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סאטירה על לוחם שוורים יהודי

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A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY SATIRE ON JEWISH BULLFIGHTERS

ELENA LOURIE

Satirical poems directed against the Jews or conversos are not a rare phenomenon in fifteenth-century Castile.¹ But, so far as I know, in none of the examples of the genre hitherto published or commented on have the Jews been found even associated with, much less the protagonists of, a bullfight. It is this fact which gives particular interest to a manuscript from the Egerton collection in the British Museum.

In Eg. 482 a bullfight is described, or rather, parodied, in which a group of Jews appear as both spectators and participants². The text, consisting of 54 lines, is written in a fifteenth century hand and is incomplete. It is divided into seven verses, each comprising eight lines, except for the opening one which has only six. The poem starts *in medias res*, on the back page of a sheet which was used to bind the last will and testament of Don Vasco Ramírez de Ribera, bishop of Coria, President of the Council under Ferdinand and Isabella and *Inquisidor Mayor* in the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. He died on Dec. 4, 1488 and was buried in Toledo. His will, drawn up according to his verbal instructions, is dated Jan. 4, 1489 and probably lay in the archives of the cathedral of Toledo at least until the eighteenth century³. The manuscript was brought by the British Museum from a Mr. Daniel Rich, bookseller, at Sotheby's in 1835, but there is no

1. Cf. Cantera Burgos, F., "El Cancionero de Baena: judíos y conversos en él", *Sefarad*, xxvii (1967), 71-111; F. Vendrell de Millás, "Retrato ironico de un funcionario converso", *ibid*, xxviii (1968), 40-43; J. E. Gillett, "The Coplas del Perro de Alba", *Modern Philology*, xxiii, (1925-1926), 414-444; K. R. Scholberg, "*Satira e Invectiva en la España Medieval* (Madrid, 1971), 345-360; J. M. Solé and S. E. Rose, "Judíos y conversos en la poesía cortesana del siglo XV," *Hispanic Review*, 44 (1976), 371-85; Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia, 1966), ii, 300-302.

2. The MS is listed in P. de Gayangos, *Catalogue of the MSS in the Spanish Language in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London 1875-93), i, 566. Gayangos gives the first four lines of the poem.

3. Gayangos, in listing the verses as an appendix to the will, described them as written "in a different though contemporary hand". The will has marginal notes in an eighteenth-century hand. According to Gayangos, the annotator was Francisco Xavier de Santiago Palomares. Palomares (1728-96) was entrusted at the age of eighteen by Padre Burriel with the task of cataloguing the MSS in the archives of the cathedral of Toledo. If the notes are indeed his, it follows, therefore, that the MS lay in those archives at least until c. 1740. Cf. the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1927), vol.

record of how Rich himself acquired it⁴. The poem, which was attached so adventitiously to the will, is written in a somewhat careless hand; the rhyme is very irregular, following no fixed pattern and may well have been continued on another, missing page. The text is given below:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Fuesenos el torro
Que le farre⁵ yo
Plega al dio⁶
Que me tope</p> <p>5. Con mi fijo Jaco
Ho ho ho ho.
— — —
Todos los judios
Ordenan un allarde⁸
De corer un torro</p> <p>10. Sabado y domingo
Dellos paga quatro
Dellos paga cynco
Torro y tal aquesta
Quinientos costo⁹</p> | <p>15. Los judios moços
Valientes esforçados
Cargas¹⁰ en los onbros
Espadas en las manos
Desde los sobrados</p> <p>20. Dizen ho ho ho
Syno herra un grillo
Que dixo al torro ho.
— — —
Salio barruquel
Con su balleston</p> <p>25. Puesto un virroton
En medio del fiel
Dixo a don Simueli
Tenti tenti fuerti
Yo le darre en el dienti</p> |
|--|---|

54, 336–7. On Vasco Ramirez de Ribera's career, see M. A. Orti y Belmonte, *Episcopologio Cauriense* (Caceres, 1959), 73.

4. Information kindly given by the Supervisor of the Manuscript Room in the British Library. Sotheby's catalogue for the sale of books belonging to Daniel Rich, bookseller of Sunning, on Nov. 29, 1835, does not list any MSS, only printed works.

