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ORALITY AND TEXTUALITY IN THE SPANISH SENTIMENTAL ROMANCE

VOLUME I

By

Diane Marie Wright

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

ORALITY AND TEXTUALITY IN
THE SPANISH SENTIMENTAL ROMANCE

By

Diane Marie Wright

This study evaluates the convergence of orality and textuality in the fifteenth-century Spanish sentimental romances Siervo libre de amor (1440) by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa (both 1495) by Juan de Flores and Arnalte y Lucenda (1491) and Cárcel de amor (1492) by Diego de San Pedro. These works were produced at a time when communication technology was moving from script to print amidst a predominantly oral environment.

The five sentimental romances are examined in light of oral and textual dynamics formulated from prior research whose development is traced in the first chapter. Some of the areas of each work that will be examined include: the extant manuscripts and early printed editions, oral and textual sources, oral rhetorical style and structure, thematic concerns, and narrative techniques and modes of reception. Especially important for this study is the idea that oral habits of thought and expression are preserved in writing through the arts of rhetoric and dialectic, as well as the ars memoria and the role of memory as the mediator between orality and textuality.

We can conclude from this study that the sentimental

romances are products of the interactions between orality (speech, popular traditions) and textuality (writing, learned traditions). In addition to the presence of both popular and learned sources, the speeches, debates, dialogues and letters are governed by an oral-rhetorical style and structure indicating that the works may have been read aloud in small groups. The interaction of orality with fictional writing and textual traditions also helps explain the presence of self-conscious narrators who help listeners and readers imagine themselves a part of the fiction.

An approach which takes into account the oral and textual dynamics of Spanish sentimental romance may lead to a deeper understanding of this group of early fiction whose literary merit has often been underestimated.

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For Mike, Michael and David
for their encouragement and patience.

In memory of
Dr. Kenneth Scholberg
and
Dr. Dennis Seniff

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INTRODUCTION

The fifteenth-century Spanish sentimental romances were produced at a time when oral communication was the predominant form of expression and only a minority of the population could read or write. Even among the lettered, the written word remained closely aligned with speech so that most written works bore indelible signs of orality through the presence of elements called "oral residue" that are indicative of oral habits of thought and expression. An awareness of how the aural/oral senses of perception interplayed with the increasingly visual stimulus of the written and later printed word in the rise of narrative is invaluable for an understanding of medieval Spanish literature in general, and of the Spanish sentimental works in particular.

The fifteenth-century sentimental romances were transitional texts influenced by an acutely oral environment and the move from script to print which gradually altered modes of communication. An examination of selected texts from the sentimental romance genre is illustrative of the interactions and tensions of orality (speech, popular traditions) and textuality (writing, learned traditions) in most medieval and renaissance works. The terms "orality" and

"textuality" are intentionally broadly defined due to the complexity of the topic. Orality will be considered as those habits of thought and expression that originate in cultures with little or no writing and when found in written texts are identified as forms of "oral residue" (Ong Rhetoric 25-26). Textuality will be defined as the use of and dependency on texts and written discourse. I will follow Brian Stock's definition of a text as "structured discourse based on the written word" (Implications 13) and more particularly, "a material replica of a woven literary composition, whether originating in words or in writing" (Listening 42). The above definitions will help us maintain a distinction between modes of discourse (speaking and writing) and habits of thought (oral and literate) since a text can be transmitted orally or through writing and exhibit oral or written features.

The five sentimental romances to be evaluated in light of oral/textual criteria established in chapter one are Juan Rodríguez del Padrón's Siervo libre de amor (1440), Juan de Flores's Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa (both 1495), and Diego de San Pedro's Arnalte y Lucenda (1491) and Cárcel de Amor (1492). The chronology represented by these works is particularly germane for a study which takes into account the convergence of orality and textuality since the texts were composed at a time when the pressures of literacy and increasing use of texts stimulated by the manufacture of paper and eyeglasses, and the invention of the printing press were slowly replacing an orally-infused manuscript

culture. One of Spain's earliest genres of prose fiction can therefore be studied as it evolved from the manuscript representative of chirographic culture through the early printed editions of a nascent print culture.

In order to establish the premise that major differences exist between oral habits of thought and expression and those molded by writing and later, the printed word, chapter one will present a general overview of studies and research that have had a major impact on elucidating a theory of orality and textuality. As will be demonstrated, the pioneering work outlined in chapter one, although pertaining to seemingly disparate topics and themes, illustrates a fundamental difference in the process of storing and retrieving knowledge, or noetic economy, between oral and written cultures. We will then turn to the manner in which oral habits of thought and expression were preserved by and adapted to the written, and later printed word (essentially through the arts of rhetoric). The chapter will also provide a synthesis of oral and textual aspects that will be used as a guide for evaluating the convergence of orality and textuality in the Spanish sentimental romances in the ensuing chapters.

Chapter two will consider oral and textual aspects in a critical discussion of issues relevant to the Spanish sentimental romance and its proper social-historical context. The topic of orality and textuality can help clarify many concerns bearing on an understanding of Spanish sentimental fiction such as the question of genre, the

heterogeneity of sources, the oral-rhetorical style, the treatment of principal themes (love and justice), the role of memory, and the employment of first person narrators and the participatory role of internal and external audiences. This chapter is intended as a general overview of the sentimental romance and includes references to other Spanish sentimental works not treated explicitly in the dissertation but that share many of the same features as the five works under discussion. The one common theme shared by all sentimental romances, that of love, is mediated through tensions between oral and written modes of discourse in the form of letters, speeches, debates, poetry and narration.

Siervo libre de amor by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón is the focus of chapter three. An analysis of the convergence of orality and textuality in this, the first Spanish sentimental romance, will follow oral/textual criteria established in chapter one in order to examine oral and textual elements that have influenced sources, themes, style, structure and narration. The chapter will include a discussion of the life of Rodríguez del Padrón and an examination of the one extant manuscript of the work in an attempt to resolve a principal ambiguity of the work, the tension between human and divine love. The opposition is best illustrated in the structure of the work which consists of an autobiographical frame story whose argument is the search for divine love and expressed largely through textual traditions, and the interpolated tale of tragic human love, called "Estoria de dos amadores," represented by oral and

popular sources. The autobiographical frame story of divine love is reconciled with the intercalated tale of human love due to the role of memory in foregrounding the themes of love and loyalty that link the two structural sections.

In chapter four, Juan de Flores's two works, Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa, will be examined according to the guidelines of oral and textual criteria established in chapter one. In addition to a discussion of the author, and an examination of extant manuscripts and early printed editions, the sources, style, structure, themes and narrative techniques will be considered in light of orality and textuality. Both works are illustrative of tensions between speech and writing that frequently lead to violence as the only means of resolution. Grisel y Mirabella presents a series of verbal battles that end in violence and Grimalte y Gradissa explores the effects of reading and writing and the use of texts as organizers of experience.

Chapter five studies Diego de San Pedro's Arnalte y Lucenda and Cárcel de amor in light of the convergence of orality and textuality similar to the preceding chapter. Linguistically and structurally the works of Diego de San Pedro are much more rhetorical than the dialectical scheme of Juan de Flores's texts. The stylistic differences between Arnalte y Lucenda and Cárcel de amor indicate a shift towards the humanist rhetoric of the Renaissance and the printed word. In spite of these differences, both works still indicate the close proximity to orality in significant ways as an examination of their respective styles,

structures, themes, and narration will illustrate. Tensions caused by the increasing use of texts amidst an aural-oral environment is exemplified in both works. In Arnalte y Lucenda as oral narrative becomes written text it counters the secrecy demanded in courtly love with publication and allows the lover relief through rhetorical fecundity. In Cárcel de amor love and justice clash as opposing forms of discourse. Ultimately this clash has the effect of causing Laureola to reject Leriano. His demise serves to illustrate the proximity of the written word to death.

The implication of this study is that the medieval or renaissance written text which we have in front of us is a product of not only literate habits as conditioned by writing and post-Gutenberg print culture, but in varying degrees, depending on the historical context, oral modes of thought and expression. For the present study, the fifteenth century is particularly intriguing since it demonstrates a moment of time when the printing press was just beginning to make itself felt in the midst of an orally residual manuscript culture. The printing press, much like that of the computer revolution today, altered and changed communication technology which increased the pressures of literacy on human sensibility and mentality. The evaluation of the Sentimental Romance which considers the interplay of oral and written modes of discourse is apropos since they represent perhaps the only corpus of prose fiction to develop in the Spanish peninsula during the fifteenth century (Rohland de Langbehn "Desarrollo" 307). In a sense,

Spanish sentimental fiction can be conceived of as the beginning of a creative partnership between oral and written forms of discourse. The present study will seek to demonstrate the complex nature of oral and textual influences on the composition, transmission and reception of this new alliance.

Chapter One

Orality and Textuality: A Critical Approximation

The purpose of chapter one is to trace the evolution of critical thought on orality and textuality and to define the framework of the dissertation. In order to establish essential differences between oral and written forms of expression, material from a number of disciplines will be presented and synthesized. The research that has been accomplished is truly interdisciplinary encompassing such fields as anthropology, history, folklore, communications, linguistics and literature. The chapter begins with a discussion of the nature of oral expression elucidated through Marcel Jousse's conclusions on the physiological basis of oral communication. Jousse's deductions led to the ground breaking work of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord on oral-formulaic theory explicated in Lord's The Singer of Tales. The Singer's subsequent influence on the direction of orality studies in medieval literature will also be addressed. The chapter moves next to the work of the classicist Eric Havelock who, in his Preface to Plato and later research on ancient Greece, establishes differences in thought processes and expression between oral and literate cultures. Studies in anthropology (Goody and Watt, Levi Strauss, Finnegan), history (Clanchy, Gellrich and Stock) and literary-related socio-cultural topics (Gurevich, Bakhtin) are briefly treated for their insights into oral

and semi-literate cultures. The research of Walter Ong serves as a point of departure for a discussion of issues fundamental to the approach of the dissertation especially in regard to the role of rhetoric as fostering oral expression and the agonistic nature of oral thought processes. Because the emergence of writing within an essentially oral culture is evident throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the chapter will then turn to studies that deal with particular approaches to the topic in medieval literature such as oral delivery, literacy and illiteracy, and the interaction of oral and textual modes of expression. As D. H. Green demonstrates in his survey of orality and medieval studies, medievalists have been particularly eager to utilize research on spoken and written means of communication. Subsequently, the chapter will narrow in focus to outline various approaches that oral/textual research has taken in the study of Spanish medieval and renaissance literature. The chapter concludes with a synthesis of oral and textual dynamics based on criteria developed by Ong and other scholars on orality and textuality that will serve as a guideline for the evaluation of the Spanish Sentimental Romance.

Physiological Process of Oral Communication

In order to highlight the nature of oral language and how its style differs from that of written texts, it is important to discuss, albeit briefly, the work of Marcel Jousse, a predecessor of Parry and Lord, who was known to them and no doubt influenced them. Writing in 1924, Jousse

is perhaps the earliest investigator to have examined the physiological process of oral speech and its influence on forming patterns of narrative style. Le Style oral rhythmique et chez les verbo-moteurs illustrates that elements of spoken discourse such as balancing, formulaic expressions and rhythm are more than just external techniques but are inherent psychological and physiological reactions (xi). Balancing, for example, not only includes the words themselves but also involves the entire muscular structure. Jousse describes the physiological process of the "breathing technique" that aids memory retention: "By this technique one breathes to oneself the initial word of each succeeding phrase" (xxiii). Hence the function of the sounded word is to link memory with verbalization through a process that is as much physical as intellectual.

Having grown up in the oral-aural ambience of rural France, Jousse's own powers of memorization and observation enabled him to research oral style at first from personal experience. Le Style rhythmique is organized in such a way that it reflects oral style itself. The book is made up entirely of quotations from other texts, interwoven like formulas in an oral narrative. His introductions and explanatory material are placed within brackets in order to distinguish them from the interwoven quotes. He explains that because of his upbringing in a predominantly oral environment, his own writing habits reflect oral habits of thought. This special vantage point gives him a unique position from which to view the fundamental differences

between oral and written discourse without the bias of a literate upbringing. Jousse distinguishes three phases of human expression which run the gamut between complete orality and textuality: corporeal-manual style in which he includes children's games and mimicry; oral style consisting in formulas and proverbs; and written style with consequent "algebrisation" or abstraction of the concrete. Although Jousse did not initiate the avalanche of oral research that came after Parry and Lord, he did establish the relevance of the physiological process as an element in spoken discourse. This process brings the whole body into the communicative act. Jousse's work laid the groundwork for Parry and Lord's theory of oral-formulaic composition.

Oral-Formulaic Theory

Although the research of Jousse and others established the foundation, it was Albert B. Lord's The Singer of Tales (1960) that led to an increase in scholarship concerning the essential differences between oral and literate cultures. Any discussion of Lord's work must include that of his mentor Milman Parry,[1] whose groundbreaking conclusions on Homer laid the framework for Lord's subsequent research. Milman Parry had been attempting to find a solution to the so-called "Homeric question" that treated theories on the origins of the Iliad and the Odyssey and the identity of Homer. The Unitary theory, (in simplified terms a single author theory), was predominant when Parry's thesis appeared. Parry's 1928 doctoral dissertation concluded that the Iliad and the Odyssey were products of an oral poetic

tradition in which a poet would "weave" his poem from formulas and themes.[2] The formula is defined by Parry as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (Parry The Making 272). Parry examined a particular type of formula in the Homeric epic, the epithet, "a qualifying word added to a substantive without the intermediary of the copula" (20).[3] In addition to epithets, Parry, and later Lord, examined the presence of themes in the Homeric epic. Theme is defined by Parry as "a sort of basic unit of narration in an oral poem" (Parry xli) while Lord considers it to be a grouping of ideas "regularly used in telling a tale in the formulaic style of traditional song" (Singer 68). Themes, also known as motifs, are types of narrative formulas: the calling of an assembly, the arming of a warrior, the challenge, the recognition, or a description of a feast or a banquet.[4] The discovery that Homeric epic was made up almost totally of formulaic expressions and themes confirmed Parry's ideas that Greek epic grew from a tradition whose poets were skilled in methods of oral composition and presentation.

Parry, comparing his theory of formulaic composition with the way the illiterate Yugoslav singers called guslars, created their songs or poems, affirmed the conclusion reached in his doctoral thesis that the Homeric epic is a product of oral-formulaic style. Parry, with Lord as his assistant, recorded the songs of these guslars, noting that the Yugoslav singers composed their work orally by "weaving"

together formulas and themes. This is the technique that Parry describes as the way the poets of pre-alphabetic Greece, had composed the Greek epics attributed to Homer.

After Parry's death, Lord continued the work they had begun together, the result being the Singer of Tales. Here Lord analyzes in great detail the guslars' long period of apprenticeship in which they learned the techniques of simultaneous oral composition and performance. By observing the Yugoslav singers as they learned their craft he was able to understand the process of oral composition. The crux of Lord's theory is that the guslar was able to rapidly compose his text while performing by utilizing the phrases and themes (Parry's formulas) that preceding generations of poets had developed (the tradition) in order to meet the metrical requirements conditioned by the song's form rather than from verbatim memory. Although the guslars relied on tradition they continually modified it to conform to needs of composition in performance. The guslars thought in terms of sound groups rather than written words, and as Lord explains, these poet/singers would not recognize a line of verse since their memory was aural rather than visual (25). Besides the exigencies of time demanded by composing in front of an audience, where a moment's hesitation could diminish the success of the recitation, the guslars continually conformed to the reactions of the audience. The poet/singer would modify poems depending on the receptivity of the listening public. If the audience shows signs of impatience the guslar might, for example, shorten portions

of the song, or draw it to a more hasty conclusion. The variability displayed in the endings of oral poetry is thus accounted for by the demands of the audience.

In the Singer, Lord tests the conclusions he has drawn about oral composition from his fieldwork with the Serbo-Croation epic singers in order to analyze poems in Greek, Old English and Old French for signs of oral composition. He lists three main criteria in order to determine if the poems are products of oral or written tradition: 1) amount of formula or formulaic expressions, 2) type of enjambment and 3) thematic analyses (148-49). For Lord, an oral tradition shows a high degree of formulaic phrases, an additive or coordinative style (ie. "and they did this and then...and that...and...and..."), and traditional, stock themes. The three possible situations he recognizes as types of oral composition consist of: 1) actual performance (only possible if recorded live on tape), 2) an oral dictated text or 3) a literate poet writes down the orally composed poem himself (148-49). Lord has been criticized for being somewhat restrictive as to his definition of an oral text, considering it a work that is orally composed at the moment of performance. According to Lord, texts exhibit either oral or written style depending on the predominance of oral or written elements. At first, he refused to allow for what he terms "transitional texts," those between oral and written traditions (128). After the Singer, Lord modified his views on the issue of a purely oral composition with regard to written texts, and reluctantly admitted the possibility of a

"transitional text"[5] that exhibited traces of oral and written elements ("Perspectives"). Lord's most important contribution to orality studies lies in his clarification of the technique of oral composition and illustration of oral-formulaic expression and style. Oral-formulaic theory has enlightened scholars on how medieval works were composed and transmitted as well.

The scores of entries in John Miles Foley's invaluable bibliography on oral-formulaic theory attest to the wide reception of Parry/Lord's findings.[6] Oral-formulaic theory has been recognized, amplified and criticized as a tool in indicating the degree of orality in a given work.[7] A consensus among many researchers is that oral-formulaic theory ought to be amplified beyond Lord's insistence on oral composition when applied to written texts. For example, the mnemonic function of formulaic phrases may become lost when the phrases are employed in written texts.

Franz Bauml clarifies the role of formulaic phrases in medieval written texts in his discussion of the "vantage point" of the formulas in a work ("Medieval Texts" 40). He finds that medieval vernacular works show signs of the elements of oral composition and transmission proposing that oral-formulaic theory should

> first, to distinguish between orality and literacy in the process of composition on the one hand, and in that of transmission on the other. Secondly, the function of the formula in the process of composition of an oral epic must be distinguished from its function in its reception in reading or in being read aloud....In the case of the written text, composition and reception take place in the absence of one from the other, and to varying degrees in the absence of the conventions

governing each. (38)

As Bauml illustrates there are basic differences in the processes of composition and transmission. A work may be composed in writing, for example, but delivered orally. The function of the formula also changes in the process of composition in that the formula may lose its mnemonic or metrical role for the author but serve as a literary device or convention in a written text. Formulas and formulaic phrases are much more than simple memory or metre keeping devices as evidenced by their continued presence in written works. Formulaic expressions also serve a referential function: "the written formulaic text inescapably refers the receiver to the oral formulaic tradition" (43). Even though the mnemonic or metrical function of formulas and themes varies depending on types of composition and performance, the referential function remains clear. Writing in fact fictionalizes the oral tradition. According to Bauml the referential function of orality in a written work serves an important purpose. It meets an audience's "horizon of expectation" (the beliefs, attitudes and presumptions they carry within them to the reading or recitation) and it grants the narrator authority derived from oral tradition to be believed (43-44). The textualization of oral tradition as explained by Bauml in the notion of the referential function of the oral-formulaic system is an important step towards understanding the presence of formulaic language in written texts. As Bauml has explained, the pragmatic and aesthetic functions of the formula as first developed by Parry and

Lord and then elucidated by others, is one aspect of oral practice that has continued in writing.

Oral-Formulaic Theory and Spanish Epic

L.P. Harvey ("The Metrical") was the first to apply Parry and Lord's findings in order to explain the metrical irregularity of the earliest extant Spanish epic, Cantar de Mio Cid. He finds the Cid to be highly oral. On the other hand, Alan Deyermond ("The Singer") who also considered the usefulness of Lord's model to the Spanish epic, concluded that both the Cantar de Mio Cid and Mocedades de Rodrigo contain a mix of learned (written) and popular (oral) traditions, the result of the use by the juglares of a written text.[8] In support of Deyermond's conclusions, John Miletech ("Repetition"; "Oral Aesthetics") compares the Spanish epic with Yugoslav and Serbo-Croation singers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and believes the results point to written composition and oral diffusion.

Whereas Deyermond and Miletech agree that the Spanish epic contains a mixture of oral and written elements, other researchers consider the presence of formulaic elements as evidence of oral composition. Adams ("The Yugoslav Model") considers analogous features between the Yugoslav model and Spanish epic as proof for an oral original and Webber ("Formulaic Language") reaches similar conclusions in a formulaic analysis of the Mocedades. Aguirre and other scholars have attempted to reconcile the written vs. oral composition camps suggesting that there were two phases in the development of Spanish epic poetry: the first in the

oral and creative tradition of the juglares and a second stage that was conservative and less artistic (40).

In summary, oral-formulaic theory as first developed by Parry and Lord, and then elaborated by other researchers, created another approach to understanding medieval epic and in regards to the Spanish epic, fueled the traditionalist-individualist polemic. On another level, knowledge of how oral composers create their songs and the reasoning by which they utilise formulas, epithets, repetitions, rhythm and mnemonic techniques can bring us closer to understanding early literatures where orality is the primary form of communication.

The Alphabetic Impact

Just a few years after Lord's description of oral composition, Eric Havelock considered the psychological and stylistic changes that the alphabet and subsequent writing would produce on prior oral cultures. Havelock augmented Parry and Lord's findings with a study of the transition of ancient Greek culture from the Homeric world of orality to the philosophical society of Plato. In his Preface to Plato (1963) he demonstrates that the introduction of the phonetic alphabet into Greek culture made possible a written discourse necessary for analytical thought demanded by philosophy. In other words, the invention of phonetic writing led to the restructuring of the mental processes so that in addition to expanding the means by which a culture's knowledge is stored and retrieved, writing actuated man's latent analytical capabilities. The freeing of memory by

writing played a major role in the rise of analytical thought. Since human memory was the primary storage place for an oral culture's knowledge, versified language with its use of rhythm and repetitions and backed by tradition, was the natural form of storage and recall. Now that knowledge could be stored and retrieved externally in texts, the mind was then freed for observation and analysis of reality.

In Origins of Western Literacy (1976) Havelock contends that the introduction of vowels into the alphabet contributed to the ascendancy of Greek philosophy. The interiorization of the alphabet by the Greek psyche with the introduction of vowels allowed the Greeks a higher level of abstract, analytical reasoning since sound was visually coded and reproduced as script. Thought, once expressed through formulaic and concrete language, could now be articulated through the use of writing to reflect on the meaning of knowledge and to seek truth through the use of more abstract language.[9] According to Havelock, Plato forbade the poets entry to his society because they guarded the old habits of formulaic thought which recycled past knowledge but did not allow for the growth of new ideas; oral mentality is what Plato was in fact rejecting.[10] Plato wanted to replace poetry's didactic role with his own teachings. His works were written not in verse but in prose, and substituted the oral transmission of knowledge for its pursuit through theoretical analysis (The Muse 15).

Although Plato wanted to eradicate the oral mentality of poets, he himself was still committed to the spoken word

and explains in the Phaedras that writing serves to store knowledge but is not the equivalent of wisdom:

> Writing is an aid not to memory, but to reminiscence. More important, documents cannot respond to questions. They can be used by those who lack the ability or background to understand them and who therefore misinterpret their meanings. Written documents can neither explain nor justify themselves. (275)

For Plato, the primary deficiency of written documents is their failure to dialogue, the dialogue being in classical society the focus of learning and philosophizing. The pursuit of truth was only possible through oral discourse or through dialogue (104). In the Phaedrus and the Seventh Republic Plato uses dialogue in order to articulate the tensions between the effectiveness of the spoken word and the possibilities for growth made possible by the written text.

Havelock's studies on Greek culture and the changes wrought by the use of writing is essential for an understanding of the basic differences in forms of thought and expression as one proceeds from an oral culture to an increasingly literate society in which writing opens the way for the growth of philosophy and metaphysical speculations about reality. The changes noted by Havelock have been supported by the field research of anthropologists who observed the ways in which existing tribal societies with no writing store and retrieve knowledge.

Primitive and Literate Cultures

Goody and Watts (1963) contemporaneously complement Havelock's conclusions in the Preface to Plato and his other

studies of pre-literate Greece concerning the formulary nature of thought in the noetic economy of oral cultures before the introduction of writing. The two anthropologists examined the influence of literacy through a comparison of literate and non-literate cultures. First they identifed the ways purely oral societies transmitted their cultural heritage such as passing on material resources to others or teaching customary ways of behaving (including cooking, raising food, handling children). Second, Goody and Watts noted the way primitive groups expressed themselves regarding meanings and attitudes towards space, time, beliefs, and goals, attached to their verbal symbols (305). They found that in oral cultures, the primary form of transmission involved face to face contact between individuals who had material stored in memory. The information was constantly repeated in forms that favored recall so as not to be forgotten. The personal contact between individuals as well as the demands made by memory made words memorable and in turn affected the type of language and vocabulary of the group. Goody and Watts noted that there was a very direct relation between symbol and referent so that layers of meaning did not accumulate as they do in literate cultures. Oral cultures do not possess dictionaries that amass new meanings to words in response to semantic changes. In addition, the range of vocabulary reflected the immediate concerns of the group. For example, a tribe on the Pacific island of Lesu had over a dozen words for the pig due to this animal's value as one of the tribe's

few sources of protein (306). The anthropologists discovered that abstract words are also bound to practical matters in oral cultures. A tribe in northern Ghana used the same word for day and market ordering time in weeks of six days each corresponding to the most important markets in their region (307). Language is governed by the direct and daily concerns of an oral culture so that even abstract terms are tied to the social needs of its members.

The function of memory as well as forgetting is central to the transmission of an oral society's cultural heritage in what Goody and Watts term the "homeostatic organization" of the cultural tradition (307). As knowledge is transmitted from one individual's memory to another, whatever parts cease to be relevant are forgotten. They tell how the orally transmitted genealogy of a tribe in northern Ghana became altered in the course of fifty years in order to fit contemporary political realities (310). Whereas a literate society finds it more difficult to alter its history once it is set down in writing (it does make correctives), an oral society constantly adapts its past to meet present needs. The oral reconstruction of the past by tribal cultures is not so much a means of preserving historical events as maintaining present social relationships. An important aspect of the role of history in an oral culture is that the individual has little perception of the past except in terms of the present, while a society with written chronicles can distance itself from its past (311).

Goody and Watts explain how a new attitude toward the

past evolved with the diffusion of writing in ancient Greece. Once the past was fixed in a text, an awareness of the many inconsistencies in the beliefs and myths emerged that required the Greeks to adopt a more conscious, critical attitude of their world view, especially concerning ideas of God, the universe and the past (325). Writing therefore contributed to not only a sense of the past as separate from the present but it also helped develop a critical attitude toward the past since inconsistencies had to be confronted when fixed within a text (333). This sense of past as objective reality led to a distinction between history and myth. As Goody and Watts note, historia in the Greek sense means "inquiry" and it is this inquiry into the past that gradually separated myth from history.

At the same time as Goody and Watts, the noted anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss' La Pensée Sauvage (1962) affirmed Goody's and Watt's findings. Levi-Strauss contributed to the idea that there are basic differences between oral and literate cultures but oral cultures are not necesarily backwards or "primitive" because their structures of perception and transmission of reality differ from those found in literate societies. Although his focus is not orality per se his research has shown that non-literate cultures function in highly sophisticated ways.

Ruth Finnegan's work (Oral Poetry) on oral poetry has also shown that oral cultures communicate in highly complex and diverse ways. In a recent book on technology and communication she criticizes what she sees as ethnocentrism

and over generalizations on the part of researchers of oral communication. In Orality and Literacy (1988) she urges caution against seeing all cultures from a universal theory of orality and literacy. Scholars should not search for "opposing types of cultures as wholes, but rather for specific characteristics or consequences likely to be associated with orality and with literacy" (146). She suggests that the dichotomies distinguishing oral and literate societies are not as great as some scholars have suggested. In fact she notes that both cultures share sophisticated forms of literary expression even if the techniques may vary between oral and literate cultures. Although commonly related to written texts, distancing, for example, is achieved in oral cultures through either the presence of the storyteller as mediator, the use of animal masks, elements of fantasy, or an emphasis on authority (65-67). According to Finnegan, the most distinguishing characteristic of oral literature is its variability. Like Lord, Finnegan stresses that each oral performance will be unique even if repeated by the same poet or singer. Another difference between oral and written forms posited by Finnegan is that of dissemination. She believes that in a literate culture dissemination occurs through the written word, in an oral culture, it is through speech. As such the transmission can be termed a performance and the style of texts may be related to their form of delivery. An orally delivered text may be marked by repetitions, formulaic phrases or highlighting of dramatic moments that, if read

silently, would offer a less satisfying experience.

Finnegan is critical of scholars who have taken Lord's theory of "oral composition in performance" as a universal model for the creation of all oral literature. She gives an example of Pacific oral poetry composed prior to performance in order to disprove the universality of Lord's theory (88-91). Unfortunately she later disclaims her own counter argument when she admits that the Pacific poet's composition before performance might be a product not of oral habit but due to the group's contact with writing (105). Her conclusions do not differ drastically from her predecessors and she often falls into the same trap she accuses them of, by overspecifying and inadequately comparing dissimilar genres.[11] In spite of these faults, Finnegan offers many interesting scenarios in her studies. One such anecdote illustrates the interplay of a written source that feeds into the oral tradition and is collected from the oral form years later, as occurred in Tahiti in 1829 when the biblical account of Adam and Eve had entered into the oral history of the group (118). The importance of her research lies in her insightful observations of cultures with little or no writing and the way they store and transmit knowledge.[12]

Historical Perspectives: Oral to Literate Transitions

Societies that developed a high degree of writing present other complexities. Medieval society is unique in its position since a literate culture emerged out of the oral habits of thought found in early cultures. Medieval culture consisted of tensions resulting from the coexistence

and increasing overlaps of orality and writing. Historians such as Michael Clanchy and Brian Stock have illustrated the implications and complexities of literacy as it spread within the acutely oral environment of medieval Europe. Literacy as currently defined, did not automatically combine the skills of reading and writing in the Middle Ages. Since written works were read aloud, reading was linked to hearing while written texts were divided into dictating (in the sense of composing or dictitare) and writing (making a copy of a manuscript or scriptitare) (218-20). Thus both reading and composing were acts that involved speaking:

> Dictating was the usual form of literary composition and the ars dictaminis, taught in the schools as part of rhetoric, was the skill governing it. Letter writing was thus an intellectual skill using the mouth rather than the hand. (Clanchy 219)

The division of reading and writing into distinct and primarily oral skills attaches a different and often complex connotation to notions of literacy when considering Medieval and Renaissance literacy.

Clanchy illustrates the tensions and complexities involved in the growth of literacy through a treatment of the transition from oral to written law in twelfth- to fourteenth-century England. He shows that the written word was often apprehended with suspicion by the unlettered. Since the written word could be forged or altered,[13] it could not always be trusted. A written document could not be questioned and made to defend its testimony like a witness could.

Before writing became common, the legal act involved an

individual who would hear certain words spoken and see the judicial procedure executed through the use of physical objects or tangible articles. Pieces of sod or a knife, for example, marked the transferral of property (Clanchy 203-08; Stock Implications 47).

