and prominent than talking about nobility and their weddings. This example could probably answer to the fact that map creation and literary cartography were gaining much attraction during this time.

In the sixteenth century, space was meant to be described, mapped, written, read, and visited. While the boom of tourism happened during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the fifteenth and sixteenth saw interesting shifts in the motives for travel and the composition of travel literature. Journeymen and the Grand Tour constituted significant efforts of these new practices:

> The travels of journeymen were part of the highly traditional world of artisan and guild structures, for which documentation exists from the middle of the 14th century. Beginning in the 16th century, the guilds prescribed the common European practice of journeying as an obligatory element of training, often lasting three to four years. This survived as an institution with a rich and highly regimented set of codes well into the

> 18th century. The fundamental idea was that one could mature and learn while travelling, experience the world and improve one’s craft in order to grow through a test and return as an accomplished man. …
>
> An early form and precursor of modern tourism was the grand tour undertaken by young nobles between the 16th and 18th centuries. This possessed its own, new structures that were clearly defined by corporate status: the original goal was to broaden one’s education, mark the end of childhood and acquire and hone social graces; however, over time, leisure and pleasure became increasingly important. On the one hand, this created the differentiated paradigm of travel “as an art.” On the other, the search for amusement and enjoyment implied an element of travelling as an end in itself. The classic grand tour lasted between one and three years. Route, sequence and contacts, not to mention the educational programme, were planned down to the last detail. (Gyr, par. 8–9)

As an example of the practice, the German Hieronymus Münzer made a grand tour of the Iberian Peninsula from 1494 to 1495. Münzer was one of the first travelers to visit the city of Granada shortly after the Christian occupation. Enthusiasm for travel—to see and learn—became part of the Spanish ideology: “Dezir quiero de Granada / todo quanto he visto en ella / porque el que viniere a vella / halle todo lo que digo” (Martínez, *BDH* 1). Although tourism was still in its infancy, the eagerness to walk, see and map, especially in urban centers, was gaining traction.

One of the most avid followers of Bertrand Westphal and the ideas of Geocriticism, Robert Tally, explains in an interview that “literature becomes a privileged medium through which we can perceive, understand, and explore spaces and places, while also perhaps projecting alternative spaces,” in regard to the art of mapping

> It's true that, in mapping, we are already responding to a condition of 'being lost,' and the map provides at best only a provisional and temporary solution. At worst, it can enhance our own spatial confusion or cartographic anxiety. However, I think it is also clear that not mapping is never an option. The imaginary, cartographic activity may often, or always, lead to failure, but we cannot help doing it all the time anyway. (Darici 32)

This seems unbelievably true even for sixteenth century makers of *pliegos* who could not escape the idea of mapping: introducing Granada to a traveler or presenting the perks of Valencia to the world. However, the cartographic fascination accompanying Iberia in the sixteenth century is also an unavoidable response to "being lost." In a way, the fascination with chorography responded to the unknown; it created a world on the page that is organized and more easily understood than *real spaces* and *real worlds* in constant geopolitical, cultural, and social flux.

Indeed, and as commented before, the material qualities of the *pliegos* enhanced their mobility and ensured the travel of knowledge and cultural information through them. Therefore, the *Partidas* not only mapped the city of Granada, but it constituted a tourist guide for potential visitors to Granada. In the *Partidas,* Granada is represented as a coveted place that people may wish to visit. The *Partidas*' itinerary promises to be a truthful and reliable guide: "porque el que viniere a vella / halle todo lo que digo" (Martínez, *BDH* 1). The *Partidas* textual map could be read as an anthropological and social document that educates its readers about the urban life of Granada, and, at the same time, as a literary record of the *romances* that sang the wonders of Granada and also mapped it. A careful reading of the spaces, the economy, and, to a lesser extent, the people represented in the *Partidas* reveals a complex city that is imagined by possible visitors (perceived space), architecturally charted and planned (conceived space) and alive and active in its commercial practices (lived space).[138]

The possibilities of reading and utilizing this *pliego* as a social artifact become evident for both the pedestrian journey of the visitor and the physical journey of the text. For instance, *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada* was initially printed by Juan de Junta in Burgos in 1550, but there was a second edition of the *Partidas* printed by Hugo de Mena in Granada in 1571.[139] Therefore, the idea of this mobile/portable text having been used for an actual tour of the city of Granada is not implausible. Rather than presenting just a list of places, the *Partidas* instead illustrates a logical itinerary to follow, printed on a small booklet that offers the flexibility to travel with ease.[140] The *Partidas* text created a conceived image of Granada for readers and conveyed the possibility of a lived experience for those who could have traveled with the document.

The guided tour of Granada in the *Partidas* recreates the spatialities of post-conquest Granada. Nowadays, there are guided tours inspired by the cartographies of famous books like *Angels and Demons* or *Game of Thrones*. The fictional spaces represented in these books become alive and create new spatialities (overlapped with real spaces). As fans try to interpret the literary cartographies they have read about, they add new spatial layers to their own understanding of the world. From the encounter with this real but fictionalized space, the reader will create a new narrative that will draw from the mental and literary referent, the physical architecture, and the real experience. In a similar sense, it will be interesting to know how the guided tour of the *Partidas* (which has degrees of fictionality) could have conditioned a traveler's journey through Granada. Moreover, we wonder, what does the recommendation of singing a medieval ballad could have meant for that 1550's traveler? Maybe sixteenth century readers understood the textual map's recommendation as a way to remember the past events at the Alhama. However, perhaps it was simply an invitation to have fun and enjoy the Granada's journey through the *Partidas* pages—symbolically streets—while singing a popular *romance*.

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[138] Referring to Lefebvre’s triad, see Lefebvre 33, 38–39.

[139] See Martínez in the Bibliography of Primary Sources and Luque 2.

[140] To review the orderly route traced in the *Partidas* (in a current map), see Appendix A, sec. 1.

Similarly, in the *Romance nuevo en el qual se glosa el letrero,* we can explore, walk, and experience the magnificent city of Valencia. The public celebration of the royal weddings is encountered by a pedestrian that walks the city:

> Domingo por la mañana
> me vesti con mucha priessa,
> pretendiendo muy de espacio
> gozar de toda la fiesta.
> Di conmigo en el Mercado,
> no a mercar, que soy Poeta,
> que esto basta para ser
> deposito de pobreza.
> Sino a ver lo que alli havia,
> porque apenas ay quien venda
> de mucha gente que vi
> mirando la boca abierta.
>
> (*Romance nuevo* 2)

The social spectacle in Valencia marvels the audience of the city, "mirando la boca abierta." These are the "enchanted viewers" described by Ruiz (*King* 71). In the *romance*, the pedestrian and other spectators admire, analyze, and criticize the expensive triumphal arch made for the celebration:

> Un Arco triunfal miravan
> de tanta magnificencia,
> que yo con lo que costo
> triunfara de mi miseria.

Vi en lo mas alto de todo,
entre otras pinturas bellas,
que podian competir
con las que eterniza Grecia,
dos manos una sobre otra,
y un mundo puesto sobre ellas,
y la letra que dezia:
Para mas si mas hubiera.

(*Romance nuevo* 2–3)

The pedestrian of the *romance* examines the triumphal arch, its sculpture of two hands holding a globe, and its sign. As mentioned before, this *romance* even glosses the triumphal arch sign. In a way, the pedestrian travels the city, reads the city, and glosses the city.

The hands of the sculpture sparked a debate between Valencia-personified and the pedestrian upon their symbolism and meaning. The pedestrian believes that the hands symbolize those of the king and queen, but Valencia defends that these are in fact the hands of both the aristocratic people and the commoners: “La una es de gente noble, / la otra de gente plebeya, / que esta sin aquella es manca, / y aquella es manca sin esta” (*Romance nuevo* 3). From Valencia’s understanding of the hands, we return to the idea of the city as a body—one that needs its head (the king) but also the other limbs (nobility, commoners) to properly function: “que esta sin aquella es manca, / y aquella es manca sin esta.” Not only the pedestrian decides to gloss the triumphal arch’s sign but also debates with Valencia about the possible meaning of the art that accompanies it. In this fascinating representation of an urban Valencia, walking the city provides opportunities to explore the cityscapes, encounter the architecture, read and gloss its signs, and appraise its artistic installations.

I believe the mobile physical qualities of *pliegos* promote a double journey: one through the text that guides the visitor through Granada and Valencia, and the other of the physical text traveling space. The *pliego suelto* of the *Partidas* was published in Granada in 1571, and the

Romance nuevo, which examined the new triumphal arch in Valencia from the perspective of a pedestrian, was published in the Molí de Rovella, the most significant Valencian printing press. Therefore, the possibility that these *pliegos sueltos* traveled the cities they mapped was plausible. The mobile qualities of these chorographic *pliegos sueltos* could have encouraged their use as a brochure or map to guide a real tour of Granada or Valencia. The brevity and lightness of the *pliegos sueltos* made them a book suitable for the street, the idoneous material to map, walk and discover the city. At the very least, we can be confident that these cartographic documents provided readers with a textual journey through the cityscape of Granada or towards the new architectural installation in Valencia.

Writer as Cartographer

In a way, the writer of these chorographic documents becomes a cartographer, a creator of worlds.[141] Before being published in Granada in 1571, the text of the *Partidas* was initially printed in Burgos in 1550. The text was possibly read in this northern Iberian city. Even though the possibility to travel to Granada was not necessarily a reality for people in Burgos, they still had the opportunity, through their reading of the *Partidas*, to imagine the streets of the Andalusian city and the spaces renewed for Christianity after the conquest. Literature is a form of mapping and world creation. The literary renditions of Granada and Valencia brought those worlds to the page and made them available for folks that lived far from those spatialities: "The fictional text brings out all the folds of time relating to a place. Or better, it imagines the form that a place can virtually adopt. It does not reflect only a past history but anticipates what the city could be in a possible world that it haunts. Thereby, it ensures its survival in its own way" (Westphal, *Geocriticism* 143). The *pliegos sueltos* mapped past and present histories and traced the cartographies that projected and influenced possible future worlds emerging from the text.

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[141] For the concept of the author as a cartographer, see Smail.

Interestingly, these new literary spaces were created by authors invested in the ideas of conquest of the sixteenth century. As such, the spaces (re)created by them adhere to the geopolitical coordinates of the sixteenth century. Through their representation of space, Iberian authors reinforced hegemonic discourses about conquest, religious homogeneity, and empire: "temed a carlos que os doma / que os vale mas ser christianos" (Palma, *Praga II* 253). The author becomes a conqueror of the page, the conqueror of the glossed *romance*, the conqueror of a medieval spatiality. Westphal cleverly notes that "The map certainly dissociates from reality, but it configures reality as well" (Westphal, *Plausible* 151). For instance, Martínez, in his role as a cartographer of the *Partidas* map, undoubtedly took part in the literary and geographical configuration of 1550's Granada.

The header of Martínez's *pliego suelto*, "Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada en metro o en manera de perque: Hecho por Sebastian Martínez vezino de las Mesas: ques en el marquesado de Villena. Con un villancico. Año de M. D. L." (Martínez, *BDH* 1), gives us a great insight regarding the author and the purpose of his text. This piece of information provides us with the opportunity to reflect on the role of the author, including Martínez's perceptible concerns in regard to authenticity and veracity. Although many writers of *pliegos sueltos* were not interested in claiming authorship, Sebastián Martínez thought differently. Authorship has a very overpowering presence in this text. For instance, the name of the author is included not only in the header of the *pliego* "Hecho por Sebastián Martínez," but also at the end "Yo Martínez

Sebastian / que lo escrevi por mi mano / … doy la fe como escrivano /… lo firme aqui de mi nombre," where the author reiterates his ultimate role as "escribano" (Martínez, *BDH* 1, 8).[142]

Throughout the *Partidas,* Sebastián Martínez wishes to demonstrate the authenticity and veracity of his itinerary. Martínez condition as an ocular witness, "buen testigo," will initially guarantee the veracity of Granada's representation: "todo quanto he visto en ella" (Martínez, *BDH* 1). Additionally, the author's knowledge of the city ensures the map's authenticity: "porque no podays errar / ni hallar me a mi en mentira" (Martínez, *BDH* 1). It is here, with the reiterated preoccupations in regard to producing a trustworthy map, where the author reveals his aims at literary cartography. The author's insistence on being truthful could be associated with producing a text that can be used as an actual map or that, at least, attempts to be an accurate representation of Granada. Martínez knows that his reputation and authority as *escrivano* and aspiring cartographer rely upon the accuracy of his map.

Nonetheless, this authority conflicts with other realities. Martínez indicates that he is "vezino de las Mesas: ques en el marquesado de Villena" (Martínez, *BDH* 1). Through these geographical indications, the author is positioning himself as an inhabitant of Cuenca, Spain. Therefore, we can infer that Martínez was a visitor and stranger to the Granadan space because he was not from Granada and because Cuenca is about five days by horse from Granada. While Martínez's knowledge about Granada seems accurate, that does not eliminate the fact that the textual map of the *Partidas* was written from an outsider's perspective. How spatial representation changes from the perception of a local versus an outsider? What would have changed about the *Partidas*' itinerary if it were to be written from the experience of an actual resident of Granada? Bertrand Westphal illustrates this idea and recognizes the difficulty of escaping exoticism and idealization in the sight of the Other:

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[142] According to Luque, the labor of the *escribano* is "más o menos equivalente al de nuestro actual notario [and] presuponía un buen conocimiento de la ciudad" (8).

> At a seminar held at the University of Burundi, I asked students to tell me what they saw through the open window of the classroom. They saw nothing "special"; for me, I could clearly make out a beautiful red flower, which seemed incongruous in a landscape marred by an insidious civil war. My vision was tinged with exoticism. If I wrote a travel narrative about Burundi, I probably would have made a big deal of the "originality" of the local flora. If the students had described the same space, they probably would have left out any mention of the flowers, which would probably have been considered too trivial or banal for inclusion. (*Geocriticism* 136)

The Granada exposed by Martínez is, without a doubt, a valid Granada, but not the only one. The recognition of this alternative Granada, under the premise that a Granadan (Christian or Moorish) could have possibly described it in different terms, is essential for our reading of space.

Martínez insertion of references to Abenamar or the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* confirms the intertextuality that precedes our construction of place. At the same time, his reassurance of being a "buen testigo" of the wonders of Granada asserts his experiential perception of the city. Martínez's composition of Granada is, in geocritical terms, a fusion of the "direct, polysensorial perceptions and the intertextual construction" (*Geocriticism* 152). Additionally, through famous literary references, the author integrates the *Partidas* into the intertextual world of *pliegos sueltos*. The geographical interest of this *pliego* further stresses its contribution to the intertextual construction of Granada.

