

A Juan Ruiz Directory for 1380–1382

The dating and authorship of the *Libro de buen amor* (*LBA*) have recently come under renewed discussion. In my *Canon Law and the Archpriest of Hita* (*CL*),¹ I argued that there is no internal evidence connecting the work with the episcopacy of Gil de Albornoz (1338–1350), apart from the rubrics of the admittedly late Salamanca manuscript and its internal date in stanza 1634, “era of 1381 years,” when read according to the Spanish computation to mean A.D. 1343. I have also argued that stanza 1152 refers to the *Novella* of John Andreae of Bologna, finished only in 1338 (24–27), which would rule out the Toledo manuscript date, “era of 1368 years,” if interpreted to mean A.D. 1330, and would make even 1343 unlikely. Among the possibilities I suggested was that the intended date was A.D. 1381 (30). I also suggested that the *Cántica de los clérigos de Talavera*, contained only in the Salamanca manuscript, was a later addition, one of the reasons being its faulty canon law (73–88).

Shortly after my book appeared, Francisco Hernández published a document showing that there was a historical archpriest of Hita named *Johannes Roderici*, that is, Juan Ruiz/Rodríguez, around 1330.² Hernández takes this as conclusive proof of an early date for the *LBA*, and he argues for a still earlier date for the *Cántica*. He elaborates this position in a later article, in which he holds that the situation described in the *Cántica* corresponds to the period between 1292 and 1322, when concubinary clerics were censured by excommunication.³ I have pointed out, however, that the *Cántica* presents a legal situation that never existed, according to which both concubinary clerics and concubinary laymen are to be excommunicated. The fact is that only clerics were to be excommunicated before 1322, and only laymen after 1322 (*CL* 83–84).

I should note too that Hernández has receded from his claim in his earlier article that the *cabildo* referred to in the *Cántica* is a gathering of the parochial clergy of the city of Talavera rather than, as I maintain, a gathering of the clergy of the collegiate of Santa María de Talavera. Now he says it is a gathering of the clergy of the whole archipresbyterate of

Talavera; but he has not mentioned or responded to my reasons against this view, especially the decisive point that the speakers in the *Cántica* are the collegiate dignitaries: the dean, the cantor, and the treasurer. The archipresbyteral chapter had no such officers.⁴

I have argued that the appearance of a Juan Ruiz Archpriest of Hita in 1330 is not in itself proof that he is the author of the *LBA* or that it was all written around 1330.⁵ I would express the same caution if a historical lawyer of Hita named Melón Ortiz were to turn up and be claimed as the author of the portion of the *LBA* that features Don Melón as narrator (stanzas 576–890). An alternative conclusion would be that the *LBA*, or part of it, is *about* the 1330 archpriest but written later, perhaps by another Juan Ruiz, who may even have been archpriest of Hita. It seems to have been a fairly frequent practice to reserve specific benefices for clerical relatives when appropriate. I have noted three cases of clerics named Juan Ruiz succeeding each other in the same benefice, and I add here a fourth: in 1387 *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, is granted a benefice in a parish church vacated by another *Johannes Roderici* on his becoming a canon and prebendary of Seville. I have pointed to what seems to have been a case of interrupted family interest in the Toledan archipresbyterate of Zorita. In 1369, the archpriest was Fernando Gómez de Pastrana, who was succeeded by Juan Lorenzo *de Vayello* (Bahillo) in 1370; but in 1382 another Fernando Gómez de Pastrana was archpriest. In 1351, the archpriest was Pedro Martínez de Sos, but in 1311 a Rodrigo Gómez de Pastrana served as the current archpriest's deputy.⁶ A similarly interrupted family succession may perhaps be observed in the holder of the vespers chair of canon law in the University of Valladolid: around 1376–78, it was held by Juan Ruiz, canon of Valladolid (no. 20 in my list below), and in 1416 it was held by Juan Ruiz de Bahillo.⁷

Two archpriests of Hita were named Pedro Fernández—if the “archpriest Pedro Fernández” who was Cardinal Albornoz's administrator in Hita in 1351 was archpriest *of Hita* (see *CL* 68), and if the Pedro Fernández who was archpriest of Hita in 1381 was a different, younger Pedro Fernández. One of the witnesses examined in January or February of 1381 at Medina del Campo concerning the election of Urban VI in the spring of 1378 is identified as *Petrus Fernandi archipresbiter de Hita diocesis Toletane*.⁸ He was probably already archpriest in 1378, since no change of status is noted.

Another reason for looking at a late date for the *LBA* is that there is no external reference to it that can be placed before the scribal date of the Gayoso manuscript, late July 1389, which remains the only definite *terminus ante quem*. In my book I note that the Don Ximio episode contains an expert citation of the conciliar legislation of 1322 against the keeping of concubines:

Otrosí le apongo que es descomulgado
 De mayor descomuni  n por costitu   n de legado,
 Porque tiene barragana p  blica, e es casado
 Con su muger do  a Loba, que mora en Vilforado. (stanza 337)

I suggest that the author may have been drawing on it in its renewed form as set forth by Cardinal Pedro de Luna in the legatine constitutions of 4 October 1388; here the cardinal introduces the legislation by citing the Psalm verse, "Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, in quibus non est intellectus," which is featured in the Introduction of the *LBA* (CL 84-85).

For these reasons, I have embarked on an examination of the papal registers of the 1380s, to see what they can tell us about Toledan archpriests and the ways in which they acquired and resigned their benefices, and also to develop a census of clerics named Juan Ruiz. In a recent article in *La Cor  nica*, I gave a hasty summary of the five Registers of Supplications that survive from the third and fourth years of the pontificate of Clement VII, which extended from 31 October 1380 to 30 October 1382.⁹ Here I will review my findings on archpriests and give a directory of the Juan Ruizes mentioned in the registers.

Archpriests of the Toledo Diocese, 1381-1382

The registers have a number of vague grants for "a benefice in the diocese of Toledo, even an archipresbyterate" (see, for example, RS 65:31, 55, 112, 115). There are five grants of "a rural archipresbyterate with or without cure at the conferral of the archbishop and chapter of Toledo," or similar wording (RS 62:48, 93v; 63:39, 55v, 100), and one for "an archipresbyterate, even if a cured and elected dignity, at the conferral of the archbishop of Toledo" (RS 63:83). But it would be a mistake to conclude from these standard curial formulas that there were any Toledan archipresbyterates that were uncured or that any was an elected dignity (though the archipresbyterate of Talavera may have been such).¹⁰ The instructions and schedules of Archbishop Tenorio in 1379 indicate that all of the archipresbyterates of the diocese required the same jurisdictional cure of souls (CL 46-49, 100-102).

In the late fourteenth century, there were twenty-one archipresbyterates in the six archdeaconries of the diocese (CL 47-48; see map below). The distribution was as follows:

- 1) One in the archdeaconry of Alcaraz: Alcaraz.
- 2) One in the archdeaconry of Calatrava: Calatrava.
- 3) Five in the archdeaconry of Guadalajara: Alcal  , Almoguera, Guadalajara, Hita, Zorita (Brihuega was a vicariate).

- 4) Four in the archdeaconry of Madrid: Buitrago, Madrid, Talamanca, Uceda.
- 5) Four in the archdeaconry of Talavera: Escalona, Maqueda, Santa Olalla, Talavera.
- 6) Six in the archdeaconry of Toledo: Canales, Illescas, La Guardia, Montalbán, Ocaña, Rodillas.



The registers yield specific information about the incumbents of seven of these archpresbyterates, as follows.

1. *Alcalá*: *Petrus Martini de Pastrana*, canon and prebendary of Seville, is granted the cured archpresbyterate of *Alcala de Fenares* in the diocese of Toledo, together with a certain benefice in the church of *Sancta Maria de Alcala* annexed to the archpresbyterate, vacated when the current archpriest, *Jo-*