Performance thus constituted the legal act. This type of oral habit of thought involving tangible objects continued with the advent of written documents. Books had value as unique physical objects, sometimes inspiring distrust in its power, and at other moments, deep religious veneration. The act of writing was made magical through the practice of levatio cartae in the placing of pen, ink and parchment on the land as proof of transferral (Stock Implications 48). Visual and tactile signs such as seals and other physical objects thus helped forge a link between the literate and non-literate. Seals on documents were concrete signs of the wishes of the sender and probably encouraged the acceptance of the authority of written documents among the generally orally-responsive populace. "The seal was a relic, which could be seen and touched in order to obtain from it that authentic view and feel of a donor's wishes which no writing could adequately convey" (Clanchy 245). The need for witnesses in addition to the document was necessary in order to resolve problems of authentication, especially when the litigants could not read or write (Stock Implications 39-40). The combined use of oral ritual and written document thus played a crucial role in the authentication of the act since the performance of the legal

act made it legally binding while the document served as a transcript of the event (Stock 45).

By the thirteenth century as the use of written documents gradually increased, the documents themselves came to be the accepted proof. Along with the fact that works were read aloud and dictated, visual aspects of written texts such as seals and relics and even the embellishment of manuscript codices helped to inspire trust in the written word as well as transmit official culture to the non-literate majority (Clanchy 229). The legal system in Medieval England emerged from tensions caused by superstitions and suspicions of writing held by a primarily oral population. The rise of England's legal system from an oral past represents a prime example of how writing and texts increased among a generally nonliterate public. By 1300 writing had been assimilated into English culture.

Brian Stock studies the emergence of writing not only in England but throughout eleventh and twelfth-century Europe. For Stock, the central problem of the Middle Ages is the relation of orality to the increasing use of texts both socially and ontologically (Listening 35). It is Stock's emphasis on the word "uses" which is important since it avoids problems concerning a definition of literacy, which as Clanchy has demonstrated involved speaking and listening as separate skills. Writing was in fact "used" for practical purposes in accounting and record keeping so that rather than supersede the oral, writing existed along with it. A new type of interdependence developed between orality and

writing that would eventually change man's relationship with reality (3).

As writing came to play a principal role in organizing experience sets of dichotomies arose. Writing set in order random events and made distinctions between perception (what was taking place) and the reality assigned to it (what was said to be taking place) which caused barriers to emerge between traditional accounts and scientific constructs. Stock posits that the means by which individuals established personal identity both with respect to the inner self and the external world was also influenced by writing:

> And the writing down of events, the editing so to speak of experience, gave rise to unprecedented parallels between literature and life: for as texts informed experience, so men and women began to live texts. (Implications 4)

A prime example is the tradition known as courtly love that developed into a highly developed code of conduct that is best reflected in literature (Huizinga 107-19). For example, in fifteenth-century Spain, passion was formalized in the of cancionero love poetry. The ideals codified into a set of rules in the love poems were emulated in the fifteenth-century Spanish courts from the time of Juan II through the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.

The relationship of lover to beloved was often described in terms of the feudal relationship of the vassal (lover) in homage to his lord (lady). The analogous relationship of lover/beloved and vassal/lord illustrated the changing political system as medieval society was affected by the increasing uses of writing. Feudal society

began as a social system that was dependent upon oral rituals uniting lord and vassal. The ceremonies were highly symbolic constituting face to face oral statements and gift giving as concrete proof of the social bond (Stock Implications 49-50). Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries the highly ritualistic feudal system gradually evolved into written codes of law and at the same time were expressed idealistically in literature through chivalric romances. The ritualistic aspects declined as property relations and an agrarian economy were governed more and more through written law (Stock 49-52). Medieval feudal law was altered and codified into written law with the growth of literacy.

Stock points out another cultural change and dichotomy that arose with increased literacy, the reclassification of oral tradition as popular: "Oral cultures acquired popular associations only at the time when cultural values were beginning to be associated with literacy" (Implications 19). The popular-learned opposition did not exist until writing gained prominence. Since popular culture was traditionally conveyed through oral modes of discourse, popular traditions became identified with oral rituals and customs. The issue of popular and learned traditions becomes more complex since the oral and written modes of communication were governed by separate languages. Latin had evolved into a textual language used for learned and primarily religious purposes while the vernaculars were the orally transmitted language of the masses. Charles Ferguson calls this phenomenon

"diglossia"[14] the dual existence of oral and written linguistic systems (Learned Latin and the oral vernaculars). Clanchy furnishes an extreme example of diglossia in twelfth-century England, where a highly complex interchange of "polyglossia" included not only spoken English but spoken French along with the official use of Latin (160-63). Culturally, English was the language of the common villagers while French was spoken by their Norman conquerors. Latin as in most of Europe remained the written language of religion and official business. Thus depending on the situation and persons involved, any combination of the three was possible. An illustration of "polyglossia" is also possible for twelfth and thirteenth-century Spain where Fernando III's and Alfonso X's royal court of translators would render an Arabic or Hebrew text into an intermediary Castilian version that would then be rendered into Latin by another scribe (G. Menéndez Pidal). Eventually Alfonso X the Wise (1252-84) dispensed with the Latin translation altogether and established the vernacular as a suitable language for written texts in Spain.

The medieval legal traditions also exemplify the concept of diglossia through the interaction of learned and popular cultures. Stock reveals that even familiar divisions between oral Germanic law and written Roman law were not firmly established since existing "popular" or unwritten traditions of Roman law were eventually incorporated into the Roman legal code. In other words, oral customary law was eventually put in writing or textualized (43). Oral forms

such as customary law continued alongside written codes in many places, but as indicated by the above example they increasingly worked within a textual framework. The incorporation of oral systems within written texts is common in other genres as well. During the Middle Ages and beyond, medieval sermons and penitential works display an interaction between learned and popular cultures (Stock 77).

Gurevich confirms the necessity of perceiving the medieval world model as a symbiosis of popular and learned traditions in his historical treatment of medieval culture. He proposes that by studying medieval Latin learned texts one can catch a glimpse of the popular (and oral) culture of the uneducated masses, silenced by their lack of written records. He indicates that since certain genres were directed towards educating the populace in the beliefs and stipulations of the Church, the learned members of the clergy were compelled to express themselves in a discourse that the uneducated could comprehend and accept. He examines the genres of hagiography, penitentials and the dream vision in order to shed light on the nature of medieval popular culture.

Mikhail Bakhtin has also been influential in the study of popular culture and its relation and function in literature. Bakhtin's research on Rabelais has led scholars to consider the function of carnivalesque and ritual laughter in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. He lists three forms of popular culture:

1. Ritual spectacles: carnival pageants, comic shows of

the marketplace.
2. Comic verbal compositions: parodies both oral and written, in Latin and in the vernacular.
3. Various genres of billingsgate: curses, oaths, popular blazons. (Rabelais 5)

All topics that were treated seriously by the high, official culture were subject to parody and comicity, no matter how sacred (Rabelais 89-90). He identifies the expression of the two forms of culture, one official and the other popular through his conceptions of monoglossia, a unified ethnocentric and uni-vocal system and heteroglossia, a pluralistic, multi-voiced system, as represented respectively by the epic and the novel. Bakhtin explains that the novel by its nature heteroglossic, is involved in a process of dialogue constantly redefining itself while epic and lyric traditions convey one voice (usually that of the dominant culture) and achieve richness of expression through a reliance on literary tropes ("Discourse"). The dialogue between the monoglossic, "official" culture and the heteroglossic "mass" culture is especially notable during the Renaissance due to the cultural diglossia present (Latin/Vernaculars). The dialogue between the official and popular cultures is the essential ingredient for Rabelaisian carnival. Elias Rivers ("Two Functions") ties in Bahktin's concepts of dialogue and mono/heteroglossia with orality.

Monoglossia:

> provides for the apparently univocal use of the same words by different people, and the other [heteroglossia] permits skeptical analysis of traditional formulas, equivocal explorations of new ideological possibilities, innovative social discourse, and the novelty of new novels. (258)

In other words the mutual interworkings or degrees of monoglossia and heteroglossia in a culture coincide with the interaction of orality and textuality and ultimately display similar tensions as well.

Juan Cano-Ballesta echoes Bakhtin's discussion of the reemergence of popular culture in the Renaissance by examining its role in the Cancionero Musical de Palacio:

> La cultura de la plaza pública- como se revela en estos textos- es parte importante de una imagen más completa de la Edad Media. Las composiciones paródicas y burlescas que hemos mencionado son textos que aluden a otros textos; los absorben, los elaboran, los desintegran o los refutan. Pero al mismo tiempo, se inspiran en la experiencia diaria y en la vida real, y mantienen contactos con la tradición oral. (327)

He concludes by emphasizing the fact that along with humanism, popular culture also played a role in the Renaissance:

> El redescubrimiento de los autores clásicos griegos y romanos, y el renacer de los dioses paganos no fueron la única fuerza que condujo a la nueva visión renacentista del mundo. Hubo otras muchas. Una de ellas fue la rica experiencia popular de la vida diaria en su expresión folklórica, poética, sus danzas, canciones, chistes, cuentos cómicos, etc. que crecieron independientemente de la cultura oficial. (328)

For Jesse Gellrich ("Orality, Literacy and Crisis"), the mixture of learned and popular elements of the later medieval period and Renaissance led to increased tensions between them. Incorporating the previous scholarship of Clanchy and Stock, he illustrates how conflicts between oral and written modes of expression were at first suppressed "by the deeper medieval impulse to transform the strange and different practices of literacy into habits long familiar to an oral consciousness" (467). As long as writing served as a

receptacle for recycling information back into the oral world tensions between the two were minimized. Gellrich says the crisis between literacy and orality slowly intensified as oral habits of thought clashed with the growing legitimacy of texts. In other words as documents began to stand on their own, without a need for the accompanying rituals to legitimize the legal or notorial act. In order to show how oral modes persisted along with writing in the later medieval period, Gellrich examines the use of oral narrative techniques such as the presence of "flat" characters and oral themes in fourteenth-century chronicles. He correctly suggests that the preference for oral modes found in the chronicles and other texts indicates the belief that writing is an imitation and extension of speech, an idea that he traces back to St. Augustine (471). The view of writing as a memorial act whose function was to preserve the spoken word waned with the increasing use of writing until print interiorized writing around the late eighteenth century.

The studies addressed up to now have treated the role of orality and textuality from a number of different perspectives that indicate distinctions between oral and written modes of thought and expression. Oral expression is balanced, formulaic, repetitive and traditional as Jousse showed by linking verbal expression with physical responses and Parry and Lord expanded upon Jousse's ideas through oral-formulaic theory. Since an oral culture's knowledge depends upon individual memory, knowledge must be stored in

forms that are memorable like rhythmic and formulaic phrases. Knowledge is continually repeated and what parts do not meet present needs are discarded leading to a homeostatic view of history. Even vocabulary in oral cultures is tied to the concrete needs of the community. With the introduction of the alphabet analytical thinking was made possible that stimulated the development of philosophical thought. The distancing created by the written word lead to a critical view of the past that separated the concepts of history and myth. In the Middle Ages the gradual uses made of writing amidst the suspicions and apprehensions of a primarily oral public led to a dichotomy between popular and learned cultures that became identified with oral and written traditions respectively. The interaction between oral and written modes of expression produced tensions as written texts gradually absorbed and supplanted oral genres and traditions. As a further inquiry into the basic differences between orality and textuality, a number of topics will be addressed that are especially useful including the word and its relation to sound, the central role of rhetoric, dialectic and Learned Latin in preserving oral habits of thought, the agonistic or polemical nature fostered in oral cultures, the implications of writing and print on the development of narrative, and lastly, the changes from orality to writing reflected in manuscripts and early printed texts.

Oral and Textuality: Sound, Sight and Rhetoric

Walter Ong has been the most succinct in synthesizing previous scholarship concerning oral-aural phenomena and textuality in its written and printed forms. His Orality and Literacy (1982) presents a summary of Ong's ideas about orality and textuality which serves as the basis for the critical approach of this dissertation. Ong incorporates the prior research of Parry, Lord, Havelock, Marshall McLuhan and many others as he classifies the oral and textual dynamics of language. Ong claims that major cultural developments relate in complex and often dialectical ways to changes in communication technology. Since Ong's works show a development of his ideas on a myriad of themes that sometimes overlap, related studies by other scholars will be incorporated into the discussion.

Cultural Changes as Communication Shifts

It will be helpful to first explain Ong's conceptual base which posits that changes in consciousness are fostered by the evolution of the word from sound to print and correspond to stages in cultural evolution. Ong defines four stages of cultural evolution based on a shift from an oral/aural to a visually dominant society: 1) primary oral culture, in which no writing exists 2) manuscript or chirographic culture, varying interactions between writing and orality, 3) print or typographic culture, where literate habits of thought and expression gradually take over the oral mindset, and 4) secondary orality, described as today's culture with a new emphasis on orality due to electronic

media such as radio or television that accentuate sound. According to Ong, in each of the four stages one sense dominates over others. In what he terms a "primary" oral culture the sense of sound is dominant while in a typographic culture it is the sense of sight. Ong expands on many of Marshall McLuhan's reflections expounded in McLuhan's Gutenberg Galaxy (1962).[15] Ong demonstrates that through time the written word has been interiorized, or taken in and made a part of human consciousness. Alphabetic writing and later print altered oral habits of thinking in the creation of a literate mentality:

> Persons who have interiorized writing not only write but also speak literately, which is to say that they organize, to varying degrees, even their oral expression in thought patterns and verbal patterns that they would not know of unless they could write. (Orality 57)

Formulaic, rhythmic and repetitive patterns characteristic of orality gave way to analytical and subordinate thought. Oral habits of thought continued in the manuscript culture of the Middle Ages and past the advent of printing until print interiorized the alphabet to a much higher degree than the written word itself could. The Romantic movement of the nineteenth century represents the principal moment of separation with oral mindset through its rejection of rhetoric and scorn for formulaic language as well as its perception of originality as the mainspring of creative endeavor. In his explanation of the persistence of orality up to Romanticism Ong suggests that prior habits of thought do not die out but in fact continue until the new form is

interiorized. He refers to the persistence of orality as residual orality and its traces in written texts as residual forms of primary oral thought.

The Senses and Orality

Ong elaborates McLuhan's observations that changes in the senses can be linked to changes in communication technology and makes a case for the sensorium defined as "the various senses taken conjointly" (Interfaces 136). Like McLuhan, Ong stresses the gradual rise in sight as the dominant sense in print culture while he does not discount the importance of sight or the keen powers of observation by people in an oral society. He posits that the linking of visual perception to verbalization was increased to a new degree with the use of writing and then print. The increase in visual stimulus as a medium of verbalization affects human consciousness (Presence 50). A new balance in the sensorium was reached when the verbalizing, normally controlled entirely through the sense of sound in primary oral cultures, was gradually replaced by print as inscribed letters linked the sense of sight with verbalization. As Ong demonstrates, many abstractions used in philosophy are visual. For example the word "idea" is related to Latin "video" from whose precedence comes the English words "vision" or "visible" (Orality 80). "The visualism we are talking of is thus a visualism strengthened by intimate association with voice, directly in speech or indirectly through script" (Interfaces 129).

Yates and Carruthers have both noted the connection of

speech and sight to memorization. An individual would "murmur" the material to be memorized and metaphorically "inscribe" it on a wax tablet contained in his or her mind.[16] In this sense memory exemplifies the interplay of voice and sight in the mind.

The Word and Sound

The Presence of the Word traces stages in the evolution of the word from its place in primary oral cultures through the secondary orality of today's world. The word relates to sound in vital ways so that the power of the word as sound must be kept in mind because it relates to action:

> In oral-aural cultures it is thus eminently credible that words can be used to achieve an effect such as weapons or tools can achieve. Saying evil things of another is thought to bring him direct physical harm. Charms and magic formulas abound. (Presence 113)

The spoken word is dynamic in that it conveys meaning more clearly and directly than the written word. Genesis 1:1 represents the supreme speech act when God created the world using the spoken word: God said, "Let there be light" and there was light. The use of magic formulas or incantations that call into presence spirits are all examples of man's reverence for the spoken, sounded word.

In addition to its power as an act, sound is rooted in time; it is an event, since a word disappears once it is spoken. Silence, according to Ong, is defined by sound, or rather by its absence and is thus related to it. "Words must be interspersed with pauses, silences, to be understood. Indeed, the deepest understanding, especially as between persons, comes often in silence that follows an utterance,

as the effects of the words reverberate without sound in the auditor's (and the speaker's) mind" (Presence 16). Silence is thus a powerful component of orality.

Along with sound's relationship in time Ong compares the two senses of sound and sight in order to illustrate another major characteristic of sound. He identifies sound with interiority and sight with the surfaces of objects (Presence 117-18). The concept of interiors explains various facets of the significance of the word as sound. Ong notes that as one moves up the evolutionary ladder, the increasing use of voice and thus greater interiority in a species demonstrates greater intelligence (Presence 121). Interiority also implements communication:

> True interiority makes it possible to address others: only insofar as a person has interior resources, insofar as he experiences his full self, can he also relate to others.... Communication is more inwardness than outwardness. (124)

Since people are interiors, sound allows one interior consciousness, a person, to touch another. Sound thus fosters a sense of community, uniting people in groups.

Besides social unity, sound provides a sense of simultaneity since one hears all around while sight situates one in front of or presents one thing after another, sequentially (129). Sight tends to dissect experience while sound totalizes. McLuhan further links the segmentation of experience made possible by sight with the isolation of emotions which he calls sentimentality and the isolation of the senses as sensuality (Gutenburg 138). Writing, and print underscores the separation of emotions and the senses.

Sound also has a special significance for presence in that we speak of being surrounded or interiorized in that presence hence "we are in a person's presence" (130). In addition to the above contrasts between the senses of sight and sound the relation between sound and thought is worth mentioning. Ong states, "In all human cultures the spoken word appears as the closest sensory equivalent of fully developed interior thought. Thought is nested in speech" (138). As Ong later notes, the development of the visual sense through the ability to verbalize through the phonetic alphabet meant that man could vocalize more accurately and elaborately than non-literate man, and thus by vocalizing the written word he intellectualizes it, and by intellectualizing it he can generate further observations (Interfaces 129). Man needs words in order to understand and words are in some way always vocalized, not only in speech and thought but also in writing when they are read.

The above comparison of the senses of sight and sound indicates essential differences between the two. Sound or the dominance of the aural-oral senses marks interiority, both physical and psychological, a sense of community, totality of experience and speech, necessary for thought. Sight is distancing and tends to dissect or segment experience. As sight becomes associated with verbalization, the visual sense increases man's abilities to understand and intellectualize any information that can be abstracted from observation.

The visual sense as it relates to the inner sight of

the mind is necessary for the development of memory skills. The ability to visualize imaginary or remembered places and fantastic images in order to store and recall large amounts of material was a necessity for a culture where texts were scarce and not easily accessible. As a society grows literate, memory becomes verbatim, word for word. Knowledge is stored and retrieved in writing and the need for a single individual to carry his own "mental library" diminishes since any material can be looked up and found fairly easily. Studies on memory systems in medieval culture indicate that memory storing and recall procedures are based on highly developed memory systems that function through the establishment of rigid patterns of ordering and through dependence on the use of memorable images to the mind (Yates 6). Memory systems as Yates points out, gradually waned, transformed into highly intricate esoteric systems after print was firmly established. The decrease in use of memory systems roughly coincides with the interiorization of writing in the Romantic Age.

Rhetoric and Dialectic

Rhetoric plays an important role in sustaining forms of oral expression throughout the medieval and renaissance periods and is central to an understanding of orality and textuality in the sentimental romances treated in this dissertation. Ong, in both the Presence of the Word and later in Rhetoric, Romance and Technology illustrates that rhetoric and dialectic were major influences in preserving oral habits of thought and expression in manuscript and

typographic cultures. The following brief survey outlines the transformations of rhetoric and dialectic in its relation to orality from its beginning in Classical times through the Renaissance.

Rhetoric was originally the art of public speaking or oratory and remained committed to the spoken word.[17] It was based on oral habits of structuring discourse (oratory) but could only be codified as a scientifically organized set of rules with the existence of writing (Rhetoric 49). In Classical Greece and Rome the ideal educated man was the public speaker or orator. Later the early Church fathers continued the study and teaching of rhetoric and the rhetorical legacy of antiquity, centered in public speaking, was inherited by medieval academicians.[18] Medieval rhetoric was associated with oral rather than written discourse as "deep in the medieval psyche the central, though most often unacknowledged, academic paradigm for discourse, including written discourse, remained the oration rather than the text" ("Medieval Textualization" 3).[19] Two medieval additions, the ars dictaminis or art of letter writing and the ars praedicandi or art of preaching were organized according to the principles of oratory (Murphy, 225, 342-43; Rhetoric 27). That both these arts were meant for listeners rather than readers is illustrated by the use of rithmus, a type of rhythmical prose,[20] by letter writers and preachers alike and cursus, or system of rhythmical clausulae employed solely for letter writing (Murphy 158-61, 248-53). The presence of these arts in the sentimental

romances and many other medieval texts illustrates the inherent vocality of written works even after the invention of print until roughly the Romantic period.

Returning to this brief survey of rhetoric and dialectic and its association with orality, later with the rise of medieval universities and as interest in speculative philosophy increased, rhetoric lost its status and was taught chiefly as elocutio or style. As the second art of the trivium after grammar, rhetoric was closely associated with but subsumed by the study of dialectic or ars disserendi, the art of discourse. Discourse was known as the art of structuring thought since it was assumed thought took place in an oral exchange (Presence 60). Similar to Cicero's rhetoric, medieval dialectic was made up of inventio or invention and iudicium or judgement and sometimes as dispositio or arrangement (Rhetoric 67). It involved the study of logic as purely abstract science and argumentation (Presence 210-11). The disputatio, arriving at a truth through logical argument, became the chief form of discovering knowledge in medieval universities.[21] Like rhetoric, it was an oral skill and "may be defined roughly as a formal discussion of a subject by two or more people, who take opposite or opposing sides" (Murphy 102). Murphy explains that "Scholastic method" was "simply the classroom disputatio adapted to writing" (103).

Later, during the Renaissance, rhetoric regained its former prominence in academia as humanists made the teachings of classical rhetoricians like Cicero and

Quintilian the focus of study. In spite of the fact that dialectic and rhetoric were not always given equal emphasis, both reflected and codified thought structures of oral expression. University instruction itself was predominantly oral with no written papers or exams. Teaching consisted mainly in dictating to students whose study consisted mainly of repetition through types of oral drills and reading aloud (Hajnal; Gilman 317-20). Despite the orality of medieval academia, Ong notes the commitment to texts in that scholarly pursuits were "a recovery enterprise" (Presence 60). Medieval academia was "a strange new mixture of orality (disputations) and textuality (commentaries on written texts)" (Orality 157). The centrality of biblical commentary primarily through exegesis took place amidst the constant hearing of the Bible through sermons and lectures.[22] In fact, the Bible itself was not read as much as it was heard by learned and unlearned alike.

Polemic and Violence of Oral Expression

The highly polemical structure of oral societies has been well documented by Ong and others. As Ong notes, it is not that literate societies are less hostile but that oral cultures express their hostilities more overtly. Studies of anxiety stress in oral cultures have shown that individuals suffering emotional stress tend to break out in violence more often than in literate cultures (Presence 132). The terms "to run amok" or "go berserk" are inherited terms from anxiety or hostility displays in oral cultures (Presence 133, Orality 669). The frenzied states of epic warriors is

reflected in the violent behavior of the epic hero who must be tied down and bathed in order to calm him (Montgomery "The Ferg"). The heroic epics from Homer to Beowolf institutionalize violence while also formalizing verbal contest such as boasting (Presence 197; Orality 45-45). As one proceeds from the epics to the prose romances violence is euphemized in chivalric ideals and manifests itself through jousts and tournaments (Huizinga 83-84, 93-107).

Although humans are by nature agonistic, the way hostility is expressed becomes less adversarial as a culture interiorizes writing. Ong maintains that the main course in the history of verbal communication can be charted by studying changes in the uses of hostility from oral to literate society (Presence 194). Individuals in oral cultures responded to personal situations stemming directly from their life world. The environment presented hostilities everywhere from wars to famine; even the weather was a foe. An oral mentality expressed hostility through structuring oppositions such as polarizations like virtues and vices while literacy tended to be irenic or oppositionless (Presence 192-286). Besides external forces brought on by the harsh realities of life in the constant struggle for survival, Ong notes that the psychological tendency of oral thought also fostered a polemical bias. The exigencies of knowledge storage and retrieval in an oral culture encouraged a view that would assimilate even nonmoral activity "to a struggle polarized around good and evil, virtue and vice. In such a view, polemic becomes a major

constituent of actuality" (Presence 200). Since an oral culture cannot store knowledge in abstract forms without writing, it categorizes its abstractions in terms of events or a set of doings as Havelock has said, clustered around a small number of heroic figures. Ong adds, "doings imply actors or agents. In the oral conceptual economy, all phenomena, even nonhuman ones, must in some manner be translated into the doings of such agents or made to cluster around their doings. Otherwise they are lost" (Presence 203-04). Odysseus or Achilles are types of "heavy" characters essential because they were memorable figures who carried with them the cultural material of their societies:

> Contest between heavily laden type figures is a central operation in an oral culture's retention of its articulated knowledge and its sense of identity. The old oral world had had to keep everything as formulaically fixed as possible, and violent external conflict had been the principal ploy to make a story interesting. (Interface 211)

The large quantity of literature concerned with virtue and vice or praise and blame to express or explain everything from disease to famine has been well documented by such scholars as Bloomfield, Huizinga, and Yates. However, Ong is the first to consider its direct relation to oral habits of thought.

Organized verbal contests reflect the polemical nature of thought in oral cultures. According to Ong, verbal contests such as flyting or "the systematic exchange of savage recriminations between opposed characters" (Presence 197) are common to the heroic epic (Presence 207). Besides flyting, Ward Parks identifies two other genres of verbal

contest. One is sounding, "a ritualized exchange in which each contestant finds new and extravagant ways of insulting his opponent's mother or some other person with whom he is closely identified" (442). The other is debate, "conducted in a non-martial environment that centers on some issue with intellectual content apart from the personalities of the contestants, and that does so with no further end in mind than to arrive at the truth concerning the issue" (443). The frame of reference of each can be either "serious" or "ludic." Parks then calls the resolution of the contests as the "locus of resolution" which can be either "external" in that he wins or loses on the basis of some subsequent contestual performance outside the verbal contest, or "internal" on the basis of the performance itself (447-48). In flyting the resolution is usually external in the display of martial arts such as a duel, and in sounding or debate it is internal based on performance. J. Huizinga gives examples of the fictional courts of love in France filled with verbal contests and trials of love (120-22). Poetic contests were also popular in fifteenth century Spain (Weiss 58-59, 66-67). Verbal contest genres continue to be prevalent in modern society beyond the above mentioned traditional displays of oral dexterity. Rap music is a prime example in which rappers engage in "outrapping" an opponent during improvisational settings reminiscent of the oral setting of the epic singer. In Fighting for Life (1981) Ong elucidates further the notion of contest in all levels of life: spectator sports, business, academia, politics and religion.

Because of its roots in orality medieval academia thrived in an agonistic or adversarial atmosphere common to oral cultures. Educational training as it was in rhetoric (persuasion) or dialectic (disputation) always involved taking sides and never proceeded objectively. Treatises such as Thomas Aquinas' Summa theologiae proceeds from an adversarial position to a defense and refutation of his position. Even words such as "theses and "defense," still current in academia today reflect the once polemical stance of education (Interfaces 76). Earlier in Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue, Ong had suggested the polemical nature of the art of discourse and the rhetorical tradition as basically and essentially agonistic. The scholastic disputation enforced the adversarial nature typical of oral cultures. The art of discourse was oriented toward public argumentation. Rather than the arena or battlefield, it took place in the academic setting:

> In either case, the partisanship was thought of as functioning in an oral setting: debate or persuasion was felt as an oral-aural undertaking. Over all the teaching of expression, even though writing was much employed, there hung a feeling that what was being taught was an oral rather than written mode. (Rhetoric 28)

Only with the visual organization inherent in print was knowledge gradually dissociated from discourse to be considered an object outside of the mind. Hence the polemical means of securing truth through dialectic gave way to an oppositionless method of acquiring it. In other words, the art of discourse gave way to the art of reason through exposition associated with writing.

Rhetoric and Formulaic Composition

Rhetoric nurtured the oral residual society of the Middle Ages and Renaissance particularly in the use of commonplaces or loci comuni, "essentially formulaic modes of expression derivative from oral practice and perpetuating oral psychological structures (Presence 31). Given the formulary character of expression in the oral performance of cultures with no writing, the commonplaces were in fact, types of formulas or formulaic expressions that, like their counterparts in the epic as described by Lord, were helpful mnenonic devices for the orator. The orator carried in his mind a stock of commonplaces which he would call up as needed. Like the epic singer, he could not afford to pause in his speech to think of another approach or example with which to continue his argument (Interfaces 114-115). The commonplaces served to provide this material, although unlike the traditional themes and formulas of epic singers the commonplaces were available on written lists or compilations called florilegia. A florilegium is a promptbook for memoria. These compilations were popular until fairly recently but in the decades before printing aided those who lectured publicly (Carruthers 176). Commonplaces served the part of rhetoric known as inventio or invention and aided one in finding ready made material for one's topic. Whereas we would describe them as "headings" they were thought of as "places" where stored material could be located that would help one win an argument. Cicero defines the commonplace as "the seat of an

argument." Quintilian also considers it a "prefabricated passage for an oration or other composition" (Presence 80). Ong notes two types of commonplaces. "Cumulative commonplaces" which is a "prefabricated passage for an oration or composition" (Presence 80) such as purple patches (short themes like "loyalty" or "friendship"), sententiae, exempla or proverbs, and "analytic" commonplaces which "provided headings for analyzing or breaking down into areas from which one can possibly draw matter of discourse . . . such as definitions, causes, effects, related things, opposites" (Rhetoric 260). If an orator was treating the subject of marriage for example, he could in his mind or before the oration on paper take notes on definitions of marriage, its causes, famous marriages, or failed marriages.

Frances Yates relates the "places" to the part of rhetoric known as memoria probably evolving out of memory devices of oral tradition that continued past the invention of print. Memory systems are spatially-arranged imagery that aid in the storage and recall of data. A person would imagine a series of places (loci), such as a type of building and would then associate data that one wants to remember with a memorable image that would be placed in a part of that imagined building. The images were often human figures engaged in some activity that would be unusual enough to be remembered. The images were then stored in specific places in an ordered arrangement in the imaginary building (Yates 10). The development of highly complex "memory theaters" was a necessity for a public speaker as it

was for the epic singer who through a period of apprenticeship similarly developed a personal repertoire of stock formulas and themes which he then would weave into an oral composition. Ong suggests that Cicero and other orators favored "memory for things" over "memory for words" due to the formulary nature of oral habits of thought. The ars memoria manuals are the "residue" of pre-literate culture's mnemonic devices of using formulas and themes to organize and verbalize knowledge (Rhetoric 110). Memory for words in the Middle Ages often signified the placing of the word on the image in a visual representation, for example, placing the word idolatry over the image of a "prostitute, blind, with mutilated ears, proclaimed by a trumpet (as a criminal), with a deformed face, and full of disease" (Yates 96). The placing of the word helped commit the image to memory for later recall of the word.