Like the two *romances* about Valencia, most of the times the *pliegos* do not include authored texts. Often, these writers prefer to remain anonymous, as exemplified in a *pliego* from 1524, entitled *Comiençan ciertos romances con sus glosas nueuamente hechas*. The document communicates: "Ninguna destas glosas trae el nombre de quien las hizo por que son de tales personas que huelgan que se vean sus obras y se encubran sus nomores [sic, nombres]" (*Comienzan, BDH* 1). Some defend that the *pliegos* are nothing more than a rehash, a thing that the authors wrote to throw away time. There are also those who are concerned about the "original" work in the context of anonymy: "Lo que sí debemos tener en cuenta es que la glosa se realiza sobre una composición anónima y que el pliego, en cuanto continente literario, es eminentemente popular, no respetándose, muchas veces, la propiedad intelectual y editorial" (Fuente 165). The truth is that some these concerns are anachronistic and do not reflect the way readers, writers and editors understood these works and the act of glossing. About readers and the "problem" of originality, I take a page from Dagenais:

> More importantly, a focus on reading as the primary 'literary' activity of the Middle Ages allows us to move out of the negative column many modern topoi about medieval letters. The popular assumptions about this literature that make medieval specialists most uncomfortable cluster about this very problem: that medieval authors are 'unoriginal'; that they have no sense of authorship; that they are borrowers or plagiarists; that the literature they create is hackneyed, topical, unstructured, repetitive, digressive; that medievalists often work with texts that are not really 'literature.' When we place the burden of medieval literariness on the reader and the individual act of reading, such features become important guides to the nature of the reading act. Can there be such a thing as digression, for example, when the reader is the point? Is a literary or ethical

> topos applied by a specific reader to a specific personal problem at a specific moment still topical? And of what use is a concept such as ‘original’ when applied to individual acts of reading (or audition) by individual readers? The view of medieval literature that takes reading as its central paradigm allows us to recognize that all acts of reading are also acts of plagiarism. (*Ethics* 26)

In the light of Dagenais’ passage, we can understand that in the efforts of glossing “alien” material, these individuals were simply exerting their primary condition as readers. Maybe this is why many of them chose to cover their names, “encubran sus nomores [sic, nombres].” As mentioned before, they were also trying to illuminate indeterminate spaces/places/texts where they felt “lost.” The genre of the *glosa de romance* is a great representative of this form of reading and understanding medieval-modern literature. In the *Partidas,* the figure of the author has weight. However, in most *romances* and *glosas de romances* the author is simply an enthusiastic reader. If we immerse ourselves in contemporary ideas of authorship and literary volition, we will produce an inaccurate understanding of *pliegos sueltos,* which will not consider them valid forms of literature and literary cartography.

As noted, authorship is not by any means a prominent aspect of *pliegos sueltos* in general. In fact, many of them were anonymous compositions. However, it does seem important to note that the authors of *pliegos sueltos*, anonymous or not, continuously participated in a project of literary cartography. Interestingly, their (re)construction of a sixteenth century spatiality reinforced an imperialistic discourse that often celebrated the peninsula’s geopolitical and religious homogeneity: “tiemblan los del alcoran” (Martínez, *BDH* 8); “temed a carlos que os doma / que os vale mas ser christianos” (Palma, *Praga II* 253); “Pues entra el Rey don Phelipe / y quanto España celebra” (*Romance nuevo* 3); “Altos reyes poderosos / por mano de dios ungidos / … del imperio son salidos" (*Coplas*, *BDH* 1); for example. Undeniably, as creators of space, these writers insistently represented Iberian cartographies from an imperial and religious perspective.

Shaping Sixteenth Century Iberian Space through *pliegos sueltos*

How should we understand real and represented Iberian spaces in the light of the *pliegos sueltos*? What does the literary construction of Iberia tell us about the sixteenth century? How chorography influenced the *pliegos sueltos*? How did the glossed *romancero* challenged medieval spatialities? These are only some of the many queries that working with the *pliegos* has elicited. Studying *pliegos sueltos* has prompted me to reflect on a different type of material—scattered, fragile, simple, and for many, unimportant.

We have explored the *pliegos sueltos* from many spatial perspectives. We have mapped sacred spaces; explored spaces of conflict and border crossings; analyzed intertextuality; studied feminine spaces and the transgressions into the female body. Additionally, at the start of this chapter, we studied two texts from the perspective of chorography and then investigated the *romancero viejo* as cartographic documents that explore medieval space and the *glosas* as forms to revise those medieval spatialities from the perspectives of conquest. As such, we are now left with a massive compendium of spatial representation that focuses on the Granada and Valencia from the Middle Ages until the sixteenth century.

Over the chapter, we reconstructed a map of possible worlds in the *pliegos sueltos*. These materials had an interesting take on their representation of space. Some *pliegos sueltos* were influenced by the practice of chorography, literary cartography, the beginnings of tourism, and journeying as a means to obtain knowledge, but above all, they were greatly influenced by the context of conquest and imperial ideas. The idea of conquest was prevalent in the sacred and hybrid spaces denoted in the first chapter. In the analysis, we encountered cityscapes overflowing with religious spaces product of the urban reforms carried out by the crown and the simultaneous erasure of the Moorish community. In this initial case, we were able to analyze conquest from the perspective of the cityscape. This idea of conquest was also prevalent in Chapter II, where the subordinate relationship between the *romances* and glosses emulates the imperialistic dynamics of the time. In this section, the different representations of the Moor Alatar served as a common thread between different *romances* and glosses that manipulated the historical events in favor of a Christian discourse of conquest. In Chapter III, the recurrent imagery of a conquered landscape/female body echoed the discourse of conquest of the sixteenth century. Finally, in this chapter, we studied how the *glosas de romance* imposed sixteenth century perspectives into medieval *romances*. Additionally, we analyzed chorographic *pliegos sueltos*, which mapped the opulent, abundant, and productive spaces of a Granada and Valencia in development and helped chart the political expansion and religious supremacy of the Spanish crown: “que Roma, ni otra ciudad / con muchos passos no allega” (*Romance nuevo* 9). Space, as represented in sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos*, is influenced by an imperialistic discourse in some way or form.

EXCURSUS

Impossible Geographies in the *glosas burlescas*

For the most part, the *glosa de romance* expands the content of the original *romance* to fulfill and satisfy any doubts and indeterminacies. However, in the interesting world of *glosas de romance* there is a curious subgenre called the *glosas burlescas* (burlesque glosses). Structurally they are exactly like the “traditional” *glosa de romance*: each stanza of the *glosa burlesca* glosses/quotes one to two lines of an original *romance*. However, in terms of content, they are dissimilar. The *glosas burlescas*, also called *disparates* (nonsense), do not clarify or extend the original content of the *romance*. Instead, the quoted *romance* becomes just a *pie forzado* (forced ending), an excuse to compose something different or fun. Since the *glosas burlescas* were not more popular than regular glosses, it seems interesting that, other than the *glosa* by Pedro de Palma, scholars have accounted not one but two *glosas burlescas* about the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*: “Glosas de los romances de O belerma” and the “Aqui comiençan vnos disparates, conpuestos por Gabriel de Sarauia muy graciosos y apazibles.”[143] In this last section of the dissertation, I will explore the spatiality of the *glosa burlesca* as possible examples of heterotopias and impossible practices of literary cartography.

The *glosas burlescas* were funny compositions to entertain a reading or listening audience. They achieve this through extravagant inventories in which people, especially nobility, places, literature, historical events, and material goods, are cataloged and highlighted. Like the traditional *glosa de romance*, these texts map out sixteenth century (and earlier) geographies and employ the *romance* as a forced foot. However, even though the *glosas burlescas* quote the *romance*, they completely disregard its contents. The new compositions do not relate to the original text. Consequently, the subordination of the original *romance* in the *glosas burlescas* is twofold. First, similar to traditional *glosas*, the *glosa burlesca* appropriates and subjects the *romance* to its structure. Second, they subordinate the original *romance* by disarticulating it from its initial meaning, of which nothing remains after the invasion of the *glosa burlesca*. The original *romance* becomes a simple quote, an ornament, in the stanza of the *glosa burlesca*. Our brief analysis of these *glosas burlescas* does not pretend to understand their intention, references, and content. That is nearly impossible. Instead, it attempts to recognize patterns, concerns, preoccupations, and spatialities, many of which were already typical in the traditional *glosas de romance*. It will also allow us to delve into the sense of humor of writers, printers, and readers of *glosas* (*burlescas* or not).

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[143] As it is evident in the corpus of *glosas de romance* which has been recounted so far. See Periñan and Piacentini, *Glosas de romances viejos*.

One of the *glosas burlescas* about the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* is by an anonymous author and was published in a *pliego* entitled “Glosas de los romances de O belerma. Y las de passeavase el rey moro. … Todas hechas en disparates” from now on we will refer to it as the *glosa de Belerma*.[144] The structure of this *glosa* is somewhat different from the ones studied until now. It does not have the traditional structure of *glosas de romance*, a *copla real*

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[144] This anonymous *glosa burlesca*, “Sant Gines de Cartagena / vi que conjurava un día,” is available in the third volume (III) of the published facsimile collection from the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), see “Glosas de los romances de O belerma,” in *Pliegos poéticos góticos de la Biblioteca Nacional III*, pp. 201–208. We will refer to it by using the following convention: (“Glosas,” *BNE III* 204–206).

(two *quintillas* together—abaabcdccd). Instead, its structure better resembles a *quintilla* and a *sextilla* together (abaabcd**d**ccd), thus having an interesting stanza of eleven verses, not the traditional ten. As we could infer from the disclaimer, “Todas hechas en disparates,” the content of this *glosa de romance* is very chaotic. The *glosa de Belerma* often alludes to historical, literary, and legendary figures from different periods and places, and the geographies represented are overlapped, ambiguous, and not limited to Iberia.

In the *glosa de Belerma*, spatial references are commonly situated through-name dropping and the enumeration of historical and legendary events, both domestic and foreign:

En sabiendo el preste Juan
la necesidad de jaca
dio parte dello al soldan
por librar a don roldan
del cerco de doña urracla
pero concertado entrellos
loquel papa dispensaba
vino el señor del algava
y de pura embidia dellos
Echo mano a sus cabellos
y las sus barvas messava.

(“Glosas,” *BNE III* 205)

The Christian patriarch, presbyter, and king, Prester John, a Muslim sultan, “soldan,” and “don Roldan”; all share the same literary, temporal, and geographical space in the *glosa de Belerma*. Only in the implausible world provided by the *glosa burlesca* can they participate and interact at the same literary and spatial level. Additionally, these arbitrary historical and literary characters—Prester John, a sultan, and Roland—are extraordinarily associated with the historical event of the “cerco de doña urracla.”[145]

Understanding the nonexistent connection between all these characters and legendary figures to the historical event at Zamora does not seem feasible. However, what seems clear about the passage is the representation of an alternative reality and spatiality. One in which the spatialities associated with Prester John (India / Central Asia / Ethiopia, twelfth century) are connected to those of Roland (France, eighth century) and the Siege of Zamora (Castile and Leon, 1072). The geographical and temporal qualities of space become completely unexpected in the world of *glosa de romance burlesca*. Foucault’s heterotopia intends to explain multilayered and polyvalent spaces that often have contradictory and out-of-the-norm qualities and, as mentioned in another place, it enables the juxtaposition of spaces that had previously been incompatible.[146] As we will confirm in this section, our understanding of the *glosas burlescas* requires an awareness of their fragmentary, heterotopic, stratigraphic, and humorous nature.

Space in the *glosa de Belerma* is incessantly cataloged as the churches of Granada in the *Partidas*. However, this inventory includes spaces in and out of Iberia. Most of the time, the geographical spaces mapped in the *glosas burlescas* establish a connection between Iberia and other countries:

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[145] The “cerco de doña urracla” refers to when Sancho II of Castile besieged the city of Zamora in 1072, while being at the hands of his sister Urraca de Zamora. The third part of the *Romances del Cid* (or *Romancero del Cid*) gathers the *romances* related to the siege of Zamora, including the *Romance de Doña Urraca la Infanta*, see Ochoa and Michaelis.

[146] About heterotopia, see Foucault; and *Geocriticism* 63.

Pues sabida en alicante
la grandeza de Milan
hizo voto el almirante
de no passar adelante
sin tomar a tituan
y el rey delos massaguetas. (“Glosas,” *BNE III* 205)

For instance, in the chaotic stanza, the geographies of Alicante (Spain), Milan (Italy), Tetouan (Morocco), and the Massagetae (an ancient Eastern Iranian nomadic tribal confederation) are represented in association with one another. As we have been exploring, the *glosas burlescas*, same as the traditional ones, are concerned with the representation of space. However, in this comic text, geographies are layered, one on top of the other, without regard for space and time. In a way, these spatial interconnections produce a bizarre space, a heterotopic geography. Heterotopias here should be understood as alternative worlds, spaces with many—often contradictory—layers of meaning, but especially as juxtaposed layers of spatiality and temporality that do not belong together.[147]

The second *glosa burlesca* is by Gabriel de Saravia and is slightly less chaotic than the previous one.[148] It showcases the habitual structure of the *glosa de romance*: a ten-verse stanza with—abaabcdccd—structure. The incipit of the *pliego suelto* announces the type of content these *glosas de romance* will offer: “Aqui comienzan unos disparates, compuestos por Gabriel de Saravia muy graciosos y apazibles. Los primeros van glosando el romance de Passeavase el Rey moro por la ciudad de Granada, nombrando muchos grandes de Castilla” (Saravia, *Glosas* 236). To distinguish it from the other *glosa burlesca* we will refer to it as the *glosa de Saravia*.

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[147] For heterotopias of space and time, see Foucault’s third and fourth principle, respectively.

[148] The second of the *burlescas*, “El conde de Benavente / con el marques de Aguilar,” was composed by Gabriel de Saravia and published in the *pliegos sueltos* in Cracovia at the Jagiellonian Library, pp. 177–179. At the moment I do not have the facsimile version available, and I am quoting from Periñan and Piacentini, *Glosas de romances viejos: Siglo XVI*, pp. 236–38. Further reference to this *glosa* will use the following convention: (Saravia, *Glosas* 236–38).