5. Gayangos in his *Catalogue*, i, 566, read "fallé."

6. On the use of "Dio" to characterize the speech of Jews or conversos, cf. Gillett, *loc. cit.*, 441–2; Cantera Burgos, *loc. cit.*, 88, 108; D. M. Gitlitz, "Conversos and the Fusion of Worlds in Micael de Carvajal's 'Tragedia Josephina'", *Hispanic Review*, 40 (1972), 262–5.

7. "No tope" has been crossed out and "Que me tope" substituted. Gayangos read "Que no me topo." The sense would in fact seem to demand "Que no me tope," which would mean that the copyist (or the author himself, if this is the original draft) substituted one error of omission for another. It is possible, though unlikely, that the protagonist is expressing a wish to have his son with him for protection, if the bull should confront him. There is also a bare possibility that for "me" one should read a very carelessly written "no," thus giving: "Que no tope Con mi fijo Jaco."

8. For "alarde" in the sense of a gala, spectacle, show, involving a display of bravado. "Alarde" is today a term signifying any sort of showing off in the bullring, cf. B. Conrad, *Encyclopaedia of Bullfighting* (New York, 1962).

9. An inkbolt disfigures the last letter of the line. Although one would expect the present tense "costa," nevertheless "costó" seems to have been intended.

10. "Varras" has been crossed out above the line and replaced by "cargas."

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>30. Por que te¹¹ se bufo.
 — — —
 Mosen pelambreiro
 Tirrole una caña
 Por vida de naña¹²
 Que le paso el cuerro</p> <p>35. El torro es mañerro
 Rebolvio el foçico
 Su fyvo moçico
 En vello senfino¹³
 — — —
 Subiose el Rabi</p> <p>40. En capiroado¹⁴
 En cima de un tejado</p> | <p>Diziendo hi hi
 Guayas guay de ti¹⁵
 Le dixo el caal¹⁶</p> <p>45. Que subirra aca
 Que erra muy bravo
 — — —
 Los torros corridos
 Sin judio en el corro
 Rabi çamodorro¹⁷</p> <p>50. De muy atrevido
 Dierrale un chiflido
 Desde la xinoga¹⁸
 Echole una sogá
 Mas el no salio.</p> |
|--|--|

The point of the poem is clearly to ridicule the Jews and their cowardice when confronted by a brave and ferocious bull. And, indeed, on the face of it nothing could have been more grotesque, in view of the Jewish

11. "De" may have been dropped before the "te" because of the meter.

12. I have not been able to find this oath-form either quoted or referred to elsewhere. For the use of "nani" as an endearment by Spanish Jews cf. R. Gil, *Romancero Judeo-Español* (Madrid, 1911), 26, 120.

13. According to M. Alonso, *Enciclopedia del Idioma* (Madrid, 1958), ii, "envelar" in Chilean usage means "to flee", but a displacement may have occurred and the line should read: "envellose (e)nfino, meaning "he took cover" or "hid" "at last" or "for good". The reflexive "embellarse" meaning "to come to grips", "to do battle" seems to be precluded by the satirical intention of the poet. It is just possible that, by a somewhat labored construction, one should read: "Mosen . . . covered or hid his little son", although "senfino" would then present a considerable difficulty. Whatever the reading preferred, Mosen may well be the anxious father who appears in the opening verse.

14. "Capirote" could mean the distinctive Jewish hat; cf. Gitlitz, *loc. cit.*, 269. See also R. Foulché Delbosc (ed.), *Cancionero Castellano del Siglo XV* (Madrid, 1915), ii, 99, verse 2. But the poet may not have meant a specifically Jewish hat or hood; see below note 40.

15. For "guayar" cf. Gillett, *loc. cit.*, 425, 426; Cantora Burgos, *loc. cit.*, 89.

16. On the use of "caal" cf. Gillett, *loc. cit.*, 422, 440.

17. Cf. "chamandourra", R. Gil, *op. cit.*, 22, 113; also Chamorro as the name of the head of the Jewish community of Toledo in a fifteenth-century, satirical correspondence between the Chief Rabbis of Toledo and Constantinople, cf. H. Beinart, "The *Converso* community in fifteenth-century Spain," in R. Barnett (ed.), *The Sephardi Heritage*, i (London 1971), 435.