Rhetoric and the "Ars memoria"

Rhetoric reinforced the study of memoria in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The ars memoria was cultivated and transformed by the scholastics. The loci of the Rhetoricians were referred to by the Scholastics as topics or topoi but were similar in function. The memory tradition as it was altered by scholasticism was chiefly associated with Thomas Aquinas and the Dominicans through the fifteenth century (Yates 82, 114-115). They associated memory with ethics rather than rhetoric and described it as a part of the virtue of Prudence (Yates 57, 61).[23] Aquinas emphasized the need for order and association for effective memory. He

recognizes the need for powerful imagery to move the mind to recall and so recommends "corporeal similitudes" since they are more easily retained in the soul for spiritual and pietistic purposes (Yates 75-77). Yates notes:

> The imagines agentes would have been moralized into beautiful or hideous figures as 'corporeal similitudes' of spiritual intentions of gaining Heaven or avoiding Hell, and memorized as ranged in order in some 'solemn building.' (77)

Yates suggests with important implications, that such ways of storing and recalling knowledge, although conceived of as a means of inner visualization, could not help but influence the outer expression of thought through visual representations of memory images:

> I make so bold as to suggest that Christian didactic art which needs to set forth its teaching in a memorable way, which must show forth impressively the 'things' which make for virtuous and unvirtuous conduct, may owe more than we know to classical rules which have never been thought of in this context, to those striking imagines agentes which we have seen trooping out of the rhetoric text book into a scholastic treatise on ethics. (79)

She makes further reference in support of her suggestion that the art of memory had some influence on art proper although she is cautious in her assertions: "For as people were being taught to practice the formation of images for remembering, it is difficult to suppose that such inner images might not sometimes have found their way into outer expression" (81). Dante's Inferno according to Yates, could be conceived of as a system for memorizing Hell and its punishments (95). Although she is tentative in her assertions, she gives us another way of approaching the heavy allegorical figures that are prominent in many

creative works. This aspect will be examined in light of the allegorical figures in Spanish sentimental romances.

Memory techniques were also used in order to recall knowledge for the composition of new material. Ong effectively relates Lord's theory of oral formulaic composition to the compositional technique employed by classical orators. The technique is best described by the Greek word rhapsoidia or "a stitching together, in the original meaning of this term as applied to their [Greek] epic song, and by Englishmen well through the seventeenth century to loose collections of materials of all sorts" (Rhetoric 34). The humanist doctrine of imitation reinforced the view that "composition was largely, if not essentially, an assemblage of previously readied material" (Rhetoric 35). The use of "commonplaces" served an important function in rhapsodic composition. They provided a repertory of material prepared in advance and stored in the mind or in written notes to be inserted in the oral performance when needed. Since demands of oral performance called for fluidity, copia as the Renaissance would call it, in that an orator could not pause or hesitate in his speech but needed to have ready material at each instant so that the speaker could collect his thoughts, plan new strategies of persuasion or in some way mark time (Presence 62-63). As a product of oral performance, orations like those of Cicero were written down years later (Rhetoric 36). Although Ong discusses the technique of rhapsodic composition to prove the residual oralism of Tudor England, it has repercussions for an

understanding of the rise of prose during the Middle Ages and early Renaissance as well. Rhapsodic composition as Ong notes developed out of the way oral thought structures organize knowledge yet it is prevalent in written works from histories to fiction. An example that comes quickly to mind is the way in which the Alfonsine collaborators "cut and pasted" Spain's first vernacular history, the Estoria de España in rhapsodic-like composition.[24] The implication is that orality did indeed have an influence beyond its role in oral societies to continue to exert itself during the development of literacy.

Learned Latin

According to Ong, Learned Latin was the second development after Rhetoric and Dialectic that affected orality and writing in Western culture (Orality 112). As mentioned previously, Latin contributed to the cultural diglossia of the Middle Ages as it was the official language of medieval institutions like the church and universities. During the early Middle Ages it evolved into a completely textualized language, controlled by writing and contrasted with the oral, "mother languages" of the vernaculars. Latin held a unique place for another reason as well. Although controlled by writing, it remained close to orality because of the teaching of rhetoric and dialectic in the universities:

> Because the educational system which was bequeathed to the West by ancient Greece and Rome, maintained with some modifications in the Middle Ages and revitalized by the Renaissance was based on assimilation of ancient Latin cultural ideals, it institutionalized the oral

> and helped preserve it far beyond what might have been normal expectation. (Presence 208)

As with all subjects, Latin was learned by listening and repeating, and examinations were oral affairs (Hajnal). The Spanish Humanist Antonio de Nebrija's latin grammar was rhymed in order for it to be learned orally (Gilman 317). An important ramification of learned Latin is its association with gender. Latin was almost exclusively used by males with few exceptions. It flourished in the closed male environment of the medieval university and church. Ong links Latin schooling during the Renaissance with male puberty rites and harsh discipline (Rhetoric 113-41). It fostered an agonistic approach to learning through contest oriented activities in the form of disputations, flyting and formalized debates (Interface 216). On the contrary, the rise of vernacular education signalled the demise of Latin. According to Ong, this had several probable influences, one being the entrance of females in academia.[25] In addition, the rise of the vernaculars for purposes of business and trade called for training that was contrary to that of classical education.

Literature and the "ars"

Both rhetoric and dialectic were intimately connected to literary production. Writers emulated Latin and academic models probably due to the classical academic education they received from the universities. Julian Weiss notes the influence of academia on Juan Alfonso de Baena, a letrado or man of letters in fifteenth century Spain:

> Nevertheless, the influence on his prologue and rubrics of the academic accessus offers a classic example of

> the fact that when the letrado class put themselves at the service of the royalty and nobility, they brought with them methods of textual presentation traditionally employed in the schools. In the process, they strove to elevate the status of the vernacular literary text. (17)

The use of the vernacular in writing was still in its infancy and writers resorted to classical models because they were highly esteemed and because of prior instruction in rhetoric. Ong asserts, "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" (Orality 157-58). Medieval writers were trained in the classical method of composition and the oration was the principal model for all genres of written discourse:

> Furthermore the study of rhetoric gave the most diverse literary genres a more or less oratorical cast, largely because the dominance of oratory in ancient culture had never been effectively challenged.... It is somewhat surprising, however, to note how far oratory infiltrated genres which we consider nonoratorical. Fiction writers made their characters speak to one another in orations even in private conversation. (Ong Rhetoric 64)

According to Ong, along with the oration, the polemical environment fostered by scholasticism provided writers with ways of structuring creative expression:

> The polemic rhetorical setting may have been bad for science, but it was good for many kinds of literature. The life of the mind was exciting because it was framed in conflict. Characters with words in their mouths put there by writers trained in rhetoric were sure to generate dramatic friction when they met together on the stage, and intellectuals engaged in any controversy were spurred on to making the most of their cause and indeed often to regrettable virulence. The combative basis of rhetorical (and dialectical) training is

> certainly one of the reasons for the effectiveness of the late Tudor and Jacobean drama as well as of the great lyric poetry of the age. (Rhetoric 66)

Although Ong is addressing sixteenth-century England here, the polemical cast of medieval literature is witnessed by abundant examples of debate poems as well as numerous works structured by dialogues and question and answer formats.[26] Attempts to find out which side of the debate the writer favored has often been an exercise in futility for scholars. Ambiguity has often been the result of an attempt to ascertain the writer's position. The much debated feminist-misogynist polemic in the Spanish Sentimental romance is a case in point. The presence of the debates has led some scholars to view the genre as pro-feminist while others consider it antifeminist. Drawing on Ong's research the answer to the issue might lie in the sheer pleasure of discourse. In other words the debate is its own end. The implications of the influence of rhetoric and dialectic on individual works of the sentimental genre will be dealt with more closely in the next chapters.

Oral to Written Narrative

Ong notes the effects of writing and especially print on the evolution of narrative. The type of reasoning in which a literate culture could partake realized notions of cause and effect relationships so that linear plots gradually replaced episodic ones. "Writing made possible plotting that is tighter than oral performance can manage. Lengthy oral plot is always more or less episodic, and not by conscious design but simply out of necessity" (Interfaces

253). Ong remarks that the first tightly plotted genre in Western culture was the Greek drama. Although performed orally it was from its beginnings controlled by writing (253). Prose narrative does not achieve tight plottedness until writing is fully interiorized.

Characterization also developed more intricate personalities with writing. The heavy or type cast characters of oral expression developed into rounded characters that exhibit inner motivations and experience psychological changes. Scholes and Kellogg note that complex personalities developed in accord with the novel (165-77).

Writing and more so print established a fixed point of view (McLuhan Gutenberg 126-7, 135-6). In highly oral cultures immediacy of effect and the means to represent material as fully as possible to an audience relied on presenting multiple viewpoints or tones in a single work. An example taken from Gyorgy Kepes although based on the plastic arts will illustrate the change from multiple to a fixed point of view in literature as well. Kepes has suggested that the two dimensionality and the constant repetition of the main figure in the same picture

> was to represent all possible relationships that affected him, and they [artists] recognized this could only be done by a simultaneous description of various actions. This connectedness in meaning, rather than the mechanical logic of geometrical optics, is the essential task of representation. (Kepes 96 at McLuhan 127).

In literature the multiplicity of tones accomplishes much the same thing as Kepes's explanation for visual art. It can also be deduced from the studies on oral cultures that the

closeness and identification with one's material fostered by oral habits of thought, encouraged the narrator to identify with his material rather than distance himself from it. The distance created by print allowed a writer to correct inconsistencies of point of view or tone upon reflection.

Print also invites the notion of closure, in that the text is viewed as completed (Orality 132). Although writing also is a closed field, print increased a sense of detachment and autonomy between writer and reader. A printed work seems self-contained since print suggests the completeness of a text in its final form. Manuscripts tend to be open-ended and dialogic with subsequent additions of glosses and comments many times worked into the text in later copies. In this sense manuscripts resemble oral performances. The concept of intertextuality has always been basic to a manuscript culture yet it has only been recently that critics have embraced its importance. Ong elucidates the intertextuality of manuscript culture inherited from oral tradition:

> Still tied to the commonplace tradition of the old oral world, it deliberately created texts out of other texts, borrowing, adapting, sharing the common, originally oral, formulas and themes, even though it worked them up into fresh literary forms impossible without writing. Print of itself has a different mindset. It tends to feel a work as 'closed,' set off from other works, a unit in itself. Print culture gave birth to the romantic notions of 'originality' and 'creativity', which set apart an individual work from other works even more, seeing its origins and meaning as independent of outside influence, at least ideally. (Orality 133)

The distancing achieved by writing and print, whereby writer and reader are detached in time and space unlike the

close interaction of the oral performer and public, permitted greater ambiguity and introspection. The decontextualization of narrative space inevitably affected the reception of the work, allowing for disparities and ironic distance (Scholes and Kellogg 240-41). The greater distance between author, narrator and reader brought with it greater freedom in narrative technique. Layers of narrators and readers could be built into written works.

The word on a page, divorced from its original context, led early writers to create fictional narrators and audiences more so than those created by oral performers (who also called on their audiences to enter into the fiction) (Ong Interfaces 69). Writing and even more print, called for readjustment on the part of both writers and audiences alike. Due to absence, the writer had to fictionalize his public since he was no longer an oral performer facing his audience directly. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance the author was still closer to his readers and listeners because he would imagine himself speaking to them as he composed (Orality 95). In a manuscript culture stories were thought of as "told" (Interfaces 89). Ong notes, "The practice of orienting a work, and thereby its readers, by writing it purportedly for a specific person or persons continues well through the Renaissance" (Interfaces 75). Along with rhetoric a personal narrator encouraged a participatory attitude in audiences and because of the persuasive rhetorical tone, the reader's role was also more polemical. The role of persuasion granted to narrators seems logical

especially in light of the narrator as an advocate in ancient judicial proceedings as a sort of spokesman: "The narrator or conteur made the formal claim or pleading on a litigant's behalf. The pleading was called a 'tale' (narratio in Latin and conte in French)" (Clanchy 221). The law tracts speak of narrators who make the pleadings in "romance" rather than in Latin. As Clanchy notes, the narrators were romancers and told tales but in the sense of legal pleadings (221-22). The use of a narrator whether for ancient judiciary purposes or for storytelling exemplifies the social rhetorical function of narrative.

The Book and Orality

The medieval manuscript also bears signs of its emergence from orality. Clanchy has shown that dating, signing and sealing of documents became a less personal and more precise action with the increased use of writing (236-48). Irregular dating practices reflected the scribes personal problem of fixing his existence in time in reference to specific historical events. Which events does he choose for his point of reference, the Resurrection, the reign of a monarch or some other event that has affected him directly?

Walter Ong has noted the relationship of the written text to the world of sound. The manuscript was a singular, at times bulky, physical object which resembled an utterance, harboring acoustical qualities much more than visual ones:

In such highly oral cultures, it was not sufficient for

> the reader simply to imagine the sounds of the words being read. The written words had to be mouthed aloud, in their full being, restored to and made to live in the oral cavities in which they came into existence. (Interfaces 259)

The type of punctuation marks of manuscripts are geared toward oral recitation rather than silent reading:

> The system of punctuating and abbreviating words in Latin works was likewise intended primarily to assist someone reading aloud, rather than a person silently scrutinizing the page. N.R. Ker cites the case of a manuscript where the Latin word neque (neither), which is written out in full, has been amended throughout to neq; he suggests that writing neque out in full was likely to mislead an oral reader into stressing the second syllable; writing out the word in full was an error on the scribe's part which has been duly corrected. Some abbreviations were therefore intended to help pronunciation, rather than save the scribe's time when copying a book. (Clanchy 217)

As late as 1640 Ben Jonson thinking still in oral terms explains punctuation marks in the manner of "breathing" (Interfaces 117). In addition, words as units did not exist on the page until they were spoken out loud so word boundaries were a step towards a reading that did not have to be vocalized to be understood (Kittay "Utterance" 215).

Writing also bore a close association with death, a connection that continued into the Middle Ages from the time of Plato. Socrates expressed the idea that the living word was preferred to that inscribed on the dead carcasses of animals.[27] Christianity is a religion of the Book that began out of oral tradition. Corinthians 3:6 reads "The letter kills but the spirit gives life." Jesus is the "Word" made flesh. As Ong notes, the paradox lies in the fact that the words inscribed on the "dead" text can be resurrected through the reader (Interfaces 230-71). The act of

meditation on the Word of God was itself construed as demanding the participation of a number of physiological activities. There are numerous references to the ruminating, mouthing or even eating of the word to savor its meaning as proposed in Jousse's study La Manducation de la parole (Ong Interfaces 24). Yates has suggested that rumination was an activity related to meditation and memorization (75-76) and Carruthers has noted that composition is also a rumination or regurgitation (164-69, 219-220). Both the spoken and written word were caught up in the ontological aspects of being, of death and resurrection.

The earliest printed works also bear features of manuscript culture and should be evaluated in much the same way as manuscripts are (Saenger). Diane Eisenstein notes that during the first decades after printing, printed works were modelled on the manuscript. The printing press was first conceived as a more efficient method of text production. Particularly intriguing is the fact that if there was a published manuscript behind every printed work, there were also a large number of manuscripts made from printed works (The Printing 20-21). This supports the contention made by Ong, also influenced by McLuhan, that states of mind are tenacious and tend to persist from an earlier stage to the next. As a new technology comes into being there is often an increase in the old before it slowly is replaced or recedes (Presence 54; Interfaces 82). The effects of a still oral-aural culture is evident in the layout of printed works just as it was with manuscripts. The

layout of title pages was governed by the desire to achieve a pleasing visual design rather than to provide information to the reader. Words such as "The" or "In" might be displayed in larger letters than more important words of the title in order to provide an aesthetically balanced design (Orality 120-21). Even indexes both in manuscripts and in early printed works were hearing dominated. Indexes were a cross between the auditory and visual as arrangement by the first letter or sound of a word indicates. Ong notes that "Halyzones" is listed under A in one work published in 1506 (Interfaces 169-72). In another, Apollo is listed first in an index of poetry befitting his role as god of poetry.

Although the word "text" from the eleventh century on referred to the Bible, it also harbored its meaning as "a material replica of a woven literary composition, whether originating in words or in writing," which for Stock, "made perfect sense to a society in which orality still played a large role in cultural communication" (Listening 42). From this broader meaning, Stock provides us with a working definition of text and textuality, that will be used throughout the dissertation as "structured discourse based on the written word" (13). This allows us to maintain a loose distinction as Stock does, between modes of discourse (speaking and writing) and habits of thought (oral and literate) since a text can be transmitted orally or through writing and exhibit oral or written features.

Orality and Theories of Performance

The prior work of scholars investigating aspects of orality and writing have led to the development of a number of related theories that in varying degrees consider the oral character of language. Several which are relevant to the critical approach of the dissertation will be noted here. Especially important are theories of tense aspect, speech acts and performance texts.

The study of theories of tense aspect in narratives has helped clarify the problem of tense switching common to early literature.[28] Suzanne Fleischman (1990) has developed a theoretical model of tense-aspect based on previous research in linguistics. She draws on a wide range of texts in the romance languages including medieval epics and romances, hagiographic and historical texts, ballads as well as modern narrative. Her study is particularly important since she considers tense usage in relation to spoken and written discourse. According to Fleischman, the basis for analyzing narrative lies in understanding oral storytelling. In a narration more important events are foregrounded while others, usually descriptive or marginal to the main action of the story are backgrounded. Main clauses carry more important foregrounded information while subordinate clauses carry background material.

Oral narratives and medieval texts exhibit paratactic organization or minimal use of co-ordination or subordination such as the limited use of "and" or "then" while later written texts make greater use of syntactic

structures to associate events in a narrative. In other words, oral narratives use different strategies to create narrative texture other than complex grammatical structures. One such strategy is that of tense switching, which also explains irregular tense usage found in much of medieval narrative from which she builds a theory of tense aspect oppositions. The opposition Present/Preterite would function as a device for internal evaluation of the story in that the narrator, rather than guide and comment on the events overtly (external evaluation) would use a strategy that would guide and stress certain events implicitly through tense switching. For example, a narrator might begin by reciting a story using the imperfect for background material and preterite for main actions and then switch to the present tense for other events in order to allow the audience to be "present" at this moment in the story so they can evaluate it for themselves. Fleischman has noted that the shift from parataxis to hypotaxis and a decline in tense switching correspond with the shift from orality to writing. Louise Mirrer-Singer, independent of Fleischman's study, takes a socio-linguistic approach to the evaluation of the Spanish ballad cycle of the fourteenth-century Spanish king, Pedro the Cruel. Mirrer-Singer's study demonstrates that tense switching and other syntactic and lexical evaluative devices are especially valuable for genres that are decidedly performative such as the epic and the ballad.

Speech Act theory has also been helpful in the study of literary works (Austin; Pratt: Rivers Things; Searle;

Soufas). These studies in various ways echo Ong's description of the spoken word as "dynamic, an event" (Orality). Austin develops his theory of illocutionary acts with the premise that all discourse is action and every utterance is an act (133-47). John Searle develops Austin's ideas further in that speaking a language is engaging in intentional behavior not just regulated but created by rules. Speaking is performing speech acts like asking questions, making vows, giving orders (1-21). Speech acts are successful only under certain conditions such as the psychological state expressed (sincerity condition), the interest, status and relative position of speaker and listener (preparatory conditions) and the point of the speech act (essential condition). Searle has developed an entire taxonomy of speech acts based on these conditions. Commands and requests are directive speech acts; promises and threats are commissives (Searle 1-29). Influenced greatly by speech act theory and its potentials in understanding narrative is a recent study by MacLean who focuses on the teller-hearer relationship in the development of a performative model of narrative that recognizes the similar oral origins of drama and narrative.

In addition to the work of linguistics in developing theories of tense usage and speech acts, focus on the performative and communicative quality of literature has led to new interest in the role of the reader in contributing to the meaning or the "rewriting" of the text. Theories of reader response contribute to an understanding of the

reading process as a dynamic communicative process between text and reader and ultimately between the authorial voices imbedded in the text (Iser). The brief overview of the above theories is meant to provide a few examples of the renewed interest in language as an interactive dynamic system of spoken and written modes of discourse.

Medieval Literature: Oral/Textual Nexus

H. J. Chaytor's From Script to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Vernacular Literature offers one of the earliest general studies of medieval literature which takes into account the transition from a chirographic to print culture. He stresses the importance of considering the differences between the literary and critical methods of the Middle Ages and modern times and holds that it is necessary to take into account the "gradual substitution of visual for auditory methods of communicating ideas" (4). The preeminence of the spoken word in habits of reading and writing influenced the formation of literary texts. He provides examples of the oral syntactical structures in sample works and the changes that developed with the use of writing.

Eugene Vinaver in The Rise of Romance implies that the move from epic to romance was due not only to a shift in topic, but to a change in transmission:

> [A] world in which vernacular writings were to share with Latin texts the privilege of addressing the reader through the medium of visible, not audible symbols; through words intended to be read, not sung or even recited; and with this went a radical alteration of the very nature of literary experience. (4)

The storyteller, instead of recreation is involved in the

interpretation of past events. The author brings this interpretive quality to romance and thus provides:

> an extended form of commentary which goes beyond the limits of 'grammatical interpretation' and involves the use of the author's own thoughts--the practice of his own imagination in accordance with the principles embodied in Rhetoric. (22)

Especially relevant are Vinaver's discussions on analogy and interlacing as structuring themes and episodes. He comments on romance's fabric-like quality also evident in the art forms of the period which exhibit interweaving lines that overlap and underlap producing a texturelike appearance (68). According to Vinaver, analogy occupies an important role in linking episodes in romance. The interweaving of earlier and later episodes which were analogic functioned as a means to give acquired meaning to the work (105).

Scholes and Kellogg examine the rise of narrative out of orality. From mythos, allegiance to the traditional narrative bifurcated into two impulses: empirical narrative or allegiance to reality, and fictional narrative or allegiance to the ideal. The authors subdivide empirical narrative into historical (truth of fact) and mimetic (truth of sensation), and fictional narrative into romantic and didactic (12-14). Later narrative attempted a synthesis of the empirical and fictional such as that of Cervantes' Don Quijote. The novel is a product of the synthesis of the two impulses. "The novel is not the opposite of romance, as is usually maintained, but a product of the reunion of the empirical and fictional elements in narrative literature" (15). Chapter Two "The Oral Heritage of Written Narrative"

provides useful characteristics distinguishing oral and written narrative.[29] They note that writing increases the potential for and use of ironic distance in literary works as well as the development of characterization and plot (55).

Oral Delivery

There are a number of invaluable early studies that apply particular aspects of orality/textuality perspectives to the medieval literatures of England, France and Germany. As early as 1936 Ruth Crosby treated the question of oral delivery, and its effects on the work of Chaucer. She provides evidence of the practice of oral delivery and common characteristics of works intended for oral recitation: "Since it was true that most people heard rather than read, it became customary for writers to address their works to the hearers as well as to the reader" (90). The command that the receiver "read or hear" is so common in medieval works that it amounts to a type of formula (98). Crosby analyzes the elements of direct address and types of repetitions (which she subdivides into those that have no speaker-listener relation and those that unite the deliverer with audience). With examples from French, English and Italian texts, she provides abundant examples of the universality of oral elements and illustrates that the custom of reading aloud was common in the Middle Ages and that private readings evolved from public recitations for the purpose of instruction and entertainment.

Albert C. Baugh asserts that the Middle English Romance

was composed in writing but presented orally. He accounts for the direct address present in the texts by explaining that in the Middle Ages authors wrote with a live audience in mind and that the publication of a work was primarily by oral delivery. G.B. Gybbon-Monypenny expresses disagreement with Crosby and Baugh's opinion as to the oral delivery of a work. Despite the oral nature of the dissemination of medieval works there is conflicting evidence in the Spanish mester de clerecia (XIII-XIVth). Passages which seem to be directed toward a listening audience are actually conventional topoi of direct address borrowed from source material. He gives examples of passages that would only make sense if the reader was seeing the page and posits that the author was thinking of his book as a text in the reader's hand. Writers may have been following a convention taken from their models (240-41). R. M. Walker refutes Gybbon-Monypenny's contention that the forms were merely conventions. He pinpoints formulaic expressions, particularly of direct address, in the earlier manuscripts of the prose chivalric romance, Libro de Cavallero Zifar (c. 1301) and clearly demonstrates that earlier forms such as afevos aqui, represent true addresses to a listening public, but were replaced in later manuscripts of the sixteenth century when those remaining forms of direct address were conventionalized. Hence although some conventional use of direct address is probable in the mester de clerecia, the evidence weighs heavily for oral presentation of the poems although it was highly likely that they were composed

through writing or dictation.[30]

Nelson extends the issue of oral delivery to its practice in the Renaissance. He takes into account the rise in prestige of rhetoric that reinforced the importance of oral expression as an art. He considers the literary climate to be:

> [A] period so conscious of rhetorical principles as the Renaissance, literary works must have been calculated for the occasion and manner of their primary publication and for their effect upon the intended audience. (110)

He examines the influence of the mode of a work's delivery in determining its style and structure of composition. Like Crosby, he asserts that reading aloud to groups was a common practice, and illustrates that it occurred from Classical times to the late seventeenth-century. The persistence of oral delivery implies that the invention of the printing press cannot be used as a hard and fast dividing line between silent reading and reading aloud. The "talked book" of the Middle Ages continued through the Renaissance:

> Nevertheless, enough does exist to show that not only the long narratives of the Renaissance but also books of every conceivable kind, whether in prose or in verse...sometimes by the author himself, sometimes by members of a household taking turns....the audiences ranging from the princely and sophisticated to the rustic illiterate. (113)

Nelson concludes that works were as much written for the ear as for the eye and did not die out rapidly with the coming of print (117). Direct addresses in written texts were not merely fossilized traces of primary orality but "a natural expression of his [the writer's] relationship to those who would hear him or hear his work read" (117). In other words,

the writer's audience, although fictionalized, is far more a real, flesh and blood one to the early writer than it is to a modern author who, writing in isolation, creates a hypothetical reader who reads in solitude. Using the Amadigi and other texts as examples, Nelson points out that Renaissance works were composed or revised in such a way as to make reading aloud attractive by giving it an "oratorical rhythm." An episodic rather than unitary structure enhanced interest in a work destined for oral delivery (118-19). Nelson sees the seventeenth century as a period when rhetorical persuasion gave way to logical sequence and syntactic punctuation replaced elocutionary devices to indicate pauses and pitches (121).

As a complement to Nelson's study for France, England and Germany, Frenk ("Lectores") indicates the persistence of reading aloud in Spain into the Golden Age. She insists that old habits of reading aloud did not die out completely with the printing press but that in the fifteenth century

> se inicia el paso de la lectura oral-auditiva a la lectura ocular.... Todo parece indicar que fue un paso muy gradual. Durante varios siglos la lectura silenciosa convivió con el antiguo modo de recepción, y todavía hoy, en España e Hispanoamérica, hay lugares donde se lee en voz alta en las plazas, en tertulias familiares,en fábricas tabacaleras, etc. (105)

She provides examples illustrating the oral diffusion of written texts of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. She contends that not only uneducated but learned members of the populace were listeners, and that women enjoyed the chivalric romances as well as men (108-109). The use of suspense as a narrative technique by such authors as

Lope de Vega and Cervantes was designed for a listening audience. (109). Especially notable for a possible listening audience for the sentimental romance is that:

> Rodrigues Lobo opina que las "historias" (o sea, las novelas cortas) han de narrarse "de manera que vayan aficionando el deseo de los oyentes." (110)

She posits that the popularity of the comedia was in part due to the fact that people were conditioned to hearing works read aloud (113). Due to the oral reception of written works, the populace, for the most part illiterate, possessed a high degree of literary sophistication (119-20). In a later article ("Ver") Frenk considers the uses of leer, oír and other verbs of perception, and their significance for defining types of reception, whether aural or ocular, indicating the ambiguous use of the terms.

Oral delivery: Publication in Pre-Gutenberg Europe

The first scholar to address the issue of oral delivery as a form of publication was Robert K. Root in 1913. An issue also addressed by Baugh, Crosby and Nelson, oral delivery as a method of formal publication had its antecedents in classical Greece and Rome (Crosby 89; Havelock The Literate). Root considers the issue in order to indicate the conditions of publication in fourteenth and early fifteenth century Europe. His evidence is based on letters in Latin between Petrarch and Boccaccio. The letters demonstrate some of the principal concerns of these writers, such as to whom to dedicate a work, licences given to the destinatario to improve the work and the problems once the work circulated even among friends. Additionally, before a

work's formal publication, it might circulate among friends who would be asked to read and comment:

> The author might read his work aloud, as Petrarch did in the case of his Latin paraphrase of the Griselda story, or he might send an advance copy to a friend for criticism and advice, with the understanding, expressed or implied, that he should not permit it to be copied and circulated. (421)

As Root indicates, friends did not always comply and whether intentioned or not, unauthorized copies sometimes with errors would circulate. He introduces Petrarch and Boccaccio as a fascinating example of oral dictation and the errors it may foster. In the anecdote, Boccaccio is helping Petrarch revise the exemplars of the Bucolic:

> Boccaccio had read aloud, apparently from the original manuscript, while Petrarch revised the copies which had been made from it. Boccaccio had been obliged to depart before the task was finished, and had been allowed to take away with him a copy of the work, presumably one which had been 'proofread,' and from it he had been authorized to make other copies. After his departure Petrarch pressed into service another friend who read slowly and hesitatingly. Infelicities which in Boccaccio's fluent reading had not caught his attention became manifest to him in the slower reading of the substitute. He altered the work in all the exemplars in his possession and begged Boccaccio to make the same corrections in the copy which he had taken with him. (423)

Petrarch's complaints about scribes are of interest, not only in their carelessness but also in the freedom they take "to write something totally different from what is set before them" (425). Circumstances in the rest of Europe were fairly similar although the patron seemed to play a larger role (427-30). Evidence provided by Root indicates that between composition and formal publication, often a formal presentation to a patron, intervened a period of revision

and correction and a small circulation among friends either as oral or private readings. In fourteenth-century Spain there was a similar occurrence. Don Juan Manuel circulated his works among intimates and harangued against errors and careless scribes in the prologues to several of his works (Macpherson "Don Juan" 11-13; Seniff "Así fiz").