In the *glosa de Saravia* the proposed spatial connections to other countries can be quite literal: “para hazer una puente / de Tunez a Gibraltar; / haziendo el Gran Turco un lloro” (Saravia, *Glosas* 236). This route from Tunis to the Strait of Gibraltar was probably standard for the Muslims in the north of Africa. Therefore, the proposal for a bridge seems logical, as does the reference to the “Gran Turco,” which considers the political strife with the Ottoman Empire. However, the spatialities of the *glosa de Saravia* also represent capricious interconnections between people, historical and literary motifs, and places:

> Luego el conde de Saldaña
> con el conde de Coruña
> enbiaron a Alemaña
> la corónica de España,
> que la pide Cataluña.
> Y jurando ambos sus vidas
> de no entrar en Torquemada,
> de nuevas muy doloridas
> **cartas le fueron venidas**
> **cómo Alhama era ganada**. (Saravia, *Glosas* 236)

The reference to a chronicle about Spain sent to Germany could be trying to assert the political relations with the German house of the Habsburgs, reigning in Spain at the time (late fifteenth century to the 1700s).[149] While Torquemada, other than the apparent reference to the Grand Inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada, could simply refer to a municipality in the Province of Palencia in Castile and León, "entrar en Torquemada." Interestingly, the birthing of the Infanta Catalina, daughter of Joanna and Phillip I of Castile, also took place in Torquemada, Palencia. Furthermore, Phillip's human remains rested for about three months in this municipality. Therefore, should we instead consider the reference to the—chronicle of Spain sent to Germany—simply as the news of the death of Phillip the Handsome? The established relationship between Germany and Spain is clear. It also seems interesting the reference to Palencia's neighboring municipalities: Saldaña, Coruña del Conde, and Torquemada. Once again, we notice several juxtaposed spatialities: Germany, the provinces in Palencia, Catalonia, and even the distorted reference to the Alhama of Granada, from the cited, although non thoroughly glossed, *romance viejo*.

As we have probably noticed, the geographies of the *glosas burlescas* interconnect completely disjointed geographies (space) and histories (time). As a final example, the *glosa de Belerma* establishes an improbable spatial representation where the Cid (Spain, eleventh century) shares the spatiality of King David (Israel, tenth century BCE) and Noah's Ark:

En estas cosas el cid

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[149] It could be referring to the *Estoria de España*, the first extended history of Spain, or to the *Crónica General de España* (1344) by Pedro Afonso. But also, to any of the other chronicles written about Spain during this time.

> estava por bersabe
> tanquejoso de David
> que vino en trance de lid
> conel el arca de noe. (“Glosas,” *BNE III* 205)

We are to understand the Cid in a biblical context and spatiality. To explain these superpositions, these overlaps of space and time, I will take an example from Bertrand Westphal’s book:

> Hypothetically, a city can hide another. In *Bastogne*, Enrico Brizzi superimposed Bologna upon Nice in a novel whose title refers to a Belgian city. Nice is deprived of the Bay of Angels, of the sea, of everything that makes Nice Nice, in fact, in favor of a more urban setting evoking that of Bologna. On the back cover, the author claims to have been born in Nice in 1974. Thus Nice remains Bologna until the end . . . or perhaps not. Internet sites devoted to the author are divided, some saying that Brizzi was born on the Riviera, others saying he was born in Bologna. The storks are lost; romantic places overlap. …
>
> The example provided by the novel (and biography) of this Italian ‘young cannibal’ is part of what I would call *heterotopic interference*. When such interference or blurring occurs, the connection between reality and fiction becomes precarious. The referent becomes a springboard from which the fiction launches itself. One might see the referent and its representation entering into an impossible relationship. (*Geocriticism* 104)

Westphal considers these heterotopic worlds, represented in novels such as *Bastogne* by Enrico Brizzi (in the previous quote) and *Il Porto di Toledo* by Anna Maria Ortese, as part of a postmodern literary perspective. Therefore, while: “Homer had sent his hero on adventures into the farthest reaches of a known world; the postmoderns move their characters in heterotopic worlds, in which the referent is connected in a generally playful way—such that we could have a 'port' of Toledo, for instance" (*Geocriticism* 105). However, heterotopic worlds are not reserved for postmodern works. The construction of alternative worlds with no spatiotemporal constraints seems to be the ideal structure for composing the "disparates" of the *glosas burlescas*.

As we have encountered, the temporal and spatial representations made by these two *glosas burlescas* constitute a different method of representing space. For scholars like Di Stefano, these glosses are nothing more than the foolish compositions of a jester. While deemed as "disparates," these odd, extravagant, and comic glosses present us with a series of impossible geographies. Geographies that are not anchored in a specific space or time. Stratigraphy, as we have previously commented, allows us to study space through time (diachronically) or examine different spaces simultaneously (synchronically). However, what happens when the literary representation of space presents us with no stability between time and space, between diachrony and synchrony? How should we understand the diverse spatiality of Spain, Algiers, Tunes, Italy, and France in the *glosas burlescas* when they are represented from completely incongruent temporal coordinates?

Since the *glosas burlescas* represent a rupture of the laws of space and time, they create new possibilities to (mis)interpret space beyond its spatiotemporal quality. Under these circumstances, the Cid can be associated with biblical peoples, spaces, and times. The *romance* that supposedly "inspires" these *glosas burlescas*—the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*—is indeed quoted (included) in the stanza, but certainly, it is not thoroughly glossed (interpreted, commented, expanded). The quoted *romance* is "The referent [that] becomes a springboard from which the fiction launches itself" (*Geocriticism* 104). In a way, the *romance* (referent) and the *glosa burlesca* (representation) construct a true *heterotopic interference*, where "the connection between reality and fiction becomes precarious" and the "referent and its representation" enter "into an impossible relationship" (*Geocriticism* 104). Heterotopias provide an essential paradigm for understanding the subgenre of the *glosas burlescas*. These glosses do not aim to represent the world as it is or as the author aspires it to be, like in the *Partidas* and the cartographic projects of King Phillip II. Instead, the *glosas burlescas*, well ahead of the customs of the postmodernist novel, intend to explore and create new, unintelligible worlds. These *glosas burlescas* represent impossible geographies, unthinkable spaces, and superimposed temporalities on texts that appeal to an audience looking for *glosas* "hechas en disparates."

The *glosas burlescas*, while unintelligible and bizarre, confirm many of the hypotheses proposed in this project. Similar to other texts published in *pliegos sueltos* they are intertextual, and construct many of their narratives through spatial, literary, and historical references. In their attempts at literary cartography, they went beyond the heterotopias explained by Foucault. They comprise the *heterotopic interference* explained by Westphal, a heterotopic space with such interference between reality and fiction that referent and representation enter "into an impossible relationship" (*Geocriticism* 104). In the *glosas burlescas*, as in the carnival, "the ordinary and constant is combined with the extraordinary and changeable" (Bakhtin 158). Because of this, an understanding of reality becomes unlikely. The world upside down represented by the *glosa burlesca* establishes a boundary in regard to spatial representation that can best be understood from the coordinates of the carnival: "Carnival brings together, unifies, weds, and combines the sacred with the profane, the lofty with the low, the great with the insignificant, the wise with the stupid" (Bakhtin 123). The *glosas burlescas* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* did not provide amplification and explanations about the *romance viejo*. Instead, they joined the mapping efforts of the sixteenth century from a carnivalesque perspective where irrational spatialities coexisted with rational ones and where spatial representation was pushed to the limit.

CONCLUSION

The present study aimed to analyze sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos* from a spatial perspective. The chosen theoretical framework stems from the inherent thematical concerns of the *pliegos sueltos*. I believe that this collective corpus of texts was invested in and contributed to sixteenth century efforts of spatial representation. Therefore, Geocriticism provided us a valuable insight into the fascinating world of *pliegos sueltos* and opened the possibilities for further understanding of Iberian society. The *pliegos sueltos* studied in the dissertation were grouped and analyzed from different points of view, including transgressive, religious, and frontier spaces (Ch. I); literary references and intertextuality (Ch. II); conquest and the female body (Ch. III); and chorography and literary cartography (Ch. IV).

For the most part, the dissertation studied the *glosas de romance*, one of the most popular genres published in *pliegos sueltos* in the sixteenth century. Since most academic studies concerning the *romancero* have ignored these glosses, their analysis provided a renewed understanding of the *romances*. From this corpus of study it is essential to recognize that medieval oral *romances* are not the same thing as sixteenth century printed and glossed *romances*. While no one ignores their intrinsic relationship, it is valuable to note that just the act of turning oral material into written form constitutes a significant transformation concerning the understanding and transmission of said material. Furthermore, when we consider that glossators did not only quote the *romance* but also actively corrected and influenced the *romance*’s understanding in the sixteenth century, we confirm how akin yet different the experience of reading or hearing these *romances* was for the early modern world.

We understand that the printed *glosa de romance* is not a standalone piece of writing; it is a supplemental text that requires "an original" to create a supplement.[150] Because of this, often, the value of the *glosas de romances* has been limited to the fact that they disseminated the *romancero* (Periñán and Piacentini), fixed its metric form (Fuente), or represented the *romance*'s understanding at the time (Díaz-Mas, "Lecturas"). However, what if the glossed portion, the supplement, rather than just representing the understanding of the *romance* was instead conditioning it. I think it would be a mistake to dismiss, as studies of the *romancero* have often done, the genre of the *glosas de romance* as active forms of reading that had an audience and, therefore, an influence. By ignoring the supplemental text of the gloss, we are essentially deciding that the forms of reading of the sixteenth century were not valid. Furthermore, we are making the conscious decision of dissecting the *glosa de romance,* providing the *romance* with the label of 'valuable' and discarding the *glosa* as an unimportant supplement.

As we know, frontier *romances viejos* depicted the continuously shifting geopolitical boundaries between Muslim and Christian Spain and reflected on a time when Islamic forces were considerably decreased. Consequently, the *glosas de romances* provided mediated (glossed) access to these medieval geopolitical dynamics. Şizen Yiacoup upholds that "The connotations of a ballad are therefore ultimately determined by the emotional and intellectual needs of the individuals or groups that adopt it as a form of collective expression: the poems resist being exclusively 'owned' or definitively completed by any one group or person by remaining continually open to modification" (129). Printers, readers, and hearers of *pliegos sueltos* took advantage of that "open[ness] to modification" of the medieval *romance* and transformed it into one of their preferred "form[s] of collective expression." Adapting the *romancero* to the needs of individuals in the sixteenth century served to trumpet the success of the "Reconquista," to celebrate Christian geopolitical sovereignty.

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[150] Referring to Derrida's concept.

Therefore, the *glosa de romance* not only imposed a verse structure and a reading upon the *romances* but also subordinated the historicity and spatiality of medieval or medievalesque *romances*. The portrayal of medieval spaces of warfare and conciliation provided sixteenth century readers with an understanding of their past and present. Spatial tension, transgression, and conquest were, if not the most important, at least one of the most important thematic motives of these so-called popular publications. Although spaces of conflict were primarily explored in *glosas de romance*, these issues were undoubtedly present beyond them. For instance, the textual map of *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada*, studied in three out of four chapters of the dissertation, depicted the same spatial preoccupations that seem intrinsic to *glosas de romances viejos*.

In this regard, Chapter I did a geocritical reading of religious, transgressive, frontier, and conquered spaces in a spatiotemporal route from Granada to Valencia. The religious architectures, commerce networks, and transgressive spaces worked together to showcase the geopolitical supremacy of the Christian group. In the *Partidas*, this idea was explored primarily through the massive itemization of churches. The representation of sacred spaces was a permanent topic and intended to demonstrate the successful transition into a Christian geopolitical domain through the religious cityscape: "porque este mejor que de antes" (Martínez, *BDH* 7). The chapter also studied the *glosa* of the *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen*, which depicted the perilous interspace between Almería and Granada. Interestingly, the *tornadizo*'s conversion showcased the religious and political homogenization that was taking place on the peninsula. In the space represented in the *glosa de romance,* Islam was losing followers and the south of the peninsula was increasingly Christianized. Similarly, the *glosa* of the *Romance de Fajardo* showcased Christian geopolitical dominion: the Moorish king of the *romance* could not claim Lorca after winning it in a chess match because the Christian city was heavily guarded against Moorish forces: "no podrías con tu gente / ni otra que en tu ayuda fuese" (Peralta, *BNE I* 262).

The *romance* about the *tornadizo* showcased the dwindling state of Islam in Granada-Almería, while the *romance* about Fajardo represented the weakened state of Muslim forces in Almería-Lorca. In all these texts, the ideas of religious, architectural, and geopolitical Christian superiority were evident. Ultimately, this chapter depicted quasi propagandistic documents that authorize Christian legitimacy, recently conquered Moorish spaces, and the representation of frontier spaces in which the political, social, and religious boundaries are not completely clear but where Christian supremacy is implied. From either a religious or political perspective, all the texts explored in Chapter I showcased the success of the "Reconquista."

Chapter II explored the literary references included in *pliegos sueltos* and the glosses as an intertextual literary space. It examined the two *romances* referenced in the *Partidas*—the *Romance de Abenamar* and the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*. These allusions reminded the reader of the past vibrancy of Granada and made a literary record of the *romances* sung in the city. Furthermore, the literary references included in the *Partidas* contributed to the text's intertextuality; it associated its spatiality with that of the mentioned *romances* and produced an intertextual geography. Interestingly, after introducing the referent of Abenamar, the spaces of Christian prayer become less significant in the itinerary of the *Partidas* that will start to convey the past timelines of al-Ándalus. Additionally, many of the spaces mapped in the

Partidas correlated to those showcased in the two quoted *romances*. The mention of the *Romance de Abenamar* served to map a route on the textual map: "y mira que no os perdays / hasta tanto que bolvays / por donde anduvo abenamar" (Martínez, *BDH* 5). While the recommendation of singing the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* functioned as a method of entertainment that completes the journey through Granada: "cantares con boz quebrada / este *Romance* con lloro / **Passeavase el Rey moro**" (Martínez, *BDH* 7).

The *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* quoted in the *Partidas* was also glossed by Pedro de Palma. In the *romance* and the amplification of the *glosa* we pondered the various spatial transitions throughout the poem. First, the text portrayed a populated and noisy city ready to join its king in battle. Then a transition in tone revealed an abandoned king whose forces were significantly depleted after a substantial exile of people and internal wars. Finally, with the support of the *glosa* we understand the inevitability of the events at the Alhama. In this "traditional" *glosa de romance*, Pedro de Palma expanded and, to a degree, edited the content of the "original" *romance*. Palma substitutes the *alfaquí*, a Muslim cleric who traditionally appeared in the oral *romance*, for the historically inspired character Moor Alatar who was also popular in *romances* of the time. Therefore, the unpretentious substitution brought to our analysis a world of literary interconnections within the *pliegos sueltos*. It allowed the reader to interconnect stories and spaces from other *romances* and *pliegos sueltos*, such as the ones that include the Moor Alatar.

