

### LITERATURE, ORAL AND WRITTEN

As with other literatures of medieval Europe, that of Spain composed between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries reflects the transition of a culture from a predominantly oral state to an increasingly literate one, with the result that a determined literary work (e.g., the *Poema de Mio Cid*), may contain traces of primary orality (repetition and formulaic phrases; see the classic 1960 study by Lord) as well as certain learned features (diplomatic and accounting references). This convergence of oral and written elements can be studied in genres as diverse as lyric and epic poetry, the *romancero*, and even prose works (notably the folktale and the proverb) with respect to their sources, composition, and diffusion.

One of the goals of the medieval narrator was to captivate his audience and to convince it of the importance and veracity of his work: the author/poet's personal word was his "bond" with that group. Written documents were often suspect, having a connotation in the epic, for example, of privilege and secrecy, the

insidious commands that they contain often backfiring or ridiculing the executors of the documents (Montgomery studies the issue for the *Poema de Mio Cid*, the *Siete infantes de Lara*, the *Mocedades de Rodrigo*, and other works). Thus it behooved the narrator to personalize his text in an ingratiating, often "chatty" manner (although chroniclers citing time-honored written *auctoritates* as an integral part of their own narratives usually dispensed with this nicety). A poet would write down his lines, imagining himself declaiming them to an audience (real or fictional; see the 1965 study by Gybbon-Monypenny on the works of Gonzalo de Berceo and the *Libro de Alexandre*); and prose texts as diverse as *Calila e Dimna* (ca. 1250) and some *exempla* of Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* (1335), would present narratives in a scholastic objection-and-response form so that the reader can imagine himself involved in an oral disputation, that is, in the form of a "frame story" that allows him the fiction of becoming part of the listening company. In offering several theorems of literary history, Ong comments on the "intriguing" nature of medieval literature, given the influence on it of a "strange new mixture of orality (disputations) and textuality (commentaries on written works) in medieval academia," observing too that "probably most medieval writers across Europe continued the classical practice of writing their literary works to be read aloud. . . . This helped determine the always rhetorical style as well as the nature of plot and characterization." This oral delivery is most evident, according to Crosby in "the use of direct address not to the reader, but to those listeners who are present at the recitation," and results in the presence of epideictic 'demonstrative' locutions ("afevos aqui," "ya oyestes") in works as diverse as poetic hagiographic texts (e.g., the thirteenth-century *Vida de Santa María Egipciaca*; early chivalresque prose romances (e.g., the *Libro del cavallero Zifar*, ca. 1300) and prose histories (e.g., the fifteenth-century *Crónica de Juan II*) and scientific treatises (e.g., Bernardo Gordonio's *Lilio de medicina*, 1495. Formulaic phrases typical of minstrel epic poetry may also be found in prose chronicles and chivalresque romances (see the studies by Gómez Redondo and Walker. As well, many belletristic texts like the *Libro de buen amor* (1330, 1343) and the *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho* (1438) were probably first diffused orally for their sermonic value or for clerical instruction, being read silently only thereafter.

A useful evaluation of medieval Spanish literature in terms of *diglossia*, or coexistence of two oral and written linguistic systems (e.g., Latin and Spanish)—now popular, now learned—in a specific environment was made in 1989 by Seniff; the same work offers a series of tests under the categories "Aspectos

orales" and "Aspectos textuales [= escritos]" for examining the literary production of Alfonso X, Juan Manuel, Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Diego de San Pedro, and Fernando de Rojas. The work of each author is shown to describe some degree of convergence of orality (now spontaneous, now elaborately rhetorical) and writing with respect to their sources, composition, and—perhaps most commonly—diffusion. A cultural milestone is attained in the case of the last two authors: the popularity of San Pedro's *Cárcel de Amor* (1492) and Rojas' *Celestina* (ca. 1499, 1502), which appeared shortly after the advent of the printing press and were doubtless read aloud to small groups as well as in silence by individuals, may qualify them as the first "best-sellers" in Spanish literature. Yet of all genres described above, the ballad remains as Spain's great living contribution to international oral literature, and is currently the object of intense fieldwork by researchers throughout the Hispanic world.

DENNIS P. SENIFF

Literature," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 7 (1971), 36–42.

Webber, R. H. "Hispanic Oral Literature: Accomplishments and Perspectives," *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986), 344–80.

———. (ed.) *Hispanic Balladry Today*. Monographic edition of *Oral Tradition* 2 (1987), 395–690.

## Bibliography

Crosby, R. "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 11 (1936), 88–110.

Ferguson, C. A. "Diglossia," *Word* 15 (1959), 325–40.

Foley, J. M. (ed.) *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography*. New York, 1985.

Gómez Redondo, F. "Fórmulas juglarescas en la historiografía romance de los siglos XIII y XIV," *La Corónica* 15 (1986–87), 225–39.

Gybbon-Monypenny, G. B. "The Spanish *mester de clerecía* and Its Intended Audience." In *Medieval Miscellany Presented to Eugène Vinaver*. Ed. F. Whitehead. Manchester, 1965. 230–44.

Joset, J. *Nuevas investigaciones sobre el "Libro de buen amor"*. Madrid, 1988.

Lawrance, J. N. H. "The Spread of Lay Literacy in Late Medieval Castile," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 62 (1985), 79–94.