Textual Performance: The Voice in the Text

More recent studies have gone beyond oral delivery as forms of address and means of publication in order to consider the inherent vocality of medieval texts. Paul Zumthor takes the "voice" to be implicit to an understanding of medieval poetry and the basic "theatricality" of the medieval text. He sees the texts as products of live performances or as scripts for oral presentation:

> in particular, in any culture of a 'traditional type (in the anthropologists sense), discourses are generally enunciated in presentia: whence the basic theatricality of any medieval poetic text, where apparent inertia, stemming from its being written down, is only a mask imposed on it. (Speaking 60)

The written text then is a distortion of the work. The principal differences between medieval and modern texts are found in the former's extratextual performative qualities:

> At least, the traits indicated here reveal, among other things, that the medieval text is much closer than the modern text to the body of the person who performs it (author, reciter, singer) and the person who receives it (listener or reader). The medieval text, much more than the modern one, is gesture, action, charged with sensory elements. Its relation to the sender and to the receiver is necessarily other, and more concrete (Speaking 75-76)

The recognition of the essential performative traits of medieval texts helps break down the "otherness" or

"alterity" that stands between medieval and modern aesthetics. Zumthor indicates that in order to avoid distorting the medieval text its essential oralness must be considered in studies of medieval works.

Zumthor's perspective on manuscripts as performance texts has also gone a long way to revising traditional views regarding problems of manuscript transmission. Studies dealing with manuscript transmission have always been a sort of search for a lost original. He rejects the notion of an original from which each manuscript is modelled and instead prefers to consider an abstract model seeing each text a variant of that scheme, a concept he calls mouvance and explains it further:

> [T]o indicate that any work, in its manuscript tradition, appears as a constellation of elements, each of which may be the object of variations in the course of time or across space. The notion of mouvance implies that the work has no authentic text properly speaking, but that it is constituted by an abstract scheme, materialized in an unstable way from manuscript to manuscript, from performance to performance. (96)

Mouvance is roughly analogous to the idea of the uniqueness of each oral performance. It is a first step towards rethinking contemporary textual criticism and editorial practices away from a literate bias.

In two recent studies, Machen and Dagenais indirectly fine tune Zumthor's concept of mouvance towards establishing a new model for evaluating the physical manuscript. Although each scholar begins from seemingly opposing critical approaches, Machen employs Lord's theory of oral composition while Dagenais' point of departure is Derrida's critique of

Western Metaphysics; they coincide in developing a model based on oral performance for examining manuscript composition and transmission.

Machan examines how orality influenced the production of Middle English texts in fourteenth and fifteenth century England. He shows how linguistic and cultural diglossia influenced attitudes towards Latin and Middle English texts. Latin writings were already established in a strong literary tradition of lexical regularity and stylistic rules, as well as close identification of author and textual authority (auctoritas), while vernacular writings (with the exception of stylistic borrowings), were governed by lexical and grammatical variations, grounded in spoken language and had no concept of a vernacular auctor (a contradiction in terms) (234-35). Machen proposes a new model for editing Middle English texts based on Lord's theory of oral composition that recognizes the orality of vernacular texts. The same features inherent in oral performance are also present in many vernacular texts. The fluidity of oral performance is similar to the variability between manuscript texts. Like an oral poet who must recreate a story for his audience, a scribe does not "decompose" so much as "recompose" from a copy (243). Just as the oral poet follows a certain story's outline and improvises or embellishes it during individual performance, a scribe works within the parameters of the text he is copying, modifying it in the process, as an act of recomposition (242-43). Machan's model calls for a reconsideration of existing textual approaches that are

print biased:

> Within such an orality model an editor would need to reject the traditional distinctions between author and scribe and text and variant: all copies of the work would have equal medieval legitimacy as versions of what might be called a textual theme. It would be the intentions of the writer of the text which must be recovered and not the intention of the hypothetical writer whose words were being transmitted. (242)

Machan's "textual theme" is comparable to Zumthor's mouvance and, similarly, rather than search for a lost original considers each manuscript as unique. Although the print model works well with texts that are firmly established in a written tradition of linguistic fixity and authorship, Machan's model based on features of the transmission of oral compositions more accurately describes many early vernacular texts.

Dagenais addresses Derrida's criticism of the privileging of presence so firmly entrenched in Western metaphysical thought from Plato to the present. Dagenais agrees that scholars have participated in the Western bias for the recovery of presence (identified with speech) in their own endeavors to recoup the lost original of which the physical manuscript texts are thought to be corrupt variants. As a point of departure away from what he rightly sees as a futile attempt toward the recoverability of the nonexistent original, Dagenais proposes a new theory of the physical text. His first step is "a simple shift in the unit we study from 'text' to (for medievalists, at least) individual, unique, concrete manuscript codex" (252). Each manuscript codex should be interpreted as a unique product

as Dagenais proceeds to illustrate with the three extant copies of what is known as the Libro de buen amor. They provide an excellent example of how the individual codices have been traditionally viewed as variants that will lead us back to an original, rather than considered as three unique works. While Ms G emphasizes moral example as evidenced by its rubrics before each new exemplum and the presence of "insiemplo" in the margin, Ms T is preoccupied with the theme of death. It also contains a writing called Visio Filiberti, a meditation on death, that complements the overall tone and theme of death in Ms T. Ms S on the other hand, stresses the autobiographical frame and burlesque tone which is different from Ms T's bitter satire on death (252-53). Thus each physical text points to different perspectives and functions that become lost when the texts are melded together.

Dagenais explains that the problem of considering the various manuscripts as a system of differences (or relating similar texts such as the three manuscripts of the LBA as one system) can be accomplished by "viewing the manuscript text as a variety of oral performance" (255). Besides outside interferences like destruction by fire, worm holes, humidity, etc. that are analogical with those problems faced during an oral performance such as inclement weather, unruly audience, external noises, etc., Dagenais asserts that both oral performer and the physical text exist in constant dialogue with an audience:

More often, the audience participates actively,

> reacting to the presentation, even intervening, correcting, amplifying, challenging the performer or affirming what he has said. In the same way a manuscript is a dialogue which may take place across centuries: marginal and interlinear comments, emendations, glosses. (256)

A theory of the physical text that views transmission and composition practices analogous with oral performance describes the relationship of scribe or composer to physical text much more closely than attempting to discover an original. Writing served as a memorial activity for recall purposes for present individuals and storage for future generations that would be recycled into spoken language. A theory of the physical text as proposed by Dagenais takes into account the fluidity which serves to unite the manuscript with orality.

Literacy/Illiteracy

Levels of literacy or illiteracy are other issues that relate to delivery and reception of a given work. Before the rise of the vernaculars in written form, reading and/or writing Latin was the standard for judging the literacy of a person. The vernaculars were primarily spoken and Latin was the language of the written text. Studies such as that of Franz H. Bauml ("The Varieties") have illustrated that the question of medieval literacy is not just knowing how to read and write since these were considered separate skills pertaining to Latin and only later to the vernaculars. There were then varying degrees of literacy and illiteracy that increased in complexity with the rise of vernacular texts. Bauml believes literacy and illiteracy embodied two modes of

communication, one dominated by Latin conventions, the other by the vernacular. A person's ability to read or write was not a means of judging an individual's social or cultural level. Many nobles were illiterate yet governed large estates and were familiar with law, literature and tenets of the Christian faith without a knowledge of Latin. Therefore types of literacy were determinates of different types of communication rather than personal attributes.

Literary works were familiar to literate and illiterate alike as Ahern aptly demonstrates. He discusses the oral reception of Dante's Comedy in that although it was meant to be read and grew out of a literate tradition, fourteenth-century illiterates actually sang parts of the work. Ahern furnishes both theoretical and historical evidence for his assertions and presents a complex scenario of public and private readings:

> An individual might first read the poem, then hear it performed or recite it for himself.... It was important, however that the solitary act of reading not be divorced from the poem's acoustic reality, and that same acoustic reality be submitted to the slow, ratiocinative examination of the 'words as they lie on the page.' (33)

Ahern's considerations are credible because they take account of the aural-oral ambience as well as various kinds or degrees of literacy or illiteracy.

Lawrance ("The Spread") discusses the rise of a reading public in fifteenth-century Spain that includes a growing number of women who not only possessed the religious didactic material approved by the clergy but works of fiction as well. Employing an examination of lay libraries

and personal book collections, as well as the physical conditions of extant manuscripts, Lawrance demonstrates a rise in the literacy level of non-professionals before the establishment of the printing press. He stresses the importance of the study of law and notarial skills in fostering this new reading public (85) and concludes that these conditions fostered new types of writing (87).

An earlier study by Whinnom ("The Problem") had addressed the "best-seller" in Golden Age Spain and the problems of assessing which works were "popular reading." It is interesting to note that most of these "bestsellers" were late fifteenth century works such as Celestina and translations of the fables of Esopo as well as the popularity of translations of classical works. He notes that many works which seemed to have been avidly read have not survived because they were printed in less expensive, smaller sized editions and handled to shreds (192). The more research that is done to ascertain the reading tastes of the growing literate populace will help in determining aspects of literary production and dissemination. Additional studies that address the kinds of readers or audience for a given work increase our understanding of medieval literacy as well as other crucial issues of transmission and reception.

Orality and Medieval Castilian Literature

Initial investigations of medieval Castilian literature and orality centered on oral poetic traditions like the epic and the Romancero (Armistead; Benmayor; Miletich; Webber) as well as lyric poetry (Frenk; Monroe). The publication of

research by Havelock, McLuhan and Ong went beyond the formula and spurred Hispano-medievalists to consider heretofore untouched areas of exploration such as the identification of popular and learned traditions in a written work, the changes which literacy implied in the rise of narrative, and a more balanced approach away from polarizing orality and literacy towards the interactions of oral and literate modes of thought and discourse. Representative authors, works, and genres will be discussed in order to provide a reasonable but not exhaustive idea of the state of orality and textuality studies in medieval Spanish literature. Deyermond's panoramic overview reveals that oral and written modes display a constant interaction in most genres of medieval Spanish writings ("La literatura oral"). The interaction depends to some degree on oral diffusion of language fixed in written texts.

Long before the findings of Parry, Lord and Havelock, hispano-medievalists had grappled with issues of orality and early literature. The research of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, which predates that of Parry and Lord by over ten years, identified the conservative and dynamic nature of Spain's popular tradition (Poesía juglaresca). Menéndez Pidal's conclusions on the origins of the Spanish epic produced a major polemic,[31] between the "individualists," British school (single, learned author) and the "traditionalists" or Pidalist school (a collective result of an established tradition transferred orally by juglares). Much of the debate has centered around the Cantar de mio Cid[32] for

which the British scholar Colin Smith has insisted on a single, learned author and is probably the most vociferous opponent of the traditionalist school.

Lord's Singer of Tales and its theory of oral formulaic composition drew the attention of scholars of the medieval Spanish epic to the oral nature of epic poetry. The formula was used as a tool in order to assess the degree of prior oral composition or for metrical and stylistic analysis. Although the formula was a helpful tool it had its limitations since it considered one aspect of orality based on conclusions pertaining only to a foreign epic tradition. The tendency of more recent scholarship of the Spanish epic assesses its relation according to the implications of writing for the epic tradition (Montgomery), the convergence of oral and literate elements in the extant texts (Friedman), and the performative nature of the texts (Walsh). Montgomery has closely examined the attitudes of writing implied in the Spanish epic. His attention to the presence of writing for record keeping, official agreements and messages confirms Clanchy's historical account of the first uses to which writing was put. Montgomery also illustrates the tensions created by the oral and written modes within the poems. He gives examples of the distrust and negativity surrounding the written word as presented in the Spanish epic. The same distrust of the written word was discussed by Michael Clanchy in his study of law in Medieval England.

Edward Friedman utilizes the concept of intertextuality

as a means of reconciling the oral and literate aspects of the Cid, while considering the artistic intent of the poem, he concludes that the PMC be read "may be read (not must be or even should be) as if it were intended for a reading public" (17).

John Walsh emphasizes the performative aspects of the Poema de Mio Cid, such as the use of gesturing, movement and positioning that can be surmised in an examination of the poem. He notes that the tradition of performance was inherent to Franco-Castilian epics (5). An earlier and very important study by C.C. Smith and J. Morris that treats the enormous quantity of "physical phrases" in the Spanish epic inadvertently supports Walsh's conclusions for the Cid as performance text. The phrases are a whole system that "is based on an elaborate and comprehensive use of the symbolic potentialities of the human body for gesture and posture" (133). The "physical phrases" were a technique of the juglar or oral performer to make the events real for his audience. The phrase "llorar de los ojos" made more concrete the abstract notion of guilt and as a prompt for the performer to gesture, as a type of stage direction (134, 178-89). Smith and Morris also note the presence of the phrases in clerecia poetry and in prosified versions of the epics found in the chronicles. They conclude that these phrases represent a primitive stage in the evolution of the language that were becoming obsolete in the fourteenth-century although there occurred a "false revival" of the phrases in juglaresque ballads of the later fifteenth century that they

cannot account for (180).

After the epic, the issue of orality has been most plied in Romancero research.[33] Again, it was Menéndez Pidal who laid the foundations for the gathering and study of ballads from the oral tradition in the twentieth century (Webber 1951-52). As in the epic, the neotraditionalist-individualist polemic was raised.[34]

The oral ballad has been a useful vehicle for observing the processes of oral transmission both synchronically and diachronically, not possible with the Spanish epic. Indeed, the results of research on the oral ballad tradition as it exists today has led to a better knowledge of the medieval ballad through analogous studies. Much of the data concern not only the romancero tradition but the dynamics of the oral process itself.[35] This vital ballad tradition, has also been analyzed according to Parry and Lord's findings with respect to various aspects of oral composition and diffusion (Beattie; Ochrymowycz). One of the earliest inquiries was Webber's 1951 study on formulistic diction of the Spanish Ballad. She notes the mnemonic function of the formula and kinds of repetition. As in other areas of oral research, computer-aided analysis is being employed to trace synchronic and diachronic variations in oral ballad traditions (Petersen 1978).

The above research on the epic and romancero has confirmed previous findings that indicate a difference in the way an oral culture arranges its verbal expression as compared with a literate culture. The use of formulaic

style, repetitions, the presence of stock themes and folk motifs follow the patterns elaborated by Parry and Lord. The apprehension of the written word in studies by Clanchy and Stock, has also been noted by Montgomery for the Spanish epic. Oral delivery and reading aloud as common forms of reception in the Middle Ages reinforce the idea of viewing epic poems as performance texts. The epic and ballad are natural points of departure for the study of other genres since they are closely linked to oral tradition: the epic with deep roots in orality (although coming down to us in written texts) and the ballad still observable in a living oral tradition.

Other genres destined to be delivered orally such as the medieval popular sermon provide invaluable information on the convergence of learned and popular traditions (Deyermond "The Sermon"). Sermons were one of the chief forms of dissemination of information to the mostly unlettered populace. The early mendicant orders such as the Franciscans developed a number of rhetorical styles to appeal to differing social levels in a strategy called sermon ad status (Hanning 30-31). Similar to what Gurevich has shown for Russia, learned ideas were diffused in a form the populace could understand and the clergy in turn had to stay in tune to the popular traditions for relevant material. The medieval sermon provided opportunities for the dissemination of exempla and sentencia as well as other both popular and learned forms. The presence of proverbs and refrains in not only sermons but in many other genres has

been well documented (O'Kane; Benaim de Lasry "Narrative"; Goldberg; Dutton "Proverbs"). According to Burke ("The Libro"), the structure of the medieval sermon (which for him) had an influence on that of the Libro del Caballero Zifar, should be considered as a possible structuring principle for other medieval works as well. According to Seniff ("Orality") the medieval sermon and its oral/learned nexus is best exemplified by Alfonso Martínez de Toledo's Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho (1438) which contains popular speech and tales amidst textual references to classical and religious works.

The nexus between the popular and learned was no doubt closer in some respects due to the oral-aural reception of religious and legal data. Brian Dutton ("The Popularization") demonstrates the manner in which legal formulae entered the popular realm. According to Dutton, witnesses came from all social stations save that of the serfs. Since legal documents were familiar to most of the witnesses at least aurally (they were read aloud to those unschooled in Latin or illiteratae), some legal formulae would have been common knowledge. Dutton demonstrates what he calls the "oral vernacularization" (16) of Latin legal phrases. As the documents were read aloud, the reader would translate the written Latin into the spoken vernacular, a classic case of diglossia. He identifies the social status of the witnesses and oral publication, and then discusses the use of legal phrases in the works of Gonzalo de Berceo. A learned author like Berceo used legalistic phrases in his

works because he expected his public to at least be aurally familiar with them (26). Dutton makes an important point as to the linguistic dilemma which confronted early vernacular writers:

> Such early vernacular writers must have been perforce to read and write, which implies education in Latin. When they began to write in the vernacular--presumably for a listening audience--they were obliged to force, as it were, the old wine of Latin intellectuality into the inadequate new bottles of popular speech. At any stage, the presence of Latinisms and semicultismos is clear evidence of this process. (27)

Dutton's statement emphasizes the conditions under which early vernacular writers composed. As the vernacular, long associated with orality, took on new tasks in writing, it had to borrow learned words and expressions which provided precise meanings to compensate for the lack of vocabulary. Because of the close alliance of learned and popular speech, as purveyors of written and spoken discourse respectively, the function of popular elements should not be ignored in the study of early vernacular writings.

The function of the popular tale and its relation to the written text has been treated in various articles, for example, in the Libro de Buen Amor (Michael "The Function") and in Calila e Dimna (Lacarra "El Cuento"). Studies on Don Juan Manuel have been particularly helpful in elucidating implications of orality to literature. An author himself, Juan Manuel discusses in various prologues the common practices of reading aloud or being read to as well as the circulation and exchange of manuscripts with close friends (Ayerbe-Chaux; Deyermond "Cuentos"; England; Macpherson "Don

Juan"; Seniff "Así fiz").

Ayerbe-Chaux considers three aspects of orality and the Manueline corpus: 1) orality of sources, 2) oral transmission of the literary work, and 3) the work dictated to and the work written by the author. While Macpherson discusses the issues in relation to the corpus of Manuel's writings, John England dis2cusses Juan Manuel's original use of traditional material in El Conde Lucanor, a work to which Don Juan Manuel owes his fame as a master story teller. He calls attention to Juan Manuel's use of the structure of repetition followed by contrast and shows how this is highly individualistic, a technique not common among Castilian short story collections.[36] After comparing this technique with that of stories taken directly from oral tradition, England suggests that Juan Manuel used oral sources rather than written. He surmises that Juan Manuel either listened to them as recreation on sleepless nights or heard them in sermons or talks with Dominican friends (84). Deyermond also relates the importance of orality to the literary creations of Don Juan Manuel, specifically in the Libro de las armas. Seniff ("Así fiz") addresses the convergence of oral and textual sources to denote the importance which Juan Manuel placed on personal experience, his own and others.

It is only fairly recently that Hispanic scholars have turned to the work of Havelock, McLuhan and Ong to address the issue of the coexistence of oral and written discursive systems, or diglossia to use Ferguson's term. Elias Rivers (Quixotic) led the way with a group of essays that outlines

the rise of Hispanic textuality. He notes that although there is oral tradition without writing, "writing, on the other hand is always and everywhere accompanied by oral language" (18). He develops his thesis based on the concept of diglossia tracing it from the beginnings of vernacular texts read aloud in a predominantly aural-oral setting to the Hispanic literary traditions of the New World.

Dennis Seniff ("Orality") evaluates representative medieval Castilian works in light of the convergence of oral and written sources illustrating the significance this implied for the Alphonsine corpus, the works of Don Juan Manuel, El Corbacho by Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Cárcel de Amor by Diego de San Pedro and the Celestina by Fernando de Rojas. His listing of criteria divided into oral/popular and written/learned traditions is a synthesis of previous studies on the issue. For the present dissertation, his synthesis provides a point of departure for my evaluation at the end of this chapter.

In a similar vein, Esperanza Gurza examines one work, a masterpiece of verbal power, the Celestina,[37] noting its nexus with orality in the inclusion of cancionero poetry, formulaic expressions (98-99) and the very conception of the word and language as basically aural-oral (100). Celestina's debt to popular or oral sources has been recognized at length as well as the skillful use of memory in the creation of characterization (Bell, Armistead and Silverman, Severin). Gilman notes the acute oral ambiance of the academic environment at Salamanca in which the second

author, Fernando de Rojas studied.

The role of orality in literary works of the Renaissance and Golden Age has also been treated in a number of studies in addition to those of Celestina,: a few examples will be briefly mentioned here. Rivers in "Lo escrito y lo oral: Don Pedro de Navarra" comments on the primacy of oral usage espoused by Juan de Valdés in his Diálogo de la lengua (308) and shows how Don Pedro de Navarra's Diálogos de la diferencia del hablar al escrevir (c.1560) established formal distinctions between speaking and writing attaching significant importance to the utility of the written word. Oral delivery and memorization is shown to have continued into seventeenth century Spain in a study by L.P. Harvey ("Oral"). According to Harvey, Ramón Ramírez, a sixteenth-century Morisco was a prisoner of the Inquisition who performed romances of chivalry from memory. The inquisitorial transcripts of Ramírez reveal the memory devices he used in order to recite these works. Ramírez confesses that he had learned the basic plot structure, episodes and names of characters and geographical places, and then would improvise the narration as he recited, adding and detracting to the story but always keeping within its frame (283). Harvey's study provides an insight into the oral diffusion of the Spanish romances of chivalry past the invention of printing. He suggests that if others like Ramírez entertained audiences by reciting oral versions of written texts, this would explain variations in texts like the Abencerraje as being due to oral transmission (285).

Aspects of orality also influenced the Spanish comedia and the picaresque novel. According to Kirschner, Lope de Vega could have been influenced by oral sources for the composition of Fuenteovejuna while Peale observes that the confessional tone and structure of Guzmán is particularly amenable to oral discourse. This sampling of studies from Renaissance and Golden Age literary works indicates that the influence and interworkings of orality and textuality continued for some time.

Towards an Oral-Textual Model

In the course of this chapter critical thought from a number of perspectives has been adduced better to explore the nature of spoken versus written discourse in an attempt to define differences in the way oral and literate mentalities organize and express knowledge. Expression and thought of primary oral cultures is essentially formulary, repetitive and traditional as Lord and Havelock have shown. Orality was reinforced due to the emphasis of medieval academia on rhetoric and dialectic and thus continues as oral residue during the Middle Ages and Renaissance until print is fully interiorized. As writing replaced oral narrative as a means for storing and recalling knowledge, its potential for arranging human lives in coherent narratives gradually emerged. Written narrative led to further means of expressing and analyzing human experience for didactic and entertainment purposes. The first models for fictional narratives came from both oral and academic circles. Given that written narrative genres thus arose from

a highly complex scenario of interactions and tensions between orality and textuality there must be an understanding of the dynamics of oral and written discourse in order to interpret medieval literature. An evaluation should consist of an awareness of the oral and textual dynamics of language in light of existing proof, usually a manuscript or printed work that will determine not only the mode of composition, transmission and reception but the function of the manuscript. The following oral-textual framework lists aspects of orality and textuality as a general guideline for approaching works that are produced under varying degrees of oral and written modes. The aim of the model is to provide a flexible (though not exhaustive) list of criteria that can be applied to an individual work or genre. Flexibility is important since the interaction between the two modes is a dialectic relationship in which each text is unique with respect to orality and textuality.

Oral Aspects:

1. Degree and type of oral style:

a) Highly rhythmic. Rhythm acts as a physiological and psychological aid for the storage and recall of information (Jousse).

b) Use of Repetitive Devices. Not only verbal but thematic and imagistic, forms of parallelism, enumeration, motifs, etc..

c) Formulaic and Aggregative. The use of formulaic expressions can be highly rhythmic and versatile under the demands of metrical conditions as well as function

as a mnemonic aid for storage and recall (Ong Orality 35). Rather than reflect through analysis the tendency is to use formulaic expressions like epithets, parallel phrases, antithetical terms or standardized narrative themes (motifs) that convey a total idea of a particular concept.

d) Paratactic or additive rather than subordinative. The performer supplies extratextual clues of voice and gesture lacking in a written text and that is compensated for by writing through the use of subordinative and syntactical structures.

e) Redundant or copious. Both the speaker and audience need the constant reiteration and repetition of material since there are no pages to turn back for reflection and memory.

f) Concretization over abstraction. Usage of physical, concrete or imagistic vocabulary rather than abstractions in order to convey ideas, or move the audience.

g) An authoritative and reliable narrator with no ironic distance between author and narrator (Scholes and Kellogg 51-52).

2. Presence of a tone or thematics linked to orally based expression:

a) Conservative or traditional. The tradition or prior experience is the authority and must constantly be repeated to keep it, leaving little room for innovation and new ideas except in the act of recreation. In

manuscript culture the same stories (tradition) appear in different collections but are recreated according to the specific circumstance and function that is assigned to them.

b) Close to the human life world. Oral cultures explain phenomena in the experienced objective world in relation to the already familiar and subjective human world. For example, gods are given traits that are very human while natural phenomena is explained as personally interacting with and against human beings.

c) Agonistic and polemical. No doubt due to the subjective view of life, oral expression is also agonistic, viewed in terms of struggle and thus polarized into white and black, good and evil. Presence of oral verbal contest such as debates, soundings and flytings as well as extreme ritual violence.

d) Empathetic or participatory. An oral society has limited recourses for reflecting on its past, common in written cultures, and lacks a great sense of critical distance. The lack of objective distance is compensated for by the presence of variable points of view or tones in one text often seemingly contradictory, as a means of illustrating as many sides of a position as possible.

e) Homeostatic. Knowledge meets present needs therefore whatever is not useful is discarded. Only with writing does a critical view of differences between past, present and future emerge.

f) Encyclopedic or totalizing. A tendency to totalize

experience.

3. Degree of direct address, including exhortations, invocations, benedictions, epideictic "demonstrative" expressions ("Listen to my tale," "you will now hear"), curses and blessings or other phrases indicative of words as acts (akin to effective Speech Acts).
4. Anomalous or sporadic narrative changes, suggesting dictation.
5. Degree of irregular tense usage. Oral narrative or performative strategies. An oral narrator uses different evaluative tools such as tense switching in order to highlight important moments in the narrative rather than complex syntactic structures for his own and his audience's apprehension of the material such as for textual functions like grounding (delineating foreground and background) creating cohesion, marking boundaries of various types within a text, expressive functions for evaluation, controlling the pace of the discourse, signalling point of view, or metalinguistic functions to "announce" a type of language to situate a text or part of a text within a typology of discourse forms (Fleischman "Philology" 36).
6. Systematic textual distortion which may suggest dictation, or oral-acoustical interference (a scribe misinterprets a sound due to his own pronunciation of it as he mouths the words aloud).
7. Use of proverbs, apologues, comedy, popular tales, folkloric motifs, riddles and other popular genres.

8. Link with popular poetry such as the epic or ballad.
9. References to the acts of reading, hearing, writing, speaking or to words, sounds, and silence itself.
10. Characterization through the use of heavy, typed and often polarized characters, identified by external qualities, their deeds and actions that make them memorable. Judgement comes from outside the individual in an oral culture and is based on how he is perceived not internally but externally.
11. Episodic plot rather than carefully climactic, sequential and linear narrative.

Textual Aspects

1. Literate style:

a) Subordinative. Clearer, more precise grammatical constructions.

b) Analytical. Events are segmented, reflected upon, analyzed for example, as to cause and effect, objectives and influences.

c) Retrospective. The reflective nature of writing allows for the analysis of whole systems and the uncovering or unmasking of inconsistencies in that system with an increase in the questioning of and skepticism towards the past. The inadequacies of myth as a holistic system are subject to exposure in writing.

d) Abstract. Evaluation of abstract ideas and concepts such as in philosophy. Use of allegory and figural structures.

2. Decontextualization of the acts of writing and reading

from actual performance leads to distancing:

a) Fictionalization of audience and writers. The author makes up roles for narrators and readers. He provides clues for the mood or tone in which both author (implied author) and reader (implied reader) are expected to conform. "Early writing provides the reader conspicuous helps for situating himself imaginatively" (Ong Orality 103). A writer will present dialogues so that the reader can imagine himself listening, or frame stories so that the reader can imagine he is one of the listeners.

b) Growth of irony. Writing increases distances between author, narrator and reader so that there is the potential for ironic disparity between the knowledge and values of the author and those of his narrator (Scholes and Kellogg 52-53).

c) Articulate Introspectivity. The separation of knower from known increases "articulate introspectivity" in which the individual can see and compare the inner self against which objective world is set leading also to greater self-consciousness (Ong Orality 105).

d) Demythologization. The distancing along with the separation of the individual from the outside world that allows for examination of all types of systems of belief which can then be questioned as to their truth value.

3. Presence and character of a prologue and of the narrative in general with respect to structure, specific sources,

goals, historical aspects.

4. Degree of dependence on rhetoric or dialectic or other academic models and exercises (for example, the use of the academic accessus as a model for the medieval prologue).
5. Presence of legal, scientific and philosophical terminology, inventories (of names, materia medica, etc.), geographical sources, Biblical and theological elements, or philological commentary.
6. Presence of Latin, Greek, or Arabic quotations, translations, or transliterations.
7. Degree of literary embellishment or borrowing, use of letters, or commentary on the creative literary process, or on problems associated with transcription.
8. Codification and autonomy of discourse. Writing isolates discourses (Ong Orality 113): amorous or chivalric elements present through use of chivalric or courtly love codes.
9. Presence and type of embellishment and glosses, pointing fingers, interlinear emendations, etc. of manuscript.
10. Developed plot, towards the linear or climactic.
11. Three-dimensional, true to life characters, with internal motivation and psychological development of character. The creation of the anti-hero who exhibits internal, complex motivations antithetical to the externally motivated hero of oral culture.
12. Effects of writing heightened in print:

a) Fixed point of view. A single perspective or tone could

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be maintained throughout a lengthy prose work.

b) Closure. A sense of finality, the feeling that the text is a finished product came about after printing.

The above framework of oral and textual dynamics is meant to be as flexible as possible so that it may be modified to fit the demands of each particular work or genre and its historical and social environment. The inclusion of the physical text, manuscript or early printed work, is crucial for a thorough evaluation of a given work since its appearance can often provide clues to its mode of composition, transmission or reception. The performative quality of medieval literature in general must be kept in mind since texts of all kinds might have been read aloud in small groups as well as read silently.

To sum, Chapter one has attempted to trace the development of research on spoken and written language that form the foundation for the evaluative criteria presented above as well as provide examples of the practical application of oral-textual studies to Spanish medieval and Renaissance literature. The studies are a sampling of countless efforts and are meant to suggest the general direction that oral-textual research has taken as well as to illustrate the persistence of orality beyond the invention of the printing press. As will be shown, the Spanish sentimental romance genre is intriguing because it emerges during a period of intense literary activity coupled with the invention of print amidst the oral residual culture of fifteenth-century Spain. Chapter two will examine the

Spanish sentimental romance in light of prior research and the topic of orality and textuality.

Notes

1. See Milman Parry's 1928 doctoral dissertation as well as the 1930 article reprinted in The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry, ed. by Adam Parry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, pp. 266-324). Parry died at an early age and his work was continued by his son as well as Albert Bates Lord.

