Pleyto del manto (ca 1508/1509): Its Genre and the Trial of Pedro Fernández de Córdoba y Pacheco, 1st Marquess of Priego and Head of the House of Aguilar

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Poetry was a valued social skill during the Medieval and Early Modern Period practiced among groups of friends or associates, who read it outloud at gatherings, frequently for the entertainment of their patrons. However, we often lack information about the authorship, performative context, or immediate purpose of many of these poems. This is particularly true of the longer works classified as "burlas."

Some—like Montoro's poem about the 1473 pogrom in Cordoba—are by a known author and make reference to an historical incident; others—like the Coplas de la panadera or the trip of Cardinal Rodrigo de Borja described in the Aposento en Juvera—refer to datable events, but we do not know who wrote them or for whom. When treating compositions like these, scholars often write about their sources, genre, style, metrics, ideology, or cultural setting. If they contain attacks against women or Jews, then they are interpreted in the context of misogyny or endemic antisemitism. A third group, however, combines anonymity with obscene language and no information about its context or purpose. These poems tend to be passed over in silence.

Until late, this was true of the longest of them, Carajicomedia (Domínguez 2015), but poems like Pleyto del manto are still largely unstudied. According to Marcial Rubio Árquez: "no hay estudios sobre el Pleyto del manto; tan sólo algunas alusiones, casi siempre remarcando su carácter indecente, en otras dispersas" (239). This essay attempts to remedy in part this lack of scholarship. It reviews the poem in relation to medieval jurisprudence and logic, to its genre and theatricality, and it proposes that the historical incident to which it alludes is the trial of Pedro de Aguilar for treason in 1508.

Pleyto del manto is an anonymous 63-stanza poem consisting of 593 verses to which another poet, García de Astorga, later added 95 verses. It first appeared in the 1514 edition of Hernando del Castillo's Cancionero general; it was then reprinted in its 1517, 1520, 1527 editions, and in the Cancionero de obras de burlas of 1519, before being removed from subsequent editions of the Cancionero general in 1535.

The bulk of Pleyto consists of the speeches made in a court of law by lawyers who argue before judges on behalf of an accuser (Carajo) and plaintiff (Coño). These speeches vary in stanza length. The "narrador," the "procurador del Carajo" and the first judge tend to "speak" in “coplas de arte mayor" (10-octosyllabic verses), and Coño and her "procurador" in “coplas de arte menor" or "reales" (8-octosyllabic verses). However, there is considerable variation in stanza length in the case of the latter and some variation in rhyme throughout: Coño expresses her "rebeldía" in one 9-verse stanza, and the...

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1 People of the Early-Modern Period entertained themselves with occasional holidays, feasts, jousts, hunts, and poetry "veladas." See Victoria Ann Burrus, Ana Gómez Bravo, Ian MacPherson, Juan Escourido, Óscar Perea Rodríguez, and others on the way poetry pervaded society, and how it was used for games. An ample bibliography on recreation, particularly games of chance and bullfights, and their trace in the law, can be consulted in María Encarnación Gómez Rojo.

2 See Joaquín González Chueca for an important exception. Of course, the authors themselves knew who, when, where, for whom they wrote, and what was their objective but, they may not have wanted to have their names attached to the work in printed form.

3 Astorga is a minor "cancionero" poet who seems to have served Pedro de Aguilar towards 1508. I deal with his additions later in this article. For Astorga, see Jesús Ponce 2001, 2005.

4 The Cancionero general of 1517 reproduces the contents of the section of burlas of the 1514 edition. The antecedents of Pleyto del manto and possible imitations of the poetic "pleito" are summarized by Rubio Árquez (1994, 245, 249).
second judge uses the same to deliver his judgement. Thereafter, 9-verse stanzas appear frequently. Towards the end of the original work, we also encounter some stanzas that are 11-verses long, one that contains "quebrados" (half-verses), and a half-stanza labeled "Fin." This irregularity may indicate that Pleyto is the collaborative work of several poets who did not adhere to the same stanza structure.

The content of the poem, however, can be easily summarized. According to an unnamed narrator, a stranger has stumbled upon a man and a woman having sex in a "huerta" and, troubled by their nakedness, has covered them with a cloak while saying, "do eſte manto en conclusión / para quien lo tiene dentro." The statement of the stranger, however, is ambiguous in the eyes of the narrator of the work, because it is not clear which one of the two deserves the "manto." He therefore asks the "quaestio,"7 "aquien pertenece el manto," that then becomes the basis of a mock trial brought by the man—hence personified as Carajo—against the woman—hence personified as Coño—over ownership of the cloak.8

Different settings divide Pleyto into two uneven parts: a "huerta" (stanzas 1-3) and a court of law (stanzas 4-63). The "quaestio" that ties both sections together reveals that the poem owes some of its characteristics to the school debate—a favored method of medieval instruction—and to a modification of a subgenre of poetry called "pregunta y respuesta,"9 as well as to a type of literature popular in the period. This awareness sets the "horizon of expectations" (Jauss) for the audience as it looks forward to hearing or reading a fictitious legal debate over what seems to be a very risible and inconsequential matter.

Medieval Jurisprudence and the Genre of Pleyto

Pleyto reflects the continued interest of pan-European literature in jurisprudence. In Spanish, it begins with the Cantar de mio Cid and Milagros de Nuestra Señora of Berceo, which were both composed by people associated with it.10 Milagros, in particular, contains stories in which the Devil is

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5 We may never know the identities of the authors unless new information is forthcoming. It is also not clear what type of court hears the case. Stanza 27 refers to the suit as following "canones mayores," which may be a reference to the Apostolic Canons, the body of rules adopted by councils of the Church for its governance. However, the adversarial system followed by the poem was a common characteristic of civil law. This is confirmed by a later stanza, which calls the action a "pleyto criminal" (stanza 24) and canon courts did not hear such cases. We are kept in the dark, because thefts were not considered criminal cases.

6 Some critics have thought that poems like it are the work of young and immature writers.

7 Medieval disputes usually started with "questiones dialogicae" or "dialecticae" (F. Carpintero 632). One of these questions had become a classic case of jurisprudence. It is known as the "tabula picta:" To whom does a a painting (or thing) belong, to its creator or its possessor? The abuse of the practice of the "quaestio" is what provides the self-conscious laughter of Pleyto. See also Marta Madero.

8 The personification allegory pervades the poem and makes it one of two long works of "burlas" to use it (the other being Carajicomedia).

9 Francisco Layna Arranz and Antonio Chas Aguión have analyzed the texts that belong to the subgenre of the "pregunta y respuesta" in books and articles. The characteristics of the university dispute and the scholarship surrounding it are summarized by Lain Arranz, before specifically examining the burlesque dispute. He alludes to my previous conclusions about the Pleyto, saying that I am right in considering that its antecedents are to be found "en la educación medieval, en el énfasis dado a la retórica, en la práctica de la "disputatio" y en los casos ficticios que los alumnos de derecho argüían ante sus profesores como demostración de su habilidad lógica y su maestría de las "cautelae" o trucos legales" (27). This paper deepens those conclusions by examining different aspects of the work.

10 A general discussion of the interpenetration of the law and literature can be found in R.H. Bloch 1977 and James A. Brundage 2002. On the Medieval development of the law profession, see Brundage 1988, 2008. Study of the law was divided into canon law and civil law. The most famous center for law studies was the University of Bologna, but Paris (through the study of canon law) and Salamanca were also active, and their students and professors would often travel to and from these centers. Among the texts they would handle were the studies of Bartolus of Sassoferrato and Baldus de
given the role of prosecutor, arguing for possession of a soul, while the Virgin acts as its defense attorney and Christ as the judge. This interest continues in works like the Libro de buen amor's "Pleyto del lobo y la raposa ... ante don Gimio" and in innumerable poems that treat the "Courts of Love," "Judgements of Love," "Testaments of Love," and "Debates" in a legal context. This is not accidental but rather speaks of the number of students who followed a law career in the Middle Ages. Burlesques of court procedures, however, are relatively sporadic until late (Goodrich 1996, 59-60), when the number of law-degree holders increased, as it became a necessary skill to advance in city and royal institutions.

A law student's education was remarkably similar everywhere in Europe. All used many of the same textbooks and, when they practiced, their cases developed along similar lines: Non-inquisitorial trials began when an accusation was made before a judge. All arguments were in Latin and written by trained professionals. Appeals advanced lawsuits from lower to higher courts according to a predetermined order, and they were handled by "procuradores" (prosecutors or proctors) and "abogados" ("advocati"), who litigated over a "doyenda" or "acusatio" by presenting or contradicting the evidence. By the late Middle Ages, however, only university-trained lawyers were given the title of "advocatus" and were infrequently permitted to argue orally before a court. Otherwise, pleas were normally submitted in writing. "Procuradores" were then restricted to assembling documentation and steering cases through the intricate court procedures with one exception: they could plead small cases

Ubaldis, both of which are mentioned in Carajicomedia, arguing that Pleyto was written by people with legal training. The poem does not tell us what type of court hears the case—a seigneurial court, a Church court, a city court or an Audiencia (cases in the south of Spain, were the authors lived, were heard in Granada)——other than that it is being heard in a city. However, cases could be heard anywhere, when conditions warranted it. The poem designates the participants as "procuradores," "jueces," "letrado," and "notario." "Procuradores" and "notarios" often had more limited studies in the "ars dictaminis," or "ars notaria."11 This is the case in "El labrador avaro," "El sacristán fornicario," "San Pedro y el monje mal ordenado," "El romero engañado por el enemigo malo," and "Los dos hermanos."

See Rubio Árquez 244-245. The influence of the law on medieval Spanish literature has been studied by Omar Sanz from the perspective of the "voz del defensor," although with emphasis in the older literature in which the "procurador" is often called a "personero" and the "abogado" a "bozero" (373-375). The most interesting of the cases he examines is that brought before "el alcalde de Bujía" in Juan Ruiz's El Libro de buen amor (392-402). This exemplum treatment of a lawsuit in poetry that is prior to Pleyto and similarly plays with the language of the court ("abogado," "acusación," "doyenda," "querella," "juicio," "abides en fuero e en derecho," "escusas e las defensiones," "exepciones," "replicaçion," "reconvención," "sentencia," "conclusion," "perentoria," "constitución," etc.). Sanz's article ends with the Cancionero de Bena, but Carajicomedia also shows this interest in the law, particularly in the section devoted to the whores of Salamanca, the premier Spanish institution granting law degrees. The language of the law can be seen in the mock testimonials ever-present in medieval satirical literature like François Villon's Testaments, farces like Maistre Pathelin and, as I explain below, Guillaume Coquillart's plays.

12 See Chas Aguión (63-64) on the Latin antecedents of the "pregunta y respuesta" and on "cancionero" poetry that appears framed as an argument or "contienda" before a judge (156-157; 161).

13 Proctors did not have as complete a university education as lawyers. They learned their trade from older procurators as apprentices, unlike advocates who always had a university degree (Brundage 1988, 443-445; 2008, 290).

14 Advocates and procurators had well-delimited functions. According to Alonso Romero et al, procurators were only supposed to handle "peticiones pequeñas" by themselves. Most of the time, he acted as "el representante procesal de los litigantes, que en todas las actuaciones relativas a la 'sustancia', solemnidad y orden del proceso, confiadas a la direccion del letrado, en realidad se comportaba como un mero mensajero o agente de éste. Pero esta subordinación profesional muchos procuradores se resistían a aceptarla, y era fácil caer en la tentación de las extralimitaciones" (2014, 52). Fernando and Isabel attempted to regularize the rights pertaining to them through the 1495 "Ordenanzas de los abogados e procuradores," but the tension between these two groups continued. The Catholic Kings finally issued a mandate in 1504 to the effect that the approval of the authority of "procuradores" should be in the hands of the advocates rather than judges (Romero 2014, 51).
before a court by themselves. A judge or judges determined which side won, and a favorable ruling rested on an argument's greater effectiveness, and the weight of its precedents and witnesses. The sentences they issued, however, could have different outcomes depending on whether is was "interlocutiva" (provisional) or "definitiva" (i.e. "peremptoria").

In contrast, the fictive "procuradores" of Pleyto take turns in arguing the case orally before fictive judges; the work is in verse with some Latin thrown in; and, it is foreshortened. We have to assume much of what happens in the case, because there is no deposition of the passerby or witnesses, or gathering of evidence. Greater attention is placed on the intricacies of the mock pleadings of the "procuradores"—based on logic, precedents, and witnesses—, on the depositions of friends, and on the rulings of its judges.

Thematically, Pleyto del manto is related to the "querelle des lois," a variation of the popular "querelles des dames" written by jurists exploring the legal underpinnings of the "leys d'amor." One subset of this type of work, the "processus," sought to instruct students by posing an abstract question in a manner analogous to today's moot courts. The quaestio de facto or disputata by it was "designed not primarily to discuss the intricacies of legal texts but to reproduce the aura of litigation so that the student could be initiated into the practice of law, not merely its academic discussion" (Taylor 72). However, while this type of moot court was meant to be treated seriously, the case of Pleyto was not.

The poem instead creates a "processus jocoserius" to determine whether the "manto" has been wrongfully obtained by Coño “per apprehensionem" (by capture), as Carajo maintains, or be his "per accessionem” (by accession or right of inheritance; see Marta Madero 28). More broadly speaking, Pleyto plays with one of the core metaphors in contract law, the distinction between a "pactum nudum" and a "pactum vestito" (an informal [naked] or a formal [dressed] contract). In its efforts to

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16. The reference to "procuradores" may signal the triviality and absurdity of the case, but there is some imprecision in the Spanish usage of the term "procurador," because it is sometimes applied generically to both types of law officials. An obligatory designation of "procuradores" by means of a "carta de personeria" is not mentioned (F.L. Pacheco 22-23).

17. These ancient authorities were often represented by men like Jacobus de Revigny, Cyno da Pistoia, Bartolus of Sassoferrato, and Baldus de Ubaldis. Canon courts, however, often served as courts of first instance for cases that were later remanded to civil courts (see Kenneth Pennington). The procedures of the court included representation of the parties, rules of evidence, testimony under oath, and a written trial record.

18. Verdicts earlier were issued without reasonings, "in iure et in facto," for the decisions, but by the fifteenth century the practice of justifying a judge's ruling was well established. However, they were sometimes read without the presence of the parties (José Luis López 400).

19. Lawyers and philosophers wrote on such topics, for example, in Boncompagnus di Signa's (ca 1170-1250) Rota Veneris, the jurist Étienne Forcadel's (1534-1573) Cupido Iurisperitus, Martial of Auvergne's (c. 1440-1508) Arrets d'amour (later printed with the lawyer Benoît de Court's Commentaires Juridiques et Joyeux), and John Selden's (1584-1654) Jani Anglorum Facies Altera. (See the many works of Peter Goodrich, particularly his 2002 article.) In addition to the works cited above, Goodrich points as examples to Boccaccio's Filocolo, Christine de Pisan's Book of Three Judgments, Alain Chartier's La Belle Dame sans Merci, Mahieu le Poirier's Cour d'Amour and Suite Anonyme, Guillaume de Machaut's Judgments of the Kings of Behaigne and Navare, and Las Leys d'Amor and Las Flors del Gay Saber and "the mid-fourteenth-century tradition of poetic tournaments and their judgment by a judicial college or Consistory governed by the rhetorical rules that bore the name of laws of love," for example, Martial d'Avugergne's Arrets d'Amour (765).

20. See also note 48.

21. A "corpus juris" about the rights of the Devil had developed during the Middle Ages. The most famous of which was the Processus Sathane infernalis contra genus humanum (ca 1320; Scott 69), which appears in translation under a variety of names, including L'Advocacie Nostre Dame, and was attributed at times to Bartolus of Sassoferrato.

22. A species of "accessionem" is "accessio discreta de re ad personas" or the things granted in perpetuity to one person, i.e. "someone's patrimony" (Madero 29).

23. Although donations were not supposed to fall within the jurisdiction of the law, the donation of the cloak, as we said, is treated as a verbal contract, or "pactum nudum," and the trial seeks to give it the validity of a "pactum vestitum" through a binding decision about its ownership.
correctly assign the owner of a "privilegium:" Who should by rights have "dominium" (or ownership) of the "manto" (a "res")—the man who has entered or the woman who has been entered. However, even when we recognize the legal problem the donation of the "manto's" has posed, we still do not fully comprehend its metaphoric significance.

Rubio Árquez (245) has proposed that the donation of the "manto" is related to a passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew that reads: "et ei qui vult tectum iudicio contendere et tunicam tuam tollere remitte ei et pallium" (Douay-Rheims 5.39; And if a man will contend with thee in judgment, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him). This parable, however, recommends surrendering the cloak and turning the other cheek, whereas each party to Pleyto's suit selfishly wants sole ownership. Therefore, the Gospel of St. Matthew does not agree with the lesson that the work wishes to convey.

We are on firmer grounds when we recognize that the donation of the "manto" in a "huerta" is based on a scene in Genesis: The cloaking of Adam and Eve's "verguenzas" with fig leaves or tunics (which God later grants them) and their expulsion from the Garden of Eden.24 Both sexes share in original sin, but while Pleyto's "manto" has the same purpose of concealing Coño and Carajo's shameful parts from the public, because they would reveal their sinfulness and corruption (Bayless 189),25 this is still not the full significance of the scene.