- hannes Fernandi de Mora*, acquires the cathedral dignity of treasurer of Toledo. Martínez is allowed to keep his prestimonies and prestimonial portions in Seville (and presumably also his canonry and prebend). 19 July 1382. RS 64:124v. Mora was still archpriest on 23 August 1384 (Toledo, Arch. Cat. 0.10.B.1.16). See my "Juan Ruiz and Archpriests" (39).
2. *Almoguera: Pascasius Sancii*, in *Jure canonico proventus*,¹¹ archpriest of Almoguera, diocese of Toledo, is granted a canonry in Cuenca, with expectation of prebend and prestimonies and prestimonial portions, in addition to his holding two simple benefices in the diocese of Toledo and Cuenca and certain prestimonies. He is prepared to dismiss an expected vacant canonry of Cuenca (perhaps Cuenca is mistakenly put here for another diocese). 19 November 1381. RS 65:24.
 3. *La Guardia: Ludovicus Lupi*, portioner of Toledo, beneficed in *ecclesia Sancti Solis* in the city of Toledo, and archpriest of La Guardia, Toledo diocese, is granted a canonry with expectation of prebend, etc., in Toledo; he is prepared to dismiss his portion. Roll of the archbishop of Seville. 28 May 1381. RS 63:108.
 4. *Montalbán: Gundissalvus Roderici*, portioner of Toledo, is granted a canonry and expected prebend, etc., in Córdoba, worth 30 pounds, being ready to dismiss the cured archipresbyterate of Montalbán in the diocese of Toledo. Roll of Queen *Alionor* of Castile. 26 May 1381. RS 63:51.
 5. *Ocaña*: The archbishop of Toledo obtains confirmation for *Dominicus Andree* of the canonry and prebend of Toledo vacated by the death of *Petrus Fernandi de Mena* and conferred on *Dominicus*, then portioner of Toledo, by the archbishop and chapter, to whom the conferral pertained. The pope is asked to confirm the bestowal because it is asserted that *Petrus* was a chaplain of the Holy See. These benefices are to be held even though *Dominicus* possesses the cured archipresbyterate of *Ocaña* and a certain simple prestimony or benefice in the church of *Sanctus Petrus de Ocaña* in the diocese of Toledo. 31 August 1381. RS 61:119r-v.
 6. *Uceda: Petrus Fernandi*, cured archpriest of *Uzeda*, beneficed cleric in the church of *Sancta Maria* in the same place, diocese of Toledo, is granted a canonry with expected prebend, etc., in Segovia, in addition to his holding a certain simple office in the church of *Sancta Trinitas de Alcaram* in the same diocese. He is prepared to give up his prestimonial benefice of *Covena* (?), a half prestimonial of *Costlada*, and similar half of *Robadillo de la Mancha*, all in the Toledo diocese. Roll of the bishop of Avila. 30 May 1381. RS 63:43.
 7. *Zorita: Fernandus Gomecii de Pastrana*, archpriest of *Corita*, Toledo diocese, is granted a prestimonial benefice in the church of *Sancta Maria del Barco* in the diocese of Avila vacated by the contracted matrimony of *Petrus Fernandi alias Gundissalvi*, if enough time has elapsed that the conferral has devolved to the Apostolic See, or if it is generally or specially reserved. He will continue to hold a half prestimonial benefice in the church of *Sancta Maria de Piedra Fita* in the Avila diocese and the expectancy of a canonry and prebend, etc. in Palencia. 18 March 1382. RS 64:169r-v.

Persons named Juan Ruiz/Rodríguez, 1380–1382

I will list the occurrences of *Johannes Roderici* in the same five Registers of Supplications and in one of the Avignon Registers (no. 225) according to the dioceses that each is primarily associated with. I will refer also to Beltrán's *Bulario* (BS).¹²

ASTORGA

1. *Johannes Roderici*, rector of the church *de Petris Albis*, diocese of Astorga, is granted a canonry with expectation of prebend and with prestimonies and prestimonial portions of one, two, three, or more canons of the church of Astorga ceasing, deceasing, or otherwise dismissing, up to the sum of 30 pounds. 1 April 1381. RS 62:118.

See also no. 27.

AVILA

2. *Johannes Roderici de Alfaro*, treasurer of Avila, is granted a canonry and expectancy of prebend, etc., in Palencia, worth 50 pounds, notwithstanding his possession of whole portions in Seville and Avila and prestimonies, prestimonial portions, and simple benefices in Avila. He is prepared to dismiss four prestimonies in Osma. Roll of Queen *Alionor* of Castile. 26 May 1381. RS 63:47. On the previous day, according to a letter in RA 225:360–361, the pope, at the request of King Juan of Castile, appointed him canon of Avila, with reservation of prebend and other benefices worth a total of 40 pounds; he is to give up not only the four prestimonies of Osma but also the portion in Avila; his remaining benefices already possessed are valued at 100 pounds. The king's petition for him is summarized, without the 100 pounds valuation, in RS 63:115v (date of granting is missing). He seems not to have taken possession of the Palencia benefices, but he did become canon and prebendary of Avila, and the portion of Avila that he vacated in so doing was granted on 19 July 1382 to *Pascasius Sancii de Pastrana*, cleric of Toledo, *profectus in grammaticalibus et logicalibus*, in spite of his retaining an expectancy of a benefice with cure from the archbishop of Toledo. RS 64:125. (Note that this is a different Pascasio Sánchez from the canonist who is archpriest of Almoguera.)
3. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Avila (nephew of *Johannes Alfonsi de Yspania, utriusque Juris professor*), is granted an ecclesiastical benefice with or without cure at the conferral of the bishop of Avila. Roll of *Johannes Alfonsi de Yspania*. 19 October 1381. RS 63:73v.

See also nos. 22, 26.

BADAJOS

See no. 7.

BURGOS

4. *Johannes Roderici de Covanera*, priest of the Burgos diocese, familiar and continual commensal of *Lupus Roderici de Villalobos*, is granted the canonry and prebend, etc., of Seville to be vacated by *Lupus* on his attaining a prestimony and prestimonial portions in Palencia. *Johannes* is prepared to dismiss his canonry and prebend in the secular and collegiate church of *Sanctus Martinus de Scalada* and a prestimonial benefice in *Covanera*, diocese of Burgos. 17 November 1380. RS 61:10. (In its first appearance, the toponym is given as *Covenara*.) He may be the future archdeacon of *Trastamar* in the diocese of Compostela, dead by 1407 (BS 396).
5. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Burgos, *studens in grammaticalibus* at the University of Salamanca, is granted a portion in Burgos. 31 May 1381. RS 63:92. Probably the same as the following:
- 5A. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Burgos, *solaris in grammaticalibus et logicalibus*, who already has the grace of a whole portion in Burgos, is granted a canonry and prebend, etc., in the collegiate church of Covarrubias in the diocese of Burgos, vacated by *Petrus Fernandi de Valganñon* in acquiring a canonry in Burgos. 19 July 1382. RS 64:125v.
6. *Johannes Roderici de Medina de Pomar*, cleric of Burgos, *studens per triennium in Jure canonico* at the university of Salamanca, is granted a cured archipresbyterate at the conferral of the bishop of Burgos. 30 May 1381. RS 63.94.
7. *Johannes Roderici de Huydoblo*, cleric of Burgos, is granted the canonry and prebend, etc., in *Pasan*. (meaning *Pacen*., that is, Badajoz) vacated by *Lupus Roderici de Villalobos* on his acquiring a canonry and prebend of Toledo, at the request of *Lupus*. 19 October 1381. RS 61:165.
8. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Burgos, is to receive a whole portion in the collegiate church of *Sancta Maria Vernetensis*, Burgos diocese, at the conferral of the archdeacon and chapter of the said church. 5 July 1382. RS 65:197v.
9. *Johannes Roderici de Averco*, cleric of Burgos, is granted a canonry and expectation of prebend in the collegiate church of *Sancti Emeterius et Celedonius* (Santander) while keeping his patrimonial benefice in the church of *Sanctus Felix de Avero (sic)*, in the same diocese. 5 July 1382. RS 65:204.

See also nos. 20, 29, 41.

CÁDIZ

10. *Johannes Roderici de Alcala*, cleric of *Gadicen*. (Cádiz), is provided with a benefice with or without cure at the conferral of the archbishop of Seville. 13 November 1380. RS 62:3v.

See also no. 38.

CALAHORRA

See nos. 27, 40.

CIUDAD RODRIGO

See nos. 15, 27, cf. no. 40.

COMPOSTELA

11. *Johannes Roderici*, canon and prebendary of the collegiate church of *Sancta Maria de Yrea de Pedron*, diocese of Compostela, died in the Roman curia (that is, at Avignon), and his canonry and prebend, worth 15 pounds, are bestowed on *Alfonsus Sugerii de Pedron*, cleric of Compostela. 19 October 1381. RS 61:167.

See also no. 4.

CÓRDOBA

12. *Johannes Roderici*, perpetual portioner of Córdoba, at the petition of King Juan of Castile, is granted a canonry in Córdoba with expectation of prebend, etc., worth 30 pounds; he is to dismiss his half portion in Córdoba. 24 May 1381. RA 225:410r-v (see the table of contents, fol. 7v).¹³ Perhaps the same as no. 13.
13. *Johannes Roderici*, *socius* of Córdoba, is granted a canonry and expectancy of prebend, etc., in Córdoba; he will give up his half portion there. Roll of King Juan of Castile. May x October 1381. RS 63:115.
14. *Johannes Roderici*, half portioner of Córdoba, *studens in grammaticalibus* at the University of Salamanca, is granted one of the perpetual portions with prestimonies and prestimonial portions in Córdoba; he will give up his half portion. 31 May 1381. RS 63:93v.
15. *Johannes Roderici*, occupier of the canonry and prebend of Córdoba vacated by the bishop-elect of Ciudad Rodrigo and claimed by *Johannes Roderici de Bovadiella del Camino*, with whom he may be litigating. See no. 27 below.

See also no. 47.