2. Joseph A. Russo presents a brief survey of some problems posed by the definition of formula (31-71). Franz H. Bauml discusses the weaknesses of the oral-formulaic approach when applied to written texts and argues for a functional definition of the formula and its variance depending on genre ("Medieval" 31-49).

3. Ong's definition of epithet as "an expected, standardised formulaic qualifier (the sturdy oak)" will be used in the dissertation (Interfaces 194).

4. Themes and motifs have been indexed, catalogued and utilized for a broad range of purposes in narrative studies, in order to indicate popular sources or to identify transcultural themes (Aarne/Thompson; Thompson; Utley). Indexes of tale-types and folk motifs have been employed for evaluating popular sources in medieval Spanish letters as well (De Lope; Deyermond/Chaplan; Gifford; Keller; Wright). See the review article by Harriet Goldberg ("Romance") which surveys and critically discusses the issue of folklore and medieval literature. The application of Vladimir Propp's morphological analysis has also been plied in several Spanish texts. See, for example, Beatie's ("Romances") Proppian analysis concerning the ballad and Nieto's study of the Libro de los gatos, Libro de los exemplos, and Disciplina clericalis. For a different definition see Scholes and Kellogg, who suggest the word topos, a traditional image, in place of "theme" since the latter has so many meanings and because of the similarities in function between Lord's "themes" and the topoi of Greek rhetoric (26-27).

5. For the concept of "transitional text," see also Michael Curschmann, "Oral Poetry in Mediaeval English, French, and German Literature: Some Notes on Recent Research," Speculum 42 (1967): 44.

6. Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography (New York: Garland, 1985) contains over eighteen hundred items and will be updated annually in the journal Oral Tradition. See the introduction (11-77), which provides a concise overview of the influences

which contributed to Parry's conclusions, as well as on the direction of oral-formulaic research in general.

7. Joseph J. Duggan (The Song of Roland) using the theory to solve problems in Roland, has modified the concept in the process. Other contributions include those of Edward R. Haymes, A Bibliography of Studies Relating to Parry's and Lord's Oral Theory, Publications of the Milman Parry Collection, Documentation and Planning Series, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), and Alain Renoir, "Oral-Formulaic Context: Implications for the Comparative Criticism of Mediaeval Texts," Oral Traditional Literature: A Festschrift For Albert Bates Lord, ed. John Miles Foley (Columbia: Slavica Publishers, 1981) 416-39. For a critical overview see Michael Curschmann, "The Concept of the Oral Formula as an Impediment to Our Understanding of Medieval Oral Poetry," Medievalia et Humanistica 8 (1977): 63-76.

8. While the sophisticated style and structure of the Cantar de mio Cid are due to written composition, its transmission might have been oral (Deyermond "Structural"). Deyermond considers the Mocedades to be an orally dictated text by a clerical author ("La decadencia").

9. Havelock's major studies have been reprinted in The Literate Revolution in Greece and its Cultural Consequences (1982). A synthesis of the major implications of his thought can also be found in his The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present (1986).

10. See Derrida Dissemination, chapter four, "The Pharmakon" pp. 95-134. Cf. Although Ong recognizes Derrida's privileging of speech over writing and his deconstruction of logocentrism, Ong contends that Derrida's premises derive from a print-centered perspective. Derrida fails to distinguish between writing and print (Orality and Literacy 165-70).

11. For a critique of Finnegan's viewpoint see the review article by John Miles Foley in Balkan Studies 19 (1978): 40-75.

12. See for example, Chapter 3 (45-58) concerning her investigation of the Limba tribe of Sierra Leone.

13. Forgery is a prime example of the growth in the use of written records instead of memory as transmitter of the legal code. Clanchy notes that monasteries would forge documents in order to show their claims to lands and property that were first given them before the widespread use of documents. Another function of forgery was born out of a preoccupation with posterity, as monastic writers would

deliberately create and select versions of past events to form their own view of history for future readers (119-20). Even official charters were not always authentic. "Forged charters were often based on earlier authentic documents or on good oral traditions. The purpose of forgery was to produce a record in a form which was acceptable, particularly in courts of law, at the time it was made. Forgery was necessary because contemporaries had no historical sense" (249).

14. C.A.Ferguson developed the concept defining diglossia as "a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation" (336). Although his study is not exclusively focused on the Latin/vernacular paradigm of the Middle Ages, his ideas are pertinent. Following Seniff (1987, 1989), I amplify the term to consider the oral/written facets of diglossia.

15. McLuhan had contributed greatly to an awareness not only of the differences between orality and writing but of the major influence of the printed word after Gutenberg. His basic premise is that man's aural sense was dominant as long as modes of communication were primarily oral but as writing encouraged visual dominance a shift in the balance of the senses meant a difference in our sense experience. He asserts that modern technological man is experiencing a shift back to the aural sense brought on by electronic media and technological changes and is recouping the simultaneity and presence of the spoken word that was minimized with sight dominance. Twentieth-century man is now increasing the auditory sensorium that will put him in line with his predecessors in an analogously tribal way. McLuhan gathers the work of scholars from diverse fields in order to illustrate the many facets involved in the rise of literacy and print and its effects on Western society.

16. The metaphor of "inscribing" or writing is consistently applied to the act of memory from Classical times through the Renaissance (Carruthers 16-32).

17. Aristotle defines rhetoric as "the faculty of discovering all the available means of persuasion" and lists three types of persuasion: "ethos, arising from the speaker's personal qualities; pathos, arising from the audience's emotions; and logical proofs, depending upon argument" (Murphy 4).

18. One of the most important rhetorical treatises during the Middle Ages was the Rhetorica Ad Herennium whose author was believed to be Cicero. It contains the oldest extant treatment of memoria. In addition, its treatment of style, divided into the grand, the middle, and the plain was most influential (Murphy 18-20).

19. There were generally three types of orations: the judicial or forensic, the deliberative or political, and the occasional or epideictic (Murphy 4, 9-11) and the oration itself consisted in from one to five parts. Cicero gives five parts: inventio or discovery of arguments to prove a point, dispositio or arrangement of an argument, elocutio or style, memoria or the use of memory, and pronuntio or delivery (Murphy 9-11).

20. "For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to note that rithmus attempts to introduce into certain kinds of prose some of the compositional principles usually employed in writing verse" (Murphy 161).

21. "The disputatio may well have been one of the most important formal influences in European higher education between about 1150 and 1400" (Murphy 102).

22. For further commentary on the oral reception of the Bible see Werner Kelber's The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q.

23. One of the four cardinal virtues the other three being Fortitude, Temperance and Justice. The parts of Prudence are memoria, intelligentia and providentia (Yates 61-62). The De Inventione provides Aquinas's framework for the virtues (73).

24. For an appraisal of the elaboration of the Estoria de españa see Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, "Cómo trabajaron las escuelas alfonsíes."

25. Ong proposes that females are less agonistic biologically and psychologically than males, besides the fact that they had never been schooled in the same classical tradition as their male counterparts. Whether females are less agonistic than males is debatable but his statement that they received schooling in different traditions is worth further examination. He suggests that because of the male writer's deep association with Latin and the accompanying rhetorical traditions, the study of the writings of females who for the most part were educated in the vernacular away from the grounding that men received in rhetoric should reflect interesting differences in writing styles (Rhetoric 113-41).

26. There are numerous medieval works structured on debates (Elena y Maria), or that contain debates (Libro de buen amor), or question-answer formats (El Conde Lucanor, El libro del escudero and cavallero by Don Juan Manuel).

27. In the Spanish Bocados de oro (c. 1250) Socrates refuses to commit his words to writing because "la sapiencia es cosa linpia e santa, non nos conviene poner si non en las almas bivas, e non en los pellejos muertos" (45).

28. Stephen Gilman in "Time and Tense in Spanish Epic Poetry," was among the first to relate irregular tense usage in the Spanish epic as an evaluative strategy of narrative grammar.

29. In a later article, Robert Kellogg (1977) discusses the nexus of oral narration with written texts, using The Canterbury Tales and the Odyssey as examples of the effects of a fictional oral narrator within a written text. He also summarizes the characteristics of oral narrative as rhythmic, traditional, and formulaic which may preserve these elements in written form.

30. See Lawrance's "The Audience of the Libro de Buen Amor" which illustrates the playful misuse of scholastic terms in verses 1606-17, indicating a learned audience but oral diffusion, and Kirby's treatment of carnivalesque aspects and the folkloric figure of the wild man/woman.

31. See Charles B. Faulhaber, "Neo-Traditionalism, Formulism, Individualism, and Recent Studies on the Spanish Epic," Romance Philology 30 (1976-77): 83-101; Samuel G. Armistead, "The Mocedades de Rodrigo and Neo-Individualist Theory," Hispanic Review 46 (1978): 313-27; Michael E. Gerli, "Individualism and the Castilian Epic: Survey, Synthesis, and Bibliography," Olifant IX, 3-4 (Spring-Summer 1982 [1986]), pp.129-50.

32. See Ruth H. Webber, "The Cantar de mio Cid: Problems of Interpretation," Oral Tradition in Literature 65-88 and A.D. Deyermond, "Tendencies in 'Mio Cid Scholarship, 1943-1973."

33. For basic bibliography on the romancero see Rina Benmayor, "Current Work in the Romancero viejo tradicional: Modern Oral Tradition," La Corónica 4 (1975): 49-53) and her "Social Determinants in Poetic Transmission or a Wide-Angle Lens for Romancero Scholarship," El Romancero hoy: Historia, Comparatismo, Bibliografía crítica (Madrid: Cátedra Seminario Menéndez Pidal, 1979) 153-65; Eds. D. Catalán, S. Armistead, A. Sánchez Romeralo, El Romancero en la tradición moderna oral, (Madrid, 1972); Samuel Armistead, "Hispanic Ballad Studies: Recent Trends in Criticism," Narrative Folksong. New Directions: Essays in Appreciation of W. Eson

Richmond, Eds. Carol L. Edwards and Kathleen E. B. Manley, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985) 106-30.

34. Of the numerous studies, see Samuel G. Armistead, "Review Article: Neo-Individualism and the Romancero," Romance Philology 33 (1979-80): 172-81 and his "Epic and Ballad: A Traditionalist Perspective," Olifant 8 (1981): 376-88; Paul Bénichou, "Creación poética en el romancero tradicional, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1968).

35. See D. Catalán, "Memoria e invención en el romancero de tradición oral," Romance Philology 24.1-5 (1970-71): 441-63), "Análisis electrónico de la creación poética oral: El programa Romancero en el Computer Center de UCSD," Homenaje a la memoria de don Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, (1910-1970), (Madrid: Castalia, 1975), Ruth House Webber, "Hispanic Oral Literature: Accomplishments and Perspectives," Oral Tradition 1 (1986): 344-80; also see the special edition of Oral Tradition 2.2-3 (1987) on Hispanic Balladry, ed. Ruth House Webber; and S. Armistead and A. Sánchez Romeralo, eds., El Romancero hoy: Poética, 3 vols., 2 Coloquio Internacional, University of California Davis (Madrid: Cátedra Seminario Menéndez Pidal, 1979). For oral tradition see especially vol. 3, Romancero y poesía oral.

36. England describes this technique "which sets Juan Manuel's exemplum apart from other collections of short stories in medieval Spain consists of a sequence of events repeated three or more times, with verbal similarities on each occasion, in which one element (frequently the last one) of the final sequence stands in direct contrast to the corresponding element in the preceding sequences" (71).

37. See Joseph T. Snow, ed., Celestina by Fernando de Rojas: An Annotated Bibliography of World Interest 1930-85, (Madison: HSMS, 1985) as well as updates regularly appearing in Celestinesca, a journal devoted to Rojas's masterpiece and the Celestinesque tradition.

Chapter two

The Sentimental Romance: A Critical Overview

Chapter two will incorporate prior research on the Spanish sentimental romance and chapter one's synthesis of oral and textual aspects in order to define and situate the works within their literary and socio-historical context. The chapter will first address issues of genre and sources, the historical and literary climate, principal themes, aspects of narrative, and gender and modes of reception, before turning to features of orality and textuality that are relevant for interpreting Spanish sentimental fiction. A panorama of the Spanish sentimental romance will reveal that the genre is as indebted to its highly oral environment as it is to the increasing use of written texts.

It is generally accepted that Spanish sentimental fiction began with Siervo libre de amor (1440) and ended with Proceso de cartas de amores and Quexa y aviso contra el amor (1550) by Juan de Segura. This chapter will focus on Siervo libre de amor (1440) by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, Arnalte y Lucenda (1491) and Cárcel de amor (1492) by Diego de San Pedro, and Grimalte y Gradissa (1495) and Grisel y Mirabella (1495) by Juan de Flores but does not limit discussion to these works alone. In subsequent chapters the five romances will be examined individually. The Spanish sentimental romances under discussion are particularly intriguing in that they were almost all composed during the

second half of the fifteenth century within a highly oral environment that had just been introduced to the printing press and had not fully incorporated writing. The dialectic resulting from the blend of orality and textuality is perhaps one of its most salient yet problematic features. An evaluation of the works in light of the role of orality and textuality may provide further insights into if not solutions for the questions and problems this genre has elicited.

Generic Parameters of the Sentimental Romance

Keith Whinnom's bibliography (1983) and Alan Deyermond's collaboration with Ann Mackenzie and Dorothy Severin on a supplement indicate a recent growing interest in the sentimental romance. They have compiled over two hundred new items to add to the over four hundred cited by Whinnom. Several other critical surveys also attest to renewed interest in sentimental prose fiction.[1] The sentimental romances have been examined primarily from the perspective of their textuality, as written compositions with little reference to their oral dynamics. Several book-length studies on the Spanish sentimental romance treat a wide variety of issues but none to date deals specifically with the issue of orality in conjunction with textuality.

As a first step toward understanding the role of orality, some studies offer useful interpretations regarding the function of popular culture through the identification of carnivalesque elements and folk motifs (Deyermond, Weissberger) or the role of internal and external readers

and writers (Lacarra, Lombardi, Weissberger).

One of the earliest concerns of previous research was the question of genre. Attempts to set parameters for the genre have been subverted by the works themselves since efforts to list features that the works share always elicit some exceptions. The number of works included in the genre has fluctuated with more recent tendencies being to reduce the list (Deyermond "Las relaciones" 75). Menéndez y Pelayo, the first to call the works "sentimental," considered the thirteen works he includes as a mix of the chivalric romances and Italian fiction, "mezcla de caballeresco y erótico, combinación del Amadís y de la Fiammetta" (482). Since then other classifications have been generated, including and excluding various sentimental works according to specific criteria. Durán follows a structuralist approach and subdivides the genre into what he terms "novela erótica" and "novela propiamente sentimental" (9). Grieve classifies the works thematically according to "romances of frustrated love" or "romances of violent love" (Desire xviii). She examines the latter group in her study determining that the destructive character of love in the romances of Diego de San Pedro and Juan de Flores is the result of triangular desire and mediation.[2]

Deyermond's very important article on generic relations of Spanish sentimental fiction reminds us that although the genre can be considered peninsular, it is not limited to Castilian prose texts but includes works originating in Galicia (Siervo libre de amor), Catalonia (Triste

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deleytacion), or composed in Portuguese (Sátira) ("Las relaciones" 76-77). Admitting the limits involved in identifying common traits, Deyermond provides a short list of the sentimental genre's most frequent characteristics:

> [L]a brevedad; el predominio del interés psicológico sobre la acción externa; una visión trágica del amor; el autobiografismo (narración en primera persona, o un narrador que es también un personaje); y la inclusión de cartas o de poesías (o, a menudo, las dos) en la narración. (77)

In addition, Deyermond believes that there are parallels between Arthurian romances and Cárcel de amor (80-82). He indicates that Cárcel de amor and Mort Artu share similar narrative structures and notes that San Pedro employs names derived from Arthurian texts: Laurette (Laureola), Leriador (Leriano), Galehot (Galio), Persides (Persio) and, Surre or Sur, a kingdom in the Estoire de Merlin (Suria, capital of Macedonia in Cárcel) (81).

The Arthurian tradition influenced other Spanish sentimental works as well (Gilderman; Lida de Malkiel; Matulka; Sharrer "La fusión"; Spinelli "Chivalry"). Lida de Malkiel suggests possible influences of the thirteenth-century French Suite du Merlin in Siervo libre de amor's intercalated love story, Estoria de dos amadores (106-14). In addition, Gilderman associates the last scene of the Estoria de dos amadores, the arrival of Sindéresis by boat, with the history of the Holy Grail and the death of Arthur. Matulka makes several connections between Flores's novels and Arthurian and chivalric traditions such as the "ley de escocia" and the wild man image (The Novels 55-71, 283-94),

and Spinelli has documented the lexical frequency of chivalric terminology in three of the romances: Siervo libre de amor, Cárcel de amor, and Grisel y Mirabella ("The Negative Lexicon"). She encounters a high frequency of words related to chivalry and chivalric pursuits in spite of the minimum narrative space given to chivalric episodes in the works. Although the terminology functions to describe some chivalric duels, battles and rescues, albeit briefly, such as is found in the Ardenlier and Liessa story of Siervo libre de amor, or the second half of Cárcel de amor, chivalric terms are also used allegorically as in the first part of Cárcel de amor, and metaphorically as in Grisel y Mirabella (113-25). The preceding studies indicate that chivalric literature, particularly Arthurian romances, influenced nearly all aspects of sentimental fiction including narrative structure, motifs, themes, characterization and terminology. Sharrer has further noted that there seems to have been a mutual interaction between Spanish sentimental and chivalric romances during the fifteenth century ("La fusión" 307-11). The identification of similar passages from Grimalte y Gradissa in the Spanish Tristán de Leonís (1501) confirms the mutual influence (Waley "Juan de Flores y Tristán;" Grimalte xxv-xxvi).

Along with Arthurian traditions and books of chivalry, the influence of Italian fiction, Ovid's Heroides, and Spanish cancionero poetry are fundamental to the sentimental genre (Deyermond "Las relaciones" 78). These four traditions are vital to the development of specific characteristics:

the use of letters resulting from Ovidian influence through Rodríguez del Padrón's Bursario; autobiography or the inclusion of a narrator as character influenced by Boccaccio's Fiammetta, Ovid's Heroides and cancionero poetry; and a tragic vision of love emanating from a variety of sources including Fiammetta, Heroides, cancionero poetry and Arthurian tradition (78-79). Deyermond makes several additional remarks on further influences besides those mentioned above that, albeit speculative, should be addressed. The most significant of these concerns the literary inheritance of Saint Augustine's Confessions as the autobiographical model for emotional and psychological self-analysis, seen most directly in Petrarch's Secretum and the Historia calamitatum and the letters of Abelard and Heloise. Although there is no textual evidence that the Abelard and Heloise texts were known in Spain, three aspects lead Deyermond to include them as a precedent of Spanish sentimental fiction:

> Esta obra tiene tres puntos de interés para nosotros: primero, que la autobiografía emocional y espiritual de Abelardo viene acompañada de un intercambio de cartas entre dos personas que fueron amantes; segundo, que Abelardo alude a las canciones de amor que escribió para Eloisa, y las evoca vívidamente, aunque no nos da los textos...tercero, que las cartas de Eloísa nos ofrecen un análisis fino y conmovedor de la psicología emocional femenina. (84)

Deyermond insists that the relation of Abelard and Heloise does not represent a direct source since not even one allusion to their love story has been found in Spain during the Middle Ages, although Chaucer in England, Villon in France and Dante in Italy mention them (85).

As Deyermond notes, the heterogenous nature of the sentimental genre is one of its distinguishing features. Since not every work contains the same elements only general characteristics can be established. The conclusion can be reached that neither generic nor structural features in themselves make up the genre known as the Spanish sentimental romance. Like many of its literary predecessors, the sentimental romance is not only heterogenous generically and linguistically it also demonstrates a convergence of elements popular and learned, oral and written as Seniff posits regarding Cárcel de amor ("Orality" 164). If there is one distinguishing feature, it is the sentimental romance's ability to absorb so many diverse elements. The totalizing quality of oral habits of thought towards incorporating all elements into a system may also suggest the oral nature of the sentimental romances. This tendency has been modified with writing since the works are not myth in themselves but fictional narratives designed to entertain. The authors of sentimental romance present the principal theme of the love experience--common to all the texts--through the employment of a wide range of existing genres and techniques. The texts are an amalgam of poetry, prose, letters, treatises, debates, quotations, motifs both popular and literary filtered through academic, theological and philosophical ideologies.

In addition to a more or less synchronic approach to the Spanish sentimental romance as outlined above, Regula Rohland de Langbehn divides the works according to their

diachronic development holding that each work is a unique step in an evolutionary process. She specifies three stages in the evolution of the works. The first, allegorical stage, uses poetry and debate to argue the moral value of love and is represented by Siervo libre de amor and Sátira de felice e infelice vida. The second group made up of the romances of Juan de Flores and Diego de San Pedro and the anonymous Triste deleytación is contemporaneous with cancionero poetry and highlights impossible love. The third group are those written after the Celestina (1499) and are limited to the analysis of emotions ("El desarrollo" 304). She makes the important statement that: "En todo el siglo XV la novela sentimental es la única forma de prosa de ficción desarrollada en la literatura en castellano" (307). The highly experimental nature that scholars have associated with sentimental fiction is an inherent part of this development. The novelty of emphasizing the emotional level and internal processes of the characters rather than external actions posed a challenge for early fiction writers in recreating not the external trappings of a battle or rescue scene, but the internal conflicts of the love relationship. Writers of sentimental fiction experimented with preexisting models both oral and written to exploit the possibilities that emotional and psychological conflicts might bring to a story. The significantly different ways that these writers deal with love and narrative, even within works by the same author make it difficult to align them diachronically. For example, the allegorical tradition that

Rohland de Langbehn notes for Siervo libre de amor is also an inherent trait of the later Cárcel de amor. The close approximation of Diego de San Pedro's and Juan de Flores's romances places them in the same diachronic relationship, according to Rohland de Langbehn, but again, the works are sufficiently different to make it difficult to define them along an evolutionary scheme.

In spite of the resistance of the Spanish sentimental romance to definition on structural, generic or evolutionary grounds research has contributed enormously to our understanding of Spain's first experimental fiction. The difficulty in setting parameters has also led to problems of terminology. The writers themselves refer to the texts frequently by the broad term "tratado" that "se empleaba en aquella época para designar a las obras que actualmente se llamarían 'novelas', palabra que no llegó a tener su acepción moderna antes del siglo XVI; y puesto que el empleo de tratado también produciría confusión, no disponemos de un vocablo más adecuado" (Whinnom Obras II 48). The problem of finding an appropriate term for this group reflects the novelty of prose fiction as it begins to establish itself drawing on past traditions both oral and written. Some scholars prefer "novel or novela sentimental" and others "romance." Deyermond discusses the problems associated with the terms and has coined the phrase "libros de aventuras sentimentales" (Historia 293).[3]

The terms "romance" and "novel" have been the most frequently employed although they pose problems due to their

linguistic and historic antecedents and depending on their use in English or Spanish (Deyermond "The Lost Genre" 232-34, 241). In spite of the confusion, the term romance still describes sentimental fiction most accurately, given that unlike the novela, there are both verse and prose romances (sometimes mixed) and a list of identifiable yet flexible features that distinguish the romance genre. A brief discussion of Frye's description of the elements of romance will demonstrate that the Spanish works share the same essential elements as other romances. The two principal elements of romance are love and adventure with sexuality and violence as central ingredients which are also found in the Spanish sentimental prose works, (26). Similarly, Spanish sentimental romances are a mixture of reality and illusion: Siervo libre de amor, Cárcel de amor; contain ritualized action such as tournaments and jousts: Cárcel de amor, Grisel y Mirabella; imagery and motifs of incest: Grisel y Mirabella; imagery or motifs of the hunt: Siervo libre de amor and Arnalte y Lucenda; changes in identity: Grimalte y Gradissa; mirror worlds, including doppelganger or twin figures: Grisel y Mirabella, Cárcel de amor; and the device of the trial: Grisel y Mirabella and Cárcel de amor (Secular Scripture 104-41).

Characters typically found in romance also appear in Spanish sentimental fiction. For example, the cruel fathers of Grisel y Mirabella and Cárcel de amor who are willing to sacrifice their only daughters for the sake of justice recall Frye's remark that "the theme of a heroine exposed to

a sacrificial situation by a foolish or inattentive father has run all through fiction" (81). He explains that tragedy in romance is often related to a father's overbearing will or incestuous relationship. Tragedy often results from the conflict between love and honor, associated with the inability to break with attachments to family or tribal loyalties.[4] Although the romance usually ends happily, it also can be tragic, as Frye notes:

> A romance is normally comic, in the sense that usually the heroine's wiles or whatever are successful and the story ends with marriage or some kind of deliverance. Tragedy or pathos comes from some obstacle or accident which frustrates this conclusion. A heroine may meet disaster through being betrayed or deserted by her lover, or, like Richardson's Clarissa, may fail to stick to the tried and true virginal tactics. Such romantic tragedies as Romeo and Juliet...seem more like a comedy gone wrong: for all Romeo's talk about the stars, his tragedy is not built into the scheme of things as the tragedy of Lear is, or that of Oedipus before him. (92)

All of the Spanish sentimental romances end in frustration or tragedy, but as Frye has suggested of Romeo, not every character seems fully tragic to the listener/reader. The sentimental lovers Arnalte and Grimalte have been viewed more as comic or inept figures than tragic characters (Rohland de Langbehn, Waley "Love and Honour"). Themes of descent as well as ascent are typical of romance. One motif or image common to the descent theme is the cannibal feast (Frye 118) which is present in Grisel y Mirabella. The cold, cruel beauty or disdainful mistress similar to Lucenda in Arnalte y Lucenda or Gradissa in Grimalte y Gradissa form part of the tragic romance (Frye 154-55). The "social snobbery" of romance resembles both the courtly society of

the extradiegetic audience and fictional characters of the Spanish sentimental romances:

> Naive romance confines itself to royal families; sentimental romance gives us patterns of aristocratic courage and courtesy, and much of it adopts a "blood will tell" convention, the association of moral virtue and social rank implied in the word 'noble.' (Frye 161)

The majority of the protagonists of Spanish sentimental romances are noble characters. Leriano's mother makes the distinction that only those of nobility are capable of loving: "bienaventurados los baxos de condición y rudos de engenio, que no pueden sentir las cosas sino en el grado que las entienden" (Whinnom Obras II 173).

The sentimental romance plot diverges to a certain extent from the typical romance plot. Although the sentimental plot is still fairly episodic and describes actions that affect characters externally (Frye 47), in most cases the external action is subordinated to an analysis of emotional adventures. The internal psychological state becomes the mise-en-scene of the plot. Siervo libre de amor, for example, is almost entirely concerned with the internal conflicts of loving and not loving, expressed through various allegorical figures that represent the protagonist's mental forces. Frye further indicates that action in romance proceeds on two levels presenting a "vertical perspective" in that "The story proceeds toward an end which echoes the beginning, but echoes it in a different world" (49). This "vertical perspective" describes fairly well the action in Siervo libre de amor which begins on the level of reality

within an explanatory letter to a flesh-and-blood Gonzalo de Medina, and ends with the protagonist about to recount his story, not to Medina but to the allegorical Synderesis; or Grisel y Mirabella, that begins with the mutual love between Grisel and Mirabella and ends after their death with the "consummation" literally of Torrellas as false lover of Braçayda. According to Frye this vertical perspective explains in part the polarized characterization of romance in its tendency to locate characters unambiguously around the poles of good and evil, as heroes or villains (50). The polarizing tendency that Frye identifies as an aspect of romance is also in keeping with the polemical or agonistic tone of Spanish sentimental romances and is an important indicator of oral habits of thought and expression in the works. Now that we have considered "romance" as an appropriate term describing sentimental fiction, we will turn to the word "sentimental" which is also suitable if considered from the perspective of the analytical qualities of writing.

The descriptive term "novela sentimental" was given to the sentimental romances by Menéndez y Pelayo and the word seems imprecise at times given the violent and frustrating results of love and desire so well examined by Grieve. An alternative would be to define the term "sentimental" as the isolation of the emotions. McLuhan has suggested that writing allowed the segmentation of experience so that the isolation of the senses carried out through the written word leads to eroticism while that of the emotions leads to

sentimentalism (Gutenberg 138). If his suggestion is correct, that the close analysis and resulting isolation of the emotions (so relevant to the theme of love in the sentimental romances) leads to sentimentalism, the term "sentimental" aptly describes these works. The above discussion of terminology suggests that "sentimental romance" is, if not always adequate, at least the closest in characterizing this enigmatic genre. As outlined by Frye, the works are in the tradition of "romance" and as the term "sentimental" suggests, they treat the analytical psychological introspection made possible through the written word.

Socio-Historical Background

Many studies of late have led away from interpretations of the sentimental romances as idealized fiction in order to consider the historical and social background in which they were conceived. The following overview underscores the social and political climate in Spain when sentimental writers were composing their works. Fifteenth-century Spain was a particularly tension-filled era in Spanish history as relations between Christians and Jews, already strained towards the latter part of the fourteenth century, grew worse. The tensions culminated in the 1391 uprising that led to the killing of thousands of Jews in major areas around Spain and a subsequent increase in the number of converts.[5] Many converts were unfairly judged insincere and it was thought that they had converted in order to avoid further persecution, although countless examples of genuine converts

who rose to be theologians and writers tend to prove otherwise (O'Callaghan 608). Suspicions that conversions had been in name only created fear and distrust that led to the eventual establishment of the Inquisition in 1478 (609). Many conversos grew in wealth and prestige during years of uneasy calm between the social classes in the first half of the fifteenth-century. Conversos occupied positions as physicians, bankers and court officials and many achieved prominent positions through the patronage of the monarchy. The most notable figure of converso background was Don Alvaro de Luna, the favorite of Juan II who literally ran the country before he was brought down by members of the nobility bitterly opposed to his power. Some of the most prominent literary figures of the fifteenth century had converso backgrounds. The power and wealth that converso families accumulated added envy and rivalry to the already latent distrust of old Christians. These racial tensions were exacerbated by the general political intrigues and instability of the epoch as nobles vied with the monarchy for power. The succession of weak kings who allowed favorites to rule was broken when Spain was consolidated under the rule of Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon. It was under their reign that the Inquisition flourished, and in 1492 the Jews were expelled and the Moors defeated at their last stronghold in Granada.

Several critics of the sentimental romance perceive the plight of the convert as a main undercurrent of the sentimental romances. Rohland de Langbehn considers the

concepts of sincerity and equality as main themes in sentimental fiction and a reflection of the defense by converso writers on behalf of equality for all Christians, old and new ("El problema" 140). She does not establish a direct conscious effort on the part of writers to reproduce reality but posits that literature mediates social circumstance:

> Tendríamos así en la obra literaria una representación altamente mediatizada, y no un reflejo de las circunstancias sociales e históricas que la determinan. Ello hace que los intérpretes podamos reconocer una intención subyacente o determinante de las obras que muchas veces no aflora explícitamente en las formulaciones de los textos. (134)

Her method consists in identifying the expression of specific interests in particular literary works and then locating analogous interests in contemporaneous social practice. She recognizes that the resuults of her method are difficult to prove but may enrich our knowledge of epochs and literary works. Rohland de Langbehn believes many motifs in the sentimental romances can be related to the converso's social situation; she cites disinterest in achieving a better state in this world, feelings of shame, the accusation of a false friend or unfounded suspicions, the testimony of witnesses of ill repute, and the qualities of sincerity and equality (135-36).