Coño has not only absconded with a cloak but transformed it into an item of clothing used by women outside the home ("manto. el que cubre a la muger, quando ha de fallir de su cafa, cubriendo con el elu cabeza," Covarrubias, 1611, 1075.1). This is meant to remind us of an old popular proverb that is partially quoted in Carajicomedia (stanza 72): "Puta la madre, puta la hija, y puta la manta que las cobija."26 What the scene tells us, in spite of what the Bible and its commentarists say, is that Coño has stolen something that rightly belongs to her. All women have a right of "dominium" over a "manto," because of their overweening desire. However, this answer to the "quaestio" posed by the narrator is long in developing.

After the customary acknowledgment of the power of the judge, the "procurador del Coño" begins his plea with a famous argument that is based on the physical accidents of the container and contained, and that was known to every student of logic.27 His source is Aristotle, who first used it in Physics IV when talking about "locus" as the name given to the surface of a containing body holding

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24 Valera, Genesis 3.7: "Entonces fueron abiertos los ojos de ambos, y conocieron que estaban desnudos; entonces cosieron hojas de higuera, y se hicieron delantales"; Valera, Genesis 3.21: "Y Jehová Dios hizo al hombre y a su mujer túnicas de pieles, y los vistió;" Alfonso el Sabio, General Estoria 6a-b, "et quando los echaua del Parayso dioles unas pellicas fechas de pelleias de ganados muertos que fueron uiusos."

25 The "manto" also indicates the higher status of the passerby, for the term designated an outside garment covering the nobility (Sebastián de Covarrubias 1075.1).

26 The Especulo de los legos contains an “exemplum” in which an old whore says, “Ya non quieren beuer los omes de mi uino por ser annejo, ve e pregona el uino de la cuba nueua de mi fija . . . E de aquí es lo que dize el profeta Ezechiel: Qual era tu madre, tal es la fija” (361). Other variations of the same sentiment exist: "Cual la madre tal la hija, porque las crián junto si, las hacen a sus costumbres" (Covarrubias 689-690), and Iñigo López de Mendoza, “Cabra va por viña, cual madr" Alfonso el Sabio, General Estoria 6a-b, "et quando los echaua del Parayso dioles unas pellicas fechas de pelleias de ganados muertos que fueron uiusos."

27 The container/contained argument has been used down to our time to explain sexual difference (see Luce Irigaray 12). However, Pleyto places its emphasis on proper ownership, and we must never forget that it is written exclusively from a male point of view that sees the universe hierarchically ordered, where the male principle is not only superior but active and the female is reactive and passive.
the contained. However, he later treated the same concept in *Categories* to represent location (place or space) and elaborated on the several modes that could be used to answer the question "where?" but he only mentioned three of them: action, passion, and position.

The confusion caused by the two descriptions of "locus" and the incomplete discussion of its modes resulted in one of the most hotly debated Scholastic arguments. Medieval scholars expanded the 6th-century *Commentary on the Categories* of Simplicius (first translated into Latin in the mid-13th century) and the anonymous 12th century *Liber sex princiopiorum*, or *De sex principiis* by translating "locus" as "where" ("ubi") and dividing the concept into two, "ubi circumscriptivum" (the location of concrete bodies) and "ubi difinitivum" (the location of spiritual beings). They also further developed the nature of the concept's predicates by discussing substance, quantity, relation, quality, action, passion, and position; and, they determined that "locus" refers to the space that holds, whereas "ubi" is "what is circumscribed and surrounded" (Edward Grant 71-72). This makes the "manto" a fitting symbol for the juridico-political possession of a place or territory, in other words, who has sovereignty over a thing, because "dominium" and "imperium" both have spatial consequences. This is central to the works of Bartolus and Baldi and the first question posed by Machiavelli's *The Prince* (ca. 1513). These arguments are central to *Pleyto*.31

The "procurador del Coño" first states that for a thing to be physically contained within another, it must be smaller: 32

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\begin{align*}
\text{por razon muy conocida} & \quad \text{that, according to common knowledge,} \\
\text{toda cofa que fe tiene} & \quad \text{everything contained}
\end{align*}
\]

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\begin{align*}
\text{dotra mayor fer tenida.} & \quad \text{must be held by something greater.}
\end{align*}
\]

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28 Emanuela Bianchi (381) characterizes Aristotle's argument as resting on "on four primary axioms. (1) It contains a thing, but is not part of the thing contained; (2) it is neither less nor greater than the thing contained; (3) it can be left behind by the thing contained and is separable (choriston) from it, and (4) all places are characterized by being up or down." See her article for a more thorough discussion of the problems caused by his definition.

29 "Los nominalistas defienden que la palabra es un mero signo verbal que carece de valor representativo, distinguen entre significado y contenido significativo y consideran el estudio del significado, independientemente del contenido, como el campo propio de la lógica ... Los humanistas, por el contrario, reivindicarán el viejo realismo aristotélico, según el cual existe una relación isomórfica entre la realidad y la palabra que la designa: la palabra es la cosa" (Baranda 1992, 16).

30 The longest discussion had to wait until Francisco Suárez's Sixteenth-Century *Disputationes metaphysicae* (LI: "De ubi"). See Grant on the medieval concept of "ubi" and the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* for a general discussion of Aristotle's ten categories.

31 Arguments about the container/contained appear everywhere. Geoffrey of Vinsauf (*Poetria nova* and *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*), for example, recommended the "disputatio" between container and contained as one of the ways of achieving "ornata difficultas" (Vinsauf *Documentum*, 66). It can even be approached from the point of view of reliquaries, in which the most important thing is not the container but what is contained (Hahn). They also figure to a lesser degree in *Carajicomedia*.

32 The metaphor goes back to Gorgias's *On Not Being*, Plato's *Timaeus* (9-52), and Aristoteles' *Physics* (2.2096-13) and *Categories* (see below). It is an aspect of the evolving theories of place. One famous example is Jorge Manrique's sea/rivers metaphor, where rivers/lives end in an all containing sea/Death. The thing contained can also be discussed as part of a whole, a part of a thing's nature, a modification of another thing (Shallo 133), or it can be considered a greater thing depending on its accidents (context) or agency.

33 All textual references come from my edition and translation of *Pleyto* that appears at the end of this article in an Appendix. Syllogistic reasoning is strongly identified with Aristotle, who was so well-known that there was no need to identify him by name, because "the Philosopher" would do.
What's more, he maintains that, since this idea is held by all, it is the equivalent of a "common knowledge" proof, and therefore, it should be sufficient in itself to uphold Coño's rights of ownership. He then adds a corollary. Since power and preeminence are determined by size, and greater size equals greater might, she cannot have taken the "manto" by force, as alleged by her accuser, because it was already hers by right.

The narrator ("el que pregunta") delivers the first counter-argument. He contradicts the statement made on Coño's behalf by saying that her "procurador" has erred in stressing size over deeds (stanzas 7-10). "Actio" and not "quantitas" (quantity or size) is more important, because it can determine the shape of a container,

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Toda cosa que ha dentrar
y tenerla en otra dentro
ha de ser que pueda eftar
para meter y facar
(stanza 8)
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and adds that what has been claimed by the "procurador del Coño" as a "common knowledge" proof is not actually so, because the opposite is what is really a very well-known fact: Size is of no importance in matters of sex!

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Y digo que no conuiene
fer razon muy conocida
por do el hombre fe condene
toda cosa que fe tiene
dotra mayor fer tenida
pues que puede lo menor
en materia de hornicio
eftar dentro enlo mayor
(stanza 9)
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And, he concludes that,

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aquel es dentro enla cofa
que entra con fuerza enella
de donde feñor fe va
concluyendo enel debate
que aquel manto como efta
que fe lieue y fe leda
al cuytado que combate
(stanza 10)
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34 Pleyto argues the concept of space from the point of view of the male and female sex organs, whose existence is a "fact" that should be "readily" accepted. The relationship can be stated as: if $A > B$ or $B < A$, and $A$ is Cunt and $B$ is Prick, then only $B$ can be in $A$, because it is smaller. The argument also involves the relationship of a part to a whole, because it can be logically argued that if $A$ contains $B$ then $A$ can be considered a whole of which $B$ is a part.

35 The questioner's interruption is treated as an oral deposition of an expert, in reality such opinions were submitted in writing.

36 I read this "que" as "por qué."
Carajo's lawyer speaks next. He is also deferential towards the judge but, in a speech that is peppered with irony, he calls his opponent's case specious and fallacious because of its faulty reasoning (stanzas 11-13). It would be absolutely absurd, he says, to consider an action as encompassed by the thing acted upon, and he gives two examples false deductive logic: Because the king and his kingdom are considered to be one, should it follow that a "coño" be thought to be "in" a "carajo" or a bell "in" a clapper?:

Ved quan falla confeuencia contra razon y fu ley ferie dezir que enel rey el reyno efta por prefencia pues no menos por potencia efta enel coño enel carajo la campana enel badojo puesto que muestra paciencia

(stanza 12)

"See how false a consequence—against reason and its law—would be to say that, because in the king the kingdom is present, it is no less possible to say that a cunt is in a prick, [and] a bell in a clapper, because they are within."

The question argued is an aspect of the principle "civitas sibi princeps" (i.e. city which is its own emperor), does possession convey "dominium"? Coño, fearing that the argument of her lawyer is weak and that the outcome of the trial does not bode well for her, interrupts to declare that if the ruling is not in her favor, she will put herself "en rebeldia" (stanza 14)—a legal term that applies when one of the parties disagrees with a judge's determination. At stake is the payment of "coftas" (court costs), a penalty incurred by the losing party. Coño's lawyer adds that, although there might be authorities and precedents that favor males—and an argument based on agency could appear reasonable to some—a judgement is nevertheless still needed, because the parties can not come to terms, and the passerby did not order the cloak split. He therefore joins Coño in threatening to appeal the veredict if it is not in her favor and also asks that Carajo be condemned to the payment of expenses (stanzas 15-19).

The first judge, who has heard both sides, acknowledges that they have argued a thorny matter; nevertheless, he is ready to issue a "sentencia interlocutoria" (preliminary ruling) that states that the contained/Carajo is indeed greater than the container/Coño (stanzas 20-22). However, while proclaiming his even-handedness, he also acknowledges that he shares a "carajo" with the accuser. This admission prompts Coño's appeal:

fabe cos traygo apelado

vn claro pleyto en fu nombre

contra lo flaco del hombre

por letrados efforçado

Know that I have appealed

the matter in her name

against man's weakness

backed by learned men."

37 A false deduction from a premise that misuses the relationship of a king to his kingdom: "Si el rey era entendido y presentado como alma, cabeza y corazón del cuerpo del reino, ni el alma, ni la cabeza ni el corazón pueden separarse del cuerpo sin resultado de muerte. La presencia del rey sería, pues, imprescindible para la vida del reino" (Pérez Samper 40). Metaphors that indicate an inappropriate relationship between container and contained return in the continuation (stanza 68), where García de Astorga makes a burlesque adaptation of the Aristotelian allusion in Physics 212 to a ship anchored in flowing water (stanza 68). The bell/clapper relationship was also often explored in logic. Of course, the metaphor is highly sexual in Pleyto.

38 The same idea appears in Disputatio adversus Aristotelicos sequaces. Aristotle accuses Herrera of not knowing the difference between "medir y ser medido, que lo uno es hazer y lo otro padescer" (175).
What follows is Carajo's lawyer's rebuttal (stanzas 24-29) and his supporting authorities/witnesses — Ptolemy (stanzas 30-31), Dante (stanzas 32-33), and Macías (stanzas 34-35)—who exemplify the universality of the situation.

A second ruling further reveals the judge's biased nature. During disputes over ownership, judges could order sequestration of a "res" in order to later transfer custody to the winning litigant (Pérez Ragone 298). We assume, therefore, that the proper "restitutio" of the "res" is about to be flouted, when he says that possession of the "manto" should by all rights be his (stanza 36). Instead, however, he delivers a surprising "sentencia definitiva" in favor of Coño (stanzas 36-39) that is supported by the examples of Adam (stanza 40), Solomon (stanza 41), Hercules (stanza 42), and Samson (stanza 43), who are all witnesses to her superiority (stanza 44). The judge's ruling (stanzas 45-48) then condemns Carajo to pay all court costs:

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Y pues mal ha procelldado
por ella sentencia ordeno
que te prefo, encarcelado
en el coro\textsuperscript{42} con[fi]cado
porque en costas le condeno
y enel coño le con[fi]m[a]
pleyto costas y trabajo
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(Stanza 47)

"And because his case failed, by this sentence I order that he be imprisoned, jailed, confined to the choir, because I condemn him to pay costs and in the cunt be consumed lawsuit, expenses and work"

The "costas" include not only the expenses of the court, but a per diem for his confinement. There follows a funny declaration of a gentleman in support of Carajo about the latter's need to auction his testicles to pay the costs (stanzas 50-53), and another formal appeal of the sentence by Carajo that invokes the name of Torrellas and Juan del Encina as authorities and demands to see all the documentation concerning the preceding trial (stanzas 54-60), because the initial ruling was given in the absence of himself or his "procurador" (stanza 25), but all legal manoeuvres come to an end with the judge's refusal to grant another appeal (stanzas 61-63), and Coño wins the trial.

We should be careful, however, in how we interpret the trial's outcome. Although the judge rules in favor of the accused, Pleyto does not deal in righteousness but in irony. In the words of Taylor (77), justice requires "sinceritas" and, although Coño is the winner of the "manto," "todo entero / portitulo verdadero" (stanza 18), Pleyto mocks this result. The sole purpose of the "sentencia definitiva" is to assign blame to Coño, as the place or "locus, from where children have come since the beginning of time:

\textsuperscript{39} These are the "iuris periti" who will support the plea as expert witnesses.

\textsuperscript{40} This is the objective of a "sequestratio possessionis."

\textsuperscript{41} It may be significant that three of the four authorities cited in the judge's ruling are biblical (Adam, Samson, Solomon), and the fourth was considered the founder of Spain (Hercules). Those given earlier by Carajo's "procurador" are not biblical (Ptolemy, Dante, Macías).

\textsuperscript{42} A metaphorical use of the word "coro" (choir). It means that he is remanded to the public jail along with other prisoners but, as we soon learn in stanzas 50 and 51, the dark jail is actually another metaphor for the inside of Coño.

\textsuperscript{43} Stanzas 50-53 appear to be just another supporting statement like García de Astorga's continuation.

\textsuperscript{44} Álvaro Pérez Ragone writes: "Por su lado la rebeldía del demandante otorgaba al demandado el derecho a optar entre dos alternativas: una el rechazo de la demanda, otra la continuación del proceso con la posibilidad del dictado de una sentencia definitiva de mérito" (298).
De adan dize el eſcritura  
que fiendo hombre tan fanto  
por aficion de natura  
por cobrir el abertura  
luego proueyo de manto  
quenel primero retoño  
dela primera nacion  
fuera verguença enel coño  
parecer la criacion
(stanza 40)

"Of Adam, the Scripture says  
that, in spite of being such a holy man,  
by natural inclination,  
in order to cover the gash  
he then provided a cloak for it.  
For the first shoot  
of the first nation  
would be ashamed in the cunt  
to have appeared."

The judge's statement is confirmed by Astorga, who says that,

... lo quel coño leuo  
digo ques muy bien leuado  
por preminencia y eſtado  
del mismo pues del falio  
Y pues eſte fue el venero  
donde fe crio primero,  
muy juſta caufa lo quiere,  
fér el coño el heredero  
delo que permaneciere
(stanza 70)

And what the Cunt pocketed,  
I consider properly taken  
by the superiority and state  
of it, for it ["Carajo"] came from it.  
And because this was the source  
of its earliest upbringing,  
it is very justified  
that the Cunt inherit  
whatever might remain.

Pleyto's judge is part of a system that adjudicates based on precedents (Goodrich 2011, 793), which in burlesques only "seem" to engage the present with the past with the intention of binding a future (see Del Mar). Pleyto's turning of a "pactum nudum" into a "pacto vestito" is therefore double-edged. Coño may have won a "manto" with which she can cover herself but, in the topsy-turvy world of "burlas," rulings never meet out justice.

Staging the Law: Pleyto del manto and the Théatre de la Basoche

As we have seen, texts belonging to the "querelle des lois" and the "processus" found particular favor among Medieval and Renaissance jurists. It is very probable that Pleyto was written by the same type of person: university-trained lawyers or clerks aware of these literary traditions and who adapted them to their purposes. As students, they prepared for a career in the law mostly at Salamanca or Valladolid. Some of them were second sons of the nobility; most, however, belonged to a city's oligarchy, which considered education in the law a means of securing posts for their children, who then

45 Coño's final victory should be viewed as a miscarriage of justice. Astorga would assert her guilt until the Second Coming.  
46 Jurists in Córdoba, for example, served as "lugartenientes del alcalde mayor" in resolving "pleitos sobre cuestión de términos, problemas de herencias, etc." (Margarita Cabrera Sánchez 2002, 336). Cabrera finds corroboration of this interest in the law even among those about whom the documentation is silent about their degrees, because they function as "abogados, procuradores, alcaldes mayores lugartenientes o alcaldes de la justicia, o analizando los cometidos que llevan a cabo: resolución de pleitos, ejecución de sentencias, etc." (2002, 336). For the steady increase of university trained jurists during three Trastámara reigns, see W.D. Phillips 479.
worked for city governments, the Church, or the Crown in different capacities. Some may have also studied in Paris, or been trained by professors from the Sorbonne.47 It is probable that this subset of students would have been familiar with the preponderantly legalistic farces of the Théâtre de la Basoche (Joy Enders 9), which share many characteristics with *Pleyto*.