The last portion of the chapter went over the different representations of Moor Alatar in medieval *romances* and the rewriting by Pedro de Palma of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*. We understand the rewritings of the Moor Alatar as different ways to recreate and understand the past. Furthermore, the historical disagreements in the studied *romances* put in perspective how rooted Christian geopolitical hegemony was in these popular publications. Also, the different *glosas* for the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* or its quote in the *Partidas* reveal the intertextual nature of the *pliegos sueltos*. This intertextuality, which has occupied so many pages of this thesis, is an unavoidable by-product of the formal characteristics of the brief *pliego suelto* and the referential *glosa de romance*.

In Chapter III, we decided to explore space from the perspective of the female body. A literary corpus invested in the publication of medieval frontier ballads was unavoidably keen on the representations of the bodies that push, enforce, or suffer those boundaries. In the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Valencia*, like the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, the coordinates of space were layered. Politically space was conflictive. However, space was negotiated through the body in the second section of the text. The Moorish king initially was accessing the state of the city of Valencia but got interrupted by the scheme of seduction of Cid's daughter. The bodyscape of Valencia becomes the body of Urraca. Both are employed as strategies to showcase and obtain political power. The female body becomes essential in the representation of these transgressive spaces. In the *Romance del moro que perdió Valencia*, conquest is homogeneous to the desire of the body.

Similarly, in the *Romance de la mora Morayma*, the body becomes part of the discourse of conquest. In this second case, desire is equivalent to territorial conquest. The Christian employs different strategies of conquest like linguistic expertise and cultural competence to convince Morayma of the veracity of his tale and possess/conquer her. Symbolically the conquest of Morayma is the conquest of the Moorish community.[151]

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[151] See Yiacoup 41–45.

Lastly, in the *glosa* of the *Romance del asalto de Baeza* we analyzed the similarities between the proposed conquest of Baeza and the conquest of the daughter of Pero Diaz, who is regarded as a spoil of war. In this *glosa de romance*, the conquest and transgression of space justifies that of the female body. The chapter explored the frontier as an imaginary boundary that defines and differentiates a space from the other and which, in the end, supposes a delimitation placed on the (mobility of the) body.

Undoubtedly, spatial representation was evident in the analyzed *pliegos sueltos*. The itemization of sacred spaces, representation of spaces of conflict, intertextuality, and depiction of female bodies and spaces all worked in different ways to compose/represent an interconnected geography. Sixteenth century *pliegos sueltos* were invested in a project of spatial representation. Therefore, Chapter IV explored the *pliegos sueltos* as a format that essentially traveled space and mapped it from various perspectives. First, we delved into some *pliegos sueltos* that constituted examples of chorography. We uncovered how some *pliegos sueltos*, like the *Partidas* and two *romances nuevos* about Valencia, surveyed the same issues and topics considered in chorographic city histories, popular in the sixteenth century. Other than *romances nuevos* and the *Partidas*, also the glossed *romances viejos* participated in the efforts toward literary cartography. The big caveat of these cartographies is that they were born in oral form and a medieval time but were later influenced, glossed, and disseminated by sixteenth century glossators. Undoubtedly, these “medieval” spatialities were accompanied by a new, conquest-inspired, understanding of space. The glossed *romancero* comprised forms of access to medieval (hi)stories of the “Reconquista” (re)counted from the perspective of the winner.

As a final note, the dissertation analyzed the *glosas burlescas*. Similar to other materials in the *pliegos sueltos*, these also attempted to represent space. However, the *glosas burlescas* constituted impossible practices of literary cartography. These burlesque glosses appropriated the contents of the *romances* not to expand or explain their contents but to compose illogical verses and represent irrational spatialities. The chaotic worlds of the *glosas burlescas* represented the limits of spatial representation in the *pliegos sueltos*.

The charted spatialities, although intertextual, varied, overlapped, and spatiotemporal, were limited. As Westphal acknowledged, we should be aware of the silences of a map. For instance, the representation of medieval and sixteenth century Iberia was limited to Valencia, Granada, and neighboring communities. Was Castilla, Galicia, Barcelona, represented in the *pliegos sueltos*? Why were they ignored in the surviving/consulted *pliegos sueltos*? I can think of two possibilities. On the one hand, the *romancero viejo* (distributed in *pliegos*) showcased the besieging of Granada. Therefore, the cities commonly represented in those texts were from Andalusia. On the other, the *romances nuevos* and the *Partidas* depicted cities in development, increases in population, and commercial relationships with foreigners. Granada and Valencia possessed the desired trade routes, spaces of movement, and connections with the foreigner, while: “Scholars used to depict Castile as a backward hinterland uninterested in commerce” (Phillips 84), even though this was not entirely true. It seems like Castilla, Galicia, and other underrepresented communities were neither the places in vogue nor the ones people wanted to read about in *pliegos*. Maybe individuals were more interested in reading/hearing about exotic Granada than acquiring insights on places that were Christian some centuries back. The fascination with the unknown was more prevalent.

Another interesting silence of the *pliegos sueltos* is regarding the Jewish community. Often, we can read about an idealized or condemned Moorish king. In the *Partidas*, we get a brief glimpse into the isolated community of Moors living in the Albayzín. We even read brief descriptions of the foreigners carrying out mercantile activities in Granada, the “Ginoveses ricos” (Martínez, *BDH* 2). However, the representation of Jewish space in the *pliegos sueltos* so far consulted is almost non-existent. Maybe their erasure should not come as a surprise, considering the expulsion of Jews in 1492. Nonetheless is interesting that in the texts consulted, this community is only mentioned in the *glosa* of the *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama* as part of Alatar’s complaint about the inadequacy of the king: “acogiste a los judios / de cordova la nombrada” (Palma, *Praga II* 251). It will be necessary to further review the *pliegos* to see if the representation of these places/peoples was indeed lacking.

The *pliegos sueltos* were brief documents to entertain and pass the time. Their interwoven *romances* and *glosas* share an imagined overlapped space that cooperatively developed a spatial narrative about late medieval and sixteenth century Iberia. The geocritical approach allowed us to uncover complex hybrid spaces, which, at first glance, seemed homogeneous. Furthermore, the inter-referentiality of these *pliegos* helps us recreate a space that is lost but that can be recovered and reconstructed through literature and provides us with extensive representations of Granada, Valencia, and other neighboring communities.

What lies ahead?

A notion that, even in absentia, has accompanied these pages and influenced my analysis is an understanding of the materiality of the *pliegos sueltos*. Travel limitations, at a time when a pandemic paralyzed the world, limited my investigation, which depended exclusively on printed and digital facsimiles. However, I have been fascinated by their anticipated physical characteristics, their ephemerality, their brevity, and their unpretentious character.[152] Aware of how the materiality of the *pliegos* must have affected their encounter with the public, I sought to keep in mind the framework of production and the physical space of the *pliego suelto* in my readings. That of its physical contours, as a brief document, and that of the people who consumed them, read them, and made them part of their immediate space. Future developments on this project will include archival consultation of the *pliegos sueltos* where I hope to find specimens that are not available in printed facsimile copy and to be able to analyze their physical and material form. However, despite the limitations of access to archival material, I attempted to imagine the playful and, at times, short-lived pages that touched the hands of those who had the opportunity to read them in the sixteenth century.

Other than its spatial component and the approaches to the world of *pliegos sueltos*, I believe that this dissertation laid the groundwork for an important conversation to be had regarding the glossed *romancero*. The *pliegos sueltos* had a central role in preserving the *romancero* and the *cancionero*. Also, the glossed *romancero* attempted to answer the indeterminacies of medieval *romances*. Even more important, glossed *romances* give us insights into the readings of sixteenth century glossators. Furthermore, they provided an intertextual space where merged medieval and modern spatialities celebrated the triumphs of Christian conquest. Indeed, the study of *pliegos sueltos* inserts us into a new academic conversation about the *romancero viejo*, which has often been studied from a lost oral perspective, but I propose we understand from a glossed/read/printed perspective. I believe that further study on the role of *pliegos sueltos* in the preservation and evolution of the *romances* could provide important insights into the studies on the *romancero*. Additionally, the study of the format of the *glosa de romance* as an extension and transformation of the tradition of medieval manuscript glosses could also be a fruitful line of investigation.

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[152] Arthur Lee-Francis Askins compiled the *pliegos sueltos* of the library of Rodríguez-Moñino and reproduced each facsimile individually as printed sheets, folded twice, following the natural form of a *pliego suelto*. This publication, made in homage to Rodríguez-Moñino—one of the main figures in the studies of the *pliegos sueltos*—tried to honor the traditional shape of the *pliegos sueltos* and served me as an inspiration to imagine the physical qualities of the corpus.

Another important takeaway from the dissertation is to understand the *pliegos sueltos* as a literary format that participated in the literary customs of the time. Like *cancioneros* and *romanceros* they also published compilations of songs and *romances*. Resembling the glosses of medieval manuscripts, they produced printed glosses. Analogous to city histories, they also composed chorographic descriptions of cities. They even attempted to produce cartographic texts; almost a century before the *Plataforma de Vico*, the text of the *Partidas* had already detailed in a textual map the massive presence of churches in the cityscape of Granada. Although to a lesser capacity, the *pliegos sueltos* were participating in every intellectual task of literature with capital letters. Our geocritical reading of *pliegos sueltos* brought to the academic conversation small books that mapped some Iberian cities, communicated the spatialities of past and present worlds, and praised Christian Iberia.

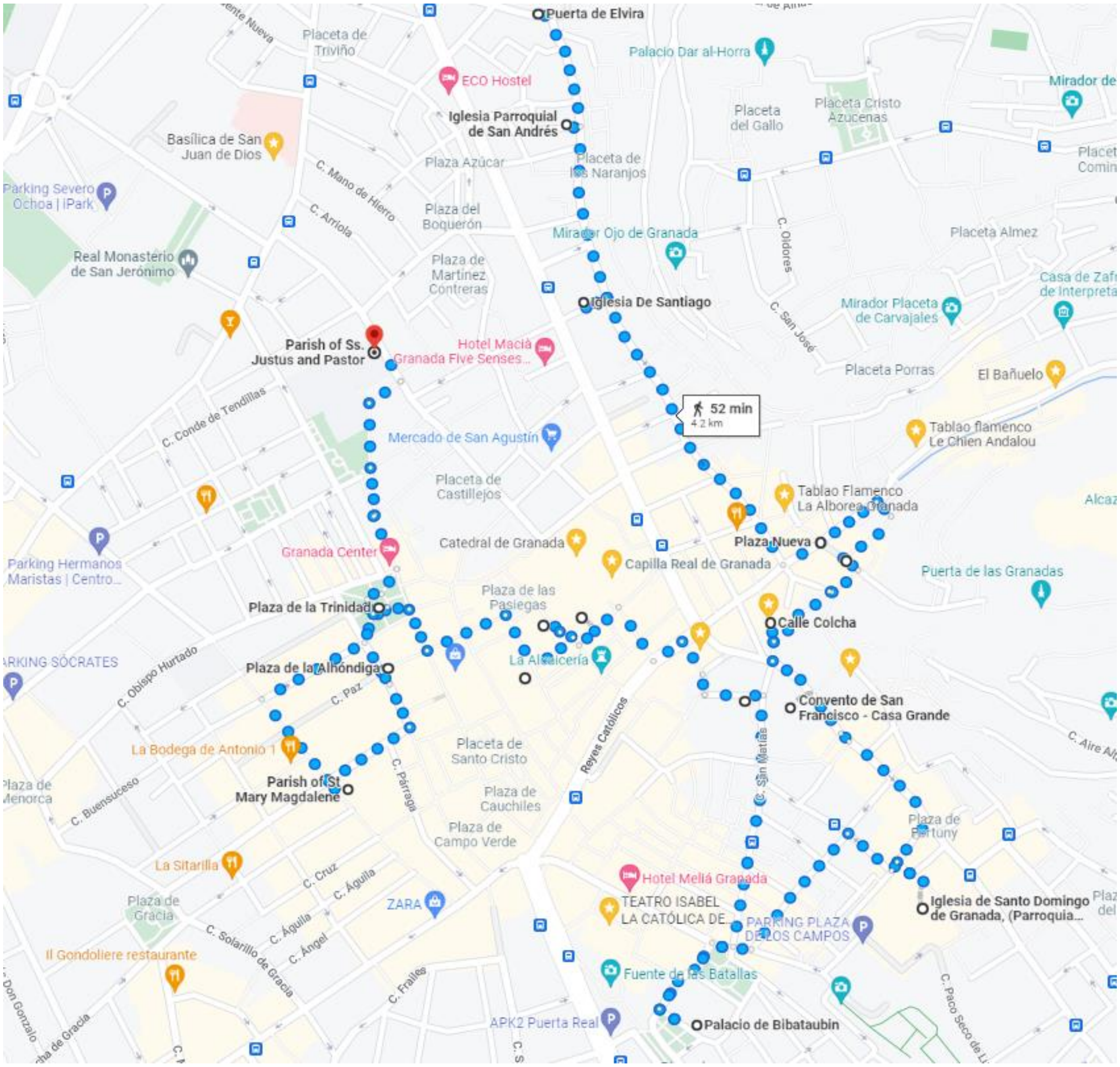
This panoramic study of the *pliegos sueltos* from a geocritical perspective hopes to insistently bring attention to an unstudied corpus that represented Iberian space in the sixteenth century. As we have noticed, several lines of investigation remain open for future research. Something important that I hope to have represented in this survey is that we should not assign a totalizing perspective to the *pliegos sueltos*. Certainly, they have overlaps in the ideas, themes, concerns, and spaces explored, but this does not mean that solely those ideas constitute the whole of the corpus. The *pliegos sueltos* have some common threads, some discernable patterns, but at the same time, as the disjointed and ephemeral corpus that it is, they also have places where they break with the norm and are somehow unique. An example of this is the text of the *Partidas* that recreates many of the concerns that are part of the corpus of *pliegos sueltos*, but at the same time, it is an original text for which I know no parallel.