Other critics view the turbulent political situation as crucial to interpreting the sentimental romances. Rodríguez-Puértolas believes the works reflect a crisis created by the decline of feudalism and its idealogy within an emerging bourgeois society. The weakness in explaining the

sentimental works from the perspective of a rising bourgeoisie is a lack of historical accuracy since the rise of a bourgeoise mentality was latent in Spain. Fifteenth-century Castile maintained a pro-aristocratic mentality:

> Disdain for manual labor, a desire to share in the esteem enjoyed by the nobles, and especially to be exempt from taxation, caused many men to aspire to the privileged status of hidalguía. The concession of noble rank to wealthy townsmen and status-seekers of all sorts soon came to be seen as an abuse. (O'Callaghan 612)

The creation of new noble houses in the fifteenth century further retarded the development of a bourgeois mentality in Spain.

Márquez Villanueva regards Cárcel de amor as a type of manifesto against absolute monarchy and the Inquisition written at a time when there was a rise in power of a united monarchy with Isabel and Ferdinand and the newly established Inquisition which enforced anti-converso policies. Márquez-Villanueva's position has been supported by a number of studies such as that by Santiago-Canal who analyzes thematic images in Cárcel. Although Márquez Villanueva's perspective is difficult to prove within the novel, he does bring a historical viewpoint that was lacking in traditional criticism which tended to study the sentimental romances as reflections of an idealized version of reality.

In an article soon to be published, Weissberger offers a convincing interpretation of the connection between political reality and Cárcel de amor. Citing San Pedro's political allegiance to the Castilian aristocracy, she shows how the "'novela sentimental' and the 'novela política' are

but two sides of the same cultural coin" (ts. 2). The function of Cárcel de amor is to legitimize the power of the aristocracy during a time of intense political and social change. Power as brute force and violence is euphemized under the courtly and chivalric codes and in the romance. Weissberger interprets the underlying motivation of Leriano and Persio as the desire for material wealth and social power. The chivalric code masks the intense rivalry between the two knights, and the courtly code hides the fact that Laureola is a commodity that will fulfill these material and political goals (tss. 4-5). As Weissberger perceptively notes, courtly love acts as a means to control Laureola because of her position as sole heir to her father's throne. Persio and Leriano reflect the social reality of the tension that existed within the knightly class and the monarchy prevalent during the reigns of Enrique IV and the Catholic Monarchs.

The sentimental romances of Juan de Flores have recently been scrutinized from a sociological perspective. Fernández Jiménez believes that Flores presents a more realistic view of women then the traditional feminist debate on the good or evil nature of woman so frequently the focus of sentimental critics. Flores is advanced in his social vision in that he puts his women characters on an equal footing with men and has both share equal social responsibilities. Fernández Jiménez exemplifies the tendency of more recent scholars to rely on evidence which goes beyond the traditional topoi to create a fuller vision of

the complex nature of Spanish sentimental fiction.

Literary Climate of Fifteenth Century Spain

In spite of the tense political and social atmosphere of fifteenth-century Spain, a high degree of literary activity through royal patronage and the literary interests of the nobility went unabated (O'Callaghan 641). The influence of Humanism was reflected in the imitation of Classical and Italian literary models. In the first half of the fifteenth century Spanish poets such as Juan de Mena and the Marqués de Santillana emulated Italian and Classical writers. Unlike Italian humanists, they strived to dignify the vernacular as a literary language. Humanist influence in Spain was centered in the courts of the king and nobles while the universities continued fostering scholasticism and medieval tradition (640). Besides theological and academic works, there was an increase in the production of all kinds of vernacular prose works during the fifteenth century.[6] Chronicles, biographies, translations, travel books and imaginative fiction were in ever increasing demand and printers tried to satisfy an eager market. In the second half of the century, authors of sentimental romances experimented with vernacular prose in much the same way as the earlier poets had experimented with poetry for the expression of love, doctrinal and theological themes and issues.

The ascension of Isabel to the Castilian throne in 1474 continued the literary fervor of the first half of the fifteenth century. Her library provides a glimpse into what

books were worth possessing. Along with serious religious and military works are found chivalric romances, Boccaccio's Decameron and Fiammetta as well as other secular texts (Michael "'From Her'" 104, 110n5). The entire collection does not reflect Isabel's personal tastes since the majority of the almost four hundred books in the royal library were probably acquired during the reigns of Isabel's father, Juan II and her brother Enrique IV. Printed books, however, can be traced to her reign (107-08). The presence of chivalric romances in her library tells little about whether she read them herself or heard them read. A more likely source for the royal reception of chivalric themes was Isabel's collection of tapestries. Michael notes that chivalric themes pictured on the tapestries outnumbered classical ones two to one (108). Whether through literary texts or her tapestries Isabel, and Ferdinand, an admirer of Amadís (110), mirrored the chivalric and courtly ideals of such fictions.

Thematic Unity of Love and Desire

Love in all its manifestations, whether courtly, passionate or sexual is a central pretext of the sentimental romances (Earle; Lacarra "Juan de Flores"; Waley "Love and Honour"; Whinnom).[7] The nature of the love relationship is as heterogenous as the structure and generic status of the works. In one sense the works are prosifications of the cancionero love poems in vogue at the time and even include the poems themselves to further affect the audience (Grieve Desire xvi). As Grieve demonstrates the desire so

plaintively voiced in the cancionero lyric is the cause of frustration and death in the longer prose works. The psychological and physiological symptoms of the lovesickness that inhabit the works are even medically documented (Whinnom Obras II 13-15).

The courtly ideals of love expressed in the cancionero first originated as a literary manifestation in twelfth-century France. The nineteenth-century French critic Gaston Paris first coined the term courtly love and described its formal rules of conduct:

> Amour courtois, then, is a science-art-virtue governed by set rules, and among its specifications are the following: it is illicit and furtive; the danger to the lady's honor caused by the illicitness places her in a position of superiority to the man, who is in turn fearful of losing her; the man constantly attempts to render himself more worthy of the lady by feats of prowess, and the lady stimulates this self-improvement by treating him in a capricious and disdainful manner. (qtd. in Kelly 303)[8]

The codification of passionate love as a noble endeavor expressed by the troubadours in service of an ideal Lady was verbalized in feudal imagery that later included the profanation of religious motifs and symbols. The manifestation of courtly love did not occur in Castilian poetry until the fifteenth century when collections of poetry called cancioneros appeared. Cancionero research is useful for understanding Spanish sentimental fiction. Especially helpful are studies on the language employed to describe the love experience. The textualization of love with highly specialized rules for courtly behavior created a particular poetic language. Terms borrowed from chivalry

such as "justa" or "batalla" or sacred concepts like "misa" or "mártir" carried double meanings that delighted poets and public alike. Words such as "servir" or "vitoria" were often meant as euphemisms for the sexual act (MacPherson "Secret").

Benaim de Lasry (1981) links the concept of courtly love, most notably its expression in Diego de San Pedro's works, with similar sentimental fiction found in Muslim Spain. She singles out several elements not found in the writings of the Provencal troubadours that reflect a Hispano-Arabic antecedent rather than that of Provence. These include "the motif of tears; love gives certain qualities to man but does not necessarily ennoble the character as Andreas [Capellanus] claims; the lover wants some kind of reward from his lady, and does not find joy in the mere fact that his devotion is not rewarded as the troubadours sometimes do; love can exist for married people; four witnesses are needed to condemn a woman for unchastity" (133). Although marriage is not brought up explicitly in Cárcel, these parallels with a Hispano-Arabic tradition illustrate the breadth of sources on love in Spanish literature and the need to avoid relying on single traditions when defining the meaning of love in specific works.

Besides cancionero and Arabic varieties of love, sentimental works also reflect learned views of love as illustrated in medical and academic treatises of the epoch. Medical theories of love as a sickness, possibly indebted to

Bernardo Gordonio, have been identified with the behavior of Calisto in Celestina but have not yet been thoroughly studied in the sentimental romance (Seniff "Bernardo").

The theme of love appropriate for courtly and feminine audiences also formed part of the preoccupations of fifteenth-century academia. The learned treatment of love and passion, not only in medical treatises but also as a topic of debate in the universities influenced sentimental writers who imitated academic models. Several studies have established relations between the university models of the repetitio, disputatio and the literary accesus, or the medieval sermon, penitential and ars moriendi traditions and discussions of the nature of love (Cátedra; Gerli "Leriano's Libation").

Of special interest are views found in medical treatises on the vital role that imagination plays in erotic passion and its connection with rhetorical invention. Mary Wack explains the importance of the lover's imagination in creating and retaining the image of the beloved in order to sustain and heighten desire. Wack's essay centers on the lovers' dialogues in Andreas Capellanus's twelfth-century love treatise De amore and posits that he "saw imagination as a way to integrate two striking phenomena of twelfth-century love literature, erotic desire and rhetorical inventiveness" ("Imagination" 102). In the course of her study Wack demonstrates the intricate relationship between passion and learned traditions of rhetoric and scientific medical treatises on sexuality. Wack's citation from Master

Alan's Prose Salernitan Questions illustrates the role of imagination:

> 'The imagination of and appetite for a thing occur with pleasure,' he continues. 'Because of excessive pleasure, the spiritus is moved more greatly and more frequently and immoderately, as is the imagination, whence the first cell [of the brain, where imagination is located] grows warmer and dries out, whence greater imagination follows, and greater appetite. Whence we see lovers sometimes become maniacs because of excessive thought and imagination. Thus it is necessary to grant the desired things, or destruction follows or severe damage.' Imagination and excessive thought are thus equated in a destructive, enclosed cycle of desire and frustration leading to physical collapse. (108-9)

A number of the lovers in Spanish sentimental romances could be casebook histories: Leriano dies after Laureola rejects him and both Grimalte and Panfilo become wild men after Fiometa's death. Imagination, according to Wack thus generates erotic desire and then stimulates language to persuade in desire's fulfillment. "Paradoxically, then, the lover's imagination is potentially both physically destructive and rhetorically productive" (110). If the lover can successfully convince through words, then he avoids physical suffering. Among the sentimental romances and perhaps reflecting the highly rhetorical nature of Diego de San Pedro's Arnalte and Cárcel, both lovers, Arnalte and Leriano, illustrate the central role of language in desire. Arnalte finds it "rhetorically productive" in the creation of his tale in writing, while Leriano is physically destroyed in spite of his rhetorical prowess. It appears that medieval medical texts and their understanding of the psychology of passion can help shed light on aspects of love in literary works.

The issue of language as desire has received attention in the study of gendered empowered discourse. Toril Moi has noted that it is the male lover who does most of the talking (23). The very act of speaking is akin to an act of power since the lover gains thereby the courtly aim of eloquence. Although Moi is not directly examining sentimental romances, the rhetorical nature of the lover's language makes her statements pertinent to Spanish sentimental fiction. She asserts that the lover's desire is produced by language and hence seeks satisfaction in verbalization. In Cárcel de amor, this is aptly illustrated in that Leriano does not die as long as he maintains a discursive relationship with Laureola and is allowed to display his rhetorical prowess if only in letters. It is only when Laureola definitively cuts off communication that Leriano lapses into despair and ultimately dies.

Weissberger in an article soon to be published[9] examines the textual strategies employed to subvert female desire to masculine identity and status (ts. 10). She recognizes Laureola's rejection of Leriano as a victory over the oppression of women by some strictures of courtly love. Weissberger correctly notes that other heroines of sentimental romances including Braçayda in Grisel y Mirabella and Gradissa in Grimalte y Gradissa resist the courtly code. Her perception is that "this representation of a characteristically feminine resistance to courtly love based on an awareness of its underlying depreciation and oppression of women is what can qualify the sentimental

romances as feminist, more so than the so-called feminist debate inscribed within many of them" (ts. 11). Weissberger concludes her study by questioning the assumption by critics that Isabel "read as a man." She suggests that "one of the reasons for the popularity of the sentimental romances, and of Cárcel in particular, was that "they gave female readers, and especially such powerful ones as the Queen and her ladies-in-waiting, the opportunity to 'read as a woman'" (ts. 16).

Language and Narration

Besides themes of love and desire, the stylistic and linguistic dimensions of the Spanish sentimental romances have also been considered from various perspectives ranging from traditional to postmodern criticism. Gerli approaches the sentimental romance as metafiction to examine how language shapes experience. A common feature of the genre is the exhibition of a self-conscious awareness and participation in the creation of story. He asserts that the sentimental works remain acutely aware of being words on the written page ("Metafiction" 59). It is certainly true that the works foreground the act of telling to varying degrees as Gerli notes, in that they "thematize the process of creation itself" (62). The construction of different levels of illusion in the sentimental works creates contrasts between the level of experience and that of illusion and romance. The illusory or fictional level is often given exemplary status although it is often an ambiguous or contradictory example. A case in point is the tragic love

tale of Ardanlier and Liessa in Siervo libro de amor that serves as an exemplum for lovers. The tale does not bring the narrator-protagonist of the frame story to embrace human love but on the contrary he rejects it when he awakens after having "dreamed" this tale. Whether human love is repudiated completely in Siervo remains ambiguous since the exemplary status of the love story does serve to commemorate the dead lovers even if the narrator-protagonist does not. The creation of tombs that are monuments to the lovers' faith in "Perpetua membranza" underscores the importance of the memorial function of the tale in spite of the protagonist's rejection of earthly love.

One purpose of the sentimental romances is to memorialize the events that have transpired, so in this respect Gerli is correct in saying that the sentimental works are aware of being words on a page. Memoria is the essential mediator between oral and written transmission in medieval culture. The memorial nature of medieval and renaissance culture attests to the high degree of orality in an increasingly literate culture. Carruthers distinguishes between literary culture with oral and written transmission and literate culture that privileges the physical text over "the social and rhetorical process that a text both records and generates, namely the composition by an author and its reception by an audience" (10). Fifteenth-century Spain produced many literary works but writing itself was not as yet privileged over the "social and rhetorical process." With the continued use of writing literature became

textualized. Textualization is a process of memory in that a literary work becomes institutionalized by acquiring commentary and interpretation. This activity constitutes the textualization of the literary work (12). It is best exemplified in earlier writings by biblical commentary and exegesis and then by commentaries of Christian and Classical autores. The memorial activity of textualization is what has often been referred to as the metafictional quality or self-conscious narrative of sentimental romances. Both Triste deleytación and the Sátira de felice e infelice vida contain references to Siervo libre de amor attesting to the textualization of sentimental romances. In Grisel y Mirabella and Cárcel de amor the action is complicated by the infamous "ley de escocia." Nuñez's continuation of Cárcel is his own commentary on his conviction that Laureola really loved Leriano. The writer imagines himself within the rhetorical and social setting of the tale narrating to his group of listeners both inside and outside the work. In the process, the author and audience are textualized due to an attempt by the author to adapt the text to an absent audience of listeners/readers in order to compensate for the absence.

In an unpublished paper Patricia Lombardi explains the process of memorializing the events and the narrative act itself.[10] She demonstrates that Arnalte y Lucenda is an example of the institutionalization of the story or "the on-going process by which the narrative is consciously composed while the plot unfolds" (ts. 1). In other words, the

creation of the narrative is part of its story and as Lombardi illustrates, becomes the central motif of the work. She stresses the importance of the orality of the tale whose telling becomes linked to writing as a commemorative act that makes the narrative available to all. The Auctor is the central figure who hears the tale as it is related orally by Arnalte. Auctor then records it for future telling and in the process, as Lombardi illustrates, asserts himself as poet and scribe.

Along with Auctor as narrator and protagonist, Lombardi explores the tensions between the secrecy imposed by the courtly code and its public knowledge when it becomes text, and lastly the relevance of inscribed objects to the unfolding of the story. Besides its commemorative function, the writing of the tale also allows it to be used as exemplum described by E.R. Curtius, whose definition she follows, as "an interpolated anecdote serving as an example" (59). The written word throughout Arnalte serves a commemorative function on fictional and narrative levels of text that results in a product, an exemplum. Especially relevant is Lombardi's awareness of the tensions produced in the work between speech and silence, secret and public that are the result of the writing down of the word.

Arnalte is not unique in thematizing the narrative process; all of the works participate self-consciously in the genesis of their narrative as Gerli posits. Arnalte perhaps comes the closest to the critical model in taking an oral account and writing it down, but similarly the ending

of Siervo libre de amor indicates an oral confession of the protagonist's experiences that have just been related to us, demanded by Synderesis. In Grimalte y Gradissa, Grimalte also must relate the events between Panfilo and Fiometa in writing to Gradissa, and Cárcel de amor is narrated in retrospect by El Auctor. Thus, sentimental fiction uses writing as a means of commemoration. This is not surprising if we consider that one of the principle functions of writing in a highly oral culture is memorial.

Foregrounding the narrative act also serves to facilitate mediation between reality and fantasy by a self-conscious narrator in place of the traditional oral performer. The writers of sentimental fictions fabricate an illusion of historicity for the events they claim to have witnessed. The pretense of having witnessed the events or heard them told and then preserving them for future listeners and readers creates an illusion of reality which allows the audience to more fully enter into the fiction by pretending it really happened to the (fictional) narrator. The real author is behind a narrator or narrators, who serve as witness(es) to the events or their telling, and this gives the narrator the authority of experience so that the listeners/readers will more easily accept the world the author has created.

Another area of research has specifically treated the role of the narrator or auctor (Deyermond "El punto"; Weissberger "Habla"), particularly in relation to the works of Diego de San Pedro, and most notably Cárcel de amor

(Dunn; Mandrell; Rey; Wardropper "Allegory"; Whinnom Diego 106-08). The use of first person narrative from its autobiographical and experimental technique in narrative indicate earlier manipulations in point of view than that attributed to Lazarillo de Tormes (Deyermond "El punto") and its use as a claim to veracity (Lacarra "Sobre"). The voice of the real author loses its directness as the act of writing replaces the oral telling and the authorial voice is filtered through a narrative voice or voices into the fictional world of the text:

> The normative concept of the book as fiction is shattered in Cárcel de amor as the action of the romance is made to coincide with the triple reality of El Auctor, his patron, Diego de San Pedro, and us, his readers. (Gerli "Metafiction" 58)2

The character El Auctor thus mediates between the fictional and real worlds. As mediator he reflects the tensions in his multiple roles as oral messenger, bearer of written messages and fictional composer of the story. Dunn notes that in Cárcel de amor the narrator/persona of El Auctor mediates on two levels:

> An authorial voice embodied in a figure who not only reflects the either/or tension which generates the whole, but also one whose strategies of mediation operate on two levels: on the level of plot, between the other characters of the fictional world; and between the writer and his writing at the level of discourse. (198)

By creating a narrative persona in an autobiographical role, the Spanish authors of sentimental fiction attempt to bridge the gap that writing creates between author and audience. The presence of the fictionalized oral narrator ensures that the audience enters into the illusion of his tale. As Ong

has stated, writing fictionalizes authors and readers. The first types to be fictionalized in early written texts were oral narrators and audiences. Since oral habits of thought and expression continued past the first use of print, writers adapted their works albeit unconsciously at times, to help their listeners and readers adjust to the absent author by creating the illusion of reality in their works and creating narrators who had close ties to the extradiegetic world. References to contemporary extradiegetic places and persons as well as shared memory helped dissolve the borders between fiction and reality for the audience. Direct address to patrons and listeners/readers outside the work also aided in the illusion.

The presence of many, diverse narrative points of view is another feature of Spanish sentimental fiction. Deyermond sees it as an example of the technical experimentation that "es uno de los rasgos fundamentales de la ficción sentimental" ("El punto" 47). Along with first person narrative of narrator-protagonists, are third person narratives, narratives in letters and poetry, in direct speeches and debates among the characters. He underscores the fact that unlike their models such as Boccaccio's female protagonist Fiammetta, none of the Spanish sentimental romances has a female as principal narrator. He suggests that this lack of feminine representation might be one of the causes for the difficulty in interpreting the emotions of the women characters (47). Deyermond also notes the

contradictory and often ambiguous narratives, either by the same narrator at different times, or the same event by different characters. He lists criteria for establishing credibility on different levels of the narrative.

The variety of narrative points of view that Deyermond has elucidated can also be considered in relation to orality and textuality. As McLuhan notes, earlier manuscript culture did not have a fixed point of view or attitude but tried to capture all sides of the material or subject (Gutenberg 126-27, 135-36). In many respects this holds true for the narrative point of view as expressed in Spanish sentimental fiction. Deyermond discusses specific ambiguities and contradictions in several different works and suggests "hasta cierto punto es lícito tratar a los narradores subsidiarios--a veces, hasta a los principales--como si fueran testigos en un proceso jurídico" (52). As in a trial, each witness presents his or her "story" of the events and then the jury is left to decide which one to believe. The analogy fits in well with the rhetorical tone and structure of Spanish sentimental fiction, even in those works where a debate or trial is not a prominent feature.

The number of narrative points of view increases with the use of direct speech by the characters. Characters speak in order to persuade the listener, in and out of the text to accept their position. The listeners/readers must weigh the multiple points of view presented by the characters with some interpretative help from the narrators and then decide for themselves which character should be believed. This

often leads to contradictory opinions but it suggests that resolution comes from outside the text, a product of both author and public together. It helps to explain the ambiguous nature of the works' resolutions and ultimate messages. Hence the variety of narrative points of view may foster a participatory response from the listeners/readers which becomes their contribution to the creation of the text.

Epistolary Discourse

Although not epistolary novels in themselves (Whinnom Obras II 44-45), a structural feature of sentimental fiction involves exchanges of letters between characters. Ovid's Heroides and Alfonso X's translations of portions of the Heroides influenced the beginnings of sentimental prose fiction as did Rodríguez del Padrón's translation of the Heroides in his own Bursario (Impey "Ovid"). Rodríguez del Padrón's Bursario includes two additional letters that are of his own invention.

Although sentimental works are not entirely epistolary, letters constitute an important type of discourse; they function as a form of lyrical voice--analogous to that of verse--and provide a way of mediating subjective experience. Altman echoes Stock's words, that the act of writing allowed individuals to see and reflect upon themselves (Implications 4). Written narrative became linked with subjective experience as Altman notes:

> Epistolary fiction tends to flourish at those moments when novelists most openly reflect upon the relation between story-telling and intersubjective communication

> and begin to question the way in which writing reflects, betrays, or constitutes the relations between self, other, and experience. At those crisis moments the letter form foregrounds--in its very consciousness of itself as a form--questions that are basic to all literature. (212)

The Spanish sentimental romances emerged at just such a moment in fifteenth-century Spain: the pressures of literacy were felt by writers seeking models to describe subjective experience. Letters provide a means of personal expression and allow characters to defend and persuade in their own words to both internal and external listeners/readers.

Recently Scordilis Brownlee has traced the influence of Classical (Ovid) and Italian (Boccaccio, Piccolomini) epistolary discourse in the sentimental romance and has made a case that novelistic discourse is fundamental to the sentimental genre's cohesiveness (The Severed Word). Scordilis Brownlee posits that writers of sentimental fiction are illustrating the nominalistic view of the arbitrary nature of language. She shows that Spanish sentimental fiction follows the tradition of epistolary fiction originating with Ovid, continued in Boccaccio and Piccolomini, and exemplified in Spain with Rodríguez del Padrón's translation and amplification of Ovid's Heroides known as the Bursario. According to Brownlee, the rupture between word and action thematized in these works is also present in the sentimental romances. The common denominator of sentimental fiction is novelistic discourse that is "a confrontation of different discourses that eventually has the effect of questioning the authority of each one" (4).

She contrasts this to the idealistic discourse of the romance and epic genres in order to show that sentimental fiction is in the tradition of Ovid, Boccaccio and Piccolomini in its questioning of the referential basis of language.

Prose and Poetry

In addition to epistolary discourse, the insertion of poetry within prose is another distinguishing feature of the genre (Deyermond "Lyric"; Impey "La poesía").[11] Although the mixture of prose and poetry was not new to Latin or vernacular texts (Lida de Malkiel Estudios 34), the poetic voice functions on a number of different levels within sentimental narrative and appears especially innovative in Siervo libre de amor (Impey "La poesía" 185-86). In this work individual poems heighten and often synthesize the emotions conveyed by the prose or serve to contrast past with present emotional states (Impey 179). Not merely independent pieces, the verses like the prose contribute to the development of the work; they both complement and provide the key to ambiguities posed by the prose (Impey 182). Andruchuk also notes the interdependence of prose and poetry reinforced by the repetition of certain words in both ("Prosa y poesía" 61).

Although the relation between prose and poetry might not be as close in other sentimental romances as Impey notes (186), in these works the verses perform various functions. In Arnalte y Lucenda, the presence of poetry tests the literary ability of Auctor as a suitable candidate as scribe

to Arnalte's oral tale, and poems in praise of Queen Isabel serve a political function outside the narrative.[12] In Arnalte y Lucenda and in Grimalte y Gradissa the verses operate as mnemonic devices for the characters and as the lover Grimalte states, for the audience.

Although the type of poetry that predominates in sentimental romance is cancionero verse, echoing the same plaintive paradoxes of love, we should not overlook the influence of the Spanish romancero tradition. Although there is no direct employment of romances as there is courtly lyric, there are other thematic and plot allusions. Lida de Malkiel identifies three early romances from oral tradition that were elaborated by Rodríguez del Padrón: the Infante Arnaldos, Rosaflorida and La hija del rey de Francia (Estudios 31-33). There are themes and motifs found in the poems analogous to those in Siervo libre de amor. Lida de Malkiel notes the connection with the ballads:

> En segundo lugar, es notable que se atribuya al autor de la primera novela caballeresca-sentimental, no tres romances cualesquiera...sino caballerescos, y no de los ciclos caballerescos clásicos, por así decirlo, como los artúricos o carolingios, sino de ficción sentimental libre con vago fondo caballeresco, lo que concuerda muy sutilmente con el modo de la Estoria de dos amadores. (32n10)

In addition to the intercalated Estoria, in my opinion the ballad Conde Arnaldos could be a possible antecedent for the main narrative as well. In the last scene of Siervo, the protagonist watches an approaching boat coming towards the shore, that suggests a similar moment in the ballad, in which the Conde arrives at the shore as a mysterious ship

approaches. Other sentimental works share themes and motifs with the romancero such as the role of the cruel king and father who punishes his daughter and/or her lover that appears in a number of ballads besides being a stock theme of romance.

The presence of courtly and popular poetry in sentimental romances links orality and textuality. The written word provides the retrospectivity necessary to carry the lyrical and paradoxical voice of cancionero love poetry through to its logical end, which is a portrayal of frustrated or violent love. The sentimental romance exploits the lyrical voice of poetry and prose (through letters) to portray the subjective experience of passion. As Waley suggests, unlike the poets of cancionero verse, who "write of their feelings with natural sympathy and engage that of the reader on their behalf; the other side of the case is not presented" ("Love and Honour" 258) the use of other lyrical voices in response or defense, through prose and verse, presents this other side of the question in sentimental fiction. When Lucenda or Laureola fail to accept the courtly love request of their respective suitors, Arnalte and Leriano, the women inadvertently expose the limitations of the courtly lyric as a narcissistic and self-absorbing form of discourse unable to extend itself without ending in violence and frustration.

Gender and Modes of Reception

Studies of popular culture, in particular Bakhtin's work on the carnivalesque, and reader reception theory have

been especially relevant for an evaluation of a female reading public for the sentimental romances. Weissberger ("Role-Reversal") uses reader reception theory in order to demonstrate that women readers or listeners of Juan de Flores's romances would have perceived the works differently from many modern critics of the works. Therefore in order to account for the popularity of the sentimental romances among women, Weissberger suggests that the comic undercurrent particularly in the portrayal of the buffoonish Arnalte in Arnalte y Lucenda or the inept Grimalte in Grimalte y Gradissa as courtly lovers and the ritualistic torture-murder of the misogynist Torrellas in Grisel y Mirabella actually present a carnivalization of courtly love. Weissberger suggests that the debasement and undermining of authority (the essence of carnival according to Bahktin) are reflected in these incongruous portrayals of courtly love; the serious treatment most scholars have given them may miss the point. In addition, if one takes into account the nature of medieval laughter as Bakhtin outlined it, Weissberger's assertions offer a more convincing explanation for perceived ambiguities. As feminist literary critics like Lacarra ("Notes") and Toril Moi note, the idealization of woman in courtly love discourse is actually a form of subjugation to patriarchal society. The subversive function of the sentimental romances as seen in Grisel y Mirabella may be to unmask the patriarchal ideals of courtly love through a carnivalesque reversal of events.

Gascón-Vera offers further support by indicating a

close cultural association between certain aspects of carnival and women:

> A este sector cultural pertenecía evidentemente el mundo de las mujeres, ya que eran éstas las que constantemente se paseaban por la calle en sus ires y venires domésticos y cotidianos. Es decir, paralela a la vida social existía un concepto de vida ambiguo e indeterminado que servía de elemento subversivo y que planteaba la desestabilización de la vida monolítica y oficial. Este concepto estaba regido por la actividad femenina, ya fuera en el papel de amada perfecta como Laureola o Melibea, o en el de burguesas, alcahuetas, criadas y prostitutas que aparecen en los libros de los dos Arciprestes o en la Celestina. (71)

Her remarks serve to associate women from all walks of life with unwritten and popular culture. Gascón-Vera situates Cárcel de amor in the tradition of medieval tragedy in the reverse sense that it is the woman protagonist rather than her male lover who is ultimately victim in the courtly love relationship.

The evidence from dedications and directives in the sentimental romances themselves as well as the chastisements to women of the dangers of reading sentimental and chivalric works by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century moralists[13] show that the works were intended for a female audience (Weissberger "Role-Reversal" 198). The frequent admonitions of the clergy further suggest that the works were read for entertainment rather than edifying purposes. The participatory nature of an oral audience, the ludicrous behavior of the courtly lovers and the carnivalesque episodes in many of the sentimental works could have provoked laughter and commentary from the listeners and readers as part of the works' entertainment value while

causing the clergy to fear that the behavior in the works might be imitated by the weaker sex. An important factor for the growth of a female public of literary works was the presence of Queen Isabel as monarch. The queen dominated the political and literary scenes of the last third of the fifteenth century and may have stimulated the production of literary works directed towards a courtly female audience.

Although women probably constituted an important literary circle in the reception of the sentimental romances, some of the works are directed to male patrons (Siervo libre de amor, Cárcel de amor). It is likely that a mixed audience either had the works read aloud or read them privately (individually in silence or more likely, sotto voce). This leads to questions dealing with the issue of the transmission and reception of the sentimental romance, e.g. whether the works were orally or silently read or even recited. Although it is possible that the works could have been recited from memory with some improvisation similar to the scenario posed by Alfonso Ramírez, and his recitation of novels of chivalry, this is unprovable without adequate documentation similar to the transcripts of Ramírez's trial which indicate his oral recitation from memory of long chivalric romances (Harvey "Oral"). Studies of memory in medieval culture attest to the fact that it was possible to hold vast amounts of information in one's memory if one learned the proper techniques that were a normal part of a university education (Carruthers; Yates). Memory not only involved storage and recall but was necessary for

composition and aided the listening audience when no pages could be turned back.