The French Society of the Basoche was founded in 1303.48 It was composed of law students and clerks that were officially charged by the king of France with the entertaining a particular type of audience, one that enjoyed mocking the same legal jargon they used on a daily basis.49 Members of the Basoche wrote and acted in the one hundred and fifty surviving "soties," farces, and moralities created between 1440 and 1560 (Dominique Goy-Blanquet 133-134), and which represent what one critic has called the golden age of French farce (Freeman 12). What's more, the phenomenon was not restricted to Paris.50 Basoche societies existed in several provincial cities in France as well.

Perhaps the best examples of basochien compositions with a strong juridical component that is comparable to *Pleyto* are the farces of Guillaume de Coquillart, who wrote a monologue entitled *Les Droitz Nouveaux* (2328 octosyllables written in 1480), in which court procedures and the practice of jurisprudence are mocked, while pointing out that both men and women are subject to the desires of the flesh; *Le Plaidoié entre la Simple et la Rusée* (a legal dispute written in 813 octosyllables between 1482 and 1483, in which allegorical characters called Simple and Cunning fight over a young man called Mignon);51 and, a continuation of *Le Plaidoié* written during the same time and called *L'Enqueste d'entre la Simple et la Rusée* (964 octosyllables).52

These works of Coquillart share characteristics with *Pleyto*: they take place in court; their rubrics indicate the function of the characters who take part in the case (le Juge, L'Advocat de la Simple, L'Advocat de la Rusée, Le Greffier, le pledoiant, la demanderesse, le petitoire, etc.); and the testimony of witnesses ("Le premier tesmoing," "Le seconde tesmoing," etc.). Their speeches likewise incorporate copious Latin and vernacular law terms, for example,

La fournir à son appetit:
Car qui ne fonce, de quibus?53
Prester l'appetit sensisif.

(Coquillart, *Plaidoyé*, Héricault, ed., II: 22)

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47 The vast majority of those about whose education we know attended Salamanca, with a few going to Paris, Toulouse, or Bologna in the fifteenth century (susana Guijarro González 84-95).
48 The French term 'basoche' seems to be a corruption of "basilica" (palace) and may have originally indicated a craft or an association. However, it always has been associated with mockery. There is evidence that writing and staging plays was also an important activity among the clerks of the Inns of Court in England (Guillemette Bolens). This may have also been an outgrowth of the moot courts they held as part of their training.
49 According to H.G. Harvey (23), "The humor in these mock trials arose from the incongruity of setting into motion all the elaborate processes of justice, all the learning of the judges and advocates, for a trivial and ridiculous cause .... All the exquisite boredom of judges who had listened the year long to the tortuous arguments of advocates, all the pent-up resentment of advocates forced daily to employ their learning for the benefit of desppicable and ungrateful litigants, evaporated into ribald laughter ... fully appreciated only by the elite, and yet the essentially comic situation was capable of amusing a much wider audience."
51 Coquillart died in 1510. These pieces were probably staged on 1478/1479 and 1480 (Freeman 1980, 92-94).
52 There are many other examples both before and after the theater of the Basoche. We have seen how Mary's role as mediatrix is mostly cast in the form of a "disputatio" with Satan in which he is the prosecutor, she is the defense attorney, and Christ is the judge. At the other end we have much of *La Farce de Maître Pathelin*, which takes place before a court (see Maryse Forget).
53 "What shall one do?"
Ubi de hoc? Aulx veaux! aulx veaux
(Coquillart, Plaidoyé, Héricault, ed., II: 26)

De la Simple, je dis, primô,
De sa possession et saisine
N'est pas faicte tali modo,
Comme le droit le determine;
(Coquillart, Plaidoyé, Héricault, ed., II:42)

These farces also refer to a variety of judgements (provisional, peremptory, or definitive) according to when they are delivered; and to argumentations and contracts,

Et dit que celle Simple aura
De cest amy la recreance,
Descens reservés en sentence
Diffinitive. Sans doubter,
Ouy de chacune l'aegance
Contraire, vous veult appointier.
(Coquillart, Plaidoyé, Héricault, ed., II:68)

Lesquelles faisoient mentions
De battures, seditions,
D'excez, de partialité,
De contractz et de pactions,
Et aussy de droits et raisons
Qui touchent la propriété
Du Mignon. Et en verité,
Cela fut par vous appointé.
Et furent donnes commissaires,
Ausquelz la Rusée a porté,
Ainsi comme il est d'equitée,
Ses poins et interrogatoires;
Et ladite Rusée encore,
Aux possessions et memoires,
Respondit tout pour le meilleur;
Du surplus, vecy paremptiores
(Coquillart, Enquête, Héricault, ed., II:75)

There are frequent appeals to the authority of the law about rights of possession,

54 The question, “Ubi de hoc?” (What else?), is followed by the yells of students forced to declaim absurdities.
55 Interesting also is a section of Coquillart's Droitz Nouveaux called De pactis: "Vous sçavez, mes bons aprentis / Quant mismes fin à noz leçons, / Nous laissames à departis / Des pactes, des conventions. / D'acordz, traictiez et pactions / De toutes façons, et contraulx; / On trouve les definitions / Sur ce tiltre en noz droitz nouveaulx; / Tous achaptz, marchez feriaux, / Prestz, obligations, louages, / Promesses, motz sacramentaulx, / Despens, donacions et gaiges, / Renonciations, langaiges, / Tous consentemens sans erreur, / Ainsi comme dient les saiges / Se traictent icy par honneur” (Héricault I: 121-122).
Et est, selon bonne equité,
**Possession non juridique.**
Nous avons en droit et pratique
Pour nous, au mains touchant ces ditz,
Et mesmement la voye unique,
**Codice, Ubi possidetis,**
Et la loy tierce, **Digestis,**
Qui dit, **eodem titulo:**
Que à bien possiderest requis,
**Non vim, clari nec preclaro.**

(Coquillart, *Plaidoyé*, Héricault, ed., II:41)

and references to who is responsible for paying trial costs,

Elle faict protestation
Et si requiert **tous coustz et fraiz**
Por toute resolution,
**Despens, dommaiges et interestz,**


Like Coquillart's plays, which mix French and Latin, *Pleyto* mixes Spanish and Latin, and refers to its case as a "pleyto" or "processo," and to the roles of its characters as "procuradores" and "jueces." These last two terms are so frequent in the poem or its rubrics that I do not dwell on them unless they are used to qualify a specific role—such as "primer juez" (to refer to the original case) or "a quo" (to refer to a judge against whom an appeal is brought). There are also references to the kind of witnesses "teftigos para prouar" (exemplary persons mentioned used to prove a point), "teftigos prefentes," (witnesses that appear in person), or friends of the court and their depositions. For example,

*dela sentencia que veys*  
*del dicho juez aquo*  
(stanza 27)

*la parte fin requerir*  
*teftigos repreguntados*  
(stanza 28)

*teftigos para prouar*  
*en contrario mintincion;*  
(stanza 29)

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56 According to Héricault (II, 41), the argument is about possession in Roman law. In order to possess a thing by right, one must possess it **non vi, nec clam, nec precario,** in other words, without threat of violence, openly, and with unassailable title. Besides alluding to aspects of the arguments of the "procuradores" in *Pleyto*, the comment illustrates how at times, the language of the court almost takes over a text, for example: "Car nous avons communement, / (Et de jure notissimo,) / Contre vous ung fort argument: / Quod possidenti, seurement, / Nulla competit actio: / Instituta et Digestis, / (Assi vray que je dis, /Au Paragraphe cum vero / De acquirendo dominio, / Le plus souvent invenio / In jure: quod probatio / Semper incumbi actori" (*Enqueste*, Héricault, ed., II: 76-77).
Al dar daqekteentencia57
testigos preñentes fueron (stanza 49)

Declaracion de vn cauallero en nombre del carajo condenado. (rubric to stanza 50)

In making this ruling, the witnesses present were

Deposition of a Gentleman in the Name of the Condemned Prick

Pleyto's judges are members of a "tribunal" or "consistorio," and the poem uses a judicial formula, "pro tribunal y sedendo," to indicate the formal issuance of a ruling from the bench of a presiding judge. It also makes constant references to procedures, appeals, and issuance of sentences ("or sustentaciones"):

fabe cos traygo apelado
vn claro pleyto en fu nombre (stanza 23)

que diñtes en confitório58
con cierto interrogatorio59
sentencia interlocutoria60 (stanza 28)

Viño el procedo preñente61 (stanza 38)

conellos pronunciare
sentencia difinitiua62 (stanza 44)

Sustentacion dela sentencia (rubric to stanza 45)

entiendo de dar sentencia
pro tribunal y fedendo63 (stanza 45)

"Having heard the present case with them, I will deliver a definitive sentence.

Writ Upholding the Ruling

I agree to give judgment

pro tribunal and sedendo."

57 This stanza may be in the voice of the narrator/questioner, who uses "coplas reales."
58 "Consistorio . . El Consejo, Tribunal ó Juzgado, donde se ven y deciden las causas y litigios en común, assi Sacras, como civiles, criminales y económicas" (DRAE 1729, 531.1).
59 The "interrogatorio" is the written or verbal questioning of the plaintiff and witnesses in order to establish the truth.
60 The "sentencia interlocutoria" is the temporary judgment given against one of the plaintiffs.
61 This is the formulaic language that concludes a trial and announces the sentence (see Cancionero de Sebastián de Horozco 259).
62 A "sentencia definitiva" brings a trial to a close. However, the phrase can be misleading, because it can refer to the final judgement on a particular stage of a case (summarized in the next five stanzas with an appeal for leniency); or to a formal appeal of the ruling before another judge, as is the case later.
63 Covarrubias gives the following definition for "TRIBVNAL, los efrados y filla alta en que fé sienta el juez a juzgar, y dar laentencia, fégun la formula comun, pro tribunal i fedendo" (54r).
(stanza 45)

vna fentencia cruel
protribunal aſſentado
(stanza 54)

issued a cruel sentence
from the bench sitting,

to documentation ("canones mayores," "apoſtolos"),

antes toda conformada
con los canones mayores64
(Stanza 27)

but in accord
with the Major Canons."

he fabido por memoria,
(Stanza 28)

learned through a writ

me otorgueys elto que quiero,
con los apoſtolos65 del;
(Stanza 59)

that you grant my demands
and the documents you sent.

and to the payment of court costs,

vos las coftas66 purgareys
enlo hondo de mi parte
(Stanza 14)

[I say] you will pay the cost of the trial
in the depths of my being [i.e. cunt]."

y demando reprouar
ala parte y condenar
en coftas las quales pido
(Stanza 19)

and I demand a rebuke
of the [opposing] part and its conviction
to the payment of court costs, which I request."

quel coño deue purgar
las coftas enel letrado67
(Stanza 26)

the Cunt to purge
her expenses of the iuris peritus."*

porque en coftas le condeno
y enel coño fe confuma

because I condemn him to pay costs
and in the Cunt be consumed

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64 Law degrees could be in "Leyes" or "Cánones," or both. "Cánones mayores" was also the name of the exam to obtain a degree in canon law.

65 In some areas, it is still a writ summarizing the case that a lower court gives to the party making the appeal so that he can give it the appellate court.

66 The sense is that Coño threatens to disappear before the judge rules, but she turns to Carajo and threatens him with losing. A losing litigant could be saddled with all the expenses of the trial. The reference is to the "addictio bonorum," or the sequestration of goods made by the judge to cover the expenditures of the trial. The "costas expensis, dampnis et interesse" include the expenditures incurred by the court, the fines fixed by the law, the honoraria of the lawyers and, at times, those of other court and jail personnel (Pérez Ragone 301).

67 Having lost, Coño is condemned to paying all of the expenses of the trial, but the allusion here is only to the support of the iuris peritus.
These coincidences make it very likely that the writers of *Pleyto* were aware of the existence of the French farces, even though plays were not usually performed in Spain until later.68 However, the questions of for whom *Pleyto* was written, when, and where still need to be asked, and I believe that they are to be found in the original poem and in the additions of Astorga.

**The Additions to *Pleyto del manto* and Pedro Fernández de Córdoba y Pacheco, 1st Marquess of Priego and Head of the House of Aguilar**

In his final "apelación," Carajo" maintains that one of his witnesses, the Catalan poet mossén Pere Torroella, had died in the past century (stanza 57).69 Since Torroella died ca 1492 according to Rodríguez Risquete, everyone has surmised that *Pleyto* was composed in the interval between 1500 and its publication in 1514. The additions by García de Astorga, however, allow us to further narrow down that date.

Astorga added 1) three stanzas that come after *Pleyto* 's original "Fin" and counsel Carajo on the sale of his testicles (stanzas 64-66); 2) a two-stanza "canción" inserted into a "carta de envío" to Pedro de Aguilar that criticizes Coño (stanzas 67-68); and 3) a five-stanza "canción" in favor of the final verdict that follows after the letter and mentions that the original poem was written "en estilo cordoues" (stanzas 69-73).

Ponce Cárdenas believes that this last description of the poem as written "en estilo cordoues" most likely refers to the fame of Antón de Montoro, the great Cordoban satirical poet, who died around 1483 (2001, 265). I believe, however, that it tells us that the *Pleyto* was composed by Cordobese authors. At least part of the addition was sent to Pedro de Aguilar, Astorga's lord, who was better known to us as Pedro Fernández de Córdoba y Pacheco, 1st Marquess of Priego, 7th lord of Aguilar de la Frontera, and "alcalde mayor" of the city. As we shall see, *Pleyto* actually refers to his trial for treason in 1508 and to its aftermath.

Fernando III had conquered Cordoba in 1236 and made the city and its vast territory part of the royal domain (see Juan Bautista Carpio Dueñas). The Crown, however, shared some of its "dominium," i.e. the city's higher offices and hinterland, with its most prominent citizens, while reserving the right to appoint its "alcaldes mayores" and "consejo de veinticuatro" (John Edwards 1984).70 These functionaries, together with the "jurados" that represented Cordoba's parishes, ruled the city. The "veinticuatro" and the "alcaldes mayores," however, came to be largely picked from the two

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68 The terms "farsa" (with the sense of "interlude"), "comedia," and "entremés" (from the Italian intermezzo") appear in Spanish slightly before the *Pleyto* and *Disputatio*. Critics believe that "farsa" is an Italian borrowing, but it could just as easily have come through France.

69 It is interesting to note that, in addition to Torroella's "Maldezir de las mujeres," he has been considered the probable author of the prose "Leyes de amor" of the *Cancionero de Herberay des Essarts* (Aubrun 24-26).

70 The name "twenty-four" is a misnomer, because by the late-fifteenth century the council had increased to more than four times that many (Edwards 1984, 282).
noble "bandos" that controlled Cordoba, the Aguilar and Baena, headed respectively by the Marquess of Priego and the Count of Cabra at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Given this complex system, ruling Andalusian cities proved difficult for the monarchs that followed Fernando III, because it involved a careful balancing of the Crown's interests with those of the local nobility and people. In the late-fifteenth century, the titled aristocracy of Andalusia, in particular, resented the interference of two new institutions by which the Catholic Kings attempted to cope with the problems that arose in cities under their jurisdiction, the "corregimientos" and the Inquisition. The grandees, however, considered that both infringed on ancestral rights that they were sworn to protect. For example, when the 1st Marquess of Priego inherited his father's titles and offices in 1501, one of his first acts was to sign an alliance with Fray Diego de Deza, Archbishop of Seville, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the counts of Cabra and Urueña to defend the region against unnamed threats (M.C. Quintanilla Raso 1979, 150). The pact, however, was really intended to protect their privileges in the face of both institutions.

Cordoba, however, remained relatively peaceful until 1507, when Fernando de Aragón was forced to appoint "corregidores" tasked with fact finding and resolving disputes between its people and the Inquisition. That year, some of its citizens had rebelled against the excesses of Inquisitor Lucero, destroyed the Inquisition's jails, freed its detainees, and imprisoned its prosecutor and notary (José Szmolka 282-283).

Pedro de Aguilar, who managed by June 1508 to have himself reinstated as "alguacil mayor" after being deprived from the office by one of the "corregidores" appointed by Fernando de Aragón (Edwards 1976, 166), did not move against the mob. What's more, when the king sent an "alcalde de casa y corte," Fernando López de Córdoba, to investigate, Aguilar had him imprisoned in his castle at Montilla under the pretext that Juana had not signed the order appointing him to his office (Edwards 1976, 227).