Lord, A. B. *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960.

Montgomery, T. "The Uses of Writing in the Spanish Epic," *La Corónica* 15 (1986–87), 179–85.

Ong, W. J., S. J. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London, 1982.

Seniff, D. P. "Aproximación a la oralidad y textualidad en la prosa castellana medieval." In *Actas del IX Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: 18–23 agosto 1986 Berlin*. Vol. 1. Ed. S. Neumeister. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1989. 263–77.

Stock, B. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Princeton, N. J., 1983.

Walker, R. M. "Oral Delivery or Private Reading?: A Contribution to the Debate on the Dissemination of Medieval

**PROSE, BEGINNINGS OF**

The initial period of Castilian prose encompasses the writings of Alfonso X (1221–1284), and this prose becomes the tool for scholarship and literary creation at the royal court. The study of this early period is difficult because of the scarcity of documents and the fact that they are of uncertain dates. Moreover, their literary value is scarce or nonexistent.

**Religious Prose**

The Church used vernacular language in its preaching, for the purpose of imparting Christian doctrine to the common people. These early sermons and homilies have been lost. They represented the first stage of oral prose used to address public audiences, both courtly and popular. According to Lomax, this practice was increased after the Lateran Council (1215). The incomplete copy of a *Disputa entre un cristiano y un judío* of the first third of the thirteenth century, which was perhaps written by a renegade Jew, is the earliest testimony of an encounter between different religions.

**Legal Prose**

The law promoted writing in Romance. Under Fernando III the Visigothic *Forum judicum* or *Fuero Juzgo* was translated into the vernacular. Some *fueros* were directly written in this common language. R. Menéndez Pidal proved that notarial practice, especially in documents relating to minor matters, was an important factor in the process of adopting the vernacular in writing. According to Rubio García, the use of the vernacular language in the royal chancellery dates back to the end of the thirteenth century.

**Early History**

The *Anales*, a simple form of historical narrative, were either written in Castilian or translated into this language at an early date. Such was the case of the *Anales Toledanos*. Royal history was written in Latin.

In the kingdom of Castile, the two main works in the Latin group are the *Chronicon mundi* (1236) by Lucas, bishop of Tüy, and the *Historia Gothi* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1180?–1247).

The first known travel book is *La Fazienda de Ultramar*, whose author is known as Almerich, archdeacon of Antioquia. It describes, using biblical references, an itinerary to the Holy Land. The editor of this work, Lazar, considered the extant text as original, but Lapesa believes it is the Castilian version of a Latin, Provençal, or Gascon original, written in the first third of the thirteenth century. A Castilian cosmography compiled around 1223 by Isidoro and Honorio, the *Semeiança del mundo*, should also be mentioned.

### The Vernacular Language: A Bridge between Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin

From the time of Archbishop of Toledo Don Raimundo (1126–1152) on, an oral romance version was used as an intermediate step between the original Arabic or Hebrew text and its Latin translation. The “Escuela de Traductores de Toledo” (School of Translators of Toledo) used this method to translate ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, ibn Gabirol, and ibn Rushd. Such practice may have been a great incentive for the early development of prose.

### Translations of Arabic Tales

Together with the great works produced under the sponsorship of Alfonso X, collections of Arabic tales were translated in this period. They represent the first stage in the development of prose-fiction. *Calila e Dimna*, stemming from the Arabic version by ibn al-Mukaffa, is a collection of tales intended to be a “mirror of princes.” *Sendebār*, of Sanskrit origin, is another educational tale collection, with a misogynous bias. In both books the stories appear within a frame structure, and they are intended to instruct. Later on, Juan Manuel produced *El Conde Lucanor*, the Castilian masterpiece of the genre.

### Counsel Books

Some of the first samples of vernacular didactic writing are books in which learning is imparted by means of proverbs. Such is the case of *Poridat de poridades*, a collection of Arabic sentences presented as advice given by Aristotle to Alexander the Great. In the *Libro de los doze sabios*, twelve wise men counsel a young king. The *Libro de los buenos proverbios* presents a series of diverse advice, some in dialogue form, which are attributed to wise men of the Orient and the Occident. The *Flores de filosofía* and the *Libro de los cien capítulos*, both of uncertain dating, may have been written during the thirteenth century.

In sum, prose becomes established later than verse in literary practice. The process takes place within chronological limits difficult to specify. Vernacular language is subject to the strong influence of the learned languages: Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew. Vernacular prose was adopted by the church, and used for the formulation of laws, as well as for the purpose of teaching.