In my commitment to studying space in these texts, I wanted to do a close reading that would allow me to understand better the world and the circumstances in which these brief pages thrived. Emulating the reader status of the glossator of *romances*, I also attempted to create my own gloss and commentary on the loose, broken, and lost pages that explored medieval space from a sixteenth century understanding of conquest. By exposing the spatialities of *pliegos sueltos* from the sixteenth century, my purpose was to showcase a new reading on Iberian space, which turned into the realization of intermingled medieval-modern spatialities that celebrated the transition into a “homogeneous” Spain.

Appendix A: Mapping *pliegos sueltos* in 21st Century Mapping Platforms

Section 1: Current map of the pedestrian route of *Las partidas de la gran Ciudad de Granada* (1550) by Sebastián Martínez.[153]

a. *Partidas*' route, part 1:


Puerta de Elvira
Placeta de Triviño
Palacio Dar al-Horra
ECO Hostel
Mirador de
Placeta Cristo Azucenas
Placeta del Gallo
Iglesia Parroquial de San Andrés
Basílica de San Juan de Dios
Plaza Azúcar
Placeta de los Naranjos
C. Mano de Hierro
Parking Severo Ochoa | iPark
C. Arriola
Plaza del Boquerón
Mirador Ojo de Granada
Placeta Almez
C. Oidores
Real Monasterio de San Jerónimo
Plaza de Martínez Contreras
Casa de Zafra Centro de Interpretación
Iglesia De Santiago
Mirador Placeta de Carvajales
C. San José
Parish of Ss. Justus and Pastor
Hotel Maciá Granada Five Senses
Placeta Porras
El Bañuelo
C. Conde de Tendillas
52 min
4.2 km
Mercado de San Agustín
Tablao flamenco Le Chien Andalou
Placeta de Castillejos
Tablao Flamenco La Alborea Granada
Alcazaba
Parking Hermanos Maristas | Centro...
Granada Center
Catedral de Granada
Plaza Nueva
Capilla Real de Granada
Puerta de las Granadas
Plaza de la Trinidad
Plaza de las Pasiegas
Calle Colcha
PARKING SÓCRATES
C. Obispo Hurtado
Plaza de la Alhóndiga
La Alcaicería
C. Paz
Convento de San Francisco - Casa Grande
C. Aire Alta
La Bodega de Antonio 1
Placeta de Santo Cristo
Reyes Católicos
Plaza de Menorca
C. Buensuceso
Parish of St Mary Magdalene
C. Párraga
Plaza de Cauchiles
C. San Matías
Plaza de Campo Verde
Plaza de Fortuny
La Sitarilla
C. Cruz
C. Águila
Hotel Meliá Granada
Plaza de Gracia
ZARA
TEATRO ISABEL LA CATÓLICA DE...
Iglesia de Santo Domingo de Granada, (Parroquia...
C. Solarillo de Gracia
C. Ángel
PARKING PLAZA DE LOS CAMPOS
Il Gondoliere restaurante
Fuente de las Batallas
C. Frailes
C. Paco Seco de Lucena
C. Don Gonzalo
APK2 Puerta Real
Palacio de Bibataubin

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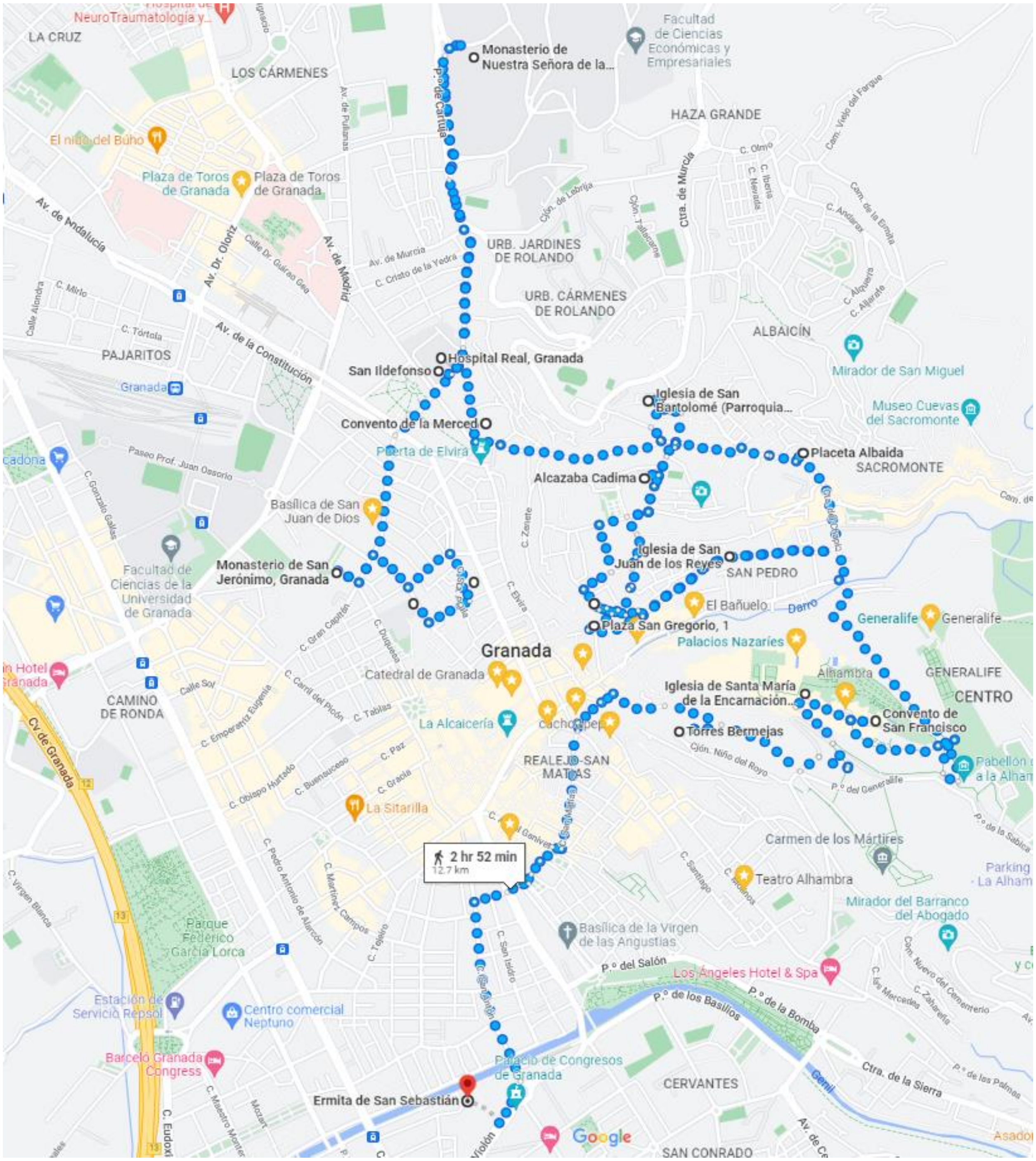
[153] See digital map, part 1, https://goo.gl/maps/LafkxFf5pRGHqXPo9; part 2 https://goo.gl/maps/bXEmff8pzYNs63yQ7. For information about the *Partidas*, see Luque.

b. *Partidas*’ route, part 1, list of locations:

Puerta de Elvira
Iglesia Parroquial de San Andrés
Iglesia De Santiago
Placeta de San Gil
Plaza Nueva
Plaza de Cuchilleros
Cuesta de Gomérez
Calle Colcha
Convento de San Francisco, Casa Grande
Iglesia de Santo Domingo de Granada, (Parroquia de Santa Escolástica)
Campo del Príncipe
Convento de Santa Catalina de Sena
Parroquia San Cecilio
Pilar de la Antequeruela Baja
Calle Nueva de San Matías
Palacio de Bibataubin
Convento de San José de Carmelitas Descalzas
Calle Zacatín
La Alcaicería
Granada City Hall
Iglesia Parroquial del Sagrario
Catedral de Granada
Archbishopric of Granada
Plaza de Bib-Rambla
Plaza de la Trinidad
Plaza de la Alhóndiga
Parish of St Mary Magdalene
Carrera del Darro
Placeta Álamo del Marqués
Calle Puente del Carbón
Parish of Ss. Justus and Pastor

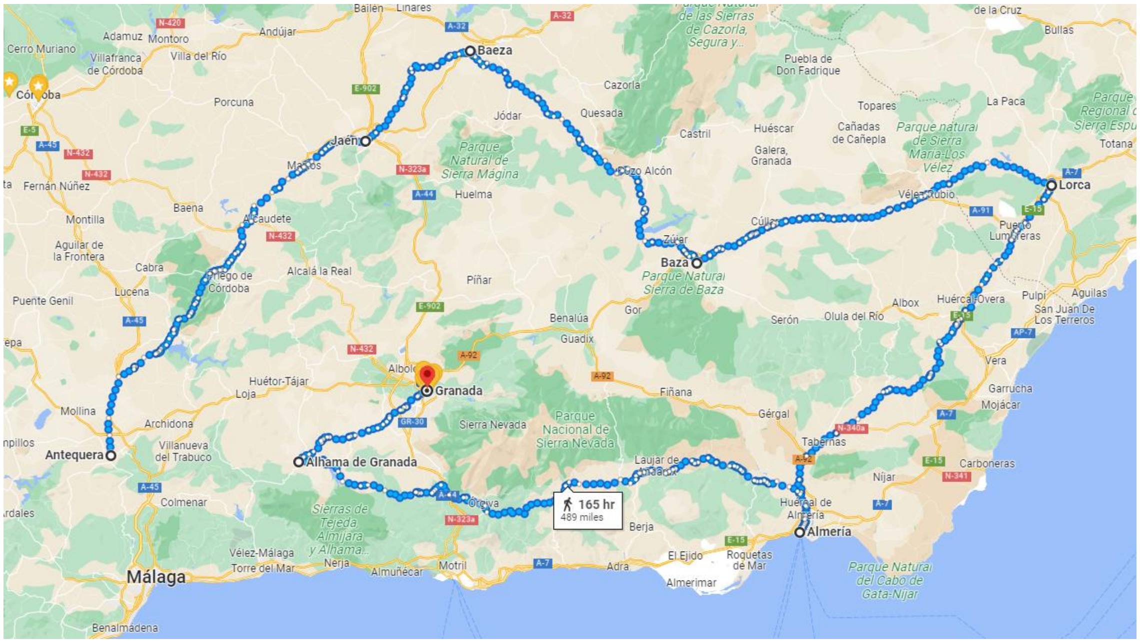
c. *Partidas*’ route, part 2:


Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la...
P.º de Cartuja
Hospital Real, Granada
San Ildefonso
Convento de la Merced
Puerta de Elvira
Iglesia de San Bartolomé (Parroquia...
Placeta Albaida
Alcazaba Cadima
Basílica de San Juan de Dios
Monasterio de San Jerónimo, Granada
Iglesia de San Juan de los Reyes
SAN PEDRO
El Bañuelo
Plaza San Gregorio, 1
Palacios Nazaríes
Generalife
Granada
Catedral de Granada
Alhambra
Iglesia de Santa María de la Encarnación...
Convento de San Francisco
Torres Bermejas
La Alcaicería
REALEJO-SAN MATÍAS
2 hr 52 min
12.7 km
Carmen de los Mártires
Teatro Alhambra
Basílica de la Virgen de las Angustias
Palacio de Congresos de Granada
Ermita de San Sebastián
CERVANTES
SAN CONRADO
ALBAICÍN
SACROMONTE
Mirador de San Miguel
Museo Cuevas del Sacromonte
HAZA GRANDE
URB. JARDINES DE ROLANDO
URB. CÁRMENES DE ROLANDO
LOS CÁRMENES
LA CRUZ
PAJARITOS
CAMINO DE RONDA
Plaza de Toros de Granada
Parque Federico García Lorca
Los Ángeles Hotel & Spa
Google

d. *Partidas*’ route, part 2, list of locations:

Convento de Santa Paula
Monasterio de San Jerónimo
Hospital Real, Granada
Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción “La Cartuja”
San Ildefonso
Convento de la Merced
Albaicín
Iglesia de San Bartolomé (Parroquia Ortodoxa Rusa)
Aljibe de San Cristóbal
Iglesia de San Miguel Bajo
The Royal Convent of Saint Isabel
San Nícolas Church
Plaza San Gregorio, 1
Mezquita Mayor de Granada
Iglesia Parroquial de Nuestro Salvador
Placeta Albaida
Cuesta del Aceituno
Alcazaba Cadima
Aljibe de San José
Iglesia Parroquial de San José
Plaza de San Agustín
Iglesia de San Juan de los Reyes
Calle Concepción de Zafra
Convento de Santa Catalina de Zafra (Dominicas)
Iglesia Parroquial de san Pedro y san Pablo
Fuente del Paseo de los Tristes
Puente del Aljibillo
Plaza Algibes Alhambra
Palace of Charles V
Patio de los Arrayanes
Patio de Los Leones
Torre de la Vela, Alhambra
Alhambra Forest
Mirador de la Churra
Generalife
The Moor’s Chair (Saint Helen’s Castle)
Convento de San Francisco
Iglesia de Santa María de la Encarnación
Torres Bermejas
Ermita de San Sebastián
Iglesia de San Antón
Plaza del Humilladero

Section 2: Mapping the current location of some of the battles and sieges represented in the *romancero viejo fronterizo* and the *glosas de romance*.[154]


Baeza
Jaén
Baza
Lorca
Almería
Alhama de Granada
Granada
Antequera
Málaga
165 hr
489 miles
Bailén
Linares
Andújar
Córdoba
Porcuna
Jódar
Quesada
Cazorla
Pozo Alcón
Castril
Huéscar
Vélez-Rubio
Cúllar
Zújar
Puerto Lumbreras
Huércal-Overa
Águilas
Vera
Garrucha
Mojácar
Carboneras
Níjar
Tabernas
Gérgal
Fiñana
Guadix
Benalúa
Píñar
Alcalá la Real
Alcaudete
Martos
Priego de Córdoba
Lucena
Cabra
Baena
Montilla
Aguilar de la Frontera
Puente Genil
Mollina
Archidona
Villanueva del Trabuco
Huétor-Tájar
Loja
Colmenar
Vélez-Málaga
Torre del Mar
Nerja
Almuñécar
Motril
Órgiva
Adra
Berja
El Ejido
Roquetas de Mar
Huércal de Almería
Sierra Nevada
Parque Nacional de Sierra Nevada
Parque Natural de Sierra Mágina
Parque Natural Sierra de Baza
Benalmádena

Notice how tracing and joining the approximate site of the *romances*, on a current map, suggest the macro siege of the city of Granada, which lies in the center of the formed map.