CUENCA

16. *Johannes Roderici*, in the retinue of the bishop of Zamora (*Fernandus*), ambassador of King Juan of Castile to the Italian cardinals, submits a roll of requests for eighteen clerics, of whom seventeen are from Cuenca and one from Seville. Approved on 5 March 1381. RS 62:107r-v. Cf. the roll submitted by *Johannes Lupi*, cleric of Cuenca, *continuuus studens per sex annos in Jure canonico*, familiar and commensal of the ambassador bishop, for himself and nine other Cuenca clerics and one Burgos cleric, approved on 11 December 1380 (RS 62:19v-20).

See also nos. 34, 36, 37A.

EVORA

See no. 20.

JAÉN

17. *Johannes Roderici*, deacon of Jaén, is granted the portion of Seville vacated by *Gundisalvus Sancii de Astigia*, while keeping his two prestimonial portions in Jaén and a canonry and prebend in Jaén, over which he is litigating in the papal curia. 19 July 1382. RS 64:125.

See also no. 41.

OSMA

See no. 2.

OVIEDO

18. *Johannes Roderici de Grado*, priest of the Oviedo diocese, possessing an uncured benefice in the place called *Canta la Piedra* in the diocese of Salamanca, receives a further dispensation from his illegitimate birth, enabling him to hold a cathedral canonry and rights of exchange; he as yet holds no degree but intends to pursue his studies until he becomes a bachelor in canon law (*bacallarius in decretis*). 27 June 1382. RS 64:187v.¹⁴
19. *Johannes Roderici de Villar*, cleric of Oviedo, is granted a benefice at the conferral of the bishop and chapter of Oviedo. 5 July 1382. RS 65:200v.

PALENCIA (including Valladolid)

20. *Johannes Roderici*, subdeacon, canon and prebendary of the collegiate church of *Sancta Maria de Valleoleti*, diocese of Palencia, *provectus in utroque Jure*, ruled the *cathedra de scientia canonic[a]* in the University of Valladolid for two years at the vespers hour, and in the following year at the hour of prime, but was unable to continue the said *lectura* because of grave illness; he is to have a dignity with canonry and prebend in Burgos, the grant to be predated to the day on which the pope first took up residence in Avignon; or a similar grant in Evora or Porto. Roll of *Sancta Maria de Valleoleti*. 13 November 1380. RS 62:28v–29 (given in BS 1415, except for the addendum about Evora and Porto). A similar supplication was made in the roll of the University of Valladolid, RS 63:62v, which was approved on 31 May 1381. As stated here, he ruled the *cathedra in facultate canonum* for two years at the vespers hour and in the following year at the doctoral hour. A dignity in Burgos is requested (and granted) under date of the recently granted canonry and expected prebend.¹⁵ Cf. RA 225:436–437: *Johannes Roderici*, canon of Valladolid, subdeacon, *in utroque Jure provectus*, who has lectured on canon law for three years, is granted a canonry with

reservation of prebend and dignity in Burgos. Granted 23 April 1381, but expedited only on 7 April 1394! In RS 66:90, under date of 24 May 1383, while expecting his dignity in Burgos, he is granted the canonry and other benefices in Segovia worth 60 florins originally granted to *Petrus Roderici* but now allegedly vacated by his contracting of marriage. *Johannes* is here described as *provectus in Jure canonico et qui per triennium Jura civilia audivit*. He also has a chaplaincy called *de Liegauto* (?) and a prestimonial portion in the church of *Sancta Maria de Ecclesia Rubra* in the diocese of Palencia.

21. *Johannes Roderici de Sassamon*, canon of Valladolid, has a dignity without cure and other benefices reserved for him in the same church (*Sancta Maria de Valleleti*), worth 40 pounds, in spite of his canonry and prebend in Valladolid and some prestimonial portions in the diocese of Sigüenza (?) worth 6 pounds. 25 May 1381. RA 225:424r–v.
22. *Johannes Roderici*, canon and prebendary of the secular and collegiate church of *Sancta Maria de Valleleti*, is to have a dignity there in spite of holding three prestimonial portions worth 15 pounds in the diocese of Palencia. Roll of the bishop of Avila. 30 May 1381. RS 63:42v.
23. *Johannes Roderici de Poetrella*, cleric of Palencia, *studens in grammaticibus* at the University of Salamanca, is to receive a canonry and expectation of prebend in the church of *Sancta Maria de Valleleti*. 31 May 1381. RS 63:93v.
24. *Johannes Roderici*, deacon, canon and prebendary of *Sancta Maria de Valleleti*, *scolaris in Jure canonico* at the University of Valladolid, is granted a canonry of Segovia with expected prebend, while keeping several prestimonial portions of Palencia. 31 May 1381. RS 63:63r–v.
25. *Johannes Roderici de Vallid.* (Valladolid?),¹⁶ cleric of the diocese of Palencia, *scolaris in Jure canonico* at the University of Valladolid, is granted a canonry and prebend, etc., in Salamanca. 31 May 1381. RS 63:63v.
26. *Johannes Roderici*, canon of *Sancta Maria de Valleleti*, is granted a canonry and prebend, etc., in Avila, if vacancies occur on 22 April or later in the pope's fourteenth year, 1392 (sic), notwithstanding his canonry, prebend, and *cantoria* in Valladolid, and prestimonial portions in Palencia and Avila. Granted 2 June 1381, expedited 24 June 1381. RA 225:463r–v. In the rubrics of RA 225, fol. 8, the grant is said to be of a canonry in Sigüenza, and in the Montroy Index, vol. 631, fol. 129, the canonry is said to be in Segovia.
27. *Johannes Roderici de Bovadiella [Bobadilla] del Camino*, cleric of Palencia, familiar and continual commensal of *Frater Angelus*, bishop of Pesaro, receives at the bishop's request the canonry, prebend, etc., of Córdoba vacated by the newly consecrated bishop of *Civitatensis* (Ciudad Rodrigo), even if the canonry and prebend and some of the prestimonies and prestimonial portions are detained by a certain *Johannes Roderici* and the other

prestimonies and prestimonial portions are detained by others (who are to be considered as explicitly named here), and even if litigation has been set in motion against the said *Johannes*; notwithstanding his grace of a canonry and prebend, etc., in Palencia, even if he has accepted it through his proctor but not yet taken possession. 18 February 1382. RS 64.46v. Bishop *Angelus* (Angelo Feducci da Bibbiena) put in a second petition for his commensal, whom he now also calls *secretarius*, granted on 29 October 1382 (RS 64:173), asking for him the canonry and prebend of Astorga vacated by the promotion of *Johannes Fernandi* to the bishopric of Calahorra; he could continue to hold canonries and prebends of Córdoba and Palencia, concerning which however he is still in doubt as to whether he has right to them (*de quibus adhuc dubitat an habeat jus in eisdem*). In 1388, he seems secure in his possession of a canonry and prebend of Palencia, and he is litigating over the canonry and prebend of Astorga, but he now releases it to *Luppus Gundissalvi* in exchange for other benefices in Astorga (granted 26 November 1388). He possesses three prestimonies and prestimonial portions in Córdoba, but no longer claims the canonry and prebend there (perhaps having lost out to Juan Ruiz no. 15). He is still litigating over prestimonies in Palencia and Burgos. RS 67:182r-v. In 1394, another *Johannes Roderici de Bobadilla*, subdeacon, canon of Valladolid, advanced in canon law, student for four or five years in civil law, lecturer for two years in canon law, is granted benefices worth 80 pounds in Toledo (BS 1424.8) and a canonry with promise of prebend and dignity in Burgos (BS 1426).

28. *Johannes Roderici de Villasendino*, perpetual chaplain of Palencia, is granted a benefice with or without cure, even an archipresbyterate, at the conferral of the bishop of Palencia, in spite of his holding a prestimonial benefice. 24 February 1382. RS 65:54.

See also nos. 2, 35, 41, 46.

PLASENCIA

See no. 35.

PORTO

See no. 20.

SALAMANCA

29. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Salamanca diocese, is granted a whole portion of Burgos. Roll of *Rodericus Bernaldi*, "auditor of the audience"¹⁷ of the king of Castile. 27 May 1381. RS 63:74.

See also nos. 6, 13, 18, 23, 25, 43, 44.

SEGOVIA

See no. 24; cf. no. 26.