FRANCISCO LÓPEZ ESTRADA

### Bibliography

- Anales Toledanos*. Ed. M. Gómez Moreno. Madrid, 1917.  
*Calila e Dimna*, Ed. J. M. Cacho Bieua, M. J. Lacarra, Madrid, 1984.  
 Deyermond, A. “The Sermon and its Uses in Medieval Castilian Literature.” *La Corónica* 2 (1980), 126–45.  
*Disputa entre un cristiana y un judío*, ed. A. Castro, *Revista de Filología Española* 1 (1914), 173–80.  
*Fazienda de ultramar*. Ed. Moshé Lazar. Salamanca, 1965.  
*Flores de filosofía*. Ed. H. Knust. Madrid, 1878.  
*Fuero Juzgo en latín y castellano*. Madrid, 1815; facsimile ed. Madrid, 1980.  
 Lacarra, M. J. *Cuentística medieval en España: Los orígenes*. Zaragoza, 1979.  
 Lapesa, R. *Historia de la lengua española*. 8th ed. Madrid, 1980. 233.  
*Libro de los buenos proverbios*. Ed. H. Sturm. Lexington, Ken., 1971.  
*Libro de los cien capítulos*. Ed. A. Rey. Bloomington, Ind., 1960.  
*Libro de los doze sabios*. Ed. J. K. Walsh. Madrid, 1975.  
 Lomax, D. W. “The Lateran Reforms and Spanish Literature,” *Iberorromania* 1 (1969), 299–313.  
 López Estrada, F. *La prosa literaria medieval (Orígenes-Siglo XIV)*. Madrid, 1973.  
 Menéndez Pidal, R. *Documentos lingüísticos de España*. Madrid, 1966.  
 ———. “España y la introducción de la ciencia árabe en Occidente.” In *España, eslabón entre la Cristiandad y el Islam*. Madrid, 1956, 33–60.  
 ———. *Orígenes del español*. 4th ed. Madrid, 1968–69.  
 Menéndez Pidal, R., et al. (eds.) *Crestomatía del español medieval*. Madrid, 1965.  
*Pordiat de poridades*. Ed. L. Kasten. Madrid, 1957.  
 Rubio García, L. *Del latín al castellano en las escrituras reales*. Murcia, 1981.  
 Sánchez Alonso, B. *Historia de la historiografía española*. Vol. 1 2d ed. Madrid, 1947. 87–162.  
*Sendebār*, Ed. M. J. Lacarra. Madrid, 1989.

literature when narrative, lyric, and (possibly) the religious genres have been subtracted. In this view its postmedieval successors are the discursive genres, the essay, and belles-lettres, in which substance is poorly focused or subordinate to form.

For our purpose didactic literature is taken to be the literature that teaches either morals or facts. It includes wisdom literature, mirrors of princes, *exempla*, and didactic romances. In accordance with a modern critical tradition of doubtful validity, it excludes history, biography, and hagiography but includes a number of works, such as legal texts that, when they occur in postmedieval writing, are regarded by critics as subliterate or nonliterary. Some such works are so plain as to be artless, but they may also include, generally in an illustrative or corroborative capacity, elements such as anecdotes that would be regarded as literature.

### Theory

The concept of didacticism is recognized in classical definitions of the function of literature. "Teaching" figures in the pair *docere ornare* (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 9.4.127) and the triad *docere/delectare/movere* (Quintilian, *Institutio*, 3.5.2; 8 *prooem*, 7; hence Martianus Capella 5.473). "To teach" in these classical examples seems always to denote the conveyance of factual information; in medieval formulations "to teach" usually means to teach good ways.

Very often (given the medieval tendency to view the world in terms of issues rather than phenomena), the ethical and factual categories overlap. For example, Juan Manuel's *Libro de los estados* is notionally a sociological description of the estates of men, but is actually concerned with saving one's soul within one's estate. In the *Arte cisoria*, Enrique de Villena prescribes not only the professional but also the moral formation of the carver: one is reminded of Cato the Elder's description, picked up by Quintilian, of the orator as "a good man skilled in speaking" (*Ad filium*, 14). Similarly the mentality of the bestiary, reflected in Juan Manuel's *Libro del cavallero e del escudero*, or of the medieval historian gives moral interpretation a status equal or superior to that of the relation of facts.

The didactic frame of mind is also important in the reception of texts: the reading of literature as a source of facts or as the occasion for moral commentary, sometimes allegorical, was already established in the schools in antiquity, and encouraged by St. Paul's dictum, "All that is written is written for our doctrine" (Rom. 15:4, translated by Chaucer). The *Siete Partidas* is didactic in both senses: besides its practical intent, they it was used as material for moral works on chiv-

## DIDACTIC PROSE, CASTILIAN

### Definition

There is no standard definition of didactic literature. It often suffers from being viewed as a miscellaneous genre, defined negatively as what remains of



alry. The double function of legal texts is encapsulated by the citation of the Horatian tag *Omne punctum tulit qui miscuit utile dulci* [Every point that combines the pleasing with the useful is well taken] (*Ars poetica*, 343) and the claim to benefit both body and soul in the prologue to the *Fueros de Aragón*. The popularity of such an attitude is shown by the use of the promise of moral teaching as a selling point on early title pages such as that of *Celestina*, and by the fact that, in surviving inventories of libraries and in the output of the early printers, didactic works outweigh lyric and romance works.

An essential feature of the genre is its seriousness; the unambiguous meaning is paramount. Juan Manuel insists on clarity as the basis of style: “Más de consentir et más provechoso para el que ha de aprender es en ser la scriptura más luenga et declarada que non abreviada et escura; ca el que aprende, entre todas las cosas que ha mester, es que aya vagar para aprender” [Clearly developed and openly declared writing is more beneficial and to be encouraged for those who are to learn, rather than tense, obscure writing; he who learns, must above all, have the space in which to do so] (*Libro de los estados*, I, 1xiv).