a. Location mapped: *Romance(s)* associated to location, approximate year of events:
   -Antequera: *Romance del moro de Antequera*, 1410
   -Jaén: *Romance de Reduán y el rey sobre la conquista de Jaén*, 1407
   -Baeza: *Romance del cerco de Baeza*, 1368; *Romance del asalto de Baeza*, 1407
   -Baza: *Romance del cerco de Baza*, 1489
   -Lorca-Almería: *Romance de Fajardo*, 1453
   -Almería: *Romance del tornadizo y la virgen*, 15th century
   -Alhama de Granada: *Romance del rey moro que perdió Alhama*, 1482
   -Granada: *Romance de Abenamar*, 1431; *Romance del maestre de Calatrava*, 1482
   -Granada-Antequera: *Romance del moro Alatar*, 1482

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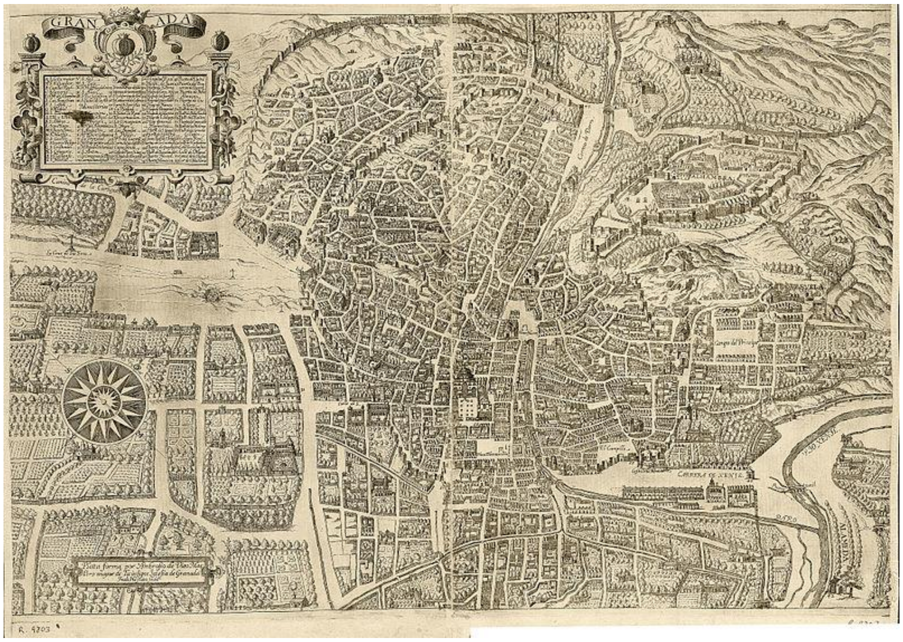
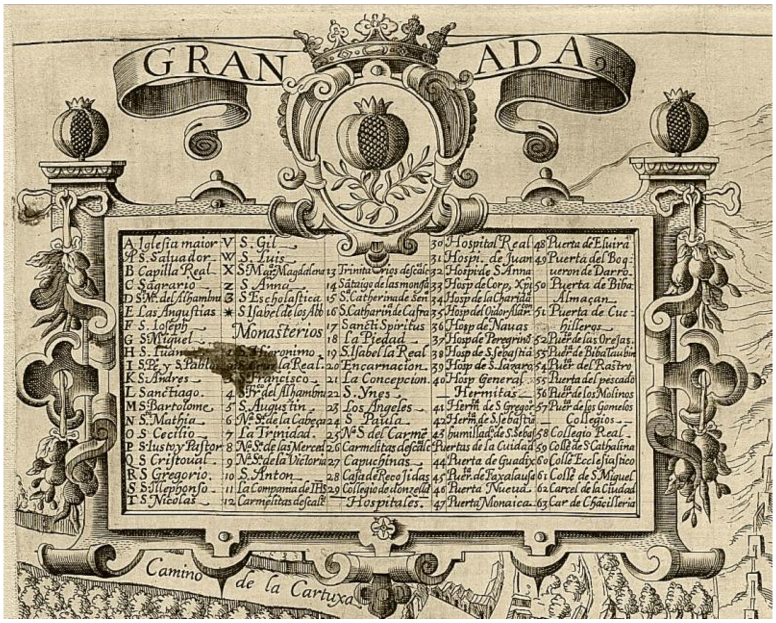
[154] See digital map, https://goo.gl/maps/JeJ2LpS52VuEUhp87. For information about the *romancero fronterizo*, see Correa.

Appendix B: “Plataforma por Ambrosio de Vico” (1623) [155]

a. Engraving of the “Plataforma” by Francisco Heylan, 1600–1650:



b. Engraving of the “Plataforma” by Francisco Heylan, 1600–1650, detail of legend:


GRAN
ADA
A Igleſia maior
A S. Saluador
B Capilla Real
C Sagrario
D S. Mª. del Alhambra
E Las Anguſtias
F S. Ioſeph
G S. Miguel
H S. Iuan
I S. Pe. y S. Pablo
K S. Andres
L Sanctiago.
M S. Bartolome
N S. Mathia
O S. Cecilio
P S. Iusto y Paſtor
Q S. Criſtoual.
R S. Gregorio.
S S. Ilephonſo.
T S. Nicolas
V S. Gil
W S. Luis
X S. Mar. Magdalena
Z S. Anna
3 S. Eſcholaſtica
✶ S. Iſabel de los Abb
Monaſterios
1 S. Hieronimo
2 S. Cruz la Real.
3 S. Francisco
4 S. Fr. del Alhambra
5 S. Augustin
6 Nª Sª de la Cabeça
7 La Trinidad.
8 Nª Sª de las Merced
9 Nª Sª de la Victoria
10 S. Anton
11 La Compania de IHS
12 Carmelitas deſcalc.
13 Trinitarios deſcalc.
14 Sãtaigo de las monjas
15 S. Catherina de Sen
16 S. Catharina de Caſra
17 Sancti Spiritus
18 La Piedad
19 S. Iſabel la Real
20 Encarnacion
21 La Concepcion.
22 S. Ynes
23 Los Angeles
24 S. Paula
25 Nª S del Carmẽ
26 Carmelitas deſcalc.
27 Capuchinas
28 Caſa de Recogidas
29 Collegio de donzellas
Hospitales.
30 Hospital Real
31 Hospi. de Juan
32 Hospi. de S. Anna
33 Hosp. de Corp. Xpi
34 Hosp. de la Charidad
35 Hosp. del Oidor Alarcon
36 Hosp. de Nauas
37 Hosp. de Peregrinos
38 Hosp. de S. Sebaſtiã
39 Hosp. de S. Lazaro
40 Hosp. General
Hermitas
41 Herm. de S. Gregor.
42 Herm. de S. Sebaſtiã
43 humillad. de S. Sebaſ
Puertas de la Cuidad
44 Puerta de Guadix
45 Puer. de Faxalauſa
46 Puerta Nueua.
47 Puerta Monaica.
48 Puerta de Eluira
49 Puerta del Boqueron de Darro.
50 Puerta de Biba Almaçan
51 Puerta de Cuchilleros
52 Puer. de las Orejas.
53 Puer. de Biba Taubin
54 Puer. del Rastro
55 Puerta del pescado
56 Puer. de los Molinos
57 Puer. de los Gomelos
Collegios
58 Collegio Real
59 Coll. de S. Cathalina
60 Coll. Eccleſiaſtico
61 Coll. de S. Miguel
62 Carcel de la Ciudad
63 Car. de Chãcilleria
Camino de la Cartuxa

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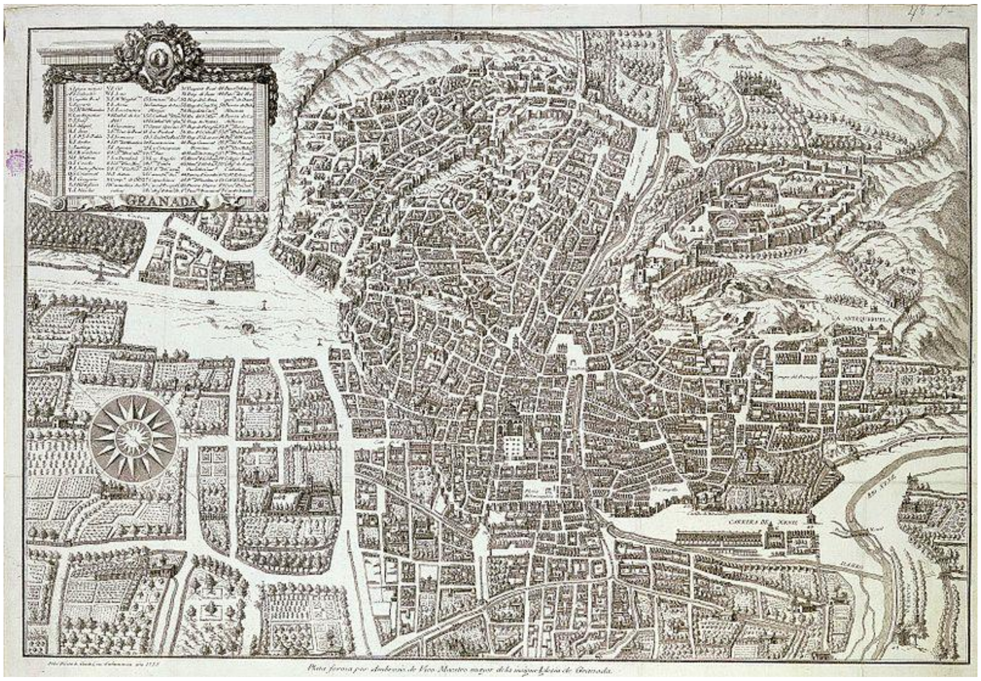
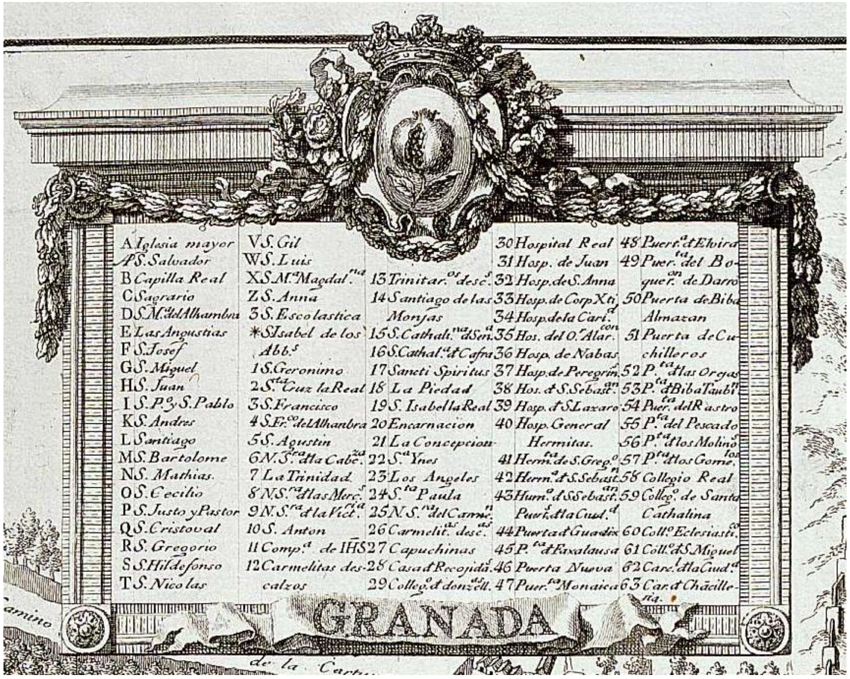
[155] See Vico, “Plata forma” in Bibliography of Primary Sources (Visual Materials).

c. Engraving of the “Plataforma” by Felix Prieto, 1795:

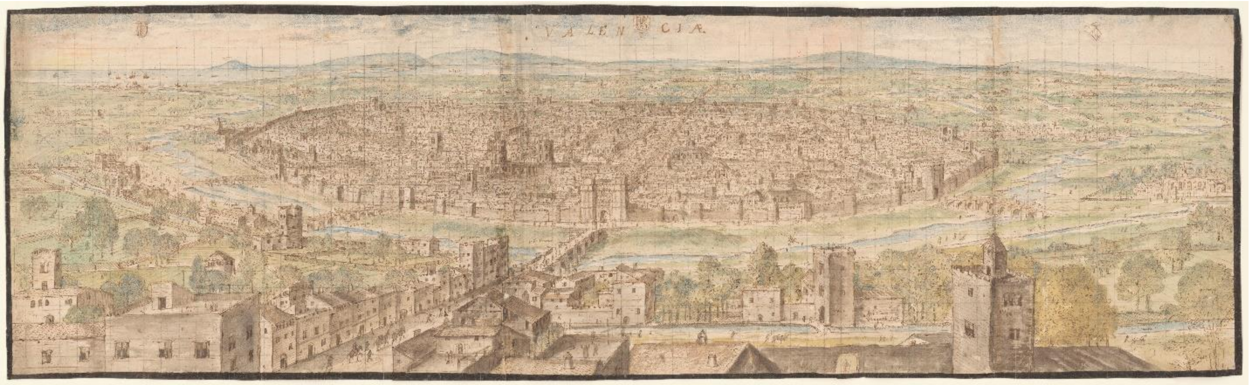


d. Engraving of the “Plataforma” by Felix Prieto, 1795, detail of legend:

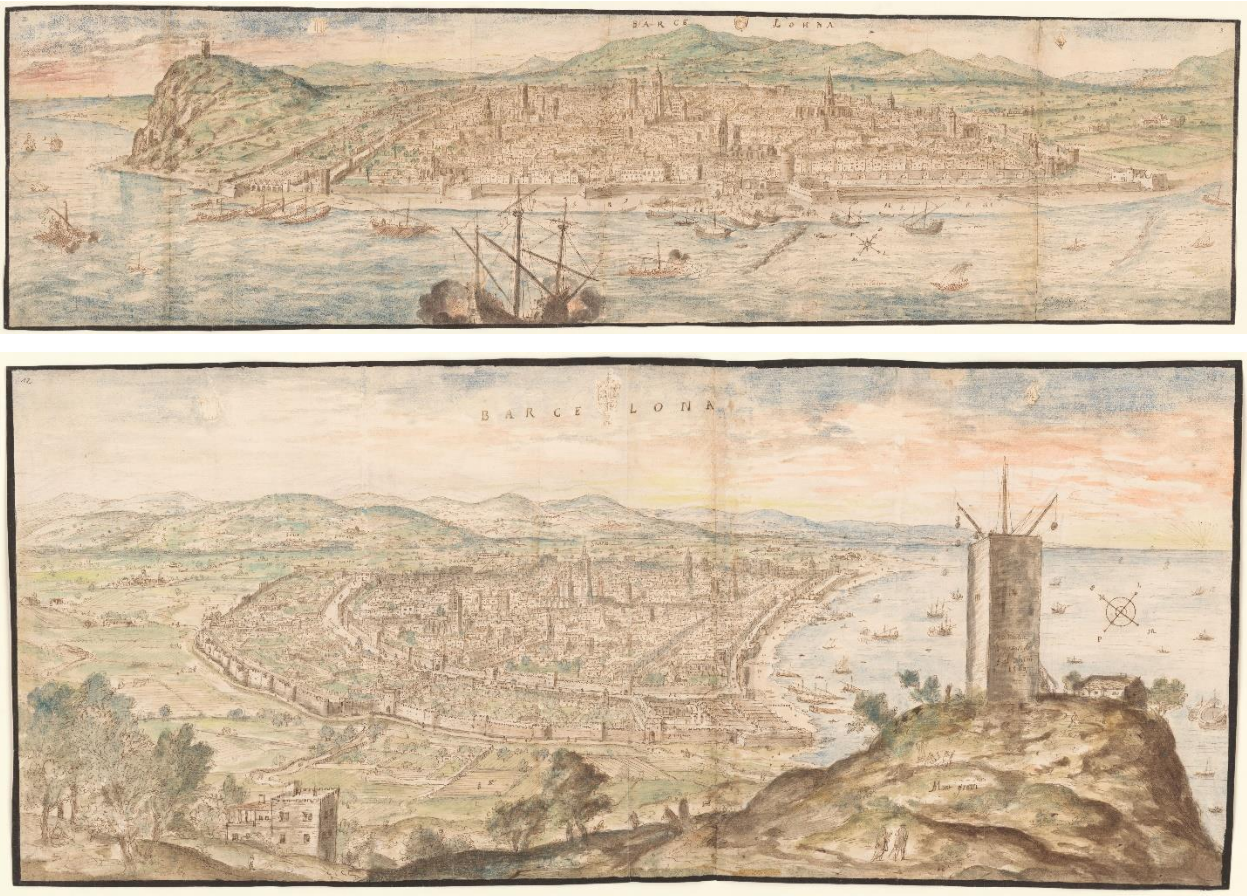

A Iglesia mayor
A S. Salvador
B Capilla Real
C Sagrario
D S. M.a del Alhambra
E Las Angustias
F S. Josef
G S. Miguel
H S. Juan
I S. P.o y S. Pablo
K S. Andres
L Santiago
M S. Bartolome
N S. Mathias.
O S. Cecilio
P S. Justo y Pastor
Q S. Cristoval
R S. Gregorio
S S. Hildefonso
T S. Nicolas
V S. Gil
W S. Luis
X S. M.a Magdal.na
Z S. Anna
3 S. Escolastica
* S. Isabel de los Abb.s
1 S. Geronimo
2 S.ta Cruz la Real
3 S. Francisco
4 S. Fr.co del Alhanbra
5 S. Agustin
6 N. S.ra d la Cabe.za
7 La Trinidad
8 N. S.ra d las Merc.s
9 N. S.ra d la Vict.ria
10 S. Anton
11 Comp.a de IHS
12 Carmelitas descalzos
13 Trinitar.os desc.s
14 Santiago de las Monjas
15 S. Cathali.na d Sen.a
16 S. Cathal.a d Cafra
17 Sancti Spiritus
18 La Piedad
19 S. Isabel la Real
20 Encarnacion
21 La Concepcion
22 S.a Ynes
23 Los Angeles
24 S.ta Paula
25 N. S.ra del Carme.n
26 Carmelit.as desc.as
27 Capuchinas
28 Casa d Recojida.s
29 Colleg.o d donz.ell.as
30 Hospital Real
31 Hosp. de Juan
32 Hosp. de S. Anna
33 Hosp. de Corp Xti
34 Hosp. de la Cari.d
35 Hos. del O.r Alar.con
36 Hosp. de Nabas
37 Hosp. de Peregrin.s
38 Hos. d S. Sebast.an
39 Hosp. d S. Lazaro
40 Hosp. General Hermitas.
41 Herm.ta de S. Greg.o
42 Herm.a d S. Sebast.n
43 Hum.o d S. Sebast.an
Puert.s d la Ciud.d
44 Puerta d Guadix
45 P.ta d Faxalausa
46 Puerta Nueva
47 Puer.ta Monaica
48 Puert.a d Elvira
49 Puer.ta del Boquer.on de Darro
50 Puerta de Bib Almazan
51 Puerta de Cuchilleros
52 P.ta d las Orgas
53 P.ta d Biba Taubi.n
54 Puer.ta del Rastro
55 P.ta del Pescado
56 P.ta d los Molino.s
57 P.ta d los Gome.los
58 Collegio Real
59 Colleg.o de Santa Cathalina
60 Coll.o Eclesiasti.co
61 Coll.o d S. Miguel
62 Carc.l d la Ciud.d
63 Car. d Chācilleria.
GRANADA
Camino
de la Cartu

Appendix C: Panoramic Views of Spain by Anton Van Den Wyngaerde [156]

a. Valencia, 1563:



b. Barcelona, 1563:


BARCELONA
BARCELONA

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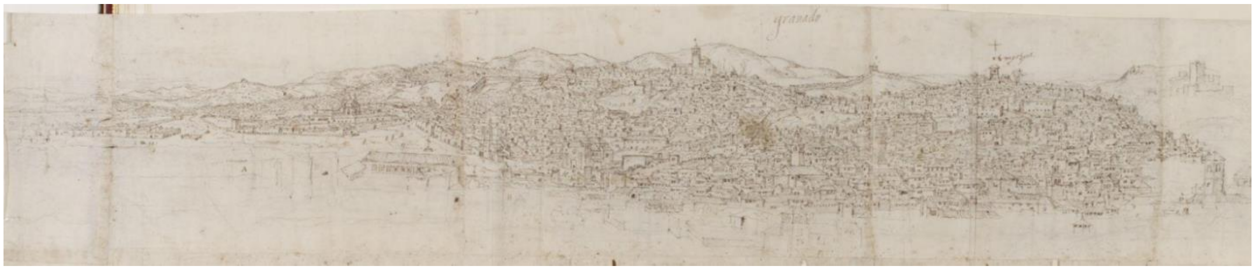
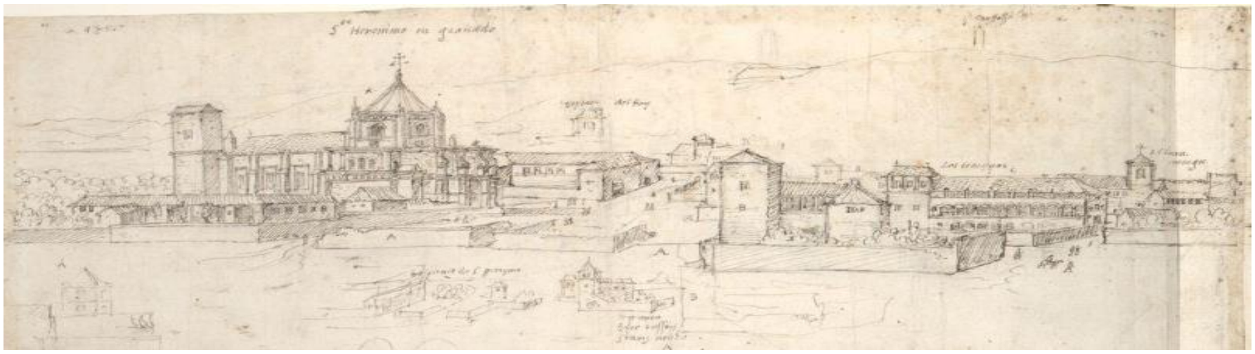
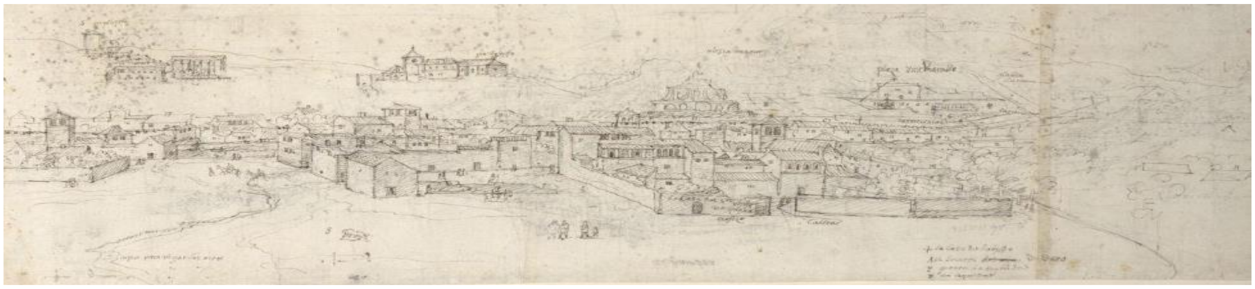
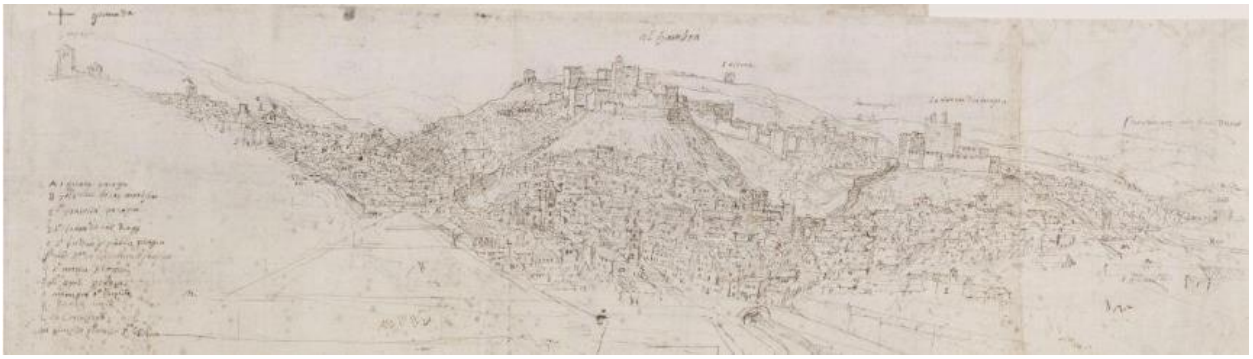
[156] See Wyngaerde, *Villes d'Espagne* and "Panoramic" in Bibliography of Primary Sources (Visual Materials).

c. Granada, 1567:

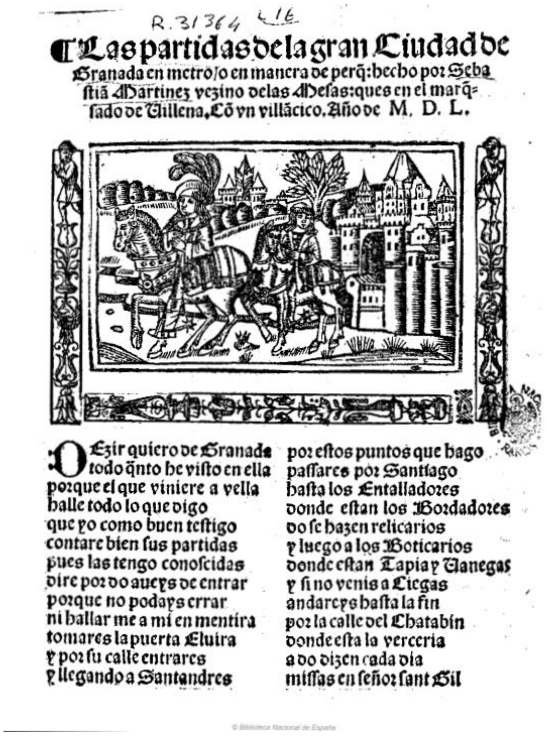



Sto Hieronimo en granada




granada
alhambra

Appendix D: Cover Pages of the *pliegos sueltos* Studied in Dissertation



R.31364 4.16

¶ Las partidas dela gran Ciudad de
Granada en metro/o en manera de perq̃: hecho por Seba
ſtiã Martinez vezino delas Meſas: ques en el marq̃-
ſado de Villena. Cõ vn villãcico. Año de M. D. L.