Aguilar must have believed that he was within his rights, and that he was merely signaling to the king that he had to contend with the desires of the overlords of Cordoba in any affair regarding the city. He had neither thought through the consequences of his action, nor was he sufficiently powerful to defy the king, who interpreted his act as an overt defiance of the Crown that was in need of a prompt response. On the 25th of June, Fernando de Aragón wrote:

El Rey.—Concejo, justicia, xxim caballeros, jurados, etc. de cibdad de Xerez de la Frontera. Vimos vuestra letra de 24 de Junio en que nos hacéis saber el atrevimiento que el Marquês de Priego ha hecho en contra lo que debía y era obligado á la justicia y obediencia de la Serma. Reyna nuestra hija, y como sus más leales vasallos ofrecéis para lo que se hubiere de proveer para el castigo y ejecucion de cosa tan graue vuestras, personas y haciendas; y como quiera que no es cosa nueva esa cibdad señalarse siempre en las cosas que son de mucha lealtad y servicio para la Corona Real destos reynos y desto se ha visto larga experiencia en todas las cosas pasadas, todavía habernos habido placer de

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71 The summary of events comes from John Edward's 1976 and 1984 essays and from chapter 5 of Quintanilla Raso (1979). Many of the persons who joined the alliance were probably connected to Carajicomedia as well.

72 A copy of the pact, signed by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Count of Urueña, the Count of Cabra, the Archbishop of Seville and the Marquess of Priego survives (RAH Salazar K-37, fols. 196-197; see also Edwards 1976, 231). But this is just one of several self-protective pacts entered into by the titled nobility.

73 The events that led to the revolt, as I said, have been studied by Edwards (1976, 1984) and by Quintanilla Raso (1979) and Antonio Espejo (2012). For more information about Aguilar, also see Ponce Cárdenas 2001 and 2002; his revolt has been examined by Regina María Pérez Marco (532ff) from the point of view of the tensions that existed between the Crown and a portion of the nobility.
ver que tengáis en tanto vuestra lealtad que no solamente uséis siempre della, más que seáis de los delanteros en sentir lo que se hace en deservicio de la dicha Serma. Reina mi fija y en obrar en el castigo y exención dello: lo cual vos agradecemos y tenemos en servicio Dada en Burgos. (Rodríguez Villa BRAH 54, 1909, 155)

The king had intuited—correctly—that Aguilar's challenge of his authority would encourage other Andalusian magnates to similarly rebel, and he intended to make an example of him to warn off others who might want do the same (BRAH 54, 1909, 170-171). Orders were sent to the cities of Ubeda, Sevilla, Baæza, Granada, Andújar, Eciæja, Antequera, Carmona, Jerez, Alcala la Real, Loja, and Cordoba, in the name of the queen, asking them to be ready to add their forces to those of her father who, in August of that year, would come in person to remedy the situation. This rebellion is the event recalled by Pleyto. If this is correct, then the work is not an example of an adolescent concern with sex, but a burlesque of the clash between a Cordobese nobleman and the Crown that is written from the point of view of people who favored Aguilar.

It is remarkable that although Coño is the accused, she and her "procurador" speak in only stanzas 4-6, 11-19, and 23. Most of the attention of the poem is given over to Carajo and his "procurador," the narrator (who favors him), and the second judges' sentence concerning his failings (stanzas 7-10, 24-35, 50-60). The points of coincidence between the historical event and the poem are also remarkable and may even change the way we interpret some of Pleyto's verses. For example, when discomfitted Coño says "a cuño la rebeldia," her words may not allude merely to the legal concept of "rebeldia," which I have translated as "in absentia," but to the actual rebellion of Aguilar, which shifts the focus of her words to Carajo:

Por guarda de mi derecho
llevando la cierta via
y fustanciendo mi hecho
no deueys auer despecho
a cuño la rebeldia

"In the upholding of my rights,
according to the letter of the law,
and recapitulating my case,
you should not take umbrage:
I declare myself in absentia.

(stanza 14)

More to the point, Carajo's revolt is deemed pointless, not only because it is "contra naturam" (i.e. the natural order decreed by God) but, because his forces are insufficient to challenge Coño, just like Aguilar's:

y aunque defíee el poder
defte que nunca perdió
no le quitare el poder
que la natura le dio.75

Even if he [Prick] hankers for the power
of someone who never lost,
he can not rob [Coño] the authority
that nature gave her."

(stanza 4)

And, the "procuradores" argue whether Coño should be considered the all-powerful owner of the "manto," or should she respect the rights of Carajo to a shared "dominium." The second flies in the

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74 The letters corresponded to the first years of Fernando de Aragón's second regency (1508-1509). They were published in several parts by Antonio Rodríguez Villa in volume 54 of the Biblioteca del la Real Academia de la Historia.

75 The question of the power Coño derives from nature masks a discussion of the irrevocability of the "lex regia" favored by Baldus.
face of the wishes of the "primero testador," in other words, the natural order established by God or Fernando III:

conforme a la voluntad
in accord with the intent
del primero testador
of the person who first gave it;
el cual como cauallero
who, as a gentleman,
no mando que se partiefle
did not order it be split
mas fe diefle todo entero
but given as a whole,
por titulo verdadero
with bonafide title,

(stanza 18)

fábe cos traygo apelado
Know that I have appealed
vn claro pleyto en fu nombre
the matter in her name
contra lo flaco del hombre
against man's weakness

(stanza 23)

Just after Coño has denounced the rebellion of Carajo, she threatens that before he will able to defend his case he will pay the expenses of the trial:

y antes señor que hableys
And before, my lord, you speak,
puef es derecho y no es arte
because it is my right and not trickery,
vos las coftas purgareys
[I say] you will pay the cost of the trial
enlo hondo de mi parte
in the depths of my being [i.e. cunt]."

(stanza 14)

This threat to force Carajo to pay the expenses before the judgment makes no sense, since the payment of "coftas" was one of the things determined only when a final judgment was reached. Carajo's response to the sentence issued by the first judge in favor of Coño also appears to be somewhat incomprehensible. His appeal declares that he is in complete agreement with the judge's decision:

y agora que nueuamente
and now that word
es venido ami noticia,
of it has recently reached me,
como quier que fue aulente
—even though delivered in my absence—,
la confiento enteramente
I wholeheartedly agree with
lo que haze en mi justicia
what justice does to me."

(stanza 25)

These two statements by Coño and Carajo only make any sense until we realize that they reflect the course of action taken by Aguilar before and during his trial.

Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (the Gran Capitán) Aguilar's uncle, had earlier explained to him the enormity of the king's displeasure, saying: "Sobrino, sobre el yerro pasado, lo que os puedo decir es, que conviene que a la hora os vengáis a poner en poder del rey: y si así lo hacéis, seréis castigado: y si no, os perderéis" (Zurita VIII, 21). This caused Aguilar to abandon his resistance and go to Toledo to plead his case. The king, however, refused to speak to him until he had surrendered his fortresses:
...conociendo el marqués cuán mala salida tenia, y la determinada voluntad del rey, y que no le quedaba otro remedio, por consejo, y persuasión de su tío, se vino de su propia voluntad a poner en la merced del rey con toda su casa, y estando al tiempo que llegaba a Toledo: y sin querer le ver el rey, le mandó que estuviese a cinco leguas de la corte: y que entregase sus fortalezas ... (Zurita VIII, 22)

Fernando then had Aguilar returned to Cordoba and tried for treason. He also removed him from his official duties; confiscated his properties in the queen's name; ordered his fortress at Montilla destroyed; fined him 20 million maravedis; and required him to pay part of the salary of those who replaced him as administrators of his own properties (Quintanilla Raso 1979, 151-152; Antonio Luis Espejo 294).

Aguilar's surrender reflects the second judge's agreement with the "procurador del Coño's" reasoning that she cannot have taken the "manto" by force, because it was already hers by right (stanzas 4, 14, 29). Like the first judge, he also finds the rights of Carajo weaker and his plea inadequate to justify his suit, therefore, he rules for the defendant:

Hallo quel coño ha prouado
por juftica no de hecho
fústanciado y alegado
y al carajo ha reprouado
por flauez de derecho
(stanza 45)

y pues juftica lo guia
daquesto nadie no huya
digo quen tercer dia
el manto le refituyua.
(stanza 46)

and concludes by saying:

Y pues mal ha proceffado
por efta jentencia ordeno
quefi prefo, encarcelado
enel coro confiñfado
porque en coftas le condeno
y enel coño fe conluma
pleyto coftas y trabajo
(stanza 47)

Faced with this negative judgement, Carajo pays for his folly by selling the property he inherited from his father. These properties are defined as Carajo's "cojones:"

hafta que venda efferencia until he can sell the inheritance

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76 For Aguilar to reconcile with the Crown, he first had to give up his arms, offices, and castles and place himself at the mercy of the king, but that was not enough for Fernando, who proceeded with his plans without his knowledge.
que fu padre le dexo
left to him by his father.

(stanza 53)

In the actual trial, the king, who really arrived in Cordoba on September 7, had Aguilar formally accused of the crime of "lese majesté," tried by members of the royal council in the village of Santa María de Trassierra (a short distance northwest of Cordoba), and judged guilty. For Aguilar, these proceedings were highly arbitrary given his status and the circumstances surrounding his offense, and Pleyto agrees with this assessment by giving Coño's desire as the core reason for the trial's outcome in the second judge's ruling:

And if some were to disagree
with this that they read,
I reply that laws go
wherever cunts desire."

(stanza 48)

The verses are a parody of a real proverb, "allá van leyes do reyes quieren," that agrees with maxims like "qui potest jus condere, potest illud tollere" (Godolphin 7) that comment on the absolute rights of kings, "rex in regno suo est imperator regni." Like the trial, Pleyto's lesson is that nothing can be done against an absolute power. Aguilar had to be content when his sentence was commuted to exile by the mercy of the king:

Sentenciaron los del consejo real en lo que tocaba al marqués que como quiera que según la gravedad de los delitos, y ecesos por él cometidos, por derecho, y leyes del reino, había incurrido en pena de muerte, y perdimiento de todos sus bienes, pero consultado con el rey, considerando que se había presentado, y había guardado la carcelería que se le había señalado, y puso su persona, y estado en las manos del rey, usando de clemencia, y moderado el rigor del derecho, se comutaban las penas de muerte, y confiscación de bienes en destierro perpetuo de la ciudad de Córdoba, y su tierra: y de la Andalucía (Zurita VIII, 22).

...e él [Fernando de Aragón] mandó facer proceso contra el Marqués, e cerrado el proceso, e visto por el Rey e por su alto Consejo, el Rey dió en él su sentencia definitiva ... diciendo que mereçía muerte, empero que por los servicios del Gran Capitan su tío se la reservaba, e condeno el en destierro de Córdoba, que por toda su vida no entrase mas en ella ... (Bernáldez II, 152)

Aguilar's uncle, the Gran Capitán, refused to intervene on his nephew's behalf during the trial, but he fruitlessly objected to the destruction of the castle of Montilla, where he himself had been

77 The words of the Gran Capitán proved prophetic. Zurita acknowledges as much: "Todos los grandes procuraban de mitigar la ira que el rey llevaba: y aun aquéllos que no tenían al marqués buena voluntad: teniendo por común aquel caso, siendo acometido por grande: y suplicábanle, que se acordase de los servicios, y muerte de don Alonso de Aguilar: y de los que tenía tan presentes, cuanto la persona del Gran Capitán: y el duque de Alba, que era el que más tenía en la gracia del rey, envió sobre ello al marqués de Villafranca su hijo, intercediendo en el negocio, como lo pudiera hacer por don García su hijo mayor. Estuvo el rey muy determinado, y firme, en no dar en este negocio crédito a grandes: para que se disimulase el castigo: porque en la disimulación ellos hacían su hecho: y no curaban de lo que tocaba al estado del rey: y por esto iba
Its demolition was a signal to the rest of the Andalusian nobles that resistance to the king could lead to the obliteration of a noble House. The Constable of Castile, however, protested vigorously the rigor of the sentence, which he considered unjust and unprecedented. The section of *Pleyto* that precedes the judge's refusal to hear Carajo's final appeal and is rubricated as a "Declaracion de vn cauallero en nombre del carajo condenado" (stanzas 50-53) is a mocking reminiscence of this plea to the king on Aguilar's behalf.

The flippant additions of Astorga that follow the original poem are not as knowledgeable about court procedures as it is. They are the verses expected of a bufoon; however, we surmise from internal evidence that they too were written after the trial and they do touch on particular characteristics of the sentencing.

Astorga first comically argues that Carajo should get at least half what his Cojones are worth, but he doubts that anyone will buy them. Then he claims that they were accessory culprits, uneven in guilt for their transgression, and yet they were most harshly punished:

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Es la cauſa tan relaxa
en herir con tal virote
fu juſticia va tan baxa
porque hodieron a axa
aćotaron a maçote
Pero fi quereys mirar
fi en razoν ay cosa cierta
el carajo entro a hurtar
y por mas aflégarar
fe quedaron ala puerta.
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(stanza 65)

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Pero trae razoν hermoφa
fi fu derecho le dan,
dexando metros y proφa
de traellos alaylan
Mas fi con eltas fomoṭas
no figuyeron fu compas
por matar eltas langostas
vendanφe para las coφtas
pues que no puede fer mas
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(stanza 66)

Likewise, the punishment of Aguilar was not as severe as as befell those who backed him:

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muy resoluto de poner al marqués en tanto estrecho, que todas las gentes conociesen, que era perdonado de pura clemencia, y no suspender antes el rigor" (VIII).
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78 From the point of view of Fernando de Aragón, no stronger signal could be sent to other nobles who might be tempted to follow Aguilar's example than the destruction of his principal estate. Montilla, and not Cordoba, was the permanent residence of the Aguilar clan. I do not know who were the members of the Consejo Real that judged Aguilar, but the "alcalde de casa y corte" known as Dr. Cornejo was in charge of the demolition of the castle of Montilla in mid-October, and it is not impossible that *Carajicomedia* refers to same person as the Cornifator (Domínguez 168, 221). Later, when Aguilar was brought back into the fold, the pardon contained a permission to rebuild Montilla, which he never did.
el rey estuvo allí dos meses, e poco menos, e mandó hacer sus pesquisas contra el Marqués, e contra los culpados, e contra el Regimiento de Córdoba, e contra todos los que fueron contra el Pesquisidor, e contra el Corregidor, e comenzaron de prender e hacer justicia, e mataron e desquartizaron, e al Alcalde de la Hermandad Joan Estevez que dió el cavallo en que fué preso el Pesquisidor desde la Puente cortaron un pié, e derribaron las casas a todos los que fuyeron, e otros asolaron todos sus bienes, e muchos sentenciaron a muerte, e ser quarterados de los que fuyeron ... (Bernáldez II, 152)

Aguilar's person was ultimately not threatened, because he was married to the king's niece, and killing him would have offended a good portion of the high nobility to whom he was related and encouraged more opposition. It was better to make him an example of the king's punishment and mercy.

Conclusion

In my opinion that Pleyto del manto is not just a pornographic poem, but one that mockingly uses the conventions of a debate clothed as a "processus jocoserius" to describe the 1508 rebellion of Pedro de Aguilar, who believed that he had an inherent right to share in the rule or "dominion" of Córdoba as its "alguacil mayor," and thought that they were being ignored by Fernando de Aragón. Aguilar had supported Philip of Burgundy's effort to gain control over the cities of Castile by replacing Fernando de Aragón's appointees to city governments with his own men, and one of King of Aragon's first acts, when he assumed the Governorship of Castile after Phillip's death, had been to undo his son-in-law's appointments. Aguilar objected to the king's actions under the pretext that they were illegal, because the grandees had not been notified of or ratified Fernando's regency, but to no avail. 79

At the trial, Aguilar was found guilty of treason, but his sentence of death was commuted to permanent banishment to the Kingdom of Valencia. In the interim, the king gave him license to leave Trassierra for one of his towns, Cañete de las Torres (about 40 miles from Cordoba), to recover from an unspecified illness (Rodriguez "Cedulario," 205, 220-221). 80 He resided in Cañete from November 10 to December 18, 1508, when he departed to begin his exile.

That would be the end of the story, except that we are fortunate to have a letter of protest written and notarized by Aguilar himself that describes the event from his own perspective. The document was notarized in Bailén on January 23, 1509, because it was a friendly city nearer to the border of Castile, and was intended for the eyes of Juana I and other nobles. 81 It describes the trial and allows us to better contrast the reality of his trial with Pleyto, and perhaps add some more circumstantial evidence to the time of its possible composition.

The document reveals that Aguilar had not actively participated in the legal proceedings "porq' yo ni los otros caballeros ni personas no fuimos oídos, ni se nos dio libertad. lugar e plazos para nos

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79 Aguilar argued that his rebellion was caused by Fernando de Aragón's defective title to rule ("ex defectu tituli"), which would make him a tyrant with no legal jurisdiction.