### Prose

Isidore of Seville calls prose “an extended utterance free from metrical rules” [“producta oratio et a lege metri soluta”] (*Etymologies*, I.38.1). This is the ultimate source for the marqués de Santillana’s reference in the *Prohemio e carta* to “la soluta prosa.” Isidore goes on to give the etymology of prose as “extended and straight” and declares the chronological priority of prose over verse. This last point is generally accepted as regards Castilian literature. The earliest use of prose in its modern sense in Spanish may occur in the first translation of the *Consolation of Philosophy*.

*Factual Works.* Whereas factual verse is common in French, English, and other medieval languages, in Spanish factual material is largely in prose. The schema of the sciences that the Florentine Brunetto Latini (*Tesoretto*, I, 3–4) developed in the thirteenth century out of Aristotle and Isidore provides a background against which to place the various factual works. Philosophy is divided into theory, practice, and logic. Theory is divided into theology, physics, and mathematics, and mathematics is subdivided into arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Practice is divided into ethics, economics, and politics. Politics is subdivided into the mechanical arts and what in other schemes is called the trivium (grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric). Logic is divided into dialectic, physics, and

sophistics. These topics are not evenly represented in Old Spanish, and while some subjects are present in the vernacular corpus from the beginnings, others are not found until the fifteenth century.

In theology there are plenty of religious texts, generally works of devotion meant for the layman rather than for the specialized religious reader. In physics there is a substantial corpus, not earlier than the fifteenth century, of medical works, including Villena’s *Tratado de la lepra*. Although it concerns natural history, the *Lucidario* commissioned by Sancho IV proposes a religious interpretation of its material expressly in opposition to the rational sciences. There are some “natural questions” in *La Donzella Teodor*. In mathematics arithmetic, music, and geometry apparently have no Old Spanish texts. Astronomy is present in the vernacular as early as the Alfonsine corpus. (Ethics is discussed in “Books Teaching Morals,” below.)

Economics (the art of running a household) is represented at the practical level by Villena’s *Arte cisoría* and at the theoretical level by much of wisdom literature. Politics is covered by the mirrors of princes; Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo’s *Suma de la política* is partly indebted to this genre.

Juan Manuel’s claim (in the prologue to the *Libro de la caza*) that Alfonso X had translated all the liberal and mechanical arts is not borne out by the surviving Alfonsine corpus. There is nothing in Old Spanish on weaving, *armatura* (the plastic arts and architecture), or *theatrica*; perhaps travel books may be placed under navigation (which includes trade). Although there were Old Catalan treatises on agriculture, there apparently is nothing in Castilian. Hunting is well represented in Old Spanish from the beginnings. Medicine, which appears twice in Brunetto Latini’s schema, is treated under physics. Villena includes his *Arte cisoría* among the mechanical arts.

Grammar seems not to be represented by vernacular works before the fifteenth century, when Villena’s *Arte de trobar*, with some discussion of grammar, and Antonio de Nebrija’s *Gramática* appeared. Rhetoric, according to Latini, includes preaching, Scripture, and law. Rhetoric proper and poetics are dealt with in Juan Alfonso de Baena’s *Prologus baenensis*, Santillana’s *Proemio*, Villena’s *Arte de tro bar*, and Juan del Encina’s *Arte de poesía castellana*. Vernacular works on sermonizing are lacking. Scripture is covered by works of exegesis, such as Villena on Psalm 8, *Quoniam videbo*; but the vast bulk of biblical scholarship, such as Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal’s commentaries, is in Latin. Law, by contrast, was one of the first categories to be transferred to the vernacular (doubtless for practical reasons). On logic and its subdivisions there is nothing.

There is a considerable corpus of courtly material. To hunting may be added works on other courtly issues: chivalry is studied by a number of authors, among them Valera, indebted to the *Partidas*. There are works on heraldry by Juan Manuel (*Libro de las armas*), Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, Diego Valera, and Juan de Mena (*Tratado sobre el título de duque*). Courtesy literature seems underrepresented in Spanish: a rare example is Villena's *Arte cisoria*. Chess is treated in Spanish as early as Alfonso X. Magic and alchemy are represented by the Alfonsine *Lapidario* and Villena's *Tratado del aojamiento*.

Spanning all these topics are the encyclopedias: the *Visión deleitable* of Alfonso de la Torre (a best-seller) and the much smaller scale *Libro del cavallero e del escudero* of Juan Manuel, as well as translations of Isidore, Latini, and Bartholomaeus Anglicus.

Why this uneven distribution? Some subjects may have been too technical for the vernacular; others may have been considered too lowly to be committed to writing and were transmitted orally. Thus, although in Italian there are such works as Cennino Cennini's late fourteenth-century manual for painters, in a less literate society such knowledge would have not been written down.

*Books Teaching Morals.* The difference between the exemplum and the didactic romance (*Barlaam and Josaphat*, *Zifar*) is not simply length. The characters in the exemplum are defined by wisdom or folly; in romances they are defined by a broader range of virtues and vices.

Although there were Castilian translations of John of Wales and the *Fiore di virtù*, summa on virtues and vices are rare in Spanish outside the mirrors of princes. The utilization of, for example, the *Moralium dogma philosophorum* in vernacular works shows that in at least this case Spaniards handled Latin manuals without the aid of translations. There is a body of preserved vernacular sermons; indebted to the sermon tradition is the *Corbacho* of Alfonso Martínez de Toledo. In the fifteenth century a variety of essayistic works on moral themes appeared: allegories (Villena's *Doze trabajos de Hércules*), dialogues (Juan de Lucena's *De vita beata*; *Diá logo de Cipión y Haníbal*), and Senecan epistle-essays (Hernando de Pulgar's *Letra* and Villena's *Tratado de la consolación*).