Given the research that has been done there is strong support that the sentimental romances were read aloud. Deyermond echoes other studies such as Frenk's and Walker's, that have provided strong evidence that prose works were read aloud in small groups. Deyermond explains:

> El problema afecta también a los libros de aventuras en prosa. Debieron de ser leídos muy a menudo tales obras en voz alta ante un reducido grupo homogéneo de personas, hecho éste que tiene mucho más que ver con la lectura privada que la recitación juglaresca y que permite, en efecto, un mayor refinamiento y un nivel de complejidad. (Historia 130-31)

The audience of the sentimental romance fits Deyermond's description of the probable aural/oral reception in that a homogenous group of courtly ladies or ladies and gentlemen would have the leisure and opportunity for small gatherings. Evidence in the works themselves also suggests such a reception. Although some of the works are directed to a single addressee, many times in the form of a letter, it is a letter meant to be read aloud (as many probably were in the fifteenth century).[14] Diego de San Pedro directs Arnalte y Lucenda to the Ladies of the Court so that multiple listeners hear the tale as well as a praise poem directed to one destinaire, Queen Isabel, and Juan de Flores directs his Lady to edit Grisel y Mirabella before others hear it. The highly acoustical language particularly noted in Arnalte y Lucenda or the declamatory style of Cárcel de amor are meant to be heard rather than read silently. It is not impossible that the various discourses may have been

recited dramatically since the works are highly declamatory and full of dialogue introduced by such phrases as "habla el auctor" or "el auctor a Leriano."

Active audience participation is also suggested by the often ambiguous or multiple resolutions that leave the works open to interpretations, especially in works with debates such as Grisel y Mirabella or questiones that are purposely left unresolved by the author as in Questión de amor (1513). In the prologue to the latter work the author says that the question of which of the lovers suffers more is left unanswered in order that "los que leyeren sin leer,"[15] suggesting perhaps a small group of listeners, may resolve the issue themselves or debate it further. Krause proposes that dramatic readings and extra-textual debates were a form of diversion at court ("La novela" 146). Interestingly, some editions of the Questión contain additional debates that were added to the manuscripts at a later date, that support the assertion of active audience participation (Andrachuk "The Questión" 273).

The performance quality of sentimental romance is enhanced by its conformity to several dramatic models furnished by Marie Maclean in her book on performance models in narrative. The list of theatrical elements she identifies in written narrative are found in sentimental fiction as well. The first model focuses on the use of dialogue, employed in all the sentimental works. The presence of dialogue produces changes in narrative space and time and concentrates it between the speakers (11-12).

The second model is embedded performances of tableau scenes that portray selective moments. The framed spectacle, a type of embedded performance, serves to enhance and illustrate as a sort of microcosm to the macrocosm (12). Framed spectacles are featured in the sentimental works, particularly through debates and trial scenes in Grisel y Mirabella and Cárcel de amor. Other embedded performances are illustrated in the works through the poetry readings and festivities found in Arnalte y Lucenda.

In addition, the dramatic use of a narrative figure belies the link between drama and narrative (13), particularly obvious in Cárcel and Grimalte y Gradissa. Metalinguistic signs such as pointing, showing, displaying, and acting of drama are carried out within written narrative by the narrative persona. This is precisely El auctor's function in Cárcel, for example, since we cannot see Laureola's reactions as she reads Leriano's letter, Auctor is careful to describe her to us. In the exchange of letters, it is Auctor's accounting of the letters to us, as witness that allows us to see what they contain, so that he is the "voice dynamic" behind them. The lover Grimalte in Grimalte y Gradissa performs a similar function through his descriptions of the reactions and movements of Fiometa and Panfilo.

Maclean views the theatrical model as the most striking of all performance models found in narrative and it "highlights the complementarity of written narrative and drama and their common roots in oral performance" (13). The

close affinity of the Spanish sentimental romances with dramatic models strengthens the probability that the works were read aloud, perhaps even dramatically in small group settings.

The studies and issues examined up to this point have focused on the sentimental romance from a number of different perspectives and some of the issues have been reexamined according to current research on orality and textuality. The chapter will now focus on those aspects of orality and textuality outlined in chapter one which are relevant to the Spanish sentimental romance. The variety of perspectives outlined above clearly shows that the fifteenth-century sentimental romance genre is a complex web of themes, structures, genres and expressions that draw on both oral and written traditions.

The orality of the sentimental romances is not contrived to give the texts an oral "flavor," but rather an orality produced in a society unconscious of its own oralism. It is an orality consisting in oral habits of thought adapted to and influenced by the increasing use of and dependency on writing. Walter Ong's distinction between residually oral cultures and "consciously cultivated oral effects" of texts produced in literate print cultures is worth recalling:

> Oral effects, such as conversational elements in literary style, approximations of informal speech patterns, the use of dialogue, can be imported into written composition at will.... Oral residue is another thing. By oral residue I mean habits of thought and expression tracing back to preliterate situations or practice, deriving from the dominance of the oral as a

> medium in a given culture, or indicating a reluctance or inability to dissociate the written medium from the spoken. Such residue is not especially contrived and seldom conscious at all. (Rhetoric 25-26)

Ffteenth-century Spain also fits the category of a residually oral culture. Since the essential quality of cultures with no writing is a dependence on human memory for storage and retrieval of knowledge, thinking must be made memorable through repetitive devices and formulaic patterns. This is true of a primary oral culture or a highly rhetorical one like that of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Primary oral cultures are thus memory driven and orally residual ones like medieval and early renaissance society are memorial cultures. Writing is not an activity in itself but is a memorial activity.

This brief overview has served as a reminder of one of the principal themes of the preceding chapter, that oral habits of thought and expression adapted to the written and later printed word are found as oral residue in written texts. In order to consider the convergence of orality and textuality in the sentimental romances both panoramically here and individually in subsequent chapters, the model of oral and textual aspects synthesized in Chapter one will be kept in mind throughout the discussion.

Orality and Textuality

The sentimental romance remains close to the oral world although, unlike the oral formulaic style of epic poetry, it is infused with academic orality in the form of rhetoric and dialectic. Unlike early epic poetry, the orality of the

sentimental romances is not in origin but in performance. Still highly formulaic, the art of rhetoric preserved orality within Spanish sentimental fiction. Despite its dependence on written texts, all aspects of the rhetorical tradition remained focused on oral practice and delivery. Rhetoric not only marks the works for oral delivery and reception, it also keeps the formulaic nature of oral thought alive through compositional techniques that rely on the use of highly developed memory systems to aid in the storage and recall of material. It will now be useful to consider the role of rhetoric in the orality of the sentimental works and its possible influence in understanding the composition, transmission and reception of Spanish sentimental works. Special emphasis will be given to the role of the ars memoria since it has been the least studied area of rhetoric with regard to Spanish sentimental prose.

The importance of rhetoric to the sentimental genre was first investigated seriously by Whinnom and has led other scholars to research this topic in connection with the novels of Diego de San Pedro, particularly Cárcel de amor. Whereas Chorpenning ("Rhetoric") identifies Cárcel as following the six-part literary oration of the ars rhetorica, Corfis ("The Dispositio") in a rhetorical analysis of Cárcel sees the ars dictaminis as another source of unity in the work, adhering to the structure of a dispositio both externally and internally. According to Whinnom, the differences between the highly acoustical

language of Arnalte y Lucenda and the more compact and stylized rhetoric of Cárcel de amor reflect the changes from the medieval humanist rhetoric to that of the Renaissance (Diego 113-16). Arnalte y Lucenda and more particularly Cárcel de amor represent the Renaissance view of rhetoric as oratory much more than any of the other sentimental works under discussion. Whinnom also proposes that the dense style of Cárcel de amor might be due to San Pedro's having written the work for the printing press after the success of Arnalte y Lucenda.

The oral rhetorical style of the sentimental romances owes a debt to both orality and textuality. The rhetorical qualities privileged in the romances contribute to the oral aspects of the sentimental works in its use of rhythmic prose, types of repetition, and the copiousness of many of the speeches. The works, although still paratactic to a certain degree, show a debt to writing as well in keeping with the Humanist imitation of Latin style with sentences that are highly syntactical structures. There are many types of repetition in phrasing, structure, thematics and imagistic motifs as well as other forms of ornamentation (Whinnom Obras I, II; Severin "Structure"). Speeches are verbal displays of elegance and are meant to persuade the diegetic as well as the extradiegetic audience to the position of the character. The language is best appreciated through an oral reading.

Although sentimental romances are receiving some examination as to their debt to rhetoric, the part of

rhetoric known as memoria is in need of more attention given the memorial culture from which the works emerged. As in oral cultures, memory remained communal. "Public memory is a needed ethical resource, for its contents complete the edifice of each individual's memory" (Carruthers 185). Dorothy Severin recognized the importance of memory in the Celestina but no studies have been done so far that examine how the ars memoria as a component of rhetorical practice influenced the composition, transmission and reception of Spanish sentimental romance as well.

Compositional techniques were taken from the practices inherited from Classical orators as explained in chapter one who would "weave" their texts from the lists of commonplaces and topics structured from the rules governing rhetoric including mnemonic techniques. As it was taught in the universities the first step in compositio is inventio, a mental process of recollection that produced a res, the gist of one's composition. It was developed enough that it only required finishing touches of ornamentation or rhythm to became the early draft or dictamen. There could be a number of unfinished versions at this phase of composition. The versions could be inscribed on wax tablets for learners, or remain mental compositions for the experienced writer. When the dictamen was acceptable to the composer, an exemplar was dictated to or written out by a scribe (Carruthers 192-96). Carruthers describes this compositional practice as memorative composition, "not as an act of writing, it is rumination, a listening and a dialogue, a 'gathering' of

voices from their several places in memory" (197). An important aspect of inventio and the memorative process is the emphasis given to the emotional impact of the material in order to make an impression on the mind (soul). Whether destined as speech or writing the compositional process was similar. The same improvisational skills were needed: the knowledge of the order in which to proceed in one's argument, a ready storage of commonplaces and formulaic expressions for fullness and affect, and the ability to use divisio or dividing one's material into manageable units for memory.

Although tentative, it is possible that writers who were trained in memorative composition also used these skills in composing fictional works. The references to memory as well as the presence of mnemonic imagery in Spanish sentimental romances attest to the influence of the ars memoria. It is my opinion that Spanish sentimental romances are products of memorative composition. Besides the presence of oral rhetorical models in the same tradition as the ars memoria, the fact that they contain such a variety of direct and indirect influences, oral and written, suggests the participation of the authors of sentimental fiction in the gathering or recollection process of inventio, in the arrangement of diverse material (found in memory as well as physical texts) into a structured and formulaic discourse. The aspect of memorative composition remains speculative since there is no proof of how the writers exactly composed their works except for indirect

evidence based on compositional practices that were taught in the schools and what can be gleaned from the manuscripts of the works themselves.

Unlike compositional practices, the structural and thematic influence of ars memoria techniques in sentimental prose is more clearly determined. Several aspects in the works indicate the use of memory in the narratives. Siervo libre de amor emphasizes the impression that love has on memoria and the other faculties of the soul. It also presents allegorical figures and places (loci) that reflect mental constructs of memory more than reality. As chapter three will show, Siervo libre de amor can in fact be viewed as the protagonist's mental quest to recoup his lost or misplaced memory that had been disturbed by love. In Arnalte y Lucenda the commemorative value of writing Arnalte's tale for future audiences is crucial to the overall structure. The use of inscribed objects throughout the text assists Auctor in remembering Arnalte's story that he first heard orally, and refers the audience to the memoria ad verbum as assistance to a listening audience who cannot turn back the pages. Thematically, the narrative persona preserves the story because Arnalte asked him to, for the sake of memory. Cárcel de amor makes use of allegory particularly through the image of the prison of love and the allegorical figures that link the memories of teller and audience. Other aspects that are noted as ways of preserving memory are present in the sentimental works as well. The extreme emotional impact of the works, the inclusion of particularly violent

instances and the heavily memorable characters (although more developed than those of earlier works, still represent types) act as mnemonic devices within sentimental romances. Whether memoria is intentionally contrived to function pragmatically as mnemonic aids or artistically, memoria exhibits an important role in sentimental fiction.

Memoria is also important in discerning the role of rhetoric in the reception and transmission of texts and in the reading process. Mary Carruthers explains that the role of memory in the process of reception of a work is a combination of the actions of lectio and meditatio. One reads and understands the work and then meditates upon it, thus "making the work one's own" (164) and is associated with acts of digestion. She is describing a "textual" reading and does not make a distinction between silent reading or reading aloud to oneself or others. It appears from the historical examples she provides that reading, like all aspects of medieval culture, was a memorial activity. Reading was taught as such in the monasteries and later in the universities. The point to be made here is that the reception of texts was a highly participatory process. The medieval reader was far from the silent, solitary reader of modern days. A polemically charged reading to oneself or a small group of listeners would invite active participation on the part of the listening or reading public as well as aid in committing the work to memory. Not only must the work speak to the audience but the reading process itself is both ethical and rhetorical in nature as Carruthers explains:

> We read rhetorically, memory makes our reading into our own ethical equipment ('stamps our character'), and we express that character in situations that are rhetorical in nature, in the expressive gestures and performances which we construct from our remembered experience, and which, in turn, are intended to impress and give value to others' memories of a particular occasion. (182)

Carruthers utilizes Heloise as an example of the individual who makes her own experience and the experiences of others her own therefore creating for herself a rhetorical role that is ethically based (179). Abelard's anecdote about Heloise's entrance into religious life relates that upon entering the convent Heloise recited certain verses from Lucan's poem, Pharsalia.[16] The verses are the lament of the heroine Cornelia who offers to sacrifice herself in order to save her husband. Carruthers explains that Heloise's decision to enter the convent and thus save Abelard further shame, examined in light of Cornelia's sacrifice indicates that "she [Heloise] did not 'see herself as' Cornelia, in the sense of acting a role; rather, Cornelia's experience, given voice by Lucan, had been made her own that she can use it...in such an extreme personal situation (179). Heloise sees her decision to enter the convent as a rhetorical action. The role requires "a recollecting subject, a remembered text, and a remembering audience." She has all three in that she recollects Lucretia's sacrifice (the text) in front of a crowd who recognizes her quotation (the remembering audience) (180-82). The sentimental romances also operate from this type of rhetorical and social stance, a stance most notable in

Cárcel de amor whose characters continuously speak from positions that refer back to a shared memory or text. Laureola, who refuses Leriano's advances takes on the rhetorical role of the honorable lady or in agreeing to write him, the charitable Christian. Laureola must reach in her memory for arguments and topics in defense of honor, in direct speech to someone else, that in turn becomes an experienced event in the memories of the audience. Leriano in his defense of woman uses the experiences of others through examples that are from texts, receptors of communal memory. In Arnalte y Lucenda, Lucenda in a scene reminiscent of that of Heloise, enters a convent with much fanfare and goodbyes from a crowd of followers, a memorable event comparable to that of Heloise.

This brief examination of the ars memoria tradition illustrates its potential in explaining compositional techniques and issues of transmission and reception. Particularly important is the role memory plays as a branch of rhetoric for the composition and reception of the sentimental romances. Memoria is the mediator between oral and written transmission and unites eye with ear. It helps to account for the notion of texts that are not written and the highly oral nature of medieval culture. As long as writing was thought of as an aid to memory society remained primarily memorial, but after the printed word made reading easier and texts readily available reliance on memory slowly receded.

Writers of sentimental fiction have not only relied on

the various rhetorical skills taught at the universities but also on other models that indicate a convergence of orality and textuality. Many studies on the imitation of theological and academic models by medieval and renaissance authors have begun to be explored in relation to sentimental romances as well (Cátedra; Gerli; Gilman). Some writers were clerics, like Juan Rodríguez del Padrón who wrote Siervo libre de amor or Alfonso de Madrigal or El Tostado (1400?-1455) archbishop of Avila whose Tratado cómo al ome es necesario amar is an important antecedent of the sentimental romance (Cátedra Amor y pedagogía 113-84).[17] Other sentimental romances and related fictions adapt academic models. Lucena's Repetición de amores parodies the academic exercise of the repetitio, an oral dissertation (Cátedra Amor y pedagogía 126-41; Matulka 131-32), and the Questión de amor (1512) attributed to Juan Vázquez de Ávila,[18] containing a debate modelled on the university quæstio over which of two friends suffers more, Flamiano, rejected in love or Vasquirán, whose beloved has died. Sátira de felice e infelice vida contains a gloss of the narrative in the tradition of medieval commentary. Grisel y Mirabella is structured according to a series of debates that follow the structure of the disputatio. Siervo libre de amor, a type of oral or written confession follows structures associated with textual tradition while both Arnalte y Lucenda and Cárcel de amor follow rhetorical structures designed for composing speeches and letters.

In addition to the apparent debt to textual traditions

through the employment of rhetorical and academic models which encourage oral/aural composition, transmission and reception of the sentimental fiction, the presence of popular sources such as carnivalesque episodes and folk motifs fulfill a variety of functions within the narratives. A few examples of popular motifs and their convergence with textual traditions will be given here.

The figure of Deseo in Cárcel de amor is particularly intriguing as an example of the adaptation of a popular figure to the literate allegorical tradition. The depiction of the abstract idea of Deseo as the wild man-beast of popular tradition presents a strong image of the savage, uncivilized nature of passion (Deyermond "El hombre"). The motif appears in other sentimental works as well. In Grimalte y Gradissa, the characters Panfilo and Grimalte end their days in repentance living like savages in the wilderness. The wild man/woman motif is a common folkloric figure that is related to hagiographic, penitential and chivalric traditions.

Several other notable examples of popular or folk motifs found in the sentimental works bear mentioning. One concerns the "the combat of generosity" that is couched within the structure of a disputation in Grisel y Mirabella. Another is the "Accused Queen" motif, listed by Thompson's motif index as K2100-99 and found in both Grisel y Mirabella, and Cárcel de amor. As chapter three will illustrate, the "Estoria de dos amadores" of Siervo libre de amor is particularly rich in folk motifs. In addition to

folk motifs, popular oral tradition in the sentimental works is evident through the use of exclamations, "¡Ay de mi!" (Cárcel), formulaic expressions, "La flor de la caballería" (Grisel) and refrains, "más vale de tal ruydo / salir temprano herido / que tarde con muerte salir" (Arnalte 217) which add to the oral expressiveness of Spanish sentimental fiction.

The tone of the sentimental romance is decidedly agonistic and is a product of the oral polemical nature of oral thought processes. This is reflected in the highly negative lexicon of Siervo libre de amor, Cárcel de amor and Grisel y Mirabella examined by Emily Spinelli in order to establish a correlation between the amount of negative words and the melancholic tone ("The Negative"). Writers of the romances employed negative expressions in order to better illustrate conflicts, contradictions and unrequited love (114), indicative of the agonistic, polemical basis of the Spanish sentimental romance. The works are filled with adversarial relationships that extend from the level of the universal (reason-passion, love-death), the personal (father-daughter, lover-beloved) and the textual (speech-writing, secret-public). In order to establish the sentimental fiction's link to the agonistic nature of oral thought, the feminist-anti-feminist and the reason-passion polemics will be presented here.

Related to the whole problem of love was the issue of gender and sexual passion on display in the feminist polemic popular throughout the Middle Ages but particularly explored

through fifteenth-century writings (Matulka 6-37). The tendency toward polarization was particularly crucial to the nature of the female sex, split between Eva as sinner and Ave (Mary), redemptress.[19] Feminist debates are prominent in many of the texts and scholars have examined the views on women as presented in the sentimental romance (Matulka; Van Beysterveldt). The nature of woman as either virtuous or as the root of all evil was debated in theological as well as in literary circles (Gerli "La religión del amor'" 81-86; Lacarra "Algunos datos" 355). Various prose works and poetry treat the praise and blame of women. The feminine nature was polarized around good and evil, reflective of the oral polemical mindset and is expressed through verbal debates sometime in the form of the disputation (Grisel y Mirabella) or the rhetorical ratiocinatio, a list of reasons in defense of an argument, and exemplum (Cárcel de amor).

The polemics often included acts of extreme physical violence and death. Violence occurs in various scenes when decisions are reached judicium dei style dependent on the outcome of jousts and originating in the judicial combat tradition of oral feudal law. Kings act in the name of justice to torture and in some cases are ready to kill their progeny (Siervo libre de amor, Grisel y Mirabella and Cárcel de amor). Polemics even without the attendent violence are a characteristic feature of sentimental fiction and frequently takes the form of a polarization of characters or elements. For instance, Don Pedro, Constable of Portugal and for a time King of Aragon, composed his work of sentimental

fiction, Sátira de felice e infelice vida (1446?) around the virtue and vice poles.[20]

The topic of love was also caught up in terms of a philosophical struggle as passion wrestled with the forces of reason in order to enslave man. Thomistic scholasticism is a major force in several of the sentimental romances, combining the oral agonistic world with that of philosophy. Popular motifs and figural structures are often employed to personify the abstract emotions and mental states. Unleashed passion is presented in the form of the folkloric figure of the wild man or woman (Deyermond "El hombre"; Historia 295) and the protagonists carry on real struggles with their Understanding, Will or Memory (Siervo libre de amor), or are held prisoner by abstractions brought to life (Cárcel de amor). While external action is often a part of the sentimental romance it is usually subordinated to the internal struggles operating within and among characters that can be explained as the tendency of oral thought to convert abstractions to personifications in order to make real or concretize inner mental and emotional struggles. The use of allegory and personified abstractions also keeps the tone of the sentimental novel "close to the human life world" (Ong Orality 42-43). The entities whether good or evil are thought of in terms of human qualities and even a frustrated Entendimiento in Siervo libre de amor complains in an insulting but human way that he will not follow the protagonist-lover into perdition.

The sentimental romances communicate a participatory

and empathetic tone which is a common tendency of oral thought structures (Ong Orality 45-46). One general example of the participatory nature of the works discussed in this chapter has been the role of the narrator. The narrators in some of the romances are almost omniscient and do little more than guide the events of the narrative (Grisel y Mirabella), and in others are highly involved protagonists (Grimalte, Arnalte, Cárcel). All narrators are involved, explicitly or implicitly, in the tale they tell and when they react emotionally to events, they invite participation from their addressees or the extradiegetic audience. Even the narrator in Grisel y Mirabella, who is the least personally involved in the story he tells, betrays his interest at various moments when he laments his inability to find words to express particularly emotional sequences.

Rhetoric also invited audience participation. As Carruthers notes, the more rhetorical a work is the more the presence of an audience is necessary in order to supply the (communal) memory (180-82). In order for memory to be shared between the work and its listeners or readers, the text has to arouse the emotions of the audience (167). The writer must make his work as emotion laden as possible in order to stimulate memory. In the case of the sentimental romances, the works are highly emotional; in fact by modern tastes they are melodramatic. A strong emotional appeal was crucial for an audience needing constant stimulation to make the work a part of their own memory.

In conclusion, this chapter has considered a wide range

of issues as well as many of the principal questions that have concerned scholars regarding the sentimental romances. Such issues as genre and terminology, oral and textual sources, the aspects of love and passion, self-conscious narrators and types of audiences and modes of reception have been reexamined according to current research on orality and textuality. In addition to popular oral traditions identified through the presence of folk motifs, formulaic expressions and popular poetry, we have shown that the arts of rhetoric and memory are fundamental in preserving oral habits of thought and expression in the works as well as indicating the debt to textual traditions.

The individual manner in which each writer adapts oral and textual traditions provides yet another area of focus to the study of the Spanish sentimental romance genre. As the subsequent chapters will illustrate in greater detail, the convergence of oral with textual is illustrated in the works in a number of different ways. Siervo libre de amor presents an example of the tensions between love as a lyrical voice for human love and textualized as theological duty to God's love expressed through use of the ars memoria and rhetorical traditions. Grisel y Mirabella privileges dialectic over rhetoric in its debate structure while presenting tensions between oral and written laws; Grimalte y Gradissa acts as a gloss of Boccaccio's Fiammetta in an attempt to show the active role and influence of reading and writing. Both of these works ultimately reveal that communicative stalemates are resolved through acts of violence. Arnalte y Lucenda and

Cárcel de amor have been especially noted for their stylized use of rhetorical language and exemplify a change from medieval to renaissance views of rhetoric and dialectic during the fifteenth century. Arnalte emphasizes the tensions between the oral and written narrative processes and the roles they play in composition. Cárcel exposes the inherent death contained in the written word that is at once destructive and redeeming in contrast to the lyrical qualities of the spoken word. Each of these sentimental romances is the dialectical product of oral and textual aspects and, in accordance with the heterogeneous nature of the genre, is unique in its expression.

Notes

1. Of the many critical surveys on the Spanish sentimental romance now available see especially those by Gargano, Gómez, Ramos and Samoná.

2. Grieve (1987) utilizes various theories, most notably that of René Girard, in which she interprets violence in the sentimental romances as the cause-and-effect process of desire as a destructive force.

3. Deyermond discusses various terms used to describe romances, indicating the inadequacies of both novela and romance in "The Lost Genre of Medieval Spanish Literature," Hispanic Review 43 (1975): 231-59.

4. Pamely Waley treats love and honor conflicts as major themes in "Love and Honor in the Novelas Sentimentales of Diego de San Pedro and Juan de Flores," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies 43 (1966): 253-75.

5. For a historical panorama of fifteenth century Spanish society see chapter 24 in A History of Medieval Spain, the now classic history by O'Callaghan.

6. For an overview of the types of prose works that were produced at the end of the Middle Ages see Deyermond, 1972: Chapters six, 238-78 and seven, 279-313. See Beardsley for publication figures of classical works and the popularity of Classical writers from 1482-1600.

7. Whinnom provides a balanced overview of the manifestations of love as perceived by poets, moralists and medical men during the Middle Ages (Obras II 7-35).

8. For a fuller treatment of Gaston Paris's view on courtly love see Romania 12 (1883): 459-534 but 518-19 which is Part two of "Lancelot du Lac," Introduction: 470-71 found in his article "Etudes sur les romans de la Table ronde," Romania 10 (1881): 465-96.

9. A special note of gratitude to Prof. Weissberger who was kind enough to share her article with me.

10. Special thanks to Patricia Lombardi and to Prof. Weissberger for making this stimulating paper available to me.

11. Whinnom observes that critics tend to make too much of a distinction between prose and poetry as separate genres where medieval literature is concerned: "conviene recalcar los hechos de que la novela, como tal, no es una forma literaria que reconocen los teóricos medievales, y el que en

estos tratados retóricos la narración se considera como una unidad de una extensión limitada que se inserta dentro del discurso: éste es exactamente el uso que hace de la narración Diego de San Pedro (Obras II 48).

12. The Tellez-Girón noble family whom Diego de San Pedro served supported the claim of Isabel's rival, "Juana la Beltraneja" to the Castilian throne until the family switched allegiances to Isabel in 1476. Some see the poem in Arnalte as an attempt by San Pedro as criado of the family to solidify the bonds of loyalty with the new Monarch.

13. See M.E. Lacarra (1988) for a discussion of the popularity of both chivalric and sentimental romances for female audiences ("Notes" 16, 21n11) and the importance of considering the gender of the author (18). It is important to remember in an interpretation of the romances that the writers of sentimental fiction were males.

14. It is very possible that letters, similar to other kinds of written texts, were read aloud to those who could not read or to oneself, sotto voce. The ability to read (and write) was still the exception rather than the rule in fifteenth-century Spain. For studies on medieval literacy see Bäuml ("Varieties"), Lawrance ("The Spread of Lay Literacy"), and Whinnom ("The Problem of the 'Bestseller'").

15. Andrachuk suggests that this phrase refers to one of two levels of meaning by which a work can be read, superficially without interpretation, as suggested by "sin leer," or on a level where the author's meaning can be found ("The Questión" 273-74).

16. Abelard's text, taken by Carruthers from Betty Radice, trans. The Letters of Abelard and Heloise (London: Penguin, 1974) 76-77, indicates the rhetorical nature of the narrative of Heloise's decision to enter religious life "designed to enrich the public memory" (Carruthers 332):

> There were many people, I remember, who in pity for her youth tried to dissuade her from submitting to the yoke of monastic rule as a penance to hard to bear, but all in vain; she broke out as best she could through her tears and sobs into Cornelia's famous lament:
>
> O noble husband,
> Too great for me to wed, was it my fate
> To bend that lofty head? What prompted me
> To marry you and bring about your fall?
> Now claim your due, and see me gladly pay . . .
>
> So saying she hurried to the altar, quickly took up the veil blessed by the bishop, and publicly bound herself

to the religious life (179; emphasis added by Carruthers).

17. Deyermond notes the ambiguous tone of the work that illustrates both a certain resignation toward sexual passion while the exempla and some of the sententiae are anti-amorous and anti-feminist: "El Tostado, sin embargo, confiesa que no se arrepiente de haberse enamorado, aunque el amor no le hubiese resultado propicio; este conflicto, con todo, permanece sin resolver" (Historia 254). Cátedra deals in depth with the Tratado, its relation to the university of Salamanca, and its influence on the Siervo libre de amor (Amor y Pedagogía).

18. See interpretations of this little studied text by Gerli ("Metafiction" 59-60) and Andrachuk (The Questión de amor").

19. For an overview of misogynism in medieval Spain see María Jesús Lacarra, "Algunos datos para la historia de la misoginia en la edad media," in Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema) I: 339-61 as well as E.M. Gerli, "La 'Religión del Amor' y el antifeminismo en las letras castellanas del siglo XV," HR 49 (1981): 65-86.

20. In the fifteenth century, the meaning of the word sátira centered around the praise of virtue and the reprehension of vice (Scordilis Brownlee The Severed Word 109).