80 Cañete, however, may have been the place where Astorga was waiting to be reunited with his lord.

81 The document was transcribed by the Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, Abad de Rute (ca. 1565-1626) in chapter 14 of a manuscript history of the House of Córdoba written towards the end of his life and later published in installments by the Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba between 1954 and 1970. It appears in pages 164-170 of the 1956 issue and was intended for Juana I and the other Andalusian nobles. Copies survive, one of them named, "Protesta de su honra y lealtad que hizo Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, Marqués de Priego y Señor de la casa de Aguilar" in the archives of the Marquesado de Villena (Frías) sig. Villena, C.12, D.154. Bailén was a "señorio" belonging to the House of Arcos but it passed into the hands of Rodrigo and his father, Manuel Ponce de León (†1515), himself a brother of the Marquess of Cadiz (see Carriazo Rubio and López Arandia).
defender" (Rute 165). His uncomfortable silence perhaps was due in part to the counsel of his uncle, who recommended that his posture should be one of abject submission, but also to the fact that he had afterwards received assurances from the Crown that neither his person nor estates would be harmed in any way. When this had proven wrong, it was already too late:

yo fui condenado sin ser defendido e sin alegar e probar nis defensiones de inocencia porq' fui certificado de Grandes e personas acceptadas al dh.' Sr. Rey q' de Su Alteza estaba prometido e asegurado que mi persona e lo que tenia no recibira daño, mengua, ni afrenta, e con la dha. seguridad yo no dixe ni probe todo lo q' me convenia. De q' resulta otro grande agravio la dha. sentencia e proceso, ques la acenstacion era tan criminal, aunq' yo no quisiese se abia de buscar e inquirir mi defensa i excepciones e asi aunque por las palabras, cartas, e seguridad q' abia dixese q' no queria litfgar contra el Fiscal ni alegar de mi derecho, por eso se me abia de consentir ni recibir antes se abia de mandar que todavía alegase de mi derecho e provase mi disculpa. (Rute 166)

Aguilar also argues that this way of proceeding was contrary to the norm in trials "por que en causas criminales el que es acusado no puede renunciar, aunque quiera, sus defensas e excepciones, q' consiguiente. la sentencia" (168), and he complains that his silence contributed to the sentence:

que yo enla 1ª estancia no abia sido defendido, ni abia alegado ni probado lo q' convenia ami provecho ... asi mismo es notorio q' después de puesta la acusacion, estando yo en la prision adoleci de grave enfermedad, e estando asi preso absente i enfermo no debieran los juezes acelerar el proceso, e dar la sentencia tan grave e tan criminal. ni aber de fazer acto alguno estando yo enfermo: porq' muí sano e presente abia de estar donde los juezes estaban para hacer los actos q' me convinieran. (Rute 169)

In other words, like Carajo (stanzas 24 and 25), Aguilar had not only remained silent in the early part of the trial, but missed the second part entirely because of his illness. Pleyto gives back to Aguilar and those who supported him their voices, otherwise, both stories, as I said, are remarkably similar: Carajo and Aguilar dispute the rights of "dominium," both are involved in a "pleyto criminal" (stanza 24; Rute 168), both are punished with the loss of their inheritance, and both desire a future recovery of that inheritance by becoming suppliants:

y pues efe afí eliendo
pleyto en que fè condeno
quica fè remediara
y llorando ganara
lo que llorando perdio.
(stanza 53)

And, because he started
the suit that condemned him,
perhaps he will find pity
and weeping gain
what weeping he lost."

yo había e debo ser tenido por leal vasallo e Alcalde mayor de su Alteza, e se me debían e deben mercedes e gratificaciones, e no fize delito ni cosa de menos valer, ni deservicio ni desacatamto, ni rebellion ala Corona real, porque mereciese perder las mercedes que della tenia, ni las otras penas q' se me inpusieron. Antes hize servicio e guarda de lealtad q' espero mercedes de la Reyna nra. Sra. e de quien despues de sus luengos días sucediere
en estos sus reynos. Las cuales espero q, haran ami e alos q' en mi casa sucedieren. (Rute 168)

On the contrary, most of his properties were confiscated or entailed to pay for the services of their new administrators. He would be forced to survive by selling or hocking some of his remaining properties.

In my opinion, Pleyto was written in pieces shortly before or after Aguilar's exile to Valencia, but prior to receiving a full pardon and restoration of his properties on April 2, 1510, from Queen Juana I in a display of royal mercy (Quintanilla Raso 1979, 151). It is possible that some of the authors of the original Pleyto del manto were among the nine "veinticuatro"s and six jurists pardoned at the same time as Aguilar.

The dating of the poem, however, does not tell us whether it was performed. In fact, we know almost nothing about the "sustento espacial y físico de la poesía de cancionero, de cómo se desarrollaban las veladas " (Óscar Perea Rodríguez 2007, 293). What little has been written about these occasions mostly has to do with the royal court; however, while plays like those created by Basoche authors would have been impossible to produce and stage in Spain, because its traditions were different, and there was no urban center with the same cultural role as Paris, "veladas" were also held in the households of prominent nobles like Aguilar.

According to de la Granja and others, any debate that appears in the "cancioneros" could have been performed as an "entremés" before friends. This was the probable destiny of Pleyto: It was produced by poets conversant with court procedures and accustomed to employing allegory when treating sensitive matters. Pleyto's personification allegory alludes to the trial of Aguilar and contests the results of the actual trial. The judge's definitive sentence in favor of Coño and Astorga's "Del mismo en favor dela sentencia dada contra el agrauiado carajo" both show a preference for Carajo. We

82 Aguilar's people could have taken with them a manuscript of the original Pleyto or written it shortly after their arrival in Valencia. There is also nothing to prevent Valencian poets associated with the Count of Oliva participate in its creation. Some of them might also have been responsible for the creation of Carajicomedía about six or seven years later. In any case, the animosity of Pedro de Aguilar towards the king survived his exile. He died on February 24, 1517, a year and a day after Fernando de Aragón, who died on January 23, 1916. His financial difficulties are summarized by Quintanilla Raso (1979, 154-156). Some obscure verses in the original poem may refer to the trial and its possible outcome: "Ved quien eflo dize en julio" (when the trial began) / en Enero que diria" (stanza 22). He reached Valencia that month.

83 On October 6, 1510, Aguilar was present at the belated swearing of Fernando in Madrid as Governor of the Kingdom of Castile [AHN Nobleza, Frías, 17/63, in Quintanilla Raso 2006, 325-332: "Juramento de los grandes en las cortes de 1510"].

84 The contract for the Cancionero general was signed on December 22, 1509 (Perea Rodríguez (2009, 71), about eleven and a half months after Aguilar reached the kingdom. Perea has also speculated that Pleyto may not have been among the poems gathered for the 1511 edition of the Cancionero general (2012, 332). But if Pleyto was composed between 1509 and 1510, it was probably known to Castillo, but Aguilar's fear of angering the Court just when he was seeking a reconciliation may have had something to do with the fact that it does not appear in the first edition of the anthology. We have indication of works dedicated to Pedro de Aguilar during these years, among them Narcís Vinyoles' Suma de todas las crónicas del mundo published in 1510 (Perea Rodríguez 2003, 245).
can grasp this best in Astorga's letter to Aguilar, which initially agrees with Carajo's conviction but finally comes out against Coño in no uncertain terms:

acorde de hazer cinco coplas, que allí vera, en favor delo sentenciado contra el martyr bien aventurado carajo, por no ser en dicordia con tan honrados juztes aun que bien se hallaran causas licitas y honestas para que el dicho Coño no fuera oyo en iuyzio antes anichilado y echado del segun ley de derecho establecida por los reyes antepasados de gloriosa memoria. (after stanza 66)

The stanzas that conclude the poem also seem to conclude that this is an unnatural exercise of power by Coño, and attributes her success to the fact that she/it controls all ranks of society, among which is the nobility, which does obeissance to it by doffing their hats:

Muchas razones parecen
por donde es merecedor
fer el fiempre vencedor
ytem mas que le obedecen
dendel mayor al menor
porque los mas eforçados
en fu vigor y potencia
los capirotes echados
le van a dar obediencia
llorandole fus pecados

(Stanza 71)

There are plenty of reasons
why it [el Coño] is always worthy,
be always the victor,
another is that it is obeyed
from biggest to smallest,
because, even the most potent
in their vigor and strength,
doff their caps
and pledge their fealty,
confessing their sins.

This is followed by another quote, that also refers to a hopeful conclusion:

Otra peremptoria do
a cualquier fabio galan
por don del precio gano,
y es lo que dize el refrain
aquel que fuvio vencio

(Stanza 72)

I state another peremptory law
to any knowing gallant
who would attain his goal,
and it is what the refrain reveals:
"No gain without pain."

The stanza uses a refrain that alludes to the suffering of Christ at the Passion, who nevertheless succeeded in redeeming man. Carajo, as a martyr, is one who has suffered, but like him will ultimately prevail.

Aguilar insisted repeatedly that his suffering was due to Fernando de Aragón's illegal exercise of power and insisted that he was never formally informed of the king's Governorship or of Queen Juana's incapacity to rule. Several passages in his letter to her also argued that his incarceration and trial contravened the laws of the kingdom, and that his silence was due to intimidation:

todo ello fue hecho contra orden de juicio e derecho, no guardada la orden e solemnidad q' en tales casos e de tanta importancia se suelen e deben guardar. (165)
a la Reyna Nra. Sra. como a sucesora e eredera destos sus reynos perteneze la governacion dellos. E despues q'el dhº Sr. Rey vino a ellos a mi ni a otros Caballeros e Grandes de Castilla e Andalucía e ciudades no se a hecho saber por carta, ni por mensajero, ni portero, ni por otra manera alguna porque causa de razon su Alteza quería tener e usar i exercer la dhª. governacion, ni a mostrado, ni hecho, ni mandado mostrar, ni yo lo e sabido que tenga poder de la Reyna nrª. Sra. ni creo, ni a venido a mi noticia q'tal poder se aya dado. E asi mismo el dhº. Sr. Rey no a llamado ni juntado cortes, ni lo a hecho saber a los Grandes e ciudades para que yo tuvise causa de nrear i saber q'el dhº. Sr. Rey pudiese tener la dhª. administracion: porque si la Reyna Nrª. Sra. no quiere administrar puede i a podido dar poder si quisiera." (166-167)

Esi por las leyes del reyno pertenecía, o se podía dar al dho. Sr. Rey, yo lo consintiera, e obiera por muy bueno (167)

q' el dhº. Sr Rey al tienpo q' quiso venir a Cordova mando enbiar cartas selladas con el sello real a todas las ciudades del Andaluzia y reyno de Granada por las cuales mandó q' estuvieran aparexadas e apercibidas para el castigo, q' publicó por las dbas. cartas q' me quería hazer ... q'dº. me fue puesta la acusacion yo no pude alegar lo q' digo en esta reclamacion, por justo temor e causa q' tenia de indignar mas a su Alteza contra mi, e por la dhª. seguridad q' me abia dado (169)

Even if Pleyto's misogynistic discourse does not target Fernando de Aragón, it is not just the premier expression of Castilian medieval misogyny but, like Carajicomedia, the work is an example of the general disquiet of a segment of the nobility that did not want to lose its privileges to an increasingly absolutist state.
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Rodríguez Risquete [see, Torroella, Pere].


Appendix

*Pleyto del manto* is a burlesque anonymous composition that first appeared in the 1514 edition of the *Cancionero general* of Hernando del Castillo and was reprinted in its 1517, 1520, and 1527 printings, as well as in the *Cancionero de obras de burlas* of 1519. This last "cancionero" provides the text on which this edition is based.

Figure 1: *Cancionero de obras prouocantes a risa*. Valencia: Viñao, 1519.
Comienza vna obra llamada el pleyto del manto que va por pregunta y respuestas y replicatos De manera que se hizo vn proceño con sentencia y apelacion.

[Here Begins a Work Called The Pleyto del Manto, Structured as a Question Followed By Answers and Replies in Such a Way That a Legal Case Was Fashioned with Its Judgment and Appeal.]

1 [10]
Como ventura concierta a As fate would have it,
los que fon enamorados b two lovers,
eftauan en vna huerta a were in a garden
vna dama delcubierta b —a naked lady
y vn gentil hombre abraçados b and gentleman embracing—
obrando fegun natura c toiling, according to nature,
lo que fe fuele hazer d at what is normally done.
y fiendo eñ cobertura c And, because their testicles and gash
las turmas y hendedura c were uncovered,
fe les podian parecer.86 d one could be able to see them.

2 [10]
Y puertos en fu agonía, a In the midst of their agony,
fin pensar de conoñcellos, b without any desire to know more about them,
Por allí do fe hazia a by the place where this was happening
acaeñcio que venia b there happened to come
vn hombre que pudo vellos a man who was able to notice them,
y boluiendo por consuelo c and turning for pity's sake
las eñpalas fin temores d his back [on them], without hesitation,
alañço como por velo c he threw as a veil
vn manto de terciopelo c a velvet cloak
encima deñtos señores.87 d on top of these persons.

3 [10]
Y dixo sin mas pasñón a And he said without any sentimentality:
pues que oes tal encuentro b "Because I had such an encounter,

86 This paleographic text is based on the 1519 Cancionero de burlas provocantes a risa, which was printed in facsimile in 1951. The best modern text is in Joaquin González Cuenca's fourth volume of his edition of Hernando del Castillo’s 1511 Cancionero general (5 vols., Nueva Biblioteca de Erudición y Crítica, 26, Madrid: Castalia, 2004). My palaeographic rendering of the Pleyto appears on the left of the page with an English translation on the right. Each of the stanzas of Pleyto and its additions is numbered sequentially and followed by numbers in brackets that indicate the number of verses in each stanza (for example: the first stanza is "1 [10]"). The rhyme scheme appears to the right of the paleographic edition and reveals the variations in rhyme structure at a glance.

87 The woman is a prostitute and the man is little better, so the respectful tone of the address is ironic.
y lo sufre afín razón
do este manto en conclusión
para quien lo tiene dentro
la señora no defunta
y el con todo fu quebranto
estan en porfia junta
es quiñon que se pregunta
aquier pertenece el manto.

**Repuesta de un cauallero procurador del coño.**

**Answer of a Gentleman Representing the Cunt.**

4 [8]

Al bulto dela pregunta
acuerdo de responder
si la batalla esta junta
fin la joya merecér
y aunque deflee el poder
defte que nunca perdio
no le quite el poder
que la natura le dio.

5 [8]

Pues este muy hondo mar
tal grandeza en sí contiene
due tener y anegar
quanto a su potencia viene
y afí digo que conuiene
por razón muy conocida
 toda cofa que se tiene
dotra mayor fer tenida.

6 [8]

Y si vos penfays señor

---

88 *Aliquem contra (in) aliquem: "A alguien contra alguno."
89 "Procurador. Se llama también el que por oficio, en los Tribunales y Audiencias, en virtud de poder de alguna de las partes, la defiende en algun pleito ó causa, haciendo las peticiones y demás diligencias necessàrias al logro de su pretensión" (*DRAE* 1737, 392). The procurator is in charge of a trial and has been granted the right of filing documents and receiving notifications from the court for his client. He does not, however, argue the case before the judge. That is reserved for the "abogado" or lawyer. The "carajo" and "coño" are assigned masculine gender in Spanish, although the distinction is always between a male and female. The English translation frequently employs the pronoun "it" for both.
90 The poem uses metaphors that allude to the language of the joust or war: "batalla/joya" (stanza 4), "tenedor" (stanza 6), "combate," "encuentro" (stanza 10, 72), "justador" (stanza 49), "sustentador" (stanza 11), "vencedor" (stanza 71).
91 The argument is based on the "fama" (i.e. infamy) of the "coño."
que por fer miembro estendido\textsuperscript{92} b that because you are a longer member,
parece mas tenedor a being held seems worthier
en la verdad fer tenido b than holding,
pues mañdad dar al hodido\textsuperscript{93} c you should command the screwer be given
efte manto que le ofrecen a the cloak that has been offered to him,
que otros han merecido b for others have merited
tres clavos\textsuperscript{94} c three nails he is lacking."

\textbf{Replica el \textit{que pregunta}.\textsuperscript{95}}

7 [10]

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Quando quiera \textit{que} ay razon & a & "Whenever there is a question 
para auer de replicar, & b & that compells an answer, 
no fé sufre el coraçon\textsuperscript{96} & a & the heart can't avoid 
fin que fuelte de rendon & a & suddenly loosening
la lengua para hablar, & a & its tongue to speak.
y por efto me parece, & c & This is why it seems to me 
replicando alo del manto, & d & (in the matter of the cloak),
pues fé da aqüien no merece, & c & that, since it has been given to an unworthy party,
que fé buelva y endereçe & c & it should be returned and restored
aquién lo mereçe tanto & d & to the worthier part.
\end{tabular}

8 [10]

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Toda coña \textit{que} ha dentrar & a & Everything that must enter 
y tenerfe en otra dentro & b & and be contained in another
ha de fer que pueda eftar & a & must be at the ready 
para meter y facar & a & to thrust in and pull out.
y que de gentil encuentro & b & And from this pleasurable encounter
y daquefte tal poder & c & and from said ability
no goza quien no fé alça & d & is kept he who can't grow upright,
pues confíste enel meter & c & for breaking in gives one
el poder para tener\textsuperscript{97} & c & the power to hold,
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{92} Stanza 6 talks about a "miembro estendido," which refers to the lance with which the knight wins the prize at a joust. Many of the metaphors of the "procuradores" are based on the joust.
\textsuperscript{93} As stanza 70 later indicates, the \textit{hodido} is the man or Carajo, literally the "fucked one."
\textsuperscript{94} The three nails that held Christ to the Cross in Calvary were the preferred iconographic mode of representation of the Crucifixion. Fr. Joseph Moreno, for example, in describing the martyrdom of Saint Mamés, speaks of the Crucifixion and the three wounds caused by "los tres mas penosos clavos de \textit{no vencer, no padecer, y no temer} ... Eftos tres clavos que no fintio en en el cuerpo, mortificaron vivamente fu alma, pues no vencer con tanta fabudria al Tirano, lalimó fu entendimiento, no padeciendo por Chrifto, quando mas lo deleava, crucificó su voluntad, y llegando a temer el no temer, martyrizò su valor" (275). The iconography of the three nails goes back to the thirteenth century. Before that time four nails were used in depictions of the Crucifixion.
\textsuperscript{95} The rubric takes us back to the narrator at the end of stanza 3, who appears to support Carajo. Stanza variation supports this change. Stanzas 1-3 (narrator) are "arte mayor" (10-verse stanzas), stanzas 4-6 ("procurador del Coño") are "arte menor" (8-verse stanzas), and stanzas 7-10 (narrator) are "arte mayor" again.
\textsuperscript{96} Reinforcing argument by the narrator that upholds what has been claimed (177).
como la pierna en la calza. d like a leg [that slips] into a hose.