### History and Stylistic Development

The earliest monuments of Spanish prose are, as elsewhere, paraliterary. The first examples of literary prose (thirteenth century) are didactic works translated from or modeled on Arabic or Hebrew at the Castilian court. The Alfonsine works were influential throughout the Middle Ages.

Broadly speaking, Whinnom was right to insist on the lack of a continuous tradition of Spanish prose. However, comparing the beginning of the vernacular period with the end of the Middle Ages, we might note a tendency away from Semitic parataxis and toward Latin periodicity, perhaps reflecting a movement away from oral to written culture. Indeed, some Alfonsine sentences are positively antiperiodic, with the strongest idea at the beginning, with the rest tailing away: "Fuerç nin premia non deuen fazer en ninguna manera a ningund judio por que se torne cristiano, mas con buenos exiemplos e con los dichos de las Santas escripturas e con falagos los deuen los cristianos conuertir a la fee de Nuestro Sennor Jhesu Christo, ca Nuestro sennor Dios non quiere nin ama seruicio quel sea fecho por premia" ["Force or coercion of any kind should not be brought to bear upon any Jew to turn Christian; rather he should be converted to the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ through good examples and the sayings of Holy Scripture; Our Lord God does not love service rendered through force."] (*Partida* 7, xxiv. 6). In some cases authors use grammatically hypotactic structures in sentences that give equal status to all members in a way typical of parataxis: "El qual Anfiarao se escondio por non ir a conplir el su sacerdotal oficio en la batalla, enpero que non sopo otro ninguno de como se escondiera salvo su muger Erifile, la qual convencida por dones de oro mostro e descubrio el lugar donde Anfiarao estava escondido, al qual sacaron de alli e levaronlo a la batalla, segund convenia" ["The said Anfiarao hid in order not to carry out his sacerdotal duty in the battle, which was only known by his wife Erifile who, convinced by gifts of gold, revealed the place where Anfiarao was hiding, from where he was taken to the battle, as was necessary"]; Juan de Mena, Commentary on *Coronación*, (stanza viii). True Ciceronianism comes only with Luis de Granada in the sixteenth century.

One may also chart a growing use of Latin rhetoric. Although certain figures are always an option in Old Spanish, the repertoire expands as the Middle Ages wear on; the doublets of the early prosaists (often identified as an oral feature or a Semiticism) and *trias* of Baena's *Prologus* give way to classical *conduplicatio*. The style of the Old Spanish corpus can be highly mannered. Although prose was defined by its freedom from metrical rules, there is a minority current of metrical/numerical art prose. In such cases the passages or texts either take their style from their immediate source (as with certain passages in Alfonso or Juan Manuel, *Conde Lucanor*, II, 6) or belong to a readily identifiable tradition (as with the *Soliloquios* of Fernández Pecha, modeled on the supposititious works of St.

Augustine), or Juan Manuel's text on the Passion in *Libro de los estados*, I, 1vii).

It was difficult to accommodate the cadences of the Latin *cursus* (used in the liturgy and in chancery documents) to Spanish, partly because the *cursus* did not permit a stressed syllable at the end of the phrase, and valued the elegant proparoxytones common in Latin and Italian but rare in Castilian. The distinctive cadences of Villena rarely correspond to the *cursus* proper; they are generally the product of imitating "dovetailing" classical hyperbaton.

Translation afforded opportunities for imitating various Latin styles, such as the sample of Roman forensic rhetoric in Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto* (III, xxxv). The higher of the two styles adopted by Martínez de Toledo in the *Corbacho* derives directly from his source, Andreas Capellanus.

BARRY TAYLOR

### Bibliography

- Bosch, S. "Les *Partides* i els textos catalans didàctics sobre cavalleria," *Estudis universitaris catalans* 22 (1936): 655–80.
- Gallardo, A. "Alfabetismo en la oralidad (el escritor medieval y la cultura del idioma)," *Acta literaria* 10–11 (1985–1986): 133–43.
- Lázaro Carreter, F. "La prosa de fray Antonio de Guevara." *Academia literaria renacentista* 5 (1988): 101–17.
- Menéndez Pidal, R., ed. *Antología de prosistas españoles*. 5th ed. Madrid, 1928.
- Whinnom, K. *Spanish Literary Historiography: Three Forms of Distortion*. Exeter, U.K., 1967.



Erudite sayings in medieval Iberian sentential works introduce a topic and provoke further thought. For this reason they sometimes take the form of enigmas or riddles whose referents need not be guessed: “El saber es nave de los obedientes” [“Knowledge is the ship of the obedient”] (*Libro de los buenos proverbios*). The hearer first conjures up the image and then draws up a mental list of correspondences in order to benefit from the lesson. Patronio, aware of how taxing sentential sayings could be, warns the Conde Lucanor that the *proverbios* listed as a supplement to his exemplary tales are enigmatic: “vos conversará de aguzar el entendimiento para las entender” [“You had better sharpen your understanding to understand them”] (*Cuarta Parte*).