SEVILLE

30. *Johannes Roderici*, deacon of Seville, is granted a whole portion, prestimonies, and prestimonial portions in Seville worth 30 pounds; he will give up his expectation of a secular benefice at the conferral of the archbishop of Seville. Roll of Queen *Alionor* of Castile. 26 May 1381. RS 63:53v.
31. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, familiar of *Rodericus Bernaldi*, the king's auditor (on whose roll the petition appears), is granted a half portion and prestimonies and prestimonial portions in Seville and absolution for having adhered to *Bartholomeus*, the papal pretender (Urban VI). 27 May 1381. RS 63:74. May be the same as the following:
- 31A. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, is absolved for adhering to Urban VI and is granted a perpetual half portion with prestimonies and prestimonial portions in Seville. Roll of *Johannes de Rojas*, ambassador of the king of Castile. 30 May 1381. RS 63:111v. (Cf. no. 35 below.)
32. *Johannes Roderici de Xericio* (Jerez), priest of the Seville diocese, is granted an ecclesiastical benefice with or without cure at the conferral of the archbishop of Seville. 28 May 1381. RS 63:9. In 1387, he is identified as a former familiar of the Cardinal of Marmoutier; he exchanges a portion of Seville (which he has not yet taken possession of) for a benefice in the church of *Sanctus Vincentius* in the city of Seville; each is worth 30 pounds (RS 70:154v).
33. *Nobilis vir Johannes Roderici de Foyos*, cleric of Seville, is granted a canonry of Seville with expectations of prebend, etc. Roll of the archbishop of Seville. 28 May 1381. RS 63:108v.
34. *Johannes Roderici*, beneficed in *ecclesiis de Alauis* (or *Alanis*) in the diocese of Seville, is granted a canonry and expectation of prebend, etc., in Cuenca. Roll of the archbishop of Seville. 28 May 1381. RS 63:109.
35. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, is absolved for adhering to Urban VI, and is granted a canonry of Plasencia and expectation of prebend, prestimonies, and prestimonial portions as vacated by the death of one, two, or more ceasing, deceasing, or otherwise dismissing, up to the sum of 30 pounds. Roll of *Fernandus Sancii de Moya*, Castellan of the Rock of the papal city of Ancona. 12 December 1381. RS 65:61v.¹⁸
36. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, is granted the half portion of Seville which will, it is hoped, be vacated in the papal curia by *Nicolaus Roderici* on assuming a whole portion in Seville; *Johannes* is prepared to dismiss his expectancy of another half portion. 12 December 1381. Roll of the Castellan of Ancona. RS 65:62v. A similar petition was granted a few days later, on 21 December 1381. RS 64:11v. A *Nicolaus Roderici* was granted a half portion of Seville six months earlier, on 31 May 1381, being allowed to keep a simple benefice in the church of *Sanctus Johannes de Castro Garssie Munionis*, Cuenca diocese. Roll of the University of Salamanca. RS 63:90.

Six years later, *Nicolaus* still had not made his expected move, and a *Sanctus Sancti de Xericio* was granted the right to his to-be-vacated half portion. 31 August 1387. RS 70:223.

37. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, is granted a perpetual half portion in Seville with prestimonies and prestimonial portions worth 30 pounds. Roll of the Castellan of Ancona. 12 December 1381. RS 65:62v. May be the same as the following:
- 37A. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, is granted a perpetual whole portion in Cuenca vacated in the papal curia when *Nicolaus Sancti* obtains a canonry and prebend in Cuenca; *Johannes* will retain his expectancy of a half portion in Seville. 19 July 1382. RS 64:124v. A similar entry, with the addition of a prestimonial portion in the church of *Sancta Trinitas de Ucles*, Cuenca diocese, appears on fol. 95v among petitions granted on 5 July 1382.
38. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, is granted an ecclesiastical benefice with or without cure at the conferral of the bishop of Cádiz. 14 April 1382. RS 65:105v.
39. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Seville, is granted an ecclesiastical benefice with or without cure at the conferral of the archbishop of Seville. 5 July 1382. RS 65:195.

See also nos. 2, 4, 10, 15, 17, 47.

SIGÜENZA

40. *Johannes Rodigo (sic)*, canon and prebendary of *Civitas Rodigo* in the diocese of Sigüenza, is granted a canonry with expectation of prebend in Calahorra at the conferral of the bishop, dean, and chapter there. 25 February 1381. RS 62:81v.
41. *Johannes Roderici de Castromocho*, bishop of Sigüenza, 20 August 1381 to 29 October 1382. Doubtless a cleric of Palencia (Castromocho is a town about fifteen miles west of Palencia), he was cantor of Palencia at the beginning of 1378, and named bishop of Jaén by Urban VI soon after the latter's election in April 1378. On 29 October 1382 he became bishop of Palencia, where he remained until his death in 1396.¹⁹ He is probably the Bishop *Johannes* of Sigüenza whose request for *Petrus Roderici*, cleric of Palencia, son of the *nobilis miles Johannes Mansi de Valleoleti, scholaris in Jure canonico*, to receive the canonry and prebend of Segovia vacated by the death of the cardinal of Milan was granted on 18 September 1381 (RS 61:146v). His predecessor as bishop was *Johannes Garcia Manrique*, who on 20 August 1381 became bishop of Burgos (cf. no. 48 below).

See also no. 21; cf. no. 26.

TOLEDO

See nos. 2, 7, 44, 46.

ZAMORA

42. *Johannes Roderici, tabelio* (scribe) of the king, is father of *Alfonsus Roderici*, cleric of Zamora, who is granted a canonry and prebend in Zamora. Roll of *Fernandus*, brother of King Juan of Castile. 1 June 1381. RS 63:54v.

See also no. 16.

(See below for nos. 43-49.)

The Juan Ruizes listed here have little or no ostensible connection with the diocese of Toledo. Any roll of supplications submitted by the archbishop of Toledo at this time has not survived. Some pertinent information may still be forthcoming from the six Avignon registers of Clement's third and fourth years that I have not examined (vols. 226-227 and 228-231), and from all of the remaining registers of subsequent years, to tie one or other of these persons to Toledo or to the *LBA*, especially perhaps the five canonists (nos. 6, 14, 20, 24, 25), one of them (no. 6) an aspiring archpriest. One should also keep an eye on Juan Ruiz no. 3, nephew of a professor of canon and civil law, Alfonso Ruiz de Hispania. Earlier registers will also yield fruit: for instance, the grant of a Toledo prebend to a canon-law student at Bologna named Juan Ruiz de Espinosa in January 1380, Clement's second year (see no. 46 below).

We must remember, however, that the geographical locations of the benefices named often had little or no bearing on the holders' spheres of activity. The canonries, portions, and other uncured cathedral or collegiate posts did not necessarily require residence; and as for cured benefices like archipresbyterates, rectorships (pastorates of churches), and most cathedral and collegiate dignities, permission could be sought to permit the necessary duties to be done by vicars, "officials," or deputies. One can assume that in most cases nonresidence would mean a sacrifice of income and perquisites. In a petition approved on 16 March 1387 a cleric of the Sigüenza diocese named *Pascasinus Roderici*, who already possessed several prestimonies and portions in Toledo and Jaén, was granted a portion in Toledo worth 20 pounds *residendo*: meaning that he had to reside in the Toledo capitular precincts for the portion to produce this amount. The fact that this was stipulated in the petition undoubtedly indicated that the petitioner intended to become a resident.²⁰ When a cleric had multiple benefices he clearly could not tend to them all personally, but would have to work out whatever *modus vivendi* would produce the greatest advantages in income, occupation, and convenience.

It is likely that many of the clerics who appear on the petition rolls of patrons were members of the patrons' retinue, familiars or commensals or at least hangers-on of some sort or other who resided with them or in

their vicinity. To appear at all in the papal registers argues a certain level of patronage or "political" connection. But exactly what the connections were usually remains obscure. How, for instance, could the bishop of Avila confidently petition that Pedro Fernández, the Toledan archpriest of Uceda, should be given a canonry and prebend in Segovia? Did the bishop or the archpriest have some claim in the cathedral chapter of Segovia? Was some reciprocation expected? We do not know; but it does seem fairly clear that all seven of the Toledan archipresbyterates dealt with in the registers of 1381-1382 were being used as steppingstones in arriving at suitable clerical livings by accumulation and exchange.

One of the most interesting figures noted above is Lope Ruiz de Villalobos, the patron of Juan Ruiz no. 4 and Juan Ruiz no. 7. Lope Ruiz's first entry in these registers is in a petition that he makes for himself and a kinsman, the noble Pedro López de Ayala, and Juan Ruiz no. 4, approved on 17 November 1380 (RS 61:10). Lope Ruiz here identifies himself as a baron and bachelor in canon law (*Baro, Bacallarius in decretis*) and canon and prebendary of Palencia. He asks for himself the prestimony of *Casra* in the Badajoz diocese vacated by *Dominicus Fernandi del Casuello*'s acquiring a canonry and prebend of Cuenca. Lope Ruiz also has canonries and prebends in Toledo and Badajoz and prestimonies and prestimonial portions in the city and diocese of Badajoz and the grace of prestimonies and prestimonial portions to be vacated in the church, city, and diocese of Palencia, and also a canonry of Seville with expectation of prebend, prestimonies, and prestimonial portions. He is prepared to give up the prestimonial benefice of *Posuella* in the diocese of Toledo and two portions in Osma and also the right (*Jus*) he has in the canonry, prebend, prestimonies, and prestimonial portions in the church, city, and diocese of Seville, as he has promised to do before. We have seen that in this same petition he asked for his right to the Seville complex of benefices to be granted to his commensal Juan Ruiz no. 4 (which it was); and a year later Juan Ruiz no. 7 was granted at his request the canonry, etc., of Badajoz, which Lope Ruiz gave up on becoming canon and prebendary of Toledo. This does not square with the above statement in 1380 that he possesses both Toledo and Badajoz packages. His original statement must have indicated that his acquisition of the Toledo complex was not entirely settled at the time. At the beginning of 1382, we will see, his clerical self-identification is not "canon of Palencia" but "canon of Toledo."