9 [10]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y digo que no conviene</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>And I say that it cannot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ser razón muy conocida</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>be a commonly known thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>por do el hombre fe condene</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>for which men can be damned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toda cosa que fe tiene</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>that everything that is held</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dotar mayor fe tenida</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>is bound by something greater;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pues que puede lo menor</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>since the lesser can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en materia de hornicio</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>—in matters of fornication—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eftar dentro enlo mayor</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>be inside the greater,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y el mayor feria error</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>it would therefore be an error</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| que tomass fe ageno oficio | d | for the greater to take over an unexpected role."

10 [10]

| Y con otra razón famosa | a | "And another well-known argument |
| con que la verdad fe fella | b | by which this truth is affirmed, |
| necesaría, no embidiofa | a | necessary, not resentful: |
| aquel es dentro enla cofa | a | he who is inside a thing |
| que entra con fuerça enella | b | enters forcefully in it. |
| de donde feñor fe va | c | From which, My Lord, one can |
| concluyendo enel debate | d | conclude this debate |
| que aquel manto como efta | c | by saying that said cloak |
| que fe lieue y fe leda | c | should be taken and be given |
| al cuytado que combate | d | to the wretched litigant."|

Reponde el procurador del coño. The Cunt's Lawyer Answers.

11 [8]

| Suñentador muy lavidio | a | "O shrewd defender |
| de nuestra flaca natura | b | of our weak nature! |
| mal aveys comprehendidio | a | You have ill-plumbed |
| el centro de tal honorda | b | the depths of its meaning: |
| gran camino y espefuria | b | An approachable and inapproachable way |
| fe encierra en fu poderio | c | are hidden in its might; |
| tanto que selpanta el mio | c | so much so, that I am taken aback |
| de vuestra mucha cordura | b | by your great show of wisdom!"

---

97 The metaphor developed in stanzas 8-11 derives from the joust or the siege. The person who takes a fortress is more powerful although he is technically "in" it. During a joust, a make-believe castle (the "joya" or prize) was frequently built, and knights would be divided into defenders ("sustentadores" or "mantenedores") and attackers ("vencedores"). This is the same metaphor that shapes Hernando de Herrera's Disputatio adversus Aristotelicos sequaces (1517; see my forthcoming article on Disputatio).

98 It is not proper for relative size to be a criterion for the awarding of the cloak.

99 It is clear that the "procurador del Coño" is speaking to the narrator using the language of the joust.
12 [8]

Ved qua n falía confeuancia
contra razon y fu ley
ferie dezir que enel rey
el reyno efta por prefencia
pues no menos por potencia
efta el coño enel carajo
la campana enel badajo
puerto que muebla paciencia

"See how false a consequence
against reason and its law—
would be to say that, because in the king
the kingdom is present,
it is no less possible to say
that a cunt is in a prick,
[or] a bell in a clapper,
because they are within."

13 [8]

Pues confidera el honfario
do fene cen los mortales
que buenos y comunales
fon enel como en caluario
mancebo frayle o vicario
o qualquer otro que fea
tenga pues puede poñfa
avn que fe pe a tantillario

"Consider the boneyard
where mortals end their days.
For the good and the common
are both interred in it as in a cemetery,
youths, friars or vicars,
or whoever he might be.
Let her have it—since she can—[let her] possess it
even if it were to dismay Saint Hillary."

Rebeldia por parte del coño.

Rebelliousness of the Cunt.

14 [9]

Por guarda de mi derecho
llevando la cierta via
y fustaniciando mi hecho
no deueys auer despecho
a cuño la rebeldia
y antes feñor que hableys
puel es derecho y no es arte
vos las coftas purgareys

"In the upholding of my rights,
according to the letter of the law,
and recapitulating my case,
you should not take umbrage:
I declare myself in absentia.
And before, my lord, you speak,
because it is my right and not trickery,
[I say] you will pay the cost of the trial

100 The statements of these stanzas are highly ironic, because the greatness of Coño is compared to a great graveyard.
101 In the Disputatio adversus Aristotelicos sequaces, Aristotle accuses Herrera of not knowing the difference between "medir y ser medido, que lo uno es hazer y lo otro padescer" (175).
102 The sexuality recalled by the mention of St. Hillary is always suspect. The saint is associated with sodomy (see Dominguez 174-189). He appears most prominently here and in Carajicomedia.
103 "Rebeldía" is a legal term applied when one of the parties disagreed with a suit or did not appear in court. Pérez Ragone writes "Por su lado la rebeldía del demandante otorgaba al demandado el derecho a optar entre dos alternativas: una el rechazo de la causa, otra la continuación del proceso con la posibilidad del dictado de una sentencia definitiva de mérito. En el caso de una rebeldía posterior a la litiscontestatio siendo que el juez no haya tenido suficientes elementos para decidir, éste podía ordenar que la custodia del objeto del proceso se transforme en posesión definitiva en forma inmediata. La discusión en torno a las consecuencias penales de la rebeldía en su caso acumuladas a la posibilidad de decidir sobre el mérito de la causa, terminaron por justificarse en tanto el monto de la multa era imputado para compensar los cotos que implicaba la falta de compareencia de la parte" (298).
enlo hondo de mi parte d in the depths of my being [i.e. cunt]."

Buelue a replicar el primero procurador The First Lawyer Replies Again.

15 [10]

Ha fido tan bien reñida a "So well-argued has been
la quistion de vuestra parte b the question by your side,
tan fundada y defendida a so well-founded and defended
que nunca la vi en mi vida a that I never saw in my lifetime
por mejor manera y arte b another better or more cogently supported.
pero ay contrariedad c However, it conflicts
de diuerías opiniones d with other opinions:
ay razon y autoridad c There are arguments, authorities,
y vso de antigüedad c and ancient precedents
que hace por los varones d that favor males."

16 [10]

En contrario ya fe alega a "The opposition has alledged,
como va enlo proceñado b as set down down in this trial
do la opinion no niega a and substantiated by common opinion,
quel que mete y el que llega a that he who inserts and arrives
queda dentro colocado b is placed within.
pues autoridad bañante c For this, we have sufficient authority
es la que nos da elperienca d given to us by experience:
quel miembro quefla costante c That a part that is steady
y puede paffar delante c and can pierce through
tiene toda premeñencia d has all the preeminence."

17 [10]

Mas, por fer alli fundadas a "However, because the roots of
las cauas defta pendencia b this struggle are thus grounded,
deuen fer determinadas a they must be decided,
que en colas diferenciadas a for contradictory arguments
fe requiere la sentencia b demand a ruling.
por ello fe deue dar c For this reason, the trial must be remanded
el proceñado atal letrado105 d to such a magistrate
que fepa determinar c as can determine

104 The sense is that Coño threatens to disappear before the judge rules, but she turns to Carajo and threatens him with losing. A losing litigant could be saddled with all the expenses of the trial. The reference is to the "addictio bonorum," or the sequestration of goods made by the judge to cover the expenditures of the trial. The "costas expensis, dampnis et interesse" include the expenditures incurred by the court, the fines fixed by the law, the honoraria of the lawyers and, at times, those incurred by other court and jail personnel (Pérez Ragone 301).
105 Parties to a trial often remanded questions to an expert, who gave his opinion in "consilia" or memoranda, but here the "letrado" appears to be another judge.
el que deua de quedar c  who should continue to be
justamente condenado d  justly condemned."

18 [10]

Y juzgue por ygualdad106 a  "And let [this person] judge without bias,
por derecho fin error b  according to the law, unerringly,
quien goza la libertad a  who will enjoy the freedom [to have the manto]
conforme ala voluntad a  in accord with the intent
del primero teftador b  of the person who first gave it;
el qual como cauallero c  who, as a gentleman,
no mando que se partie d  did not order it be split
mas se diefle todo entero c  but given as a whole,
por titulo verdadero c  with bonafide title,
a quien dentro lo tuvielle. d  to whoever had it in him."

19 [10]

Así concluyo, negando a  "Therefore, I conclude, denying
todo lo perjudicial b  all that is prejudicial
contrario107 a  in the opposing argument, threatening
de que xarme cada y quando a  to protest whenever
quel juez juzgare mal b  the judge were to misjudge,
y protefto denunciar c  and proclaim that I will raise
agrauio, si fuere auido d  a grievance, if it were necessary,
y demando reprouar c  and I demand a rebuke
ala parte y condenar c  of the [opposing] part and its conviction
en coftas las quales pido d  to the payment of court costs, which I request."

Parecer y sentencia del primer juez.108 Opinion and Ruling of the First Judge.

20 [10 with 2 quebrados]

Los que tal pleyto traeys109 a  "You who bring this suit before me
no sabeys a  do not know
los secritos de su centro b  the mysteries at its heart.
que lo que pensays ques dentro b  What you believe is inside
el recibimiento es110 c  is actually a form of receiving,
y por esto no arguyo d  and for this reason, I do not argue

106 The principle allude to is that of "aequitas" (Carpintero 636-645).
107 The solicitor of Coño denies all that has been argued by the other part and threatens an appeal if the judgement goes against her, saying that he will claim damages and costs if Carajo is not condemned.
108 Normally, judicial decisions were given in writing and consisted of a brief summary of the points raised by both parts followed by a veredict that could or could not specify the reasons for it. However, when a party appealed the decision, they were constrained to explain the decision (Brundage 378).
109 This stanza is a “copla real de pie quebrado” rhyming AaBBCDdEED.
110 This is probably an imperfect rhyme for "-eys."
mas concluyo d but conclude
en que si dentro efuuiera e that if it [the Prick] were to be inside,
el mismo coño lo diera e the very Cunt would give it up,
avn que fuera el manto fuyo d even if the cloak were rightly hers."

21 [10]
Bien juftas caufas auria a "I would have very just reasons
para no fer ni lo fo b for not being considered (nor am I)
juez de tanta porfia a a very harsh judge,
pues la vna parte es mia\textsuperscript{111} a for I share one part [with the Prick],
y la otra yo la fo b and I know the other well.
pero por yr efcutando c But, in order to avoid
dificordias enellas entro d discord, I approach these matters
folamente amonelando c by simply stating,
que quien no fo perdio dentro d that he who did not lose his way inside
no fo pierda pleyteando. c should not lose his way in this suit."

22 [10]
Y si yo fenctas dieffe a "And if I were to rule
conforme a ley de verdad b according to valid tenets,
fere quel manto efouieffe a it would be that the cloak reside
donde tal neceliedad b where such necessity
amenudo fe ofrecieffe a is needed most.
yo defte voto feria c This would be my opinion,
y por razon marco tulio\textsuperscript{112} d and Mark Tully
afi lo fenctenciaria c would also rule this way.
ved quien efio dize en julio d See! Who says this in July,
en Enero que diria\textsuperscript{113} c what would he say in January?"

Apelacion fecha por parte del coño The Appeal on Behalf of the Cunt.

23 [8]
Juez, ya determinado a "Judge, already biased
enlas humanas porfias b in human struggles,
no creo que en vuestros dias b I do not believe that in your days
iera el coño agraiiado a the Cunt will be wronged.
fabe cos traygo apelado a Know that I have appealed
vn claro pleyto en fu nombre c the matter in her name

\textsuperscript{111} The argument is used again in stanza 37.
\textsuperscript{112} Mark Tully Cicero, the great Roman orator and lawyer.
\textsuperscript{113} This has all the marks of a proverb, but I have not been able to find it. In any case, its meaning is that one opinion can be given in July when it is hot and a cloak is not needed, and a different one in January when it cold. Behind it, however, may be the fact that Aguilar's difficulties began in July and improved when he reached Valencia in January.
contra lo flaco del hombre
c against man's weakness
por letrados efforcado
a backed by learned men."

[Apelacion fecha por parte del carajo.] 115
[The Appeal on Behalf of the Prick.]

24 [10]

Difcéreto juez fabido a "O most discreet wise judge,
de quien huye la clemencia b from whom mercy has fled,
amí noticia es venido a it has come to my attention
que fè ha dado y difcerno b that a certain form of judgment
cierta forma de sentencia b has been given and noted,
enel pleyto criminal c in the criminal suit
que he traydo con trabajo d that I have brought, with difficulty,
contra el coño natural116 c against the natural Cunt;
y por fér mi prueua tal c and because my proof is so unassailable,
fése dado por el carajo. d you should rule for the Prick."

25 [10]

Que fiendo pronunciado a "That upon pronouncing
tal auto por fú tenor b on that case, because of its ruling,
por la parte fue apelado a it was appealed by the opposing
adverfa, fín fer llamado a side, without the presence
yo ni mi procurador b of me or my proctor,
y agora que nueumuente c and now that word
es venido ami noticia, d of it has recently reached me
como quier que fue aufente c —even though delivered in my absence—,
la confiento enteramente c I wholeheartedly agree with
lo que haze en mi justicia d what justice does to me."

26 [10]

La qual dicha apelacion a "That said appeal,
pues que no le fue otorgada b because it was not granted to her,
no ha lugar remillion a should not be remanded
por derecha fuesfion117 a or be referred to you
para feros traspafiada b by rights of succession.
y fí tiene algun lugar c Even if there were to be some reason

114 These are the "iuris periti" who will back the plea.
115 What follows, however, is an argument for Carajo and not on behalf of Coño, so a rubric and perhaps several stanzas are missing (also noted by Rubio Árquez 242). I have added a rubric in brackets and italics to indicate it is not present in the original). The gist of the argument is that the advocate or the "procurador" of Carajo has learned of the sentence of a ruling on the case in his absence, and he objects.
116 A play on words for "señor natura l."
117 The documentation involving a case can not be transmitted (remittitur) to a higher judge if the appeal has been denied. Rather, it should be remanded (remisión) to the original judge for further consideration. See stanza 36.
lo que niego y he negado  
primero deueys mandar  
quel coño deue purgar  
las coſtas enel letrado\textsuperscript{118}  

\textit{—which I deny now and have denied before—,}
\textit{you must first compel}
\textit{the Cunt to purge}
\textit{the expenses in the \textit{ius peritus}.}

\textbf{27 [10]}

Y después feñor deueys  
informaros como no  
\textit{a}  
\textit{b}  
\textit{c}  
\textit{d}  

informaros como no  
inform yourself on how you can not  
disagree at all  
with the judgment before you  
given by the former judge.  
It was just, well-thought out,  
like the experts want,  
not twisted or tendentious  
but in accord  
with the principal canons."

\textbf{28 [10]}

Afli mifmo muy notorio  
he fábidó por memoria,  
que difes en consfiliorio\textsuperscript{121}  
con cierto interrogatorio\textsuperscript{122}  
fentencia interlocutoria\textsuperscript{123}  
por do tiene preʃentados  
la parte fin requerir  
teʃtigos repreguntados  
y fús dichos declarados  
para aver de concluyr  

\textit{"I have also astonishingly}
\textit{learned through a writ}
\textit{that you issued in consistory}
\textit{jointly with a certain questioning,}
\textit{a preliminary sentence}
\textit{that outlines}
\textit{the case [of the Prick] without requiring}
\textit{a cross-examination of witnesses}
\textit{that reviews their statements,}
\textit{in order to bring the case to a close."}

\textbf{29 [10]}

Y pues tengo yo lugar,  

\textit{"And because I have grounds}

\textsuperscript{118} Having lost, Coño is condemned to paying all of the expenses of the "letrado." The allusion concerns the expenses of the \textit{ius peritus}. "Purgatio" or "compuratio" have an ambiguous meaning. In forensic language, it is the act of disproving an accusation (\textit{DRAE 1737}, 439: "delvancecer los indicios ó nota que resulta contra alguna persona de delinquente."). It can take two forms according to the type of trial: "purgación canónica" (which takes the form of a solemn oath verified by co-swearers) and "purgación vulgar" (a trial proof by an ordeal of fire or water). The term, however, is also used in medicine to refer to a purge of humours or to the expelling of menstrual blood.

\textsuperscript{119} The former judge against whom the appeal is brought is called the "juez a quo."