Erudite proverbs occur in dialogues between a sage and a pupil (*Poridat de las poridades*, Conde Lucanor) a father and son in the manner of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus (*Zifar, Vida de Ysopo*), as a transcription of an ancient work (*Libro de los proverbios*), as the proceedings of a meeting of sages (*Libro de los doze sabios*), or in riddle form as the contents of a battle of wits (*La donçella Teodor*).

On the other hand, *refranes* occur in discourse and illustrate, amplify, or reinforce meaning. Their principal function in discourse is to sum up a situation. The defeated Poro in the *Libro de Alexandre* warns Alexandre that fortune is undependable: “Ca son fado e viento malos de retener” [“It is destiny and wind and impossible to keep”]. *Refranes* also recommend a course of action; Trotaconventos in the *Libro de buen amor* tells her customer that her services are valuable: “El que al lobo enbía . . . carne espera” [“He who sends the wolf expects meat”].

The reader envisions the image adduced by the proverb, and selects the meaning that applies to the immediate situation. Unlike sentential sayings, *refranes* become intelligible only through the shared cultural experience of speaker and listener.

At times a proverb alludes to a familiar folktale even though the tale itself is no longer current; for example, “Ay molino te veas casado” [“Oh mill, would that you were married”] in the *Libro de buen amor*. Familiar sayings can appear in truncated form as proverbial phrases—for example, “com al carnero que fue buscar la lana” [“Like the ram that went looking for wool”] (*Poema de Fernán González*)—or they can be transformed comically—for example, “Moço malo, moço malo más val’ enfermo que sano” [“A bad helper, a bad helper is worth more sick than well”] (*Libro de buen amor*). Occasionally a speaker will create a chain of *refranes*: “Perezoso nin tardinero non seas en tomar; muchas cosas prometidas se pierden por vagar; Quando te dieren la cabrilla, acorre con la soguilla; Quien te algo prometiere, luego tomando

## PROVERBS

Eleanor O’Kane, in her seminal work, distinguished among erudite sayings (*proverbios*), popular sayings (*refranes*), and proverbial phrases—grammatically incomplete proverbs.

fiere” [“Don’t be lazy or late when taking; many promised things are lost because of delay; when they give you the goat, run with the rope; whosoever promises something later wounds by taking”] (*Corbacho*).

Recognizing *refranes* in literary texts from the past, and distinguishing them from sentential sayings or from individual flashes of wit that are preproverbial, is a difficult task in the absence of shared cultural resonance between reader and author. Abrahams defines proverbs as “among the shortest forms of traditional expression that call attention to themselves as formal artistic entities.” Frequently, their acontextuality, or strangely inappropriate subject matter, alerts the reader to possible proverbiality, particularly when, as Barley notes, an “underlying logical structure” is discernible: “Oro majado luçe” [“Beaten gold shines”] (Berceo, *Santo Domingo de Silos*).

In some cases the author identifies proverbs explicitly as *parilla*, *fabla*, *fablilla*, *palavra*, *pastraña*, *derecho*, *prouerbio antiguo*, or *retraer*, or prefaces the saying with such comments as “por ende dizen,” [“therefore they say”] or “dizen las viejas” [“old women say”]. Lacking this identification these popular sayings are identifiable by the acontextuality of their image (“ca de pequeña çentella se leuanta gran fuego” [“from a small spark a great fire arises”] or by their structure: *Quien* (He who)—“Quien bien see non se lieue,” [“He who sits well should not get up”]. *El que*—“El que suel ser vençido será el vençedor,” [“He who is usually conquered will conquer”]; *Mejor es* (It is better to)—“Mejor es tardar e recabdar que non auerse ome a repentir por se rebatar.” [“It is better to be late and get what you want than to withdraw”]; *Más vale* (more valuable than)—“Más vale saber que auer,” [“Knowledge is more valuable than wealth”]; *No hay . . . sin* (There is no without)—“Non ay paño sin raça,” [“There is no cloth without tearing”]; *Tal . . . tal* (He who, gets . . .)—“Qui tal faze, tal prenda,” [“What goes around, comes around”] (Berceo, *Milagros*); or *Qual . . . tal*—“Qual aqui fiziere tal avrá de padir,” [“He who does gets it back in return”] (*Apolonio*).

Proverbial phrases are even more difficult to validate because they can be confused easily with possibly preproverbial similes or metaphors. In the absence of authorial identification, these colorful fragments can be called proverbial if they appear in complete form elsewhere. Proverbial phrases are often sayings that derive from anecdotes about historical events or from folktales. Consider the saying: “Tijeretas han de ser” [“They must be scissors”] an echo of the tale of the drowning woman who died insisting that she had been right (*Corbacho*). The fragmentary “Amidos faze el perro barvecho” [“The wild dog gets little attention”] is understandable through its equivalent listed in the

seventeenth century by Correas: “Perro de barbecho, ladra sin provecho,” [“The wild dog’s howl is without profit”]. A modern compilation lists it as “Amidos hace el can barbecho.”