One might conjecture that Lope Ruiz was related to one or both of the Juan Ruizes in his patronage,²¹ but the summaries of his petitions do not say so, unlike the summary of his petition for his *consanguineus*, the noble *Petrus Lupi de Ayala*, cleric, when he asks that *Petrus* be given the canonry, prebend, prestimonies, and prestimonial portions of Seville vacated by the death of *Rodericus Alvari* outside the papal curia. *Rodericus*

is identified as the collector of fruits of the Apostolic Camera, and Lope Ruiz says that the archbishop of Seville had unjustly deprived *Rodericus* of the said benefices and bestowed them on others, who now unrightfully detain them. His request that they be given to *Petrus* was granted (RS 61:10). Earlier in 1380, on 19 July, the request of Baron Lope Ruiz was granted for *Johannes Alfonsi, studens in legibus* in the fourth year of his *auditio*, for a canonry, etc., in Seville (RS 60:95v, given in BS 156).²² On 29 January 1381, another request of the *nobilis baro* was granted for *Paschasius Roderici, scholaris in Jure canonico*, for the archdeaconry of Ubeda in Jaén, together with canonry and prebend, vacated by the death of *Alvarus Lupi*, chaplain of the Apostolic See, notwithstanding *Paschasius's* one and a half prestimonial portions in Toledo (RS 61:42).²³ In a petition granted a year later, on 25 January 1382, the noble baron, now styling himself canon of Toledo, had his request granted for a servitory benefice without cure for *Gundissalvus Roderici*, who had the same name as the current archpriest of Montalbán; but this Gonsalvo Ruiz was not yet so well placed, being merely beneficed in the church of San Martín de Volulos in the diocese of Seville, not counting the new benefice in the church of *Sanctus Nicolaus* in Córdoba, expected to be vacated by the impending consecration of the bishop-elect of Ciudad Rodrigo, *Ferrandus Sancii de Ped[r]osa* (RS 64:42). A month earlier, on 13 December 1381, the roll of Lope Ruiz requesting benefices for five clerics was approved (RS 65:32v): *Johannes Alvares*, cleric of Salamanca, is to become a canon of Salamanca; *Dominicus Gundissalvi*, archdeacon of *Xerecio* in the diocese of Seville, is to become a canon of Seville; *Gundissalvus Nunii*, cleric of Osma, Lope's familiar and continual commensal, is to become canon of Segovia; *Martinus Luppi*, cleric of Burgos, will be a canon of León; and finally, *Johannes Gundissalvi de Palina, proventus in Jure canonico*, who is already canon and prebendary both of Burgos and Palencia, is promised a dignity in Palencia, in spite of holding, in the dioceses of Burgos, León, and Palencia, prestimonies and prestimonial portions, (a benefice or benefices) in *Olmos*,²⁴ and also the *Archipresbiteratus curatus de Bilforado*, which he will give up.

On 29 October 1382, Lope Ruiz de Villalobos, canon of Toledo, still only a cleric (that is, not yet having taken major orders, and still capable of marriage), succeeded Juan Ruiz no. 41 as bishop of Sigüenza—the diocese immediately bordering on the archpresbyterate of Hita. In the role of bishop, of course, he would have taken on a much larger retinue and would have been able to hand out many benefices on his own without having recourse to the pope. He remained in his episcopal office until his death in Saragossa on 21 June 1388.²⁵

The presence of the archpriest of Bilforado, along with two Juan Ruizes, in the entourage of Lope Ruiz de Villalobos may provide the hint of a con-

nection with the *LBA*; for Bilforado in the diocese of Burgos is the Vilforado where, as we have seen, Doña Loba lived with El Lobo. Perhaps there is a play here on the name of Lope Ruiz: "Wolf of Wolftown." The current archpriest of La Guardia was also a "son of Wolf"—*Lupi*, that is, López. Another López was beneficed in a church of Hita and beginning his move up the clerical ladder.²⁶

It is tempting to think that Bilforado was chosen because of some connection with the Villalobos family. There is in fact a nearby peak called Lobos, at least near the modern town of Belorado.²⁷ But the Villalobos nobility took their name from the Contado de Villalobos surrounding the still existing town of Villalobos north of Zamora, in the diocese of León. However, the Señoría of Villalobos was bestowed out of the male line in 1368, and the ranking nobleman of the name thereafter was Juan Ruiz de Villalobos, Señor de Matamorisca (no. 48 below). One of his brothers was Lope Ruiz de Villalobos, Señor de Restocia, who married Inés García de Toledo, daughter of Diego García de Toledo, alguacil mayor of Toledo, and niece of Blas Fernández, archbishop of Toledo from 1353 to 1362. They may have been the parents of our Lope Ruiz de Villalobos.²⁸ As for Hita, the Señoría de Hita y Buitrago was held by Juana Ruiz in the middle of the thirteenth century, and her marriage to Lope Iñiguez de Orozco brought it into the "López de Orozco" family; her granddaughter, Juana de Orozco, in marrying Gonzalo Ibáñez de Mendoza, brought it into "López de Mendoza" family. It was bestowed by Enrique II on their son Pedro González de Mendoza (brother-in-law of Pedro López de Ayala, the future chancellor), who passed it to his son, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (the future admiral), and he to his son, Iñigo López de Mendoza (the future Marqués de Santillana).²⁹

These names and relationships suggest the possibility that at least a part of the *Libro de buen amor* was written by a learned canonist for an audience of fellow jurists in the 1380s; and the presence of a Pedro López de Ayala brings us into the *cuaderna vía* world of the *Rimado de palacio*, which, like the *LBA*, introduces the long line of 8 + 8 syllables.³⁰ In its account of a lawyer's prolonging of his client's case the *Rimado* mentions only canon-law codes: "decretales, clementinas" (v. 318b), and cites only one commentator by name, namely, the author of *Novella*: "Y sera don Johan Andrés e yo con el mucho presto" (v. 327d).³¹ The earliest alleged indication of use or knowledge of the *LBA* is in a poem addressed to Pedro López de Ayala in the *Cancionero de Baena*, namely, number 305: *Desir de Pero Ferrus a Pero Lopes de Ayala*.³² I note for possible future reference the similarity between the poet's name and that of the archpriest of Hita in 1381, *Pero Ferrandes* (I note too that the latter was also the name of the contemporary archpriest of Uceda, and that the archpriests of Ocaña and Zorita replaced clerics of this same name in their benefices).

The date of the poem cannot be fixed with certainty, and there may be some doubt about which Pedro López de Ayala is being addressed. The latter name provides a good example of repetition over several generations. The main instances known to historians are as follows:

Pedro López de Ayala I (d. ca. 1330), adelantado mayor of Murcia.

Pedro López de Ayala II (1332-1407), grandson of I, alcalde mayor of Toledo, chancellor of Castile.

Pedro López de Ayala III, second son of II, first Conde de Fuensalida, alcalde mayor of Toledo (1398-1448), married Elvira, daughter of Juan Ruiz de Castañeda (no. 49 below) in 1400.³³

Pedro López de Ayala IV, son of III, alcalde mayor of Toledo in 1454.

Pedro López de Ayala V, son of IV.³⁴

Pedro López de Ayala VI, second cousin once removed of V (great-grandson of Fernán Pérez de Ayala, first son of II), Conde de Salvatierra.³⁵

Franco Merregalli notes that Pedro II at one point was called *el viejo* to distinguish him from Pedro III, and that Pedro IV was also called *el viejo* to distinguish him from Pedro V; he raises the question of whether the reference by Juan Alfonso de Baena in the 1440s to *Pero Lopes de Ayala el viejo* may likewise have been intended to designate Pedro III rather than Pedro II.³⁶ As it is normally taken, we have to accept the notion that the young poet Ferrán Sánchez de Talavera (he died after 1443) would have been able with justified confidence to address a theological question in new-style verse to the old chancellor and get a reply in the same form. Pero Lopes concludes his reply by quoting several stanzas from the *Rimado de palacio*, which he clearly treats as the work of an author other than himself; he says that when Sánchez's question arrived he was reading a book that had some verses in old-fashioned rhyme that pleased him greatly:

Dexado este estilo assy començado,
quierovos, amigo, de me confesar
que quando vuestro escripto me fue presentado,
leyera un libro do fuera fallar
versetes algunos de antigo rrymar,
de los quales luego mucho me pague,
e sy son rrudos, a vos rogare
que con paçençia vos plegua escuchar.³⁷

Unlike the *Libro de buen amor*, the *Rimado de palacio* does not have a named speaker or speakers. The scribe of the Madrid manuscript (middle

of the fifteenth century) was romancing when he said that it was composed in prison in *England* by “el onrrado cavallero Pero Lopes de Ayala”;³⁸ if he was right about the name of the author, the caballero in question may have had collaborators, one or other of them perhaps of the same name.