Chapter Three

Oral and Textual Transformations in Siervo libre de amor

Siervo libre de amor,[1] the first Spanish sentimental romance, was composed by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón around 1440 from oral and textual traditions. The romance consists of a frame story that is an autobiographical confession of failed love in the form of a letter, and an inner love tale that privileges oral history and memory. The union of the frame story, indebted to textual traditions, and the interpolated love story "Estoria de dos amadores" derived from oral sources produces tensions that lead to ambiguity as to the work's true message regarding love. The autobiographical nature of the work fused in the union of frame story and love tale contributes to the tension as Rodríguez endeavors to reconcile his role as the religious servant of Divine love with his intentional identification with the legendary troubadour Macías. Rodríguez conciliates human love, conveyed lyrically and orally with divine love, expressed pedantically and based on biblical and scholastic traditions by memorializing the themes of love and loyalty. The frame story and the interpolated, "Estoria de dos amadores" are united by the themes of love and loyalty as they are portrayed through a series of discursive transformations (inscriptions on tombs, exchanges of letters, poetry, narrative).[2]

The purpose of chapter three will be to study oral and

textual aspects that have influenced Siervo's composition, transmission and reception. The chapter will begin by examining the role of spoken and written language in the transformation of Rodríguez del Padrón from courtly writer to a legendary character in the imagination of scholars and writers. We will then explore the major polemic concerning the completeness of Siervo libre de amor and will propose that the work be viewed as complete given the types of listeners/readers, cyclical narrative structure and inconclusive evidence from the extant manuscript. An internal evaluation of the manuscript will conclude that Siervo was destined to be read out loud in small groups. Next, an inspection of oral and textual aspects in the autobiographical frame story of the protagonist's failed love will indicate the debt to rhetorical traditions of the ars dictaminis and ars praedicandi. The inner "Estoria" will then be examined regarding its indebtedness to oral traditions illustrated by the large number of folk motifs derived from oral narrative, and the combination of oral legends and themes that make up its plot. The remainder of the chapter will review particular oral and textual aspects such as the use of epithets, formulaic and repetitive phrases and exchanges of letters that unify the frame story and "Estoria" for listeners/readers. Whether based on academic orality through the frame story or popular orality through the "Estoria de dos amadores" Siervo represents an intriguing convergence of orality and textuality.

The Author: Journey towards Divine love

Juan Rodríguez del Padrón was a lesser Galician nobleman who wrote poetry and prose directed to the aristocracy. He accompanied Cardinal Cervantes to Italy in 1430 and around 1441 professed minor orders with the Franciscans in Jerusalem (Gerli "Siervo" 95). After much travelling through Italy and Europe he completed his life in the Franciscan convent of Herbón that he had helped establish (Lida de Malkiel Estudios 22-24).

In addition to scant biographical data concerning the author, further information has been excerpted from his literary production. His pride in being a noble and his interest in heraldry is apparent in his works the Cadira de onor and Triunfo de las donas. A man of considerable erudition, probably educated at Salamanca (Cátedra Amorw56), he is noted for a work called El Bursario, a translation of Ovid's epistolary text, the Heroides.[3] Rodríguez del Padrón fervently admired the troubadour poet Macías, incorporating lines of the legendary lover's verse into his own poems.[4] In the last verses of Rodríguez's poem "Siete Gozos de amor" he expresses the fervent nature of his devotion to Macías desiring to share a grave with the legendary figure:

> Si te plaze que mis días
> yo fenezca mal logrado,
> tan en breve,
> plégate que con Macías
> ser meresca sepultado;
> y dezir deue
> do la sepultura sea:
> una tierra los crió,
> una muerte los leuó,
> una gloria los possea. (Lida de Malkiel Estudios 38)

Rodríguez's identification with Macías extends throughout his literary corpus. Lida de Malkiel believes that Macías plays a special role as champion of love in Siervo and that Rodríguez establishes "un lazo afectivo y personal" with the earlier poet-lover (39). Not only is Macías the troubadour of love par excellence but like Rodríguez del Padrón he is also native to Galicia.

Oral tradition no doubt helped to augment Rodríguez's identification with the already famous Macías. It appears that Juan de Baena in the Cancionero de Baena used oral sources when he printed the following brief but mistaken biographical sentence: "Esta cantiga fizo Johan Rodríguez del Padrón quando sse fue meter frayre a Jerusalén, en despedimiento de su señora." Lida de Malkiel believes that the information concerning Rodríguez found in the Cancionero originated from hearsay: "claro está que los novelescos epígrafes del Cancionero de Baena no representan más que los rumores y hablillas llegado al colector o al copista" (Estudios 24n3). The biographical blurb in the Cancionero is also significant because it indicates the formation of a literate public that was beginning to take an interest in the personality of the author. Public interest in Rodríguez increased beyond the short description in the Cancionero de Baena and inspired an anonymous writer to compose a pseudo-biography of Rodríguez's life in the late sixteenth century. Later writers such as the nineteenth-century writer and critic Mariano José de Larra, continued to identify Rodríguez with the troubadour Macías.

Rodríguez del Padrón achieved the status of a legend, consciously or not, through his consistent affiliation with the legendary Macías. In addition, Rodríguez's transformation into the protagonist of the autobiographical frame story in Siervo and the emotional nature of his lyric poetry enhanced his reputation as lover and literary figure.

That Rodríguez fully intended to create a legendary role for himself is tentative, since it depended not only on his abilities to create for himself a literary personage but also on the creation of an oral history through the "rumores y hablillas" of an interested public. By aligning himself with Macías, already a legend, his own story easily captured the popular imagination. It is more likely that his primary intent was to elevate the reputation of his native Galicia, as Gilderman and Grieve have noted. Gilderman suggests that Rodríguez was attempting to establish a love pilgrimage on a par with the famous religious pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (104). Grieve posits that Rodríguez desired to create for Spain, and for Galicia in particular, a pair of celebrated lovers in Ardanlier and Liessa, equal to the renown of lovers such as Dido and Aeneas, Tristan and Iseult or Guinevere and Lancelot. In addition, she notes that Rodríguez makes a unique contribution to prose fiction through his creation of a prose work that "is the dual legitimization of a Spanish love tale and a contemporary narrative form of a love story" (Desire 2). Rodríguez's most important innovation is juxtaposing his personal experience of love (real or imagined) with a fictional narrative, "La

Estoria de dos amadores." Not only does this innovation serve to elevate the writer's personal experience, it also creates the illusion of reality for the fictional narrative as well. In the case of Siervo libre de amor, the addition of Galicia as the geographical setting of the "Estoria" heightens the illusion of historicity.

Another possibility that complements Rodríguez's intentions to elevate the status of Galicia as a love pilgrimage is the attempt by Rodríguez to recoup for Galicia some of its past literary reputation as the center of a strong lyric tradition. The references to Macías as a lover and poet in Siervo explicitly identify him with his native Galicia. Rodríguez's own close ties to Macías as a fellow native son and the central role of Galicia in the "Estoria" underscore Galicia's historical significance as a source of poets and legends. The references in both the prose sections and intercalated poems of Siervo to elements of nature such as the alba (dawn) and the sea, are traditional themes of Galician-portuguese lyric poetry. It is significant that the interpolated love story of Ardanlier and Liessa takes place in Galicia and is at the heart of the structure of the entire work, framed by the more abstract psychological journey of the protagonist. The union of the outer and inner tales inevitably contributes to the legendary status of Rodríguez and his native Galicia. Having treated the biographical background of the author, we will now begin our study of Rodríguez del Padrón's Siervo by first examining its structure in order to reconcile questions concerning the

completeness of the work in light of oral and textual aspects.

Siervo libre de amor: Principal Divisions

An issue that has most puzzled critics regarding Siervo is whether the work is missing a third part. In order to address this question we will first determine the formal divisions as they are laid out in the only extant manuscript and then present the arguments for and against the work's completeness. Next we will show that Siervo does include a third part if we account for the cyclical pattern of the work's narrative and the resources listening audiences carry with them through shared and individual memory that make an explicit third part superfluous. Interestingly, Rodríguez addresses two types of audiences in Siervo. The first is Gonçalo de Medina, who will read and understand according to the exegetical practices based on textual traditions. The second audience is a listening public who needs the guidance of a formal structure, repetition and mnemonic devices in order to remember what they have heard in order to formulate a coherent message out of the seemingly disparate divisions of the work.

Siervo is complex in nature since the work's divisions blend oral habits of thought and expression with textual traditions within an autobiographical frame story. The formal divisions of the work serve to order the convergence of oral and written traditions through the use of a tri-partite structure that aids memory retention for both author in composition and listening audience in reception. The

divisions are structured telescopically and can be compared to a china box.

The introductory "Título" explains that the work is divided into three parts that correspond to three states of love: "bien amó y fue amado," "bien amó y fue desamado" and "no amó ni fue amado." These in turn represent three different paths with three different trees that correspond to three parts of man: "al coraçón y al libre albedrío y al entendimiento" (65) symbolizing the Augustinian three potencies of the soul: memory, will and understanding.

The structure of the "Primera Parte" following the "Título" is in letter form in response to a petition that a certain "caso" be explained. It narrates the frame story of the protagonist's love affair, the attempt by Discreción to dissuade the protagonist from love but to no avail, and the loss of the Lady's favors because the protagonist publicized the affair to a friend. The "Segunda Parte" then describes the protagonist's inward struggle as his Entendimiento attempts to convince him to avoid following his personified Libre albedrío on the path of desperation. The various personifications of the lover's inner powers place the work on the level of psychological action. As the protagonist despairs of having been deserted by his faculties, the loyal lover Ardanlier is called to mind. Under the rubric "Estoria de dos amadores" the protagonist-lover suddenly begins to recite the tragic love tale of Ardanlier and Liessa. After the tale ends the protagonist realizes that he must turn away from the destructive second path and calls and searches

for the return of his inner powers. The text ends rather abruptly with the arrival of a mysterious ship and the coming ashore of Syndéresis who asks for a recounting of the protagonist's adventures.

One of the most compelling problems with Siervo is the abrupt ending after the arrival of Syndéresis. It has led some scholars to consider the work as incomplete (Andrachuk; Gerli; Herrero) while others have argued for Siervo's completeness (Dudley; Grieve; Impey; Scordilis Brownlee). Andrachuk asserts that since the text ends before the protagonist has found the third path of "not loving or being loved" the work is incomplete. If it were complete it would illustrate the third way of "not loved or being loved" and in turn would signify a complete rejection of courtly love. His interpretation is based on the following aspects: an analysis of the biographical evidence that Rodríguez del Padrón had already taken final religious vows when he wrote the work, Dante's subtext which also has a three part structure, and the discrepancy he finds between the author's declaration of the work's tri-partite theme and the elaboration of only two of these parts. In fact much of the disagreement over whether Siervo is complete or not depends on how one divides the work. The rubrics for part one, "Syguese la primera de bien amar y ser amado" and part two "Comiença la segunda parte: solitaria e dolorosa contemplaçión" are apparent divisions. The only other rubric following that of the "Estoria" reads "Aquí acaba la novella." While Dudley contends that this rubric signals the

beginning of the third part, it is more likely that Andrachuk is correct that it signals the end of the "Estoria." He notes that Siervo has already been defined as a "Tratado" in the prologue and that the "Estoria" is what the author would have defined as a "novella" ("The Function" 174-75). Andrachuk makes a convincing argument for incompleteness in his interpretation of the ending of Part one acting as a transitional stage in preparation for Part two. He believes that the text appearing after the "Estoria" is the transitional stage between parts two and three, since it deals with the protagonist's rejection of the second path that would lead him to suicide. Still he has yet to actually follow the road to salvation as he struggles against the attraction of human love (175). The arrival of Syndéresis signals the transformation that would begin the missing third section.

There are other critics (Gerli; Herrero) who agree with Andrachuk that Siervo is incomplete although they disagree somewhat as to the actual contents of the missing third.[5] Gerli adds that Siervo parallels medieval allegories that portray the soul's journey toward a religious life. He proposes in a footnote that Guillaume de Deguileville's Pélégrinage de la vie humaine (1331) is a direct source for Siervo ("Siervo" 101). The French work relates a journey to the shore of the World's Sea where the soul encounters the ship of Religion. The soul then accompanies the lady Grace Dieu and completes the quest for salvation that is found in the cloister (100). Since Siervo ends with the arrival of

Syndéresis and before the quest for salvation is actually over, Gerli posits that Siervo "is an incomplete psychological autobiography couched in terms of the soul's journey toward repentance, reconciliation, and final repose in the religious life" (101).

Arguments in favor of seeing the work as complete are also convincing. The work is thematically linked by the themes of love and loyalty (Impey and Grieve) and Scordilis Brownlee interprets Siervo from the perspective of a Dantean subtext in which Syndéresis recalls Dante's Beatrice. Both Andrachuk ("On the Missing" 178) and Brownlee ("The Generic" 639) acknowledge the intertextual reference of Siervo with Purgatorio XXX in the arrival of Beatrice in the chariot. Brownlee provides a further similarity between Syndéresis as a "señora mastreza" and Beatrice, "Quasi ammiraglio che in poppa ed in prora" (639). Unlike Andrachuk, Brownlee believes a consideration of Dante's text strengthens the belief in Siervo as complete:

> The arrival of Beatrice in her triumphal chariot drawn by the Griffon...constitutes a pageant of revelation. Her appearance coincides with the end of the pilgrim's purgation--with his intellection of his fall, leading...to his full confession. Hence it is not necessary for Rodríguez del Padrón's protagonist to make explicit confession as Dante's did. ("Generic" 641)

Brownlee presumes that if we as audience correctly understand the Dantean subtext, there is no need for the elaboration of a third part. In order to accept her reasoning one must also accept a univocal interpretation in that the audience to whom Rodríguez directs the work must

follow one interpretation in order to understand the implicit "Tercera parte." Brownlee is partly correct in that the ideal reader, whom Rodríguez would expect to be well versed, represented by Medina would recognize the intertextual references to Dante. Her interpretation for just such a reader is supported by the fact that Dante's name appears on the list of auctoritas whom Rodríguez claims he will emulate for the benefit of his intended reader, Medina (67).

With the presence of the "Primer título" at the work's beginning Rodríguez indicates that the work has a wider listening audience. Medina along with other listeners/readers are guided to an implicit rather than explicit elaboration of the third path of "ni amar ni ser amado." In the "Primer Título" the author Rodríguez first makes it clear that the protagonist-lover has chosen the third path that will lead him to salvation:

> La terçera, y fynal, trata el tiempo que no amó ni fue amado; figurado por la uerde oliua, plantada en la muy agra y angosta senda, qu[e] el siervo entendimiento bien quisiera seguir, por donde siguió, después de libre, en compañía de la discreción. (66)

He adds that few choose to follow this very difficult and lonely road. The part succeeding the "Auctor's" narration of the "Estoria" serves as another indication that the protagonist has chosen the third path. In this section the depiction in both poetry and prose of the protagonist's inner struggle after his recitation of the "Estoria" suggests that he experiences agnorisis or moment of self-revelation. This moment is followed by a searching among his

memory "places" for his lost inner faculties that takes him "mentally" to the shores of the sea where he sees the approach of a mysterious ship carrying Syndéresis. The protagonist-lover is on a mental quest to recoup his lost or misplaced memory that had been disturbed by human love.

Despite no explicit exposition of a third formal division, the outcome is clear that the protagonist will follow the third path. In fact the whole text is a recounting of an already past event, the first two love experiences from a narrative present that is from the vantage point of "ni amar ni ser amado." If the work is considered temporally, it is complete since the narrator has also informed us that the three states correspond to geographical (three roads) and figural (three trees) and to three temporal states ("tres diversos tiempos"). If narrative time is conceived as present time, then the "missing" third part is present throughout the narrative. In other words, the third part <u>is</u> the narrative of the events and is implicit in every moment of the <u>tratado</u>. In addition, we should keep in mind that a medieval listening audience did not need or expect to have a work completely interpreted for them. They were expected to make the necessary connections and associations as Murphy explains:

> If conventional signs like words are merely intended to prompt or evoke a learning response from a hearer, and are to be balanced by that hearer against an interior standard present in the individual, then it would follow that the use of any particular rhetorical device (a particular argument or rhetorical figure, for example) would have a peculiarly evocative intention for a follower of Augustine. That rhetorical device would merely be an evocative trigger, not a <u>cause</u> of

> action in the hearer. (288)

Although Murphy is treating Augustinian use of rhetoric, the passage is relevant for clarifying the role and expectations of the medieval audience as well. For medieval theorists and their practitioners the whole or unified nature of a speech or composition was less important than "the bits and pieces of language" (289). The view inherited by Augustine is "that a piece of conventional signage (what we call language) is merely intended to remind the hearer of an existing process, and to start it under way in the hearer's mind so that the hearer himself will carry his own mind along to a desired objective" (Murphy 289). By the inclusion of statements that indicate the final direction of Siervo such as the preterite "por donde siguió, después de libre" (66), there is no internal need for an explicit exposition of the act of following the path of "no amó ni fue amado." The written text therefore serves as a reminder of something outside itself for an audience accustomed to aural-oral transmission and reception of works.

Rodríguez was aware of the fact that not all of his public would be the ideal type of receptor like Medina. The cues already mentioned, such as the "Título" which explains how the work should be interpreted in three's and the explicit reference to the final choice of the third path by the protagonist are specifically intended for Medina and would lead him to a deeper meaning. A more general audience, on the other hand, would be entertained on a less intellectual level.

There are also additional aids for these more general listeners/readers. The glossing of some of the mythological references by Rodríguez suggests that he did not have complete faith in the learned background of his audience and so he glosses the most important figures, such as, "consagrados al alto Apolo, que es el sol" (76) and "la casta Diana, deesa de las bestias fieras" (77). He glosses certain mythological figures while others remain unglossed, perhaps relying on the context and his audience's ability to make associations. As a further reminder to the listeners who could not turn back the pages, Rodríguez repeats the description of the three paths and their corresponding trees in relation to the love experience at the beginning of the "Segunda Parte." Similar to the first section, there is the repetition of the inward struggle with personifications of his inner self, in this case with Entendimiento. The repetition and variation of key moments is a helpful reminder for those listeners who do not have the text before them. Since they have been guided to the outcome of the protagonist's meeting with Syndéresis, they would also not need a "complete" exposition of his salvation.

An examination of the one surviving manuscript exacerbates the problem of the work's completeness. The manuscript is written in a small, cramped hand, and the only embellishments are a few rubrics in red and blue. There are a few corrections of errors that appear to be the result of eye slips and there are indications that the manuscript was not quite finished. The script is tightly compact throughout

most of the manuscript although the script on the last two folios appears just slightly larger and more relaxed. The cramped hand of most of the manuscript seems to indicate a particular interest on the part of the scribe to conserve space until the last folio. The scribe might have misjudged his allocated space since the last folio and a half are blank. The issue grows more complex since there is no explicit Deo Gratis or Finis that formally ends the work which we would expect, especially given the previous use of rubrics to introduce and end parts of Siervo. Those critics (Andrachuk; Gerli; Herrero) insisting on a missing third part might respond that the blank space and lack of explicit were destined for the written elaboration of the third path. But on the other hand the change in size of handwriting might also signify that the scribe misjudged his allocated space or that he had not yet finished with this version or dictamen of Siervo. A sign that the manuscript was still in stages of elaboration is the presence of minuscule rubrics that have not been filled in yet with larger letters. Unfortunately, the one extant manuscript does little to resolve the issue of Siervo's completeness.

Whether or not Siervo is complete is still open to discussion. In my view one should consider each manuscript of a work as unique, analogous to an oral performance as recent textual critics have suggested (Dagenais; Zumthor). Given the inconclusive evidence of MS 6052, we can tentatively propose that Siervo libre de amor does have a three part structure through the cyclical pattern of its

narrative and that the "missing" third part is indicated by the last lines of the manuscript: "e luego, después de la salua, vyno en demanda de mis aventuras; e yo esso mesmo en recuenta de aquéllas" (112). These last lines of text would stimulate the listeners' imagination to fill in the "missing" third path in that the Protagonist lover would embark on the waiting ship accompanied by Syndéresis and retell the tale we have heard or read.

Although the extant manuscript provides few clues as to whether Siervo was intended by Rodríguez to be complete, an examination of the manuscript suggests that it was orally transmitted and widely diffused. We will begin with a few words about the textual history of the work that illustrates the intriguing nature of Siervo's transmission and reception. Siervo must have circulated widely since there are references to it in the Portuguese Sátira and the Catalan Triste deleytación. In the case of both the Sátira and Triste deleytación, the story of Ardanlier captured the imagination of their respective authors and it is cited in both works. The widespread influence of Siervo in these two works suggests that the text circulated in copies that were transmitted through oral readings, perhaps to small groups despite the fact that one extant copy of Siervo exists and that the work was not printed until 1884 by Paz y Melía.

The extant manuscript and internal examination of orthography and punctuation support the assertion that Siervo was meant to be transmitted through oral readings to oneself or in groups. Although the vocality of the text,

meaning that the work was meant to be read aloud and heard rather than silently read, will be treated in a separate analysis of the frame story and the "Estoria," a few general comments concerning the extant manuscript will be helpful at this time.

The close relationship of the manuscript to the world of sound is evident through an examination of Siervo's orthography. We should first keep in mind that acoustical interference was common in the production of medieval and renaissance texts since writers, scribes and editors composed and edited not only by seeing the text but by hearing it as well. They heard the texts by mouthing the words as they copied and corrected, and would record, albeit unconsciously at times, according to their own pronunciation and linguistic traits. An interesting orthographic feature of the Siervo manuscript indicates that the scribe or author consistently used a seseo, that is, s for ç or z such as in "pas a pas" for "paz a paz." This is a common linguistic feature of the manuscript and is normally heard in Andaluçia and along the Atlantic coast (Lapesa 313).

In addition to acoustical interference, the division of the manuscript into short, manageable sections and the use of punctuation that serves to divide phrases into breath groups or pauses were no doubt intended to serve an oral reading of the text. As in other works of sentimental fiction, dialogue is introduced by explicit references such as "Habla el auctor" that would help a listener keep track of who is speaking or that could suggest a dramatic reading

of the speeches in small groups. The plainness of the manuscript with only a few ornamented rubrics suggests a text that was not intended to be perused by a silent reader.

Oral transmission and reception of Siervo is also evident through an internal examination of the work's oral-rhetorical style. Although we will deal with rhetorical traditions later in the analysis of the frame story, it is important to remember that the art of rhetoric encouraged audience participation and therefore the more rhetorical a work is, the more the presence of an audience is necessary (Carruthers 167). The employment of rhythmic prose, types of repetition, and the copiousness of many of the speeches such as the use of amplificatio: "de cuytas aviendo, enojos pasando, atendiendo folgura, horas, tribulaciones..." (74) taught as part of the ars retorica were designed to move Siervo's audience as the work was read aloud. Other rhetorical devices contribute to the dramatic quality that make the speeches come alive when read aloud such as the employment of apostrofe and exclamatio: "¡Ay amigo, amigo!" (78).

The lyrical quality of Siervo's verse is also a characteristic of its prose and was directed towards listeners rather than silent readers. Rodríguez was probably familiar with the rhetorical practice of rithmus a type of rhythmical prose[6] and cursus, or system of rhythmical clausulae that was employed for letter writing (Murphy 158-61, 248-53). The following examples illustrate the rhythmic quality of Siervo's prose:

> Sy algún pensamiento a creer me me lo induzía, yo de mi me corría, y menos sabio me juzgaba, ortorgando la vista a los presentes, mayores de mi, de que más presumía; ca de mi al no sentía." (68-69; emphasis added)

A further instance of the poetic quality of Siervo's prose:

> e quanto mas mis seruicios le continuava, más contenta de mi se mostrava, y a todas señales, mesuras y actos que pasava en el logar de la fabla, le mandaua que me respondiese." (72; emphasis added)

Only an audience hearing the work read aloud could fully appreciate Siervo's prose style. Some of the prose sections are almost prosified versions of cancionero love poetry due to the blending of the narration of a subjective love experience with the characteristic rhyme and rhythm of poetry.

It is appropriate at this point to add a few words about the mixture of prose and poetry in Siervo destined for a listening audience. Although the presence of both prose and poetry was not new to medieval letters, the poetic voice functions on a number of different levels and appears especially innovative with regard to Siervo (Impey "La poesía" 185-86). The following study of the poems in Siervo will demonstrate how individual poems heighten and often synthesize the emotions conveyed by the prose or contrast past with present emotional states. There is also an interdependence between prose and poetry in the repetition of the same words in both prose and verse (Andrachuk "Prosa y poesía" 61). As will be shown, not merely independent pieces, the poems like prose, contribute to the development of the work. The first poem, for instance, is a love poem

typical of the cancioneros and originates as a gift to the protagonist's Lady. Written "en romano vulgar fyrmada" the first lines begin: "Recebyd alegremente / mi señora por estrenas / la presente" (73). The concern of the poem is that the protagonist voice his role as "sirviente" who of free will serves his Lady and looks forward to her favors. The happy tone changes when the Lady has rejected the protagonist in the "Segunda parte." As an extension of the prose description of the protagonist's reactions, the second poem heights the emotional intensity and like the first poem is directed toward the Lady: "Alegre del que vos viese / vn día tan plazentera, / a que desir vos oyese: / Ay alguno que me quiera / y ninguno vos quisiese" (82). The protagonist reveals his bitterness and desire for vengeance in his wish that the Lady find herself with no one to love her.

The final poems, reminiscent of early Galician-portuguese lyric poetry, occur after the "Estoria" and demonstrate the protagonist's state of mind as he searches for his lost faculties. The first poem, "Avnque me vedes asy, / catyvo, libre nacy" (107-108) contains parallelistic verses or enjambment where the last line of the verse is repeated as the first line of the next strophe, a pattern typically found in traditional Galician-portuguese lyric poetry (Frenk Lírica). The repetition of the above verses stresses the present unloved state of the protagonist in contrast with his condition before he fell in love.

The poem "Cerca el aluua, quando stan / en paz segura" that directly follows "Aunque me vedes asy" contains

elements typical of Galician-portuguese lyric such as images of the dawn, types of birds, and flowers. The poem represents the protagonist's internal struggle since the birds grow silent after proclaiming "Servid al Señor" and the protagonist's continued insistence on human love in his response: "Y yo por locura / canté por amores" (110). The poem thus clarifies the conflict between human and divine love by the contrasting messages of the poems. Further on in the poem, the protagonist refers to Macías: "No se que postremería / ayan buena los mis días, / quando el gentil Macías / priso muerte por tal vía. Por ende, en rremembrança / cantaré con amargura: / Cuydados y maginança, / catyvo de mi tristura" (110-11). The initial verses of the poem and the last lines belong to a famous cantiga by Macías. The penultimate line of the last verse, "Ya señora, en quien fiança" pertains to another cantiga of Macías (Lida de Malkiel Estudios 40-41). Although Macías provides some authority for Rodríguez, he also becomes distanced from the protagonist who at this moment realizes that his path is not the same as that of Macías, and he will not commit suicide as did the celebrated lover. The clear association with Galician-portuguese lyric through poetic form and images, and the presence of Macías and his verses link the Galicia of the "Estoria" with the autobiographical frame story.

Although the above analysis of the poems may appear tangential to a study of orality and textuality, the presence of poetic discourse is an important oral aspect that provides more than mere embellishment, reflecting a

prior oral tradition of song. More importantly perhaps, the presence of poetry in Siervo offers the possibility that the poems were dramatically read or sung aloud before a listening audience for variety in entertainment even as it reinforced the emotional message of the work.

We will now turn to a closer analysis of orality and textuality in the two principal sections of Siervo: first in the frame story and its debt to textual traditions steeped in academic orality and secondly in the "Estoria" infused with popular orality through the presence of folk motifs, legends, and sources that have a basis in oral tradition. The interplay of oral with textual is complex and involves not only an effort to identify oral and written sources but oral habits of thought and expression.

Autobiographical Frame

Although the frame story owes a great deal to textuality through rhetorical traditions, it is worth reminding ourselves that the function of rhetoric was oriented toward persuading or moving an audience through oral means. In Siervo, the autobiographical frame story, with its debt to rhetorical practices, remains close to the oral-aural world although unlike the oral formulaic style of epic poetry it is infused with academic orality in the form of rhetoric. As the following examination of the frame story will show, rhetoric not only marked Siervo for oral delivery and reception but it also kept the formulaic nature of oral thought alive through compositional techniques that relied on the use of highly developed memory systems to aid in the

storage and recall of material. Still highly formulaic, the arts of rhetoric present a textualized orality within Siervo through the ars dictaminis and ars praedicandi. In spite of the dependence on writing, Siervo examplifies how early works combined aspects of the rhetorical tradition but remained focused on oral recitation and delivery. Rhetorical traditions particularly through the ars dictaminis and ars praedicandi traditions will compose a large portion of this study of orality and textuality in the autobiographical frame story. In addition, the polemical character of oral expression is identified in the frame story in combination with rhetorical practices and will be illustrated through the protagonist whose inner forces are divided and in constant struggle due to passion. The personification of his inner forces exemplifies the tendency of oral habits of thought to make even abstractions part of the human life world. Such personified abstract conceptions are vocal and are a reminder that thought in oral cultures is conceived of not in the midst of silence but as a constant dialogue. This inner dialogue makes for interesting and exciting possibilities when writers like Rodríguez create personifications and place them within a psychological landscape.

As mentioned previously, the entire work is encompassed within what the author labels Tratado, a lengthy didactic discourse. Rodríguez employs a mnemonic pattern of loci and imagenes in order to describe the protagonist's love experience, the main purpose of the work. The mnemonic

pattern underscores the importance of memoria as the essential mediator between oral and written transmission. As mentioned in chapter one, studies on memory systems in medieval culture indicate that memory storage and recall procedures are based on highly developed memory systems that function through the establishment of rigid patterns of ordering and through dependence on the use of memorable images to the mind (Yates 6).

The most obvious mnemonic pattern in Siervo is the division into three's. The tratado, under the "Primer título" explains the three stages in the amatory process of "Amar y ser amado," "Amar y no ser amado," and "Ni amar ni ser amado," and then associates the three love experiences with allegorical places (loci) and images (the roads and trees). The division into three's is a common oral narrative technique used in medieval sermons. Impey comments that the "Primer Título" is equivalent to the explanatory headings that Rodríguez assigns at the beginning of each of the letters of his Bursario. Cátedra notes that it performs a function similar to that of the academic accesus common in university texts (Amor 154).[7] Whichever form Rodríguez ultimately used as his model, the function as an interpretive guide and mnemonic device was surely meant to guide the listener/reader. The "Primer título," addressed to a wider public functions as a form of "audience readjustment" (Ong Interfaces 69-71). It helps the audience to prepare or adjust to what it will hear or read. Direct addresses to readers and listeners in written texts were not

merely fossilized traces of primary orality but "a natural expression of his [the writer's] relationship to those who would hear him or hear his work read" (Ong 117). The "Primer título" guides the audience through the elaboration of the succeeding sections with a mental "map" set in a mnemonic pattern of three's.

The next textual division "Syguese la primera de bien amar y ser amado" is a letter directed to Gonçalo de Medina, juez de Mondoñedo, and Rodríguez del Padrón's religious superior in the Franciscan order. The letter begins as an explanation from Rodríguez concerning Medina's inquiries about "La muy agria relaçión del caso" (67) and rather than formally conclude, it fades into the narrative of the protagonist's story of failed love. Although the letter to Medina does not conclude formally, its presence is implicit throughout the succeeding transformations into narrative, poetic and allegorical discourses that make up Siervo.

The letter to Medina is structured on the ars dictaminis, ars praedicandi and penitential traditions. Although preserved in writing, it is worth reminding ourselves that the ars dictaminis was cast in oral expression since throughout the Middle Ages the paradigm for all types of written discourse remained the oration (Ong "Medieval Textualization" 3). The convergence of orality and textuality in Siervo's frame story is rendered precisely through the ars dictaminis, ars praedicandi and penitential traditions as the following analysis of the letter to Medina will demonstrate.

Rodríguez's letter to Medina loosely follows the structure prescribed by