HARRIET GOLDBERG

## Bibliography

- Abrahams, Roger. *Talking Black*. Rowley, Mass., 1991.  
 Barley, Nigel. *The Innocent Anthropologist: Notes from a Mud Hut*. New York, 1992.  
 Campos, J., and A. Barella. *Diccionario de refranes*. Madrid, 1975.  
 Correas, Gonzalo. *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*. Madrid, 1627; Ed. Louis Combet et. al. Madrid, 2000.  
 Goldberg, H. “The Proverb in *cuaderna vía* Poetry: A Procedure for Identification.” In *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Alan D. Deyermond*. Ed. J. S. Miletich. Madison, Wisc., 1986, 119–33.  
 O’Kane, E. *Refranes y frases proverbiales españoles de la Edad Media*. Madrid, 1959.

### **JUAN MANUEL**

Son of Alfonso X's younger brother, Manuel, and grandson of Fernando III; born in Escalona (Toledo) in 1282. From a very young age, he participated both in war (particularly in the advances on Murcia, which lasted from 1284 to 1339) and in politics, though not without differences with his council.

Along with his hectic political life during the reigns of Fernando IV (1295–1312) and Alfonso XI (1312–1350), which was largely motivated, as he himself says, by questions of *onra* [honor/reputation] and *facienda* [property/wealth], Juan Manuel displayed an encyclopedic knowledge that was indicative of his de-

sire to emulate his uncle, Alfonso X, whom he admired from an exclusively cultural (and not political) perspective. He was also a devout man, influenced by the Dominican tradition, which he followed throughout the various didactic works of his career. After retiring from active political life, Juan Manuel died in 1348; he is buried in the monastery at Peñafiel, which he founded.

In the general prologue to his works, the author expresses the philological/critical anxiety that his texts might be poorly copied, declaring that the authentic, original books, against which any potentially confusing transcripts can be compared, are in the convent at Peñafiel. Although this is essentially nothing more than a repetition of what Nicolás de Lira had already said, this disclaimer serves as a mark of authenticity for Juan Manuel's work. With this notice, the author participates in the medieval concept of an ethics of language opposing the lie, and is thus able to forestall any willful error on his part. For those inevitable involuntary errors, he resorts to the *topos* of modesty—already in use since antiquity—attributing such lapses to his lack of intelligence. Juan Manuel manipulates the vernacular language in a fresh, renewed manner, and with a wider vocabulary and a more purified syntax than Alfonso X. He is partial to concision and clarity, qualities he praises in his uncle's writing, although he does experiment with a more hermetic, obtuse style. The discovery of a skillful use of dialogue is frequently attributed to Juan Manuel, who arguably anticipates certain subtleties of the Renaissance.

A list of Juan Manuel's works appears both in the *Prólogo general* and in the prologue to *El conde Lucanor*, although there are discrepancies between the two prologues with regard to the order and number of works listed. Without the lost Peñafiel codex, what remains of the author's writings is found in various fourteenth-century manuscripts, among them Manuscript 6376 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. This manuscript lacks the *Crónica abreviada*, which in turn was found by Sánchez Alonso (in MS. F. 81 [now 1356]), also in the Biblioteca Nacional. Both have served as the basis for the edition of Juan Manuel's *Obras completas*.

Of the preserved texts one must first cite the *Libro del cavallero et del escudero*. Written before 1330, the work is one of many encyclopedic treatises of the time. Similar to Ramón Llull's *Llibre de l'ordre de cavalleria*, to which Juan Manuel seems to allude, the plot consists of the encounter between a young squire on his way to the court, and a former knight—now a hermit—who answers the young man's numerous questions. The hermit upholds knighthood as the most honorable estate in this world and indoctrinates the squire through a brief discourse on chivalry; later, the former

knight gives the young man, now a novice *caballero*, a treatise on theology, another on astrology, and several expositions on the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; finally he tells the young man about the sea and the land, ending with an exaltation of creation as “manifestación de la gloria de Dios” (manifestation of God's glory).

*Libro de los estados*, finished in 1330, consists of two books distributed in three parts: the first book's hundred chapters, which address different religions and the estates of the lay population; the first fifty chapters of the second book, concerning the different laws (among which only the Christian law is true) as well as the mysteries of Christ and the estates of the secular clergy; and the fifty-first chapter of the second book, dedicated to religious orders and their regulations, especially the orders of preaching friars and of lesser friars. The structure is that of a work within a work, all written using dialogue as a technique supported by the main characters: the pagan king Morobán, the *infante* Johas and his tutor/teacher Turín, and a Christian preacher named Julio. The basic framework is similar to that of *Barlaam y Josafat*. Turín, committed to avoid having to address the concept of mortality, ends his phase of the prince's education by explaining the meaning of death in front of a fortuitously discovered cadaver. Chapter 22 introduces the Castilian preacher Julio, “omne muy letrado et muy entendido” [a very educated and intelligent man] in matters of Christian doctrine. Julio claims to be tutor to Prince Juan, son of the *infante* Don Manuel, and from that moment on he will carry the burden of Prince Johas's education. The work teaches that, in order to be saved, he who did not keep the law of nature should follow Christian law, which fulfilled Old Testament designs. This law is contained in the Holy Scriptures and is preached by the church, whose accepted hierarchy, divided into “legos” [the lay population] and “eclesiásticos” [the clergy], is described in detail.

*Crónica abreviada*, written during the tutelage of Alfonso XI (around 1320), was thought lost until Sánchez Alonso found it in 1941. It is a summary of Alfonso X's *Estoria de España*, and though Juan Manuel claims to follow his uncle's work step by step, it is actually much more than just a faithful copy.