The Pedro López de Ayala who was canon of Seville in 1380 and cousin of Lope Ruiz de Villalobos could only correspond to Pedro III, of the six persons of the name listed above. But Pedro VI's distant relationship to the others reminds us that the canon of Seville could have belonged to a collateral branch of the family. If, however, he is indeed Pedro II's son, he is like his father in having followed the clerical life for a while before marrying. Since there is no request of a dispensation for being under the canonical age of fourteen when granted cathedral benefices *sine cura*,³⁹ it is likely that he had passed the limit. It is true that the two papal letters of 1342 appointing Pedro II canon of Palencia and Toledo make no mention of his youth (he was only ten years old); but doubtless the customary dispensation had already been given when he was given his earlier benefice of a portion in Toledo.⁴⁰

In the Medina del Campo hearing of 1380–1381, where Cardinal Pedro de Luna was supporting the Avignonese pope Clement VII, the *nobilis vir Petrus de Ayala miles* (our Pedro II) was noted as present (on 26 November).⁴¹ When the cardinal succeeded Clement as Pope Benedict XIII, Pedro II put in a petition for five of his clerical retainers, which was granted on 25 October 1394; one of the clerics is identified as his nephew, namely, the noble Juan Alvarez de Toledo (who gets a canonry in Toledo), but at least two of the others were probably also kinsmen: Diego Ramírez, *nobilis de Guzman*, and the noble Rodrigo Diego de Ayala, cleric of Calahorra (RS 88:215–216, in *BS* 287). Just before this, on 11 October, Pedro II represented the king of Castile along with Doctor Juan Ruiz, a prominent jurist and statesman, at the pope's coronation. In him and a protégé we find two more entries for our list of Juan Ruizes active in 1380–82, and I will add others derived from the above discussion:

43. *Johannes Roderici, legum doctor* (doctor of Roman civil law) and *theatralicus* of the University of Salamanca, regidor of the city of Salamanca, caballero de la Banda. He would clearly have attained some eminence by 1380. He was ambassador of Juan I in 1389, and accompanied Pedro López de Ayala II as ambassador to the new pope in 1394, representing Enrique III; he served as councillor to Enrique and to Juan II. Beltrán I:60, 63, 67, 472.

44. *Johannes Roderici*, cleric of Salamanca, who has continuously labored for six years and more in canon law at Salamanca, is granted a canonry and expectation of prebend, etc., in Toledo, at the request of Doctor Juan Ruiz, ambassador of the king (no. 43), 18 February 1389. RS 76:39–41, in *BS* no. 188. He appears third on the ambassador's roll (out of 31), and Beltrán con-

jectures that he is the ambassador's son (1:472 n. 1). His canonistic studies must have begun in 1382 or even 1381.

45. *Frater Johannes Roderici, episcopus de Neopatrás*, one of the witnesses testifying at Medina del Campo ca. February 1381.⁴² Perhaps the same as the following:
- 45A. *Johannes Ruiz de Reyo*, Augustinian friar, provided as archbishop of *Neopa(c)ten. (Naupactus, Lepanto)* by Jacobus de Itro, Patriarch of Constantinople (1376 to 1379), and then by Clement VII on 7 August 1382.⁴³
46. *Johannes Roderici de Spinosa (Espinosa)*, cleric of the diocese of Palencia, student in canon law at Bologna, is granted a (canonry and) prebend in Toledo, being prepared to give up his benefice in the church of San Esteban de Cenicienco (probably the modern Cenicientos) in the diocese of Toledo. 18 January 1380, second year of Clement VII. RS 57:35.⁴⁴
47. *Johannes Roderici*, priest of Córdoba at the Spanish College of Bologna, receives a (canonry and) prebend in Seville, while retaining his benefice in the church of San Román, Seville. 18 January 1380. RS 57:35.⁴⁵
48. Juan Ruiz de Villalobos, Ricohombre, Señor de Matamorisca, active from 1332 to 1398. The name Juan was new to the house of Villalobos; he was named in honor of his maternal uncle, Juan García Manrique, adelantado mayor of Castile. He was among the grandes who confirmed the bestowal of the Señoría of Hita and Buitrago on Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (nephew of Pedro López de Ayala II) in 1380. He had three illegitimate sons; he was probably uncle of Lope Ruiz de Villalobos, canon of Toledo and bishop of Sigüenza.⁴⁶
49. Juan Ruiz de Castañeda I, Ricohombre, Señor de Fuentidueña, died in the 1385 Portuguese campaign. Nephew of Garci Laso de la Vega (adelantado mayor of Castile); his son Ruy González, who had holdings in Villalobos, married Sancha, daughter of Pedro López de Ayala II, and his daughter Elvira married Pedro III in 1400.⁴⁷

I should add that in the Registers of Supplications for Clement VII's sixth through eleventh years (1383–1389), namely, volumes 66–76, I have found twenty-two more persons named Juan Ruiz. I will report on them in detail at a later time.

I have demonstrated that there was an abundance of Juan Ruizes in the early years of the decade in which the *Libro de buen amor* first definitely came to light, any one of which had a potential interest in or connection with the author (or narrator) of the poem. I do not claim to have established any certain interest or connection; I am merely adding to our stockpile of data and enlarging our range of plausible hypotheses. But I hope that I have succeeded in casting doubt on the principle of parsimony, or "Ockham's razor," as a reliable means of arriving at the truth in questions

of authorship. In this complicated life, sometimes the simplest solutions are not the right ones. I trust that further historical research will continue to enlarge the horizon of possibilities about the time and circumstances of the production of the *Libro de buen amor* and perhaps demonstrate that it is coeval with the *Rimado de palacio*.

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NOTES

1. H. A. Kelly, *Canon Law and the Archpriest of Hita*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 27 (Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, SUNY, 1984).

2. Francisco J. Hernández, "The Venerable Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita," *La Corónica* 13 (1984-85) 10-22.

3. Idem, "Juan Ruiz y otros arciprestes, de Hita y aldaños," *La Corónica* 16.2 (Spring 1988), 1-31, esp. 7-11.

4. H. A. Kelly, "Archpriests, Apostles, and Episcopal Epistles," *La Corónica* 14 (1985-86) 1-5. My argument about the presence of an archpriest in the collegiate chapter is properly noted by G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny in his edition of the *LBA* (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1988), p. 11, and also by Barry Taylor in his judicious review of *CL* in the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 64 (1987), 143. I should note that the *Forma visitationis* that Hernández edits on pp. 20-23 seems to be intended for episcopal rather than archipresbyteral visitations; see the eighth provision, p. 21: "alias autem dominus episcopus attendat," etc. But it does specify the sort of concerns that archpriests as well as bishops were to have for their charges. On p. 5 Hernández speaks of archdeacons delegating their duties to archpriests; but the usual practice was for the "official" of the archdeacon to perform all such duties. The notion put forth on p. 15, that the archbishop had a vicar to represent his interests in each archipresbyterate, needs substantiation. The archpriest of Buitrago referred to on p. 16 should be Alfonso Fernández or Ferrández, not Pérez (see *CL* 63 and 161 n. 162). Finally, on p. 26 n. 22 he joins me in saying (on p. 41 of my article published in the same issue of *La Corónica*, cited in n. 5 below) that the "Toledan archpriest" of the 1190s identified as "S." was Simeno/Ximeno/Jimeno Cayetano (as opposed to Sancho). But on rechecking the documents I conclude now that neither Simeno nor Sancho is clearly identified as *S. archipresbiter toletanus*.

5. H. A. Kelly, "Juan Ruiz and Archpriests: Novel Reports," *La Corónica* 16.2 (Spring 1988) 32-54, esp. 33 and 48-49. In "Juan Ruiz y otros arciprestes," p. 24 n. 5, Hernández refers approvingly to Martín Riquer, "La cuarésima el Arcipreste de Hita y el problema del *Libro de buen amor*," *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune* (Gembloux 1969) 1:511-521, finding the argument convincing that the Lent described in *LBA* is that of 1329. But, apart from the fact that Riquer excludes consideration of all dates after 1343, his case is contradicted by the *LBA*'s Easter season: Riquer's dating would make the Quasimodo Sunday of stanza 1315 fall on 30 April, well after the subsequent action of stanza 1321, which falls on the feast-day of St. Mark, 25 April. See the edition of Jacques Joset, 2 vols. (Madrid 1974), note to line 1210a. Joset himself in a new book, *Nuevas investigaciones sobre el "Libro de buen amor"* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988) 23, professes to approve of what "filólogos algo más profesionales," namely, Peter Linehan and Steven Kirby, have said against my conclusions, including my reading of stanza 1152. But their interpretation of this stanza requires the emendation of *Novela* to *novelo* and the change of *Decretorio* to *decretorio* or *repertorio*; Joset should have ratified his approval by adding these changes to his list of corrections to his edition (148-50). For my response to Linehan and Kirby, see 43-48 of the article cited at the beginning of this note.