18. For the form "xinoga" cf. Gillett, *loc. cit.*, 442-3.

stereotypes current at the time, than to place them in a situation requiring considerable physical courage¹⁹. It is true that the notion of Jews as bullfighters need not have been a wholly alien and ridiculous idea. Baer thought that a Jewish bullfighter was listed among the tenants of the cathedral chapter of Segovia in 1391. But an inspection of the text published by Fita in 1886 suggests some doubt about the identification. Moreover, Cossío, in his monumental study of all aspects of bullfighting, insists that professional bullfighters were neither known nor given a name in medieval Castile²⁰. Yet Jews can be found in professions of acknowledged danger, as well as involving commerce with wild animals. Fourteenth and early fifteenth-century records reveal the presence of three or four Jewish lion tamers in Saragossa and Pamplona, entrusted with the keeping of the king's lions²¹. This job may even have involved some connection with bullfighting, for the references to arranged fights between bulls and lions or other wild animals go back to the fifteenth century²². But whether or not these lionkeepers had anything to do with wild bulls, there can be no doubt that they were oddities and that the very notion of Jews engaged in bullfighting went against the canon of what was considered proper and was intended to strike the reader as a thing, in itself, ridiculous and grotesque.

19. De Cossío, J. M., *Los Toros*, 4 vols (Madrid, 1960), iv. 14–16. For Jewish stereotypes, see below, note 23.

20. Baer, Y., *Hist. of the Jews*, ii, 198. The only occupation given in the 1391 list of Segovian Jews which could possibly be associated with bulls is that of one Çage *porrero cachonero*. According to Fita, “cachonero” is synonymous with “cachetero”; cf. F. Fita, “La judería de Segovia”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, IX (1886), 345. The Spanish dictionary published by the Real Academia Española gives “cachotero” as a short dagger used by herdsmen for killing cattle and, therefore, *also* having the sense of a bullfighter who finishes off the bull with such a dagger. Given the pastoral character of the Segovian economy, it is far more likely that Çage was a specialist in slaughtering bulls rather than a bullfighter, especially as Cossío has pointed out that professional bullfighting was only known in Navarre and Aragon in the Middle Ages and there they were not called “cachoteros”. See below.

21. Jacobs, J., *Manuscript Sources of the History of the Jews of Spain* (London, 1894), pp. xxxviii, 98, no. 1502; p. 100, n. 1512; p. 112, no. 1594; M. Keyserling, “Des Juifs Gardiens de Lions”, *Revue des Études Juives*, xxv (1892), 285. Jacobs confuses Yuze Zayel, a Saragossan who was the keeper of the king of Navarre's lions in 1386–7, with Acaz Jacob, the keeper of the king of Aragon's lions in Saragossa in 1383–4. The latter is the lion tamer Kayserling wrote about.

22. Cossío, *op. cit.*, i. 692.

The Jew was stereotyped as a coward. Both the author of *Shevet Yehuda* and the converso Don Alonso de Cartagena, bishop of Burgos, agreed about this timidity in Jews, although the latter was convinced that this unfortunate defect could be eliminated with baptism²³. On the other hand, bullfighting in the later Middle Ages, when the evidence for its practice begins to be fairly abundant, was clearly considered a particularly valorous form of chivalric and knightly exercise. When Pero Niño's biographer, Gutierre Díez, de Games, writing in the middle of the fifteenth century, described his subject as an accomplished bullfighter, he intended thereby to enhance the ideal of nobility, knighthood and valor which he believed his hero embodied²⁴.

Castro may well be right in saying that bravery in bullfighting, especially on horseback, was a means of proving one's "limpieza de sangre", since, so it was assumed, Jews or conversos could not, by virtue of their inherent cowardice, perform well in this dangerous sport. But he is wrong to think that until the end of the Middle Ages bullfighting was, in every way, a marginal, humble occupation²⁵. Alfonso X had distinguished, in the thirteenth century, between the professional who fought for a wage and therefore was necessarily a man without true honor, a man of ill-repute, and the knightly *amateur* who did it for sport — to prove his valor and enhance his reputation²⁶. Furthermore, Cossío has shown that only in Aragon and Navarre were professional bullfighters known and given a name: *matadores*. Only there was bullfighting an art (from the records, a highly-paid one, as it is today) and only there did the spectators take no part in the killing of the bull. Moreover, as a particularly dangerous art, it seems to have been practiced exclusively on foot²⁷. In Castile it was an amateur sport, usually conducted on horseback, and, as late as the sixteenth century, continued to be more of a *melée* than a cultivated skill. The spectators would join in, throwing javelins, spears and other weapons. Before the bull was killed by this method, known as *al venablo*, general

23. Cf. Castro, A., *The Spaniards* (Berkeley, 1971), 577–8.

24. Cossío, *op. cit.*, iv, 818.

25. Castro, *op. cit.*, 594–5.

26. "E aun dezimos que son enfamados los que lidian con bestias bravas por dineros que les dan . . . Pero quando un ome lidiase . . . con bestia brava, por provar su fuerça, non seria enfamado porende, ante ganaria prez de hombre valiente, e esforçado." *Las Siete Partidas*, part. vii, tit. vi, ley ii. Also Cossío, *op. cit.*, iv, 815.

27. Cossío, *op. cit.*, iv, 815–17; F. Idoate, "Toros y toreros en el medioevo", *Pregon* (Pamplona), XXXI, núm. 116 (1973), unpaginated.

confusion seems to have reigned²⁸, thus enhancing the danger to life and limb — much as in the amateur “encierro” practiced in Navarre today²⁹.

Our poet clearly has this sort of chaotic bullfight in mind. Indeed, one could argue that the satire is less in the actual description of the Jews’ behavior than in the fact of the Jews being involved at all; for throwing javelins, spears or darts³⁰ and wielding ropes and crossbows from the rooftops or second story of a building was not necessarily a sign of cowardice. The miniaturist who illustrated *Cántiga* CXLIV in the Escorial manuscript of the *Cántigas de Santa Maria de Don Alfonso el Sabio* — a poem which has nothing whatever to do with Jews — showed a crowd of men performing precisely those actions from the safety of a housetop, with the bull in the plaza beneath them. The good man of Plasencia, the hero of the *Cántiga*, who inadvertently entered the plaza itself, needed the Virgin Mary’s intervention to save him³¹. However, although the Jewish *spectators* may not have been behaving in a specially cowardly way, the point of the satire is nevertheless made by the absence of any Jewish bullfighter *facing* the bull, whether on horseback or on foot: (“Los torros corridos / Sin judío en el corro . . .”)³². In *Cántiga* CXLIV the spectators on the rooftops, however active, were merely intended as a supporting-cast for the bullfighters in the ring, whose entry was prevented by the hero’s absent-minded behavior and the ensuing commotion. In our poem nothing but cowardice prevents one or more of the Jews from confronting the bull. Without the opening verses, it is impossible to be sure whether the bullfight

28. Cossío, *op. cit.*, iv, 824–6.

29. For a graphic description of the “encierro” (with photographs), see J. Gorriç Lerga, “Notas para una teoría sobre el encierro”, *Pregón*, (Pamplona), xxxi, núm. 116 (1973).

30. See the unspecific “cargas” in line 17, which replaced the more precise “varras.” In modern bullfighting the “vara” is the long, metal-tipped rod wielded by the picador, who uses it to slow the bull and regulate the carriage of its head. In the unprofessional medieval bullfight the “vara” was probably wielded by the crowd to excite and goad the bull, in the same way as the early modern prototypes of the *banderilla* noted by Cossío, *op. cit.*, i, 872. Struck out though it is, this may be one of the earliest appearances of the term.

31. *Cántigas de Santa Maria de D. Alfonso el Sabio* (Real Academia Española, 3 vols., Madrid, 1889–1922), ii, 214 and pl. 159. The third and fourth pictures on this plate are reproduced in the *Enciclopedia Ilustrada*, vol. lxxvii, ad verb. “toro”. They show the crowd and the bull, with one man wielding a cape and others with ropes (cf. line 53 of the satire), projectiles which could be sharpened wands or cañas (cf. line 32) and what seem to be short, feathered darts (a prototype of the *banderilla*?). One man may be holding a bow.

32. cf. lines 47–8.

was not thrust upon the Jews in some way. Certainly, the implication throughout seems to be that it was their own choice. Perhaps this makes the irony stronger; on the one hand, the presumption of the Jews and their verbal bravado, as they try to ape the Christians by engaging in a popular and dangerous pastime, and on the other, the farcical results which ensue as their true nature, their indelible timidity, is made manifest.

The comparison between our poem and the illustrations to *Cántiga* CX-LIV helps to point up the fact that the former is not only an unusual form of anti-Jewish satire, but also an interesting, even important, addition to the history of bullfighting. Although Cossío paraphrases the *Cántiga*, he does not, oddly enough, discuss the iconographic evidence of its illustrations³³. In fact, our satire is perhaps the first detailed literary confirmation of the late thirteenth-century iconographic evidence provided by the miniaturist for the methods and implements of popular bullfighting. The cape, it is true, does not appear in our poem, but other literary evidence for its use is not lacking³⁴. The use of the crossbow and bolt in bullfighting is only attested to by a metaphor describing Pero Niño's embroilment at the siege of Pontevedra in 1397: "When he (Pero Niño) had gone so far, the people of the city, seeing the havoc he wrought, fired many crossbows at him, even as folk worry a bull that rushes out into the middle of the ring."³⁵ This is scarcely unequivocal evidence. The satire, however, is free from any ambiguity on this point (cf. lines 24–5). It is this, together with the evidence for the use of ropes, *cañas* and *varas*, which would seem to justify the view that our satire is a significant addition to our knowledge of the history of bullfighting.

Finally, is there anything which might indicate who the author was? He may well have been a converso, for conversos not infrequently attacked the Jews in verse and he certainly had some knowledge of Jewish customs and vocabulary³⁶. The choice of Saturday as well as Sunday on which to stage the *corrida* tells us little, for officially, the Church not only disapproved of bullfighting as such, but in particular frowned on the universal custom of

33. Cossío, *op. cit.*, ii, 248–9.

34. *Ibid.*, iv, 814–5.

35. Evans, J., (transl.), *The Unconquered Knight. A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Niño by his Standard-Bearer Gutierre Diaz de Gamez* (London, 1928), 37. Cf. J. de Mata Carriazo (ed.), *El Victorial* (Madrid, 1940), 83; Cossío, *op. cit.*, iv, 819.

36. See Cantera's remarks on Alfonso Alvarez and Fray Juan de Valencia, "El Cancionero de Baena", *Sefarad*, xxvii (1967), 88–9, 97, 103.

staging bullfights on feast-days and holy days as part of the religious celebrations. If the Christians tended to choose Sunday, in spite of the protests from strict moralists, the poet may well have thought that the Jews, under similar official disapproval, would be just as likely to choose Saturday³⁷. The author's knowledge of Jewish terminology such as the singular "Dio" for the name of God, the verb "guayar" and the term "caal," like his acquaintance with typical Jewish personal names, could mean that he was a converso. But it does not necessarily indicate that he was more than a man who had come into fairly close contact with Jews or conversos³⁸, not a difficult thing to do if he were a Toledan, for example, or had lived for any length of time in Toledo, where both contacts between Jews and Christians and the resultant tensions were particularly intense in the fifteenth century³⁹.

The only piece of internal evidence which might be used to give an approximate date, or rather decade, to the poem is the term "capiroto" in line 40 to describe the rabbi. Iconographic evidence has shown that the *capiroto* came to be the characteristic headdress of lawyers, doctors and learned men generally, in the period 1485–1500. Since the poem was almost certainly in existence before the bishop of Coria's will was drawn up on Jan. 4, 1489, one could perhaps conclude that it was written c. 1485–1489. But the evidence is scarcely conclusive. Not only must we rely on the imprecise chronology provided by iconographic material, but we must assume that the poem intended to characterize the scholar rather than the Jews in his description of the rabbi⁴⁰. With an argument as tenuous as

37. For ecclesiastical disapproval cf. Cossio, *op. cit.*, ii, 86–8; iv, 829. The rabbis were divided on the question whether games of skill were permissible on the Sabbath. They all agreed that games of chance were forbidden. Probably the amateur bullfight of the later Middle Ages came under the latter heading. But like the Church, the Jewish scholars would have opposed bullfighting as reminiscent of pagan practices and as an unnecessary risking of human life. Cf. the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, (Jerusalem, 1970) ad verb. "Gambling", 302.

38. This is true of Alfonso Alvarez and Fray Juan de Valencia, as Cantera acknowledges, see above, note 36. The case of Luis Anriques, a Portuguese poet of noble lineage shows that knowledge of Hebrew terms need not necessarily indicate Jewish origin. Anriques, writing before 1496, knew whole lines of Hebrew prayers, cf. Scholberg, *Satira e Invektiva*, 355–6.

39. See especially Ruano, E. Benito, *Toledo en el Siglo XV* (Madrid, 1961), 93 seq.

40. See note 14; Madrazo, C. Bernis, Madrazo, *Indumentaria Medieval Española* (Madrid, 1956), 48. See also *idem, op. cit.*, 43, for "capiroto" as a general term to describe the fashionable headgear of the fifteenth century.

this, the ascription of the poem to the 1480s must remain a very tentative hypothesis.

Although nothing conclusive can really be deduced from the text as it stands about the poet's origin and identity (or even his approximate dates), the juxtaposition of the bishop of Coria's will with the poem need not have been a pure coincidence. It is worth noting that Don Vasco Ramírez de Ribera came from a very powerful and noble family long settled in Toledo⁴¹. He had been an archdeacon and canon in the church of Toledo for many years and he had been one of the first inquisitors appointed in Toledo in 1485⁴². Thus *ex officio*, he himself and many of his clerks and associates would have been acquainted with Jewish customs and usages. Possibly someone in the inquisitor's household was the author of the poem; possibly also, someone associated with his family. For there is another intriguing clue: both the first and the last folios of the manuscript, enclosing the will and serving to bind it, seem to be written in the same hand and with the same ink. The first folio bears, on its right side, several simple sums with an accompanying explanation of the arithmetical processes involved. On its reverse side, there is an elaborate recipe addressed to "Señora". Ribera had seven sisters, of whom at least the eldest, who inherited the family titles and was married to a Toledan noble, can be said to have resided in Toledo⁴³. It is just possible that the sums, the recipe and the poem once belonged to a scrapbook in which odd bits of useful and amusing information had been jotted down by or for a lady related to Ribera, and which had then been cannibalized to serve as a binding for the late bishop's last will and testament. If this hypothesis is right, it is particularly regrettable that the person responsible should have seized a sheet bearing sums and a recipe rather than the one containing the rest of the poem⁴⁴.

41. García Carrafa, A. and A., *Enciclopedia Heráldica y Genealógica Hispano-Americana*, vol. 78 (Madrid, 1956), 222–6.

42. F. Fita, "La Inquisición Toledana", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, xi (1887), 290–1.

43. García Carrafa, *loc. cit.*, vol. 78, 225; versifying was perhaps not unknown among the family talents. Vasco de Ribera's grandfather, Perafán may well have been the author of the verses attributed to him in the *Cancionero de Baena*. Scholarly opinion is divided on the matter; see Azáqueta, J. M. (ed.), *Cancionero de Baena*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1966), i, 231, no. 113.

44. The absence of a beginning is obvious. It is less likely that the poem had a continuation on a third sheet. For this to be so the writer must have used only the right side of his sheets of paper, an unlikely decision when filling up a scrapbook, and in any case

The possibility remains, of course, that the poet himself may have had nothing whatever to do with Ribera and his family. He may have been a contemporary of the inquisitor or he may have long predeceased him. All we can reasonably say is that he wrote his poem before 1489 and, very probably, after 1391, when the spate of anti-Jewish satires greatly increased; and that there is a slight bias in favor of the later, rather than the earlier, period.

One thing however, is clear: the poet, on the evidence before us, was not a rabid anti-Semite. His verses are not particularly vicious. His poem is a burlesque — not a diatribe⁴⁵. But, unremarkable though it is in tone, its subject-matter renders it unique. Anonymous though he must remain, our author's poem, even in its incomplete state, may perhaps be considered a worthy addition to Cossío's anthology of taurine themes in Castilian poetry⁴⁶, as well as an unusual illustration both of the art of bullfighting and of the modes of anti-Jewish satire in late medieval Spain.

belied by the first folio of our MS, where both sides of the sheet are used. As it binds the will, the poem appears on the reverse of the final folio, the present right side being blank except for the drawing of a hand indicating the conclusion of the will. Thus in the original book whence the poem was taken, the reverse side of the sheet was then blank, suggesting, though far from proving, that the last verse of our text was indeed the final verse of the poem.

45. Compare the bantering tone of Pero Ferrús in his poem about raucous Jewish prayers, cf. Cantera, *loc. cit.*, 106–8. And contrast the vicious tone of the *Coplas del Perro de Alba*, cf. Gillett, *loc. cit.*, above, note 7.

46. *Los Toros en la Poesía Castellana* (Madrid, 1931).