*Libro de la caza*, thought by some to be written late in the author's life, is a treatise on the art of falconry, addressing the care, training, and medication of falcons and hawks. Juan Manuel relates not only his knowledge of the hunt, but also his own personal experience, to which he alludes in the text.

*Libro infinido*, or *Castigos y consejos a su hijo don Fernando* (1337), is inscribed within the tradition

of the education of princes, although it also contains a strong dose of personal and autobiographical content. It refers frequently to *Libro de los estados*.

*Libro de las armas*, or *Libro de las tres razones*, written after 1335, addresses three issues: the meaning of the coat of arms given to Juan Manuel's father; the reason a person may knight others without having been knighted himself; and the content of Juan Manuel's conversation with King Sancho at his deathbed (1295). The author explains the symbolism of the coat of arms (especially the angelic *ala* [wing]) that appeared in his grandfather's prophetic vision while his father, Don Manuel, was in the womb. He relates various anecdotes told both to his father and to himself, among them the legend of Doña Sancha de Aragón, similar to the legend of Saint Alexis. He concludes that both his uncle, Alfonso X, and his father had wanted him to knight others during their lifetime. Finally, the author describes King Sancho's deathbed speech, in which he tells Juan Manuel of the anguish caused by his parents' misfortune, and entrusts the young man to the king's wife María and their son Fernando. This work, which has been praised by Américo Castro as "la primera página, íntima y palpitante de una confesión escrita en castellano" [the first intimate, true life confession written in the Spanish language], has recently been analyzed from a literary perspective.

*Tratado de la Asunción de la Virgen María* was likely the last work to leave Juan Manuel's pen. A brief theological treatise on the Christian miracle of the Virgin's Assumption, the work gives several reasons why "omne del mundo no deve dubdar que sancta María no sea en cielo" [men in this world should not doubt that Saint Mary is in heaven].

Finally, *Libro del conde Lucanor*, (or *Libro de los Enxemplos del conde Lucanor et de Patronio*), finished in 1335, has come down to the modern reader in a rather contaminated state. The preservation of five manuscripts, all from the fifteenth century, attest to its wide diffusion. The work is divided into five parts, of which the first is the most extensive, consisting of fifty-one known *exempla*. In the second part the style changes, and in its prologue the author praises the use of subtlety as a way of making the merit of his work known. Books 2, 3, and 4 are essentially one book of proverbs, and the fifth and final book is a general reflection on Christian doctrine. It is difficult to separate the didactic from the narrative; the work's rhetoric manages to overcome the dichotomy of the two elements.

The sources—especially of the *exiemplos*—can be found in stories of Oriental origin that, like the *Disciplina clericalis*, were well known in the Western world through their Latin versions. It is important to

remember that in Alfonso X's day *Calila e Dinna* and *Sendebat* had already been translated into Castilian. Other works also circulated in medieval translations, including Aesop's fables, *Barlaam e Josafat*, *Sintipas*, the *Gesta romanorum*, the *Legenda aurea*, which was used by preachers who collected exempla, and contemporary works such as chronicles and bestiaries.

Some of the exempla may come from oral sources later recorded in some textual form selected by the author. Others are indications of Juan Manuel's own originality as a creator, as well as his artistic manner of reelaborating extant texts.

The purpose of the majority of Juan Manuel's writings is to teach through pleasure (*docere delectando*); in several occasions, the author expresses his goal of morally attending to his readers, orienting their conduct—including the increase of *onras* and *faciendas*—according to their estate. Consequently, and especially in *El conde Lucanor*, the author filled his *exiemplos* with the most useful and entertaining stories he knew, hoping that his readers would benefit from the work's *palabras falagueras et apuestas* (delightful and elegant words), while at the same time taking in the *cosas aprovechosas* (useful things) mixed in.

Starting in the thirteenth century, the exemplum played a didactic role, offering models of behavior for its readers. With Juan Manuel, however, the exemplum becomes something much more: it is an explicitly structural, well-determined genre chosen consciously by the author. Furthermore, it allows Juan Manuel to establish a perfect accord between the duelling narrative and didactic elements, a desire already implicit in the prologue's affirmations.

JESÚS MONTOYA MARTÍNEZ

## Bibliography

- Caldera, E. "Retórica narrativa e didáctica nel "Conde Lucanor," *Miscellanea di studi ispanici*, 14 (1966–67), 5–120.
- Catalán, D. "Don Juan Manuel ante el modelo alfonsí. El testimonio de la *Crónica abreviada*." In *Juan Manuel Studies*. Ed. I. Macpherson. London, 1977, 17–51.
- Don Juan Manuel. VII Centenario*. Murcia, 1982.
- Giménez Soler, A. *Don Juan Manuel. Biografía y estudio crítico*. Zaragoza, 1932.
- Juan Manuel, *Obras Completas*. Ed., prologue, and notes by J. M. Blecua. Vols. 1–2. Madrid, 1983.
- Rico, F., "Crítica del texto y modelos de cultura en el *Prólogo General* de Don Juan Manuel." In *Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer*. Vol. 1. Barcelona, 1990, 409–423.

**JUAN, PRINCE, SON OF CATHOLIC MONARCHS** SEE CATHOLIC MONARCHS