6. For the Seville case, see Register of Supplications vol. 70 (ninth year of Clement VII), fol. 105: *Johannes Roderici* is granted a benefice without cure in the parish church of *Sanctus Romanus* in the city of Seville, worth 25 pounds, vacated by *Johannes Roderici* (Juan Ruiz no. 47), while giving up his expectation of a whole portion in Seville. Granted 30 March 1387. For the other four cases, see "Juan Ruiz and Archpriests," 34, 38. For Rodrigo Gómez de Pastrana, see Hernández, "Juan Ruiz y otros," 14.

7. See Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Bulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1219-1549)*, Acta salmanticensia 12-14 (Salamanca 1966-67), 1:233, 242, and documents nos. 1415.3 and 1442. Henceforth the documents will be cited "BS 1415.3," etc. See also the Juan Ruiz de Bobadilla who lectured in canon law ca. 1392-1394, cited under Juan Ruiz no. 27. A Juan Ruiz held the vespers chair in medicine in 1406-1407 (Beltrán 1:159).

8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 11745, fol. 231; cf. fol. 161v: *Petrus Fernandi Archipresbiter de Fita Tolletan. dioc.* See Michael Seidlmayer, *Die Anfänge des grossen abendländischen Schismas*, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 2.5 (Münster 1940), p. 220—who, however, mistakenly puts *archidiaconus* for *archipresbiter*. The scribe of this hearing was *Petrus Fernandi de Pinna* (e.g., fol. 9v); and one of the king's counsellors and examiners of witness was *Petrus Fernandi*, doctor of canon law (fol. 275r-v), but identified by the scribe as doctor of civil law (fol. 21r-v), who was probably the *doctor Petrus Fernandi* who served as the king's ambassador in 1378 (Seidlmayer, pp. 30, 240). Another counsellor and examiner was the bishop of Jaén, namely, Juan Ruiz de Castromocho (see Juan Ruiz no. 41). Another witness was *Frater Johannes Roderici Episcopus de Neopatrás* (Juan Ruiz no. 45). At one point, the scribe notes the presence of *Johannes Roderici thesaurarius in ecclesia toletana* (fol. 21v), but this is probably a mistake for the treasurer of Avila (Juan Ruiz no. 2), since he twice identifies the treasurer of Toledo as *Didacus Fernandi* (fols. 21v-22). I confess to having confused two persons of the same name, Gil Sancho (or more properly Sánchez) Muñoz, in CL 169 n. 54, but the truth illustrates my present point: there were in fact four clerics named *Egidius Sancii Munionis*, all of them canons of Valencia and three of them related as uncle and nephew. See J. Goñi, "Clemente VIII (Gil Sánchez Muñoz)," *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España, Suplemento*, vol. 1 (Madrid 1987), 158-162. I am grateful to Dr. Dieter Girgensohn of the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, Göttingen, for this and other references and suggestions.

9. Kelly, "Juan Ruiz and Archpriests," 35, 38. The registers in question are volumes 61-65. Almost all of the grants are expectative graces, which by no means guaranteed the actual conferral of the benefices. A point to keep in mind is that the entries in these registers are not in the original form of the supplications but are short summaries made by curial functionaries or multiple petitioners, somewhat like the abstracts that accompany modern grant proposals; and these summaries cannot be relied on to supply all of the pertinent information contained in the fuller letters of petition.

10. One might suppose that there was a cathedral dignity of archpriest in Avila, to judge from the language of a grant in 1394: *de archipresbyteratu eccl. cathedralis Abulen.* (BS 1424.32); but the scribe of the summary may have made a mistake. When it is granted in 1411, to Pedro Ruiz de Bahillo, student of civil law, the language is different: *de . . . archipresbyteratu de Abula in eadem eccl.* (BS 1437), which means that it is in the *diocese* of Avila. The current holder of the cured archipresbyterate of Avila, Fernando González de Olmeto, is to vacate it on being promoted to a canonry and prebend of Avila and a dignity; this shows, presumably, that the archipresbyterate itself was not considered a cathedral dignity. A cathedral dignity of archpriest would, theoretically, be that of urban archpriest, with spiritual jurisdiction over the whole diocese. I have not seen evidence for such a position in Spain. See CL 37-38 and my "Juan Ruiz and Archpriests," 39-40. In RS 66:70v, a grant of 7 March 1384 identifies the archipresbyterate of the "church" of Segovia as a cured dignity or office. But rural and presumably city (as opposed to urban) archipresbyterates eventually came to be considered noncathedral dignities (CL 64-65, 76-77, 80).

11. Cf. the Toledo cleric *Pascasius Sancii de Pastrana*, advanced in grammar and logic, who succeeded Juan Ruiz no. 2 (treasurer of Avila) to a portion in Avila.

12. See n. 8 above.

13. See Kelly, "Juan Ruiz and Archpriests," 50 n. 12.

14. *Ibid.*, 38, 41.

15. In my "Juan Ruiz and Archpriests," 35, 38, 49, I mistakenly counted these two entries as referring to two different canonists. In the entry following Juan Ruiz in RS 62:29, a request is made for *Dominicus Petri*, who has read (lectured) continuously *de Jure canonico* in the University of Valladolid at the hour of terce for five years and now does not cease to labor, *aliquotiens legendo de dicta scientia vel audiendo de legibus*.

16. The usual way of saying "of Valladolid" in the roll of the university is *de Valleoleti*, with the adjective being *Vallissolanus*. But several other clerics are given as *de Vallid.* (fols. 64-68). The name is transcribed as *de Vallido* most of the time by José Ruis Serra, "Los rótulos de la Universidad de Valladolid," *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 16 (1943) 87-134, on pp. 97-110 (wrongly ascribed to A.D. 1355), viz., nos. 11, 18, 24, 28; but he puts *de Valladolid* for nos. 69 and 71.

17. *Auditor audien.* This title would have been repeated from the supplication submitted by Bernáldez himself. G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny, "Exeucion provada: On Legal Terminology in the *Libro de buen amor*," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honour of Robert Brian Tate*, ed. Ian Michael and Richard A. Cardwell (Oxford: Dolphin, 1986) 39-46, esp. 44, speculates on where the author of the *LBA* could have seen or heard *audientia* used (see stanzas 336 and 347). Gybbon-Monypenny suggests a greater division between secular and ecclesiastical legal practice and terminology than in fact existed. I should also note that in commenting on line 340a in his 1988 edition of *LBA* (p. 176), he misses the point of my discussion in *CL* 96-98: I was not concerned about the meaning of *ençerraron razones*, which is obvious; rather, I was querying the use of *toda su porfia* at an interlocutory stage.

18. In the same roll the first cleric named is *Tellius Garcie de Goría*, archpriest of "Gomera," whom I mention in my book (*CL* 64), where I assume that his archipresbyterate in the diocese of Osma was cured; here it is stated to be without cure. Tellio seems to be a perpetual graduate student: after a dozen or so years at the university (presumably still Bologna), he is finally a bachelor *in decretis* and he expects to become a licentiate in the following year. Meanwhile his request for a dignity in Toledo, while keeping his archipresbyterate, is granted (fol. 61). See also Antonio Pérez Martín, *Proles aegidiana*, 4 vols., *Studia albornotiana* 31 (Bologna 1979) 1:145.

19. Seidlmayer (n. 8 above) 265-266; Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, vol. 1, ed. 2 (Münster 1913) 263, 386, 444.

20. RS 70:79v (ninth year of Clement VII). Some portions of Toledo are placed at a worth of 30 pounds (RS 63:52, 56v). But the usual qualification is "not exceeding" the stated sum; and perhaps in order to achieve the sum one had to reside.

21. Kinship is not always evident from names, of course, since even sons can have names completely different from their fathers. See Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550* (New Brunswick 1979), xi-xii. Hernández, "Juan Ruiz y otros," 30 n. 50, cites two examples, and see the example of the canonist Pedro Ruiz, under Juan Ruiz no. 41. See also RS 61:144: one son has the same name as his father (*Petrus Fernandi de Valleoleti filius nobilis viri Petri Fernandi eiusdem loci*) and another son has neither name corresponding (*Johannes Guterii filius nobilis viri supradicti Petri Fernandi de Valleoleti*). Ruis Serra (n. 16 above) 114, no. 108, records a *Johannes Roderici*, student in canon law at Valladolid in 1403, who is the son of *Sancius Fernandi de Segovia* (and provided with a canonry in Segovia with other benefices, worth 30 pounds).

22. Beltrán's index, 3:545, calls Lope Ruiz de Villalobos the *padre* of Juan Alfonso, doubtless a mistake for *padrone*. Juan is called *dilectus suus*, "his beloved," the standard term used in all these petitions.

23. The bishop of Jaén at this time was Juan Ruiz no. 41. *Pascasius Roderici* later exchanged his rights to the archdeaconry of *Hubeda* and the canonry and prebend in Jaén for prestimonial portions in Jaén and Toledo held by *Petrus Roderici* and *Petrus Alfonsi* (granted 28 November 1383, RS 66:3v-4). He is doubtless the same as the *Pascasinus* mentioned above at n. 20.