DEzir quiero de Granada
todo q̃nto he viſto en ella
porque el que viniere a vella
halle todo lo que digo
que yo como buen teſtigo
contare bien ſus partidas
pues las tengo conoſcidas
dire por do aueys de entrar
porque no podays errar
ni hallar me a mi en mentira
tomares la puerta Eluira
y por ſu calle entrares
y llegando a Santandres
por eſtos puntos que hago
paſſares por Santiago
haſta los Entalladores
donde eſtan los Bordadores
do ſe hazen relicarios
y luego a los Boticarios
donde eſtan Tapia y Vanegas
y ſi no venis a Ciegas
andareys haſta la fin
por la calle del Chatabin
donde eſta la yerceria
a do dizen cada dia
miſſas en ſeñor ſant Gil

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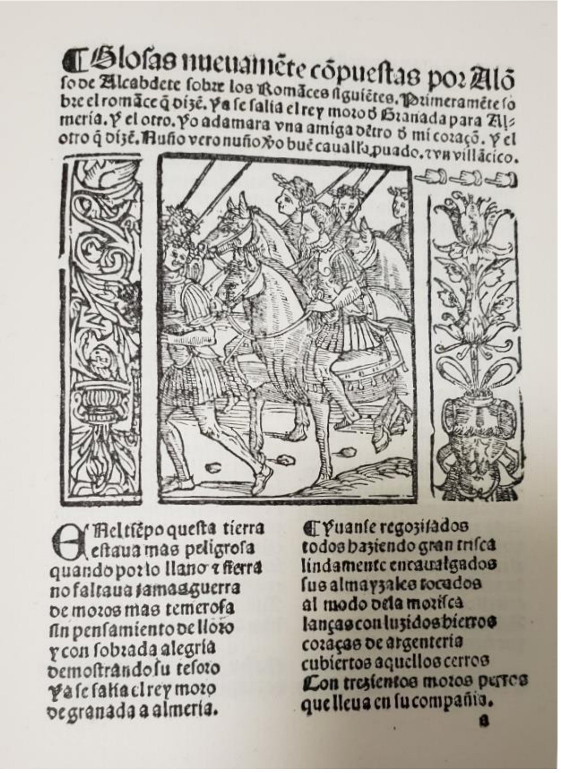
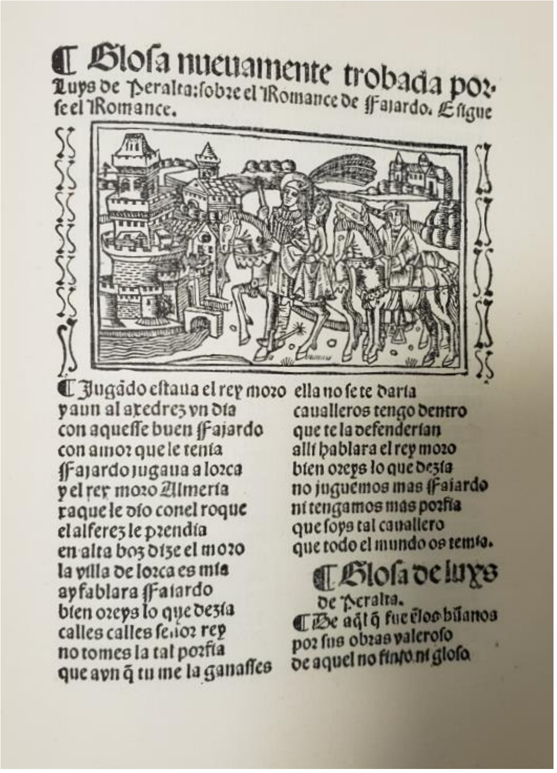


¶ Gloſas nueuamẽte cõpueſtas por Alõ
ſo de Alcabdete ſobre los Romãces ſiguiẽtes. Primeramẽte ſo
bre el romãce q̃ dizẽ. Ya ſe ſalia el rey moro d̃ Granada para Al-
meria. Y el otro. Yo adamara vna amiga dẽtro d̃ mi coraçõ. Y el
otro q̃ dizẽ. Nuño vero nuño ꝟo buẽ cauallo puado. ⁊ vn villãcico.

EN el tiẽpo queſta tierra
eſtaua mas peligroſa
quando por lo llano ⁊ ſierra
no faltaua jamas guerra
de moros mas temeroſa
ſin penſamiento de lloro
y con ſobrada alegria
demoſtrando ſu teſoro
Ya ſe ſalia el rey moro
de granada a almeria.

¶ Yuanſe regozijados
todos haziendo gran triſca
lindamente encaualgados
ſus almayzales tocados
al modo dela moriſca
lanças con luzidos hierros
coraças de argenteria
cubiertos aquellos cerros
Con trezientos moros perros
que lleua en ſu compañia.

a

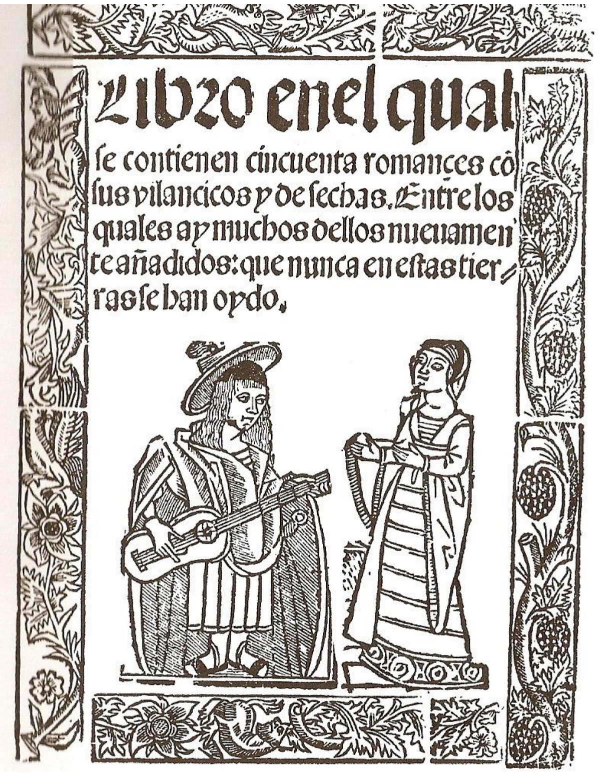


¶ Gloſa nueuamente trobada por
Luys de Peralta: ſobre el Romance de Fajardo. E ſigue
ſe el Romance.

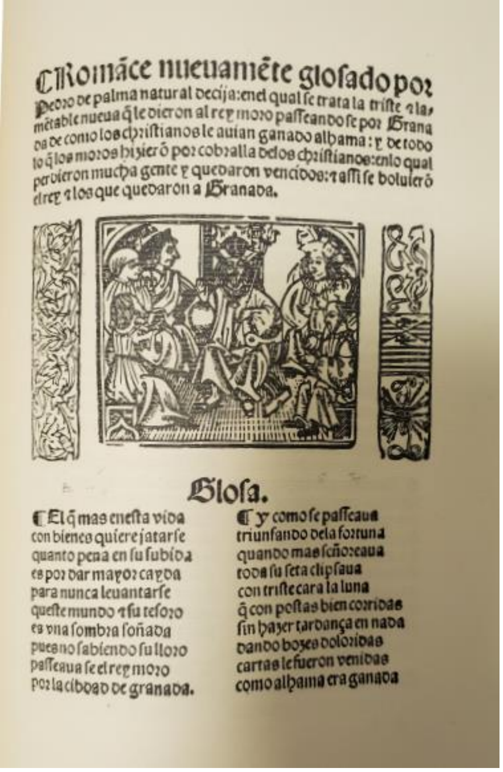
¶ Jugãdo eſtaua el rey moro
y aun al axedrez vn dia
con aqueſſe buen Fajardo
con amor que le tenia
Fajardo jugaua a lorca
y el rey moro Almeria
xaque le dio con el roque
el alferez le prendia
en alta boz dize el moro
la villa de lorca es mia
ay fablara Fajardo
bien oreys lo que dezia
calles calles ſeñor rey
no tomes la tal porfia
que avn q̃ tu me la ganaſſes
ella no ſe te daria
caualleros tengo dentro
que te la defenderian
alli hablara el rey moro
bien oreys lo que dezia
no juguemos mas Fajardo
ni tengamos mas porfia
que ſoys tal cauallero
que todo el mundo os temia.

¶ Gloſa de luys
de Peralta.

¶ De aq̃l q̃ fue ẽlos hũanos
por ſus obras valeroſo
de aquel no finjo ni gloſo



Libro enel qual
ſe contienen cincuenta romances cõ
ſus vilancicos y deſechas. Entre los
quales ay muchos dellos nueuamen
te añadidos: que nunca en eſtas tier-
ras ſe han oydo.

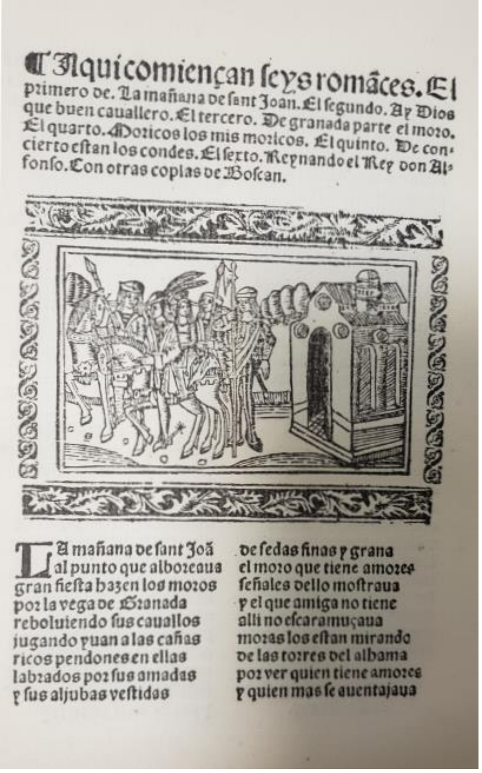


¶ Romāce nueuamēte gloſado por
Pedro de palma natural decija: enel qual ſe trata la triſte ⁊ la-
mētable nueua q̄ le dieron al rey moro paſſeandoſe por Grana
da de como los chriſtianos le auian ganado alhama: y de todo
lo q̄ los moros hizierō por cobralla delos chriſtianos: enlo qual
perdieron mucha gente y quedaron vencidos: ⁊ aſſi ſe boluierō
el rey ⁊ los que quedaron a Granada.

Gloſa.

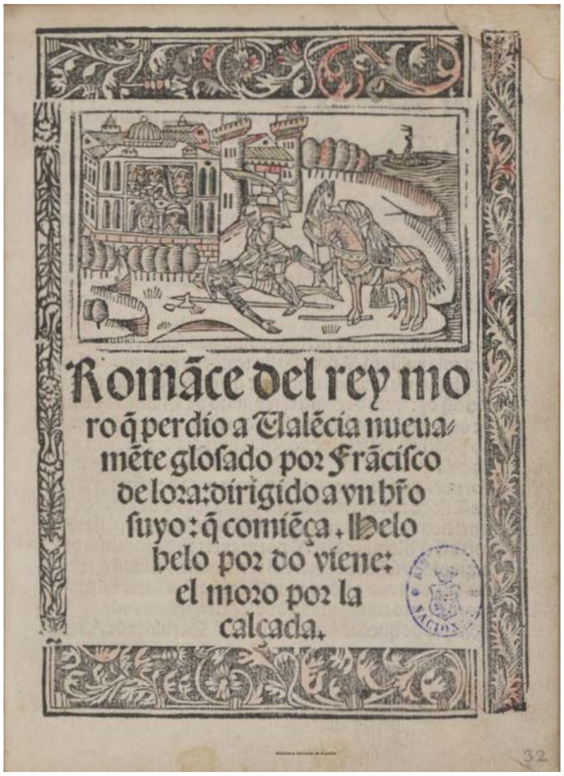
¶ El q̄ mas eneſta vida
con bienes quiere jatarſe
quanto pena en ſu ſubida
es por dar mayor cayda
para nunca leuantarſe
queſte mundo ⁊ ſu teſoro
es vna ſombra ſoñada
pues no ſabiendo ſu lloro
paſſeauaſe el rey moro
por la cibdad de granada.

¶ Y como ſe paſſeaua
triunfando dela fortuna
quando mas ſeñoreaua
toda ſu ſeta clipſaua
con triſte cara la luna
q̄ con poſtas bien corridas
ſin hazer tardança en nada
dando bozes doloridas
cartas le fueron venidas
como alhama era ganada



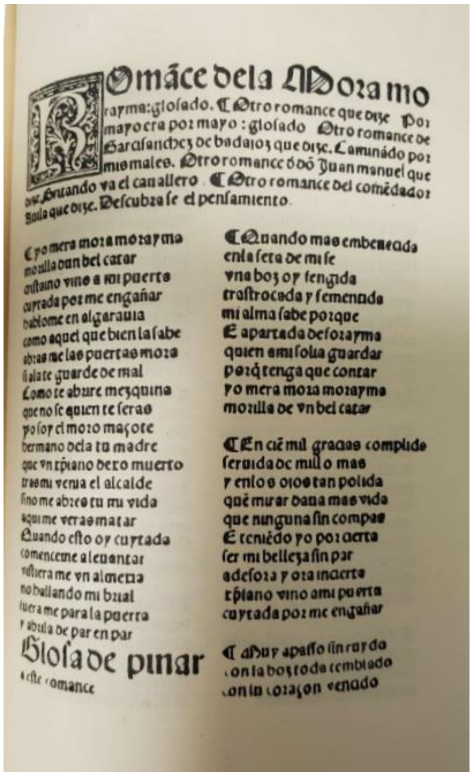
¶ Aqui comiençan ſeys romāces. El
primero de. La mañana de ſant Joan. El ſegundo. Ay Dios
que buen cauallero. El tercero. De granada parte el moro.
El quarto. Moricos los mis moricos. El quinto. De con-
cierto eſtan los condes. El ſexto. Reynando el Rey don Al-
fonſo. Con otras coplas de Boſcan.

La mañana de ſant Joā
al punto que alboreaua
gran fieſta hazen los moros
por la vega de Granada
reboluiendo ſus cauallos
jugando yuan a las cañas
ricos pendones en ellas
labrados por ſus amadas
y ſus aljubas veſtidas
de ſedas finas y grana
el moro que tiene amores
ſeñales dello moſtraua
y el que amiga no tiene
alli no eſcaramuçaua
moras los eſtan mirando
de las torres del alhama
por ver quien tiene amores
y quien mas ſe auentajaua



Romāce del rey mo
ro q̄ perdio a Valēcia nueua-
mēte gloſado por Frācisco
de lora: dirigido a vn hr̄o
ſuyo: q̄ comiēça. Helo
helo por do viene:
el moro por la
calçada.

32



Romāce dela Mora mo
rayma: gloſado. ¶ Otro romance que dize Por
mayo era por mayo: gloſado Otro romance de
Garciſanchez de badajoz que dize. Caminādo por
mis males. Otro romance d dō Juan manuel que
dize. Gritando va el cauallero. ¶ Otro romance del comēdador
Auila que dize. Deſcubraſe el penſamiento.

Yo mera mora morayma
morilla dun bel catar
criſtiano vino a mi puerta
cuytada por me engañar
hablome en algarauia
como aquel que bien la ſabe
abras me las puertas mora
ſi ala te guarde de mal
Como te abrire mezquina
que no ſe quien te ſeras
yo ſoy el moro maçote
hermano dela tu madre
que vn xp̄iano dexo muerto
tras mi venia el alcalde
ſino me abres tu mi vida
aqui me veras matar
Quando eſto oy cuytada
començeme a leuantar
viſtierame vn almexia
no hallando mi brial
fuerame para la puerta
y abrila de par en par

Gloſa de pinar
a eſte romance

¶ Quando mas embeuecida
enla ſeta de mi fe
vna boz oy fengida
traſtrocada y femenida
mi alma ſabe porque
E apartada de ſorayma
quien a mi ſolia guardar
porq̄ tenga que contar
yo mera mora morayma
morilla de vn bel catar

¶ En cien mil gracias complida
ſeruida de mill o mas
y en los ojos tan polida
quē mirar daua mas vida
que ninguna ſin compas
E teniēdo yo por cierta
ſer mi belleza ſin par
a deſora y ora incierta
xp̄iano vino a mi puerta
cuytada por me engañar

¶ Muy apaſſo ſin ruydo
con la boz toda temblado
con un coraçon venado

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