\textsuperscript{120} The reference may to canon law. "Cánones mayores" was also an area of examination to obtain a degree in canon law. Law degrees could be either in "Leyes" or in "Cánones." The poem also mentions that the case is criminal, which would make it more likely to be heard in a civil court.

\textsuperscript{121} "Consistorio . . . El Consejo, Tribunal ó Juzgado, donde se ven y deciden las causas y litigios en común, así Sacras, como civiles, criminales y económicas." (\textit{DRAE} 1729, 531.1).

\textsuperscript{122} The "interrogatorio" is the written or verbal questioning of the plaintiff and witnesses in order to establish the truth.

\textsuperscript{123} The "sentencia interlocutoria" is the temporary judgment given against one of the plaintiffs.
por derecho y por razon,  
quiero dar y presentar  
testigos para prouar  
en contrario mintificacion;  
los cuales con fü saber,  
quando fueron en el mundo,  
pudieron comprender,  
alançar y tracender  
el cielo con el profundo.

Un testigo.

Y aquelto, por fabrique,  
el primero es tolomeo124  
que toda la redondeza  
del cielo por fotileza  
alcanço con gran defeço;  
efté dize en fus sentencias,  
bien efcritas de fü nombre,  
que todas las influencias  
delos cielos dan potencias  
con mayor poder al hombre.

30 [10]

A Witness.

"And of these, in order of wisdom,  
the first is Ptolemy,  
whose subtle understanding  
reached the roundness of the sky  
with his great desire.  
This one declares in his proverbs,  
well-written with his name,  
that all the influences  
of the skies give faculties  
of greater potency to men."

31 [10]

"Such that he can subdue  
the brutish beasts;  
who must obey him  
for his strength and at his whim,  
and because of natural hesitation;  
therefor, if he can subjugate,  
as this witness claims,  
what God could create,  
he can well be  
within a Cunt without shelter."

Otro testigo

124 Ptolemy is the first of three witnesses in support of Carajo. His dabbling into astrology proves that "todas las influencias / delos cielos dan potencias / con mayor poder al hombre" (30); Dante, who witnesses the burning of those consumed by the sin of lust in the Inferno, forays into Hell "donde el hombre vio quemar, / en su miembro vido dar / major fuego por mas fuerte" (32); and Macías, the martyr of love who is killed by a jealous husband while in jail for his devotion to his wife, is also a man who even in darkness saw his member increase in size. All examples are misinterpreted. Ptolemy saw the actions of men dependent on the stars, Dante saw fire as punishment for sin, and Macías died in the darkness of his cell. The reference to the reputation of Ptolemy is based on the Almagest, the Tetrabiblos or Apotelesmatiká, and the Geographica. Of particular importance was the belief, expressed in the Almagest, that the planets affect human beings.
Pues el dante que prefento
por testigo aquello mismo
por actor fabido atento
que fin ver no fue contento
las entradas del abifimo
dize quen aquel pinar
del huego peor que muerte
donde el hombre vio quemar
en fu miembro vido dar
major fuego por mas fuerte

"Afterwards Dante, who I present
Likewise as a witness,
for he is considered a wise and thoughtful author,
who was not content until he saw
the doorways to the abyss.
He says that in that grove
of fire worse than death,
where he saw a man burn,
he saw his member set
more ablaze because it was stronger."

Y que los tormentadores,
daquel centro mas de mil,
por los miembros vertedores
encendian los ardores
al linaje femenil,
por cauila dela flaqueza
de sus miembros daxatiuos,
alqui, quen esta crueza,
las pixas tienen firmeza
delos marcos coñolivos

"And the tormentors,
more than a thousand in that place,
used the irrigating members
to fire up
womankind's desires,
on account of the feebleness
of their weak members;
therefore, in this cruel fight,
the pricks by their stiffness
overcome the framing cunts."

Otro testigo.

Y viene tan bien macias
queriendo sellar lo cierto
que sus tiempos, frelos dias
acabo fin alegrias
fiendo por amores muerto
con cuidado no fenzillo
determina lo prouado
que dentro de aquel luzillo
fu miembro tuuo fenzillo
hafta que falio doblado

"And Macias also comes forth,
wishing to put his seal on a certainty,
for his tender young days
ended up in sorrows,
because he was slain by love.
With uncommon detail,
he verifies what has already been proven:
that within that enclosure,
his member was small
until it doubled in size."

125 "Lucillo" is a stone coffin. Macias was murdered by being lanced through a window while in a stone jail.
126 "Doblado," doubled in size, but its secondary meaning is "fingido, disimulado" [DRAE 1732, 322.2].
Dize mas que quien efta en potencia de varon de tenello do querra dentro o fuera que fera bien afuelta la quezione y con efte presupuesto quel hombre puede fácallo cada y quando fuere oneflo que merece bien llevallo a b a c d a b c e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z

"He adds that, whomsoever has the potency a man, places it wherever he wishes, inside or outside, in this manner the question would be well answered. And with this given: That a man can take it out whenever it is fitting. These all conclude: that [man] merits the wearing [of the cloak]."

El juez

36 [9]

Pues eftos teftigos fon127 hombres de tanta verdad tomemos ala razon que guia fin aficion dexemos la autoridad la qual de fu condicion tiene en fi tal poderio que muefa quel manto es mio por derecha fubceffion128 a b a b a a b a c c a a b c db

"Since these witnesses are men of great truthfulness, we should let reason guide us without guile; let us dispense with authority, which, according to its condition, has such power in and of itself that proves that the cloak is mine by right of inheritance."

Sentencia difinitiua129 dada por el juez

37 [9]

Sentenciar en tal judgado me efcusa formas y artes fiendo a entramos adebdado a no fer aficionado pues foy parte deftas partes130 y a fi libres de aficiones y de amor y de paflion propongo enxemplo y razones muy conformes a razon a b a a a b c d c db

"Ruling in such a suit, is allowed by tradition and practice, since I am indebted to both not to be prejudiced, because I am a part of both parts. Therefore, free from desire, and from love and from passion, I propose example and arguments much in accord with reason."

38 [9]

127 The words of the judge are in "novenas octosilábicas" except for stanza 49 which is a "copla real."
128 An allusion is at once to the sequestration, a practice that was well-regulated by the law, and from which judges and the court were excluded (Obarrio Moreno), and to own inheritance rights as a man, which should give him rights to the "manto." It picks up on an argument made in stanza 26.
129 Final judgment.
130 The reasoning uses the same words as stanza 21.
Viño el proceso presente del coño con el carajo y prouança diligente a muy luiano trabajo no penleyes que yo lo digo ni lo sentencio por mi mas por el íeño que sigo de quantos fabios ley.

39 [9]

Por enojo no fer a todos aquien me allego folos quatro he de creer para mas razon tener en prueua delo que alego vno santo ques adam ercoles y salomon otro fuerte qu'es sanon que lo que digo diran

Por enojo no fer a todos aquien me allego folos quatro he de creer para mas razon tener en prueua delo que alego vno santo ques adam ercoles y salomon otro fuerte qu'es sanon que lo que digo diran

40 [9]

De adan dize el escritura que siendo hombre tan fanto por aficion de natura por cobrir el abertura luego proueyo de manto quenel primero retoño dela primera nacion fuera verguença enel coño parecer la criacion

41 [9]

Salamon fabio acabado

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131 This is the formulaic language that concludes the trial and announces the sentence (see Cancionero de Sebastián de Horozco 259).

132 The reference is to the "averiguación ò prueba que juridicamente se hace de una cofa" (DRAE 1737, 387-388). The case has been actually been proved based on authorities. Of course, "probar" also means "to try" or "to taste." The topic is raised again in stanza 45.

133 Four cases are adduced in support of the argument, 3 biblical and 1 pagan. Their stories are briefly recapped and interpreted in favor of Coño. Adam provided a manto to cover Eve's "verguenzas;" Solomon, a friend of reason, "obedecio su mandado;" Hercules "no pudo defenderse [...] del fuego do fue ameterse;" and Sansón "no pudo resistir [...] la voluntad de natura." These characters function as the probatio (enthymeme), cases which support the judgment.
en sentencias justo reto
en esto fue conformado
y obedeció su mandado
con él faber tan discreto
pues éste claro valón
tan amigo de clemencia
da fuerzas ami razón
para fundar mi sentencia.

42 [9]

Ercole tan esforzado
que fundó parte de España
defte solo fóajuzgado
munio mal atormentado
por una cruel hazaña
que no pudo defenderse
por fuerza ni poderio
ni le excusó el señorío
del fuego do fue ameterse.

43 [9]

Pues sanfón, rezio, valiente
el qual traygo por exemplo
que por coño ciertamente
destruye infinita gente
en la cayda del templo
que no pudo refilir
con él fuerza y su rezitura
la voluntad de natura
que al fin lo hizo morir

44 [9]

Pues con estos bien podre
que touieron razón biua
a ellos me allegare
con ellos pronuciare
sentencia definitiva

134 The fame of Solomon was founded on Proverbs, which gave rise to the Book of Wisdom tradition.
135 According to medieval history, Hercules was one of the founders and first rulers of Spain.
136 The story of Sampson and Delilah, and the destruction of the temple first appears in the Book of Judges.
137 The “sentencia definitiva” bring the trial to a close. However, the phrase can be misleading, because it can refer to the final judgement on a particular stage of a case (summarized in the next five stanzas with an appeal for leniency); or to a formal appeal of the ruling before another judge, as is the case later.
Since these individuals did shirk their fate and obeyed the commands of cunts, I will take my cue from them and will do what they did."

**Sustentacion dela sentencia**

_Writ Upholding of the Ruling_

45 [9]

Hallos quel coño ha _prouado_ a  
por juticia no de hecho b  
_ufiantiado y alegado_ a  
y al carajo ha _reprouado_ a  
por flaquesa de derecho b  
y por las leys queintiendo c  
conformes ala potencia d  
entiendo de dar sentencia d  
pro tribunal y _fedendo_138 c

46 [9]

Enla qual deuo ma _ndar_ a  
y por derecho fundado b  
el carajo _condenar_ a  
y al coño dar y _donar_ a  
lo pedido y alegado b  
y pues juticia lo guia c  
daquesto nadie no huya d  
digo quen _trecero dia_ c  
el manto le _refituyu_. d

47 [9]

Y pues mal ha proceñiado a  
por efta jutencia _ordeno_ b  
quefpe _preño, encarcelado_ a  
enel coro139 _confiado_ a  
porque en coltas le _condeno_ b  
y enel coño _fe conifuma_ c  
pleyto _coftas y trabajo_ d  
hañta _que_ falte el _efpuma_ c

138 _Pro tribunal y sedendo_ is a judicial formula that indicates the formal issuance of a ruling from the bench of a presiding judge. Covarrubias gives the following definition for "TRIBVNAL, los eftados y ſilla alta en que ſe ſienta el juez a juzgar, y dar la ſentencia, ſegun la ſentenciía comun, pro tribunal i ſedendo" (54r).

139 A metaphoric use of the word. It means that he is that he is remanded to the public jail along with others. But, as we soon learn in stanzas 50 and 51, the dark jail is actually the inside of Coño.
por la punta del carajo \d from the Prick's tip."

48 [9]

| Por no quedan enconado\textsuperscript{140} |  | "In order not to be aroused, |
| acquiero de me lauar\textsuperscript{141} |  | I will wash myself of |
| delo fuzio proceflado |  | the filth of the process, |
| no para no fentenciar |  | not to avoid sentencing, |
| mas por aue fentenciado |  | but because of having sentenced. |
| y fi algunos juzgaran |  | And if some were to disagree |
| mal de aquello que leyeren |  | with this that they read, |
| rëpondo que leyes van |  | I reply that laws go |
| alli donde cöños quieren\textsuperscript{142} |  | wherever cunts desire." |

49 [10]

| Al dar daqëta fentencia\textsuperscript{143} |  | In making this ruling, |
| testigos presentes fueron |  | the witnesses present were |
| eftos que alli parecieron |  | those who were there in person, |
| mas antigos en potencia |  | more ancient in potency |
| quen orden enuegeciieron |  | because they aged in the Order [of Love]: |
| el anciano jufdado |  | the elderly jouster, |
| conel ynes de maqueda |  | and with him Ines de Maqueda, |
| juan aluares tañedor\textsuperscript{144} |  | Juan Alvare, the instrument player, |
| y la tarifa no leda |  | and the Tarifa, unhappy |
| por falta de hodedor. |  | because of lack of someone to fuck her. |

Declaracion \textsuperscript{de vn cauallero en nombre del carajo condenado.} \textsuperscript{Deposition of a Gentleman in the Name of the Condemned Prick}

50 [11]

| Del carajo lo informado |  | "I have been told by the Prick, |
| y es cofa para creerse |  | and it is to be believed, |
| quenel pleyto ca tratado |  | that in the case concluded |
| aueys feñor pronunciado |  | you have, My Lord, issued |
| fentencia fin mas torcerse |  | a straightforward ruling, |
| y enlas coflas condenado |  | and condemned to pay expenses |

\textsuperscript{140} Enconado, i.e. aroused.
\textsuperscript{141} The action immediately brings to mind the behavior of Pontius Pilate, when sentencing Christ (Matthew 27: 24), and agrees with Astorga’s later characterization of Carajo as a martyr.
\textsuperscript{142} "Leyes van donde cöños quieren" is an adaptation of the proverb "allá van leyes do reyes quieren," which is a further adaptation of maxims like "qui potest jus condere, potest illud tollere" (Godolphin 7).
\textsuperscript{143} This stanza may be in the voice of the narrator/questioner, who uses "coplas reales."
\textsuperscript{144} A “tañedor” is a musician (but by extension a fool). Tañer (Lat. tangère) means playing a percussion or string instrument, or a bell. This last is what is likely meant here. The four of them may have among those taking part in a reading or performance of Pleyto.
al trífte que ha pleyteado
qu'es para darle al demonio
pués mandays que esté encerrado
hafta auer costas pagado
enlas tinieblas del coño.

51 [10]

Ques do nunca falto lloro,
folloçar y desfatina,
en aquel profundo coro,
y este lloro es el tesoro
del trífte que pelegrina;
y por ello ella confuño,
mas derecho que vn hulo,145
encerrado enel viñuario
del templo de santilarío
do por fe salvar fe puño

52 [9]

Demanda juftas razones
que para que pagar pueda
fe rematen fúus cojones
por pregón en almoneda
fiera derecho de el mundo
y no boluer al profundo
donde fálio condenado
cabiztuerto, auergonçado
fiendo dantes rubicundo.

53 [10]

Ufad juezes de clemencia
pués etfe fe me quexo
de vueftra cruda sentencia
hafta que venda ellerencia
que fu padre le dexo
y pues etfe alfi estiendo
pleyto en que fe condeno
quiça fe remediará
y llorando ganara
lo que llorando perdio.147

51 [10]

"Where there was never a lack of weeping,
sobbing and senseless cries,
in that bottomless choir.
And this dirge is the treasure
[that accompanies] this sorrowful pilgrim,
and, for this reason, he is confused,
straighter than a spindle,
shut away in the dressing room
of Saint Hilary's temple
where he sought refuge."146

52 [9]

"He demands, justly,
that, in order to be able to pay [court costs],
his testicles be sold,
by the town crier at a public auction
—as is anyone's right—,
and not be returned to the pit
from where he left condemned,
being rosy-cheeked before."

53 [10]

"Oh, judges be merciful,
since this person complained to me
of the cruelty of your sentence,
until he can sell the inheritance
left to him by his father.
And, because he started
the suit that condemned him,
perhaps he will find pity
and weeping gain
what weeping he lost."

145 Saying: "Mas derecho que un huso."
146 A criminal could seek refuge from the law in a church. The practice was extensively regulated (see Jordan). However, "the templo de santilarío" intimates burlesquely that he has switched the "coño" for the ass.
Apelacion del carajo puesta
al juez que lo condeno.

54 [9]

Aueys por el coño dado
vna fentencia cruel
protribunal affentado
fiendo pechado y rogado148
por los apetitos del
Porque tuuiettes conel
aficion tan fin medida
pues carajo defta vida
nunca entro jufto por el

55 [9]

El remedio que tomar fuelen
los agrauiados, es que pueden
apelar por poderle libertar
para no fer condenados
efprefando los mayores
agrauios quels hizieren
dende los inferiores
alos mas superiores
juezes que se pudieren

56 [10]

E por fer aflí torcido
mi derecho claramente
yo el carajo endurecido
con despchos estendido
parezco por fer presente
y apelo de vos leñor
por juez aficionado
enla via mas mejor
que puedo por el tenor
delas leyes ordenado

57 [10]

Ante torrellas149 apelo,

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147 The meaning is that the pain of castration will win his freedom.
148 Carajo has been unjustly fined and ordered to pay, because many others also have had sex with Coño.
que merece mil renombres b who merits great fame,
porque soltuvo sin velo,150 a because he clearly maintained
mientras estuvo en este fuego, a while on this earth
el partido de los hombres; b the superiority of men;
y si dixeren que muerto c and, if they were to claim he is dead,
por ser del figlo partido, d because he lived in the past century,
en salamanca,151 c in Salamanca, I believe,
vn hijo fuyo encubierto, c a bastard of his
tiene fu poder complido. d has inherited his absolute powers."

58 [9]

El qual es aquel varon a "That person is the man
que muy justo determina b who justly rules
labido con difrecion a —wise and thoughtful—
que dizen juan delenzina b known as Juan del Encina.
et pido que me mandateys c And I request that you have sent to me
dar todo lo procesfado d all of the records related to the suit
con los autos,152 que teneys c with the documents in your possession.
yatem mas, que me otogueys c One further thing, that you grant me
eftos que tengo apelado. d those [rulings] that I have appealed."

59 [10]

Otra vez os lo requiero, a "I again request it of you,
como reza este papel, b as this written document states
pues no fuejes juficiero, a (because you were unfair)
me otogueys elto que quiero, a that you grant my demands
con los apofitulos154 b and the documents you sent.
por quitar inconuenientes c In order to avoid
damigos y de enemigos, d the partisanship of friends and enemies,
ante todas eftas gentes, c before all this people,
ruego alos que son prefentes c I ask that those who are present
que sean dello testigos. d to witness my request."

60 [9]

Avn que pefe a santilario a "And, even if it were to vex Santilario
y al procurador del como b and the Cunt's solicitor,

149 Pero Torroella was the great anti-feminist author of the 15th century, who wrote the Maldezir de mugeres.
150 Apocope of "desvelo."
151 The reference to Torroella as belonging to the past century tells us that El Pleyto was written between 1500 and 1514, but I have argued that in fact it was written between 1508 and 1509. Some of its writers could have been students of the law in Salamanca, where Juan del Encina's name resonated.
152 The reference is to provisional or definitive sentences.
153 The formal appeal is in writing but orally delivered.
154 Notices regarding the trial that were sent to a higher tribunal.
vos como fiel notario
me lo dad por testimonio
Y al juez que fin trabajo
pronuncio tales razones
que le den por galardones
que fe cague enel carajo
pues le quita los cojones.

vos como fiel notario
me lo dad por testimonio
Y al juez que fin trabajo
pronuncio tales razones
que le den por galardones
que fe cague enel carajo
pues le quita los cojones.

De como nego la apelacion el juez

How the Judge Denied the Appeal

Por cierto mucha razón
tengo yo para negaros
vuestra injusta apelacion
pues viña tal petición
quedaua por do miraros
Porque todas las querellas
que amor nos fuele caufar
mas fe deuen de adorar
que apelar para torrellas

"Indeed, I have many reasons to deny your unjust appeal. After reviewing said petition, left was how to deal with you, because all of the complaints with which love usually afflicts us are more to be adored than appealed to Torrellas."

Y efta nuestra nacion
fino baftan mis poderes
digo a vueftra inclinacion
que va errada el aficion
quando fale de mugeres
y la paflion que os guia
no ciega el camino llano
deueys tener otra via
que no seguir heregia
muy peor que darriano

"And [in] this our denial—even if my authority were to be insufficient—I say that your inclination is misplaced when it sidesteps women; and the passion that guides you is no obstruction to the correct road. You should find another way rather than follow a heresy much worse than Arrian's."

Fin

The End.

155 The 1514 edition of the Cancionero General according to Dutton reads nacion (14CG-1052, and the 1519 edition of Cancionero de obras de burlas reads naciō. Gónzalez Cuenca's edition of the 1514 Cancionero general expands the word as negación (4: 369). This last reading makes more sense for the judge is talking about his denial to accept the petition to rehear the case.

156 It would have been known to jurists and students of the law that the Catholic Kings had issued a Pragmática real in 1497 against the sin of sodomy (Solórzano 294), because it could provoke the ire of God. This is a secondary allusion to St. Hilary, who was the person who defended the triune nature of the Godhead against Arrianism. The allusion is therefore to sodomy as an incorrect response.
Y dize el procurador
que de vos fe marauilla
fi penñays hallar mejor
o menor
a ningun coño en cañilla
que fe halla en nue/tra villa.

"And the proctor says
that he marvels at you,
if you believe you can find a better
or lesser
cunt in Castile
than is now found in our town."

Adicion hecha por garcia dastorga

64 [11]

Pues que las apelaciones
os deniegan con verdad
tened forma cos ygualen\(^{157}\)
y nos vendan los cojones
por menos dela meytad
del jufto precio y valen\(^{158}\)
y quel coño fe arrogafte\(^{159}\)
quel plazo fobreleyfse\(^{160}\)
ques duda fi fe hallafte
quien en precio lo puiefte
quanto mas quien lo comprafte

Since they have truly denied
your appeals,
take care that they judge you fairly
and do not sell your testicles
for less than half
their just price and value.
And, even if the Cunt consented
to do away with the [three-day] term,
it is doubtful one be found
who could sell it for that price,
what's more, someone to buy it.

65 [10]

Es la caufa tan relaxa\(^{161}\)
en herir con tal virote
fi jufticia va tan baxa
porque hodieron a axa
açotaron a maçote\(^{162}\)
Pero fi quiereys mirar
fi en razo ay cosa cierta
el carajo entro a hurtar
y por mas aflesgar
fe quedaron ala puerta.\(^{163}\)

The case is too weak
to strike with such a rod!
Its lack of justice so clear:
because Axa was fucked,
Mazote was beaten!
But, if you want to enquire
if there is a modicum of truth,
know that the Carajo entered to steal
and, to be better assured,
they [the testicles] remained at the door.

\(^{157}\) From "igualar," here meaning that you should be treated justly according to your rank, but meaning also that Carajo should receive what his "cojones" are worth.

\(^{158}\) "Valen" for reasons of rhyme (i.e. "valor").

\(^{159}\) "Arrogacion" from *arrogatio*, which the *DRAE* 1770, 332.2, defines as "El prohijamiento ó adopcion que se hace del que no tiene padre, o del que está fuera de la patria potestad, y no puede hacerse sin rescripto del Príncipe. Arrogatio, adoptio.* Part. 4 tít 16.1.9. De sus en las leyes sobredichas mostramos la fuerza, que ha el porfijamiento que es fecho por arrogacion."

\(^{160}\) "Sobreseer" means to agree or accede to something.

\(^{161}\) "Relajar" is a juridic term used to indicate when a penalty is forgiven or commuted to something else less onerous.

\(^{162}\) A saying present in Santillana's refrains: "Hácelo Axa, azotan a Mazote," meaning the injustice of someone committing a crime and someone else being punished for it.

\(^{163}\) Stanza 66 makes clear that the last verse of stanza 65 refers to the testicles.
Pero trae razón hermosa
fí fu derecho le dan,
dexando metros y profa
de traellos alaylan.164
Mas fí con eslas fomoftas165
no figuieron fut compas
por matar eslas langostas166
vendânfe para las coftas
pues que no puede ser mas

But his reasoning is good
if he is granted his right—verses and prose set aside—to sell them at auction.
But even if these crumbs are not enough,
le dan, to sell them at auction.
—But even if these crumbs
are not enough,
to squash this plague
let them be sold for the expenses
for nothing else is left.

Refpuefta delos señores coño y carajo embiado por garcia dastorga al señor don Pedro de Aguilar167

Tanta foledad tengo conla ausencia de vueftra merced y deflos magníficos señores que estraño me fallo en mi casa delas aventuras acaecídas aca quiero dar le cuenta pues tanta razón ay para ello, fiendo vos mi feñor y aun que os parezca que me halle tan mancebo la noche primera que ami poñida llegue puelto que del camino alzaz trabajoñofo no pareceñzo enla obra ni la feñora quedara quexosa avn que la condicion de todos es no dezir bien delo bueno ni quexarse delo malo con todo, dispuñes mis fuerças y certifico os feñor que era de hodella vna vez la segunda no me oñ oñer nons merced enla cama. Y ello creo lo cañafe las muchas vuelasquel miñño dia comi yo con todo deveys creer que aun que no ouo vánavas no faltaron palominos; para vueftra feñoría no fón menester liñonas que bien cierto lo yo lo creera de mi vuestra feñoría y avi entre trabajo y fatiga acorde de hazer cinco coplas, que allí vera, en fauor delo entenciendo contra el martyr bien auenturado carajo, por no ser en difcordia con tan honrrados juezes aun que bien se hallaran cañas lícitas y honestas para que el dicho Coño no fuera oydo en juzyzio antes anichilado y e chádo del fegun ley de derecho eftablecida por los reyes antepassados de gloriosan memoria.

Answer of Messers. Cunt and Prick Sent by García de Astorga to Lord don Pedro de Aguilar.167

I am so lonely with the absence of Your Mercy and those magnificent lords [in your company] that I find myself a stranger in my own house. I wish to give you an account of the adventures that befell [me] here, for there is such good reason for it, since you are my lord. And even though it may seem to that I behaved as an adolescent on the first night I reached my inn, for the trip was very arduous,

164 The term "alaylan" or "a laylan" seems to be part of the cries of an auctioneer ("A la una, à las dos / Alaylan à quien da mas," see the Cancionero de Morana. in Coleccion de poesias castellanas anteriores al siglo XV, edited by Thomas Antonio Sánchez, Madrid: Librería Aduana Vieja, 1779, I: 214).
165 "Somosta" or chaff. According to Nebrija, it is "la harina segunda que los labradores destinan para el pan de los criados" (see Marcella Ciceri and Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, Cancionero: Antón de Montoro, Salamanca: U de Salamanca, 1990, 324).
166 Plague.
167 Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, became Lord of Aguilar and 1st Marquess of Priego in 1501 (see Ponce Cárdenas). Later in life, he was one of the enemies of Fernando el Católico, with whom he had a famous disagreement that caused his exile from Córdoba in 1508. He is one of the possible auditors of Carajicomedia, which was written in stages and read during the alterations caused by the pactos.
this did not affect my deeds, nor was the lady [I had] dissatisfied, even though it behooves us all not to say anything righteous of the good, or complain of the evil; nevertheless, I arranged my forces accordingly, and I certify to you that after I had fucked her once, she did not dare to remain in bed. And I believe that this was because of the grapes that I ate that same day. Nevertheless, you must believe that, although there were no sheets, stains were not lacking. I have no need to flatter your lordship, for I am certain that you will give credence to my words, and thus, between work and fatigue, I decided to write the five stanzas I have attached in favor of the sentence against the Martyr Most Blessed Prick—in order not to disagree with such honorable judges—even though there are licit and honest reasons for why said Cunt should not have been heard in court, but annihilated and thrown out of it by right of law established by ancient kings of glorious memory.

67 [6]

Y es según juicio claro,  
no torcido ni vicioso  
por quel coño es vn auaro  
codicioño y malicioso  
ynabil y condenado  
porque le hiede la boca

a  And it is, according to an undeniable judgement  
b  —not warped or defective—,  
a  that declares that the Cunt is a miser,  
b  covetous and malicious,  
c  inept and rebuked,  
d  because of the reek of its mouth.

68 [10]

Y también ñe me figura  
defpues de malo y cruel  
ca destrar según natura  
el cuerpo enla fepoltura  
nol la fepoltura enel  
Porque la razon lo fella  
uneto con buen aluedrio  
pregunta, mas fin querella  
la ropa va enel nauio,  
o quiça el nauio enella

a  And I also surmise  
b  afterwards that it is wicked and cruel,  
a  because, according to nature,  
a  a body should be in the grave  
b  and not the grave in it.  
c  As reason would have it  
d  with worthy free will,  
c  I wonder, without further fuss:  
d  Are sails in a ship  
c  or perhaps a ship in them?

Y pues ñelo no satiñafe mas de ñolo dezillo por lo que toca ami conficiencia quiero callarlo que no tengo de ayunar y dar por bueno lo hecho como veys que mi obra lo manifieta enlo al no ay mas que eñefuir a vueñra ñeñoria: nuevas de aca es que no ay ningunas lo que mas ñe fuena ñon narizes y avn tales ay que deñlo tienen poca neceñiñad no mas por el prefente dela boda hecha a treynta la vara de bretañia blanca como la nieue y muy bonica gracia y geñlo.

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168 A return to the container/contained syllogism: Does a body fit in a grave, or a grave in a body? Does a ship carry sails, or do sails carry a ship? "Ropa" had a much wider significance in the sixteenth century. It was applied to any cloth, item of clothing, adornment, or as here, to a metaphoric extension of "manto." The reference here is to the sails of a ship. "Ropa a fuera, quando de las galeras, quando de ha de remar con higado" ... Ropa a la mar, quando la tormenta obliga a de cargar el nauio" (Covarrubias 1233.2). Interestingly, the DRAE (1731, 641.1) cites "Lat. Veftem deponas, vel denudes" and adds as an example of its metaphoric usage taken from Quevedo’s El Parnaso Español, Musa V, Baile 3: “Y cuando el amante efpera/ que ha de estar el pito mudo, / porque eñen de su manera, / fiendo el cómitre defñudo, / dice à todos ropa fuera."
And because it is not enough only to say it—according to my conscience, I wish to be silent—I have had nothing to breakfast and consider good what I have done, as you can see from my work. About other things, I have nothing to say to your lordship; there are no news from here. The only sound I hear is the blowing of noses, and some do not even need that. No more for now about the wedding performed. The yard of brittany cloth, white as snow and very pretty in quality and look, costs thirty.

Del mismo en favor dela sentencia dada contra el agrauiado carajo  Of the Same in Support of the Sentence Given Against the Aggrieved Carajo

69 [10]

A veynte y nueue del mes del fanto bañil\(^\text{169}\)
ante mi llego vn tratado en efilo cordoues aplicado
No admirable\(^\text{170}\) ni corrupto fentenciado y concluydo el qual es vn pleyto afituto quentre partes han traydo vna puta y vn hodido.

69 [10]

Y lo quel coño leuo digo ques muy bien leuado por preminencia y eftado del mismo pues del falio\(^\text{171}\)
Y pues elte fue el venero donde fe crio primero, muy jufta caufa lo quiere, fer el coño el heredero delo que permaneciere

70 [9]

A veynte y nueue del mes del fanto bañil\(^\text{169}\)
ante mi llego vn tratado en efilo cordoues aplicado
No admirable\(^\text{170}\) ni corrupto fentenciado y concluydo el qual es vn pleyto afituto quentre partes han traydo vna puta y vn hodido.

70 [9]

Y lo quel coño leuo digo ques muy bien leuado por preminencia y eftado del mismo pues del falio\(^\text{171}\)
Y pues elte fue el venero donde fe crio primero, muy jufta caufa lo quiere, fer el coño el heredero delo que permaneciere

71 [10]

Muchas razones parecen por donde es merecedor fer el siempre vencedor\(^\text{172}\) ytem mas que le obedecen

71 [10]

Muchas razones parecen por donde es merecedor fer el siempre vencedor\(^\text{172}\) ytem mas que le obedecen

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\(^{169}\) "Bañil" may be an apocope of "albañil" for reasons of rhyme, therefore, "A veynte y nueue del mes / del fanto bañil pañado" (stanza 69) may refer to two days after the feast of St. John the Evangelist, patron saint of "albañiles," on the 27th of December, and would mark it as the date that Pleyto reached Astorga.

\(^{170}\) The word "admirable" has somewhat changed its meaning over time to its opposite.

\(^{171}\) The reference is to stanza 40.

\(^{172}\) In Spanish, the Cunt ("el Coño") is masculine. I have chosen not always to adhere to this gender.
dendel mayor al menor
porque los mas eʃforçados
en fu vigor y potencia
los capiotes echados\textsuperscript{173}
le van a dar obediencia
llorandole fus pecados
from biggest to smallest,
because, even the most potent
in their vigor and strength,
doff their caps
and pledge their fealty,
confessing their sins.

72 [10]

Otra peremptoria do
a qualquer fabio galan
por döndel precio gano,
y es lo que dize el refran
aquel que fuorio vencio,\textsuperscript{174}
Y avn deʃpues de ler fuorio
el buen coño y combatido,
que ninguno no le mate,
quien fê allega a fu combate
que no vaya cabizcaydo.
I state another peremptory law
to any knowing gallant
who would attain his goal,
and it is what the refrain reveals:
"No gain without pain."
And even after its misery,
the good embattled Cunt
no one should kill.
Whoever confronts it in a battle,
should not advance shyly.

Fin

73 [10]

Aʃli que por la fentencia
defte manto que fê dio
vos carajo aued paciencia
quel coño lo merecio
quarto a razon y conciencia
pues los cojones cuytados
cuya parte difimulo
no aleguen por eʃforçados
porque la marea del culo
los tiene desbaratados
Therefore, on the matter of the ruling
given concerning this cloak,
you, Prick, should be patient
for the Cunt deserved it
according to reason and conscience.
And those forlorn testicles,
whose participation I have hushed,
should not hereafter claim bravery,
because the tide of the ass
wrecked them.

\textsuperscript{173} "Capirote" in burlesque poetry is always a reference to the prepuce and the act of crying masks their ejaculation. In burlesque fashion, the stanzas criticizes the ease with which the titled nobility pays hommage to the Crown and seeks pardon for its transgressions.

\textsuperscript{174} The refrain follows a structure common to many proverbs that oppose two verbs: "Quién sufrió, venció" in "Refranes, o proverbios en romance" of Hernán Núñez (Salamanca, 1555). It is attested in the Comedia Serafina (1521) as "qu’el que sufrió venció." An English variant is "No cross, no crown."