24. Cf. *Johannes Roderici de Ulmis* (= Olmos), cleric of Palencia, student in civil law at Valladolid for five years, who is granted a canonry both in Palencia and Valladolid, 29 January 1418 (*BS* 1453).

25. Eubel, 244; for the letter of appointment, he cites Clement VII's Avignon Register vol. 27 (= vol. 231), fol. 347. Eubel and others mistakenly state the year of Lope's death as 1386

instead of the correct date, 1388. See Toribio Minguella, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza*, 3 vols. (Madrid 1910–13) 2:83–86. The only Sigüenza reference in RS 70 (November 1386 to October 1387) is that discussed in n. 23 above. The canonry and prebend of Toledo that Lope Ruiz vacated on becoming bishop was granted on 3 November 1382 to a six-year-old cleric, *Nunnius Nunnii* (he is in his seventh year), nephew of *Teliu Gundisalvi Palomeque*, ambassador of King Juan of Castile, at *Teliu's* request, notwithstanding the previous provision of several other prestimonies and prestimonial portions and simple benefices, and notwithstanding that he has not yet been dispensed for being below the canonical age for receiving such benefices (RS 64:82, with a marginal note that the grant is registered on folio 1 of the fifth year, perhaps referring to RA 232). On 9 August 1393, *Nunnius* is granted a dignity in Toledo and dispensed for age, since he touches on his eighteenth year; and he is also dispensed for illegitimate birth (BS 220.14).

26. A *Johannes Lupi*, perpetually beneficed in the church of *Sanctus Johannes de Brihuega* (the capital of the vicariate next to Hita) and possessing a simple benefice worth 5 pounds in the church of *Sanctus Johannes de Fita* (that is, the church of San Juan in the town of Hita), was granted a benefice at the conferral of the archdeacon of Guadalajara on 28 September 1381 (RS 62:239). Another *Luppus Roderici*, this one of *Cuerva*, *studens in Jure canonico per quadrennium* at Salamanca, was allowed on 31 May 1381 to exchange his portion in Toledo for a canonry and prebend there while keeping benefices in the churches of *Caudillo* and *El Campo* in the Toledo diocese (RS 63:84v).

27. Lobos is just three and a half miles (6 km) southeast of Belorado (the present Vilforado), south of Fresnoña, and there is a path named after it, Senda de los Lobos, or Senda de Cocote los Lobos; see the map of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, ed. 3, Instituto Geográfico y Catastral, 1965, no. 202, 42° 23' 30" latitude and 0° 33' 30" longitude.

28. Luis de Salazar y Castro, *Historia genealógica de la Casa de Lara*, 4 vols. (Madrid 1694–97) 3:460–461, lists only two sons, Ruy López and Garcí López; but on p. 455 he cites a document with the following signatories: *Lope Rodriguez, e Fernan Ruiz, hijos de Lope Rodriguez de Villalobos*. However, something is wrong here, since he cites the text in establishing Fernán Rodríguez de Villalobos as son of Juan Ruiz/Rodríguez de Villalobos.

29. See Luis de Salazar y Castro, *Historia genealógica de la Casa de Haro* (*Señores de Llodio, Mendoza, Orozco, y Ayala*), ed. Dalmiro de la Válgoma, Archivo documental español 15 (Madrid 1959), 79, 84, 86–91, 98, 481 (Table 2). But even though one can trace this line of inheritance through primogeniture, Salazar thinks that Hita was a royal holding that reverted to the crown, and that it was given afresh to Mendoza by Enrique II (see pp. 316–322). Nader (n. 21 above), 41, seems to agree.

30. Joset, *Nuevas investigaciones* (n. 5 above) 43. Joset treats this as an innovation both of Juan Ruiz and Ayala, even though Ayala is “más tarde.”

31. I follow the numbers of the critical edition of Germán Orduna, 2 vols. (Pisa 1981) and his *Clásicos Castalia* edition (Madrid 1987).

32. A. D. Deyermond, “Early Allusions to the *Libro de buen amor*—A Postscript to Moffat,” *Modern Language Notes* 88 (1973), 317–321. I have also profited from an unpublished paper by Charles Faulhaber on the *fortuna* of the *LBA*, which he kindly sent to me.

33. Salazar, *Haro* 143–145; Franco Meregalli, *La vida política del canciller Ayala* (Varese 1955) 121–122; see Eloy Benito Ruano, *Toledo en el siglo XV* (Madrid 1961) 14 n. 3, 29–31, on his tenure as *alcalde mayor ordinario*.

34. Benito 84, 109 (Pedro IV); 104 (Pedro V, mentioned in 1468). Also mentioned is a Pedro de Ayala, nephew of Pedro IV (84), and a Pedro, grandson of Pedro IV (son of his son Alfonso de Silva y Ayala) (116). On p. 14 n. 3 Benito promises a study of Pedro III and Pedro IV. Pedro I also had a son named Pedro López de Ayala; see Salazar, *Haro* 273.

35. Juan de Contreras y López de Ayala, Marqués de Lozoya, *Introducción a la biografía del canciller Ayala* (Bilbao 1950) 49 n. 43.

36. Meregalli 125–129. See the *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, ed. José María Azáqueta, 3 vols. (Madrid 1966) 3:1018, no. 517. Meregalli seems to think that the *alcalde* of 1440 was different from the *alcalde* of 1402, but Benito shows that they are the same, Pedro III. Pedro IV was challenged to a duel in 1441 for the crimes of Pedro III, whom the challenger declares to be too old to fight (Benito 22–23).

37. *Cancionero Baena* no. 518, vv. 65-72. I should note that some stanzas of new-style arte mayor do appear in the *Rimado*; see Joaquín Gimeno, "Pero López de Ayala y el cambio poético de Castilla a comienzos del XV," *Hispanic Review* 33 (1965) 1-14, esp. 10-11.

38. See Orduna, 1987, 64, and plate facing p. 124.

39. Cf. n. 25 above and CL 67-68 and 163 n. 191. See John Andreae, *Ordinary Gloss to Sext* 1.3.10 *Si propter* ad v. *aetatem*, *Corpus juris canonici* (Lyons 1606) 3:1:32.

40. BS 38-39: letters of 30 July 1342 and 4 November 1342. The first letter identifies *Petrus Lupi de Ayala* as the son of *Fernandus Petri*, *miles*, and as perpetual portioner in Toledo and familiar of Cardinal Pedro Gómez, who requested the grant. Pedro II was still canon of Toledo and Palencia in 1349 (BS 68). These papal letters confirm the report of the anonymous continuation of the genealogy of the Ayala family, published by Lozoya (n. 35 above) 153-155, which says that he held these clerical posts as a youth, "e despues dexo la clerecia e casó con D.^a Leonor de Guzman": this would seem to give the impression that his marriage occurred quite soon after he had given up the clerical life. I should note that another Pedro López, doctor of canon law, was appointed joint ambassador with Pedro II to treat with the English in January 1384 (Meregalli 80). This was *Petrus Lupi de Toledo*, *decretorum doctor*, canon and prebendary of Avila, who on 23 March 1383 was appointed archdeacon of Alcaraz and canon-prebendary of Toledo (RS 66:74). On the same day, the portion of Toledo relinquished by *Petrus Lupi doctor* on becoming archdeacon of Alcaraz was bestowed on *Dominicus Fernandi de Bretadiello* at the request of the *nobilis miles Petrus Lupi de Ayalla*, ambassador of the King of Castile and Portugal (RS 66:74v). On 11 November 1384, the canonist, now called archdeacon of Alcaraz and ambassador of the King of Castile, León and Portugal, had a petition granted (RS 68:1). On the same day, the *miles*, still ambassador, was granted another request for a portion of Toledo for *Dominicus Fernandi* (now called *nobilis* and *de Bretaviello*), and requests for six other clerics, including the *nobilis Didacus Ramirii de Guzman*, portioner of Toledo, for a canonry and prebend of Toledo, in spite of the rule against giving cathedral posts to nongraduates (RS 68:1v-2). In 1394, Diego Ramírez de Guzmán, still only a portioner, is promised a dignity and canonry of Toledo (BS 287.4). Pedro II's brother-in-law was Juan Ramírez de Guzmán, an archdeacon in León, and then bishop of Túc (1390-1394), Calahorra (1394-1403), and Avila (1403-1424). See Eubel 67, 156, 501.

41. Paris B.N. MS lat. 11745, fol. 9v.

42. See n. 8 above.

43. Eubel 362. Seidlmayer takes *Neopatras* as the metropolitan see of *Neopatrensis* or *No-vae Patrae* (Patrai) in Greece; but it, like *Naupactus*, would be headed by an archbishop. Eubel does not list a successor to the see of *Neopatrensis* after the Franciscan *Mattheus*, who was provided on 6 February 1376.

44. Pérez Martín (n. 18 above) 1:147-148.

45. *Ibid.*, 1:149. See n. 6 above: his benefice in San Román was promised to another Juan Ruiz in 1387.

46. Salazar, *Lara* 3:456-460.

47. Salazar, *Haro* 131-132, 143-145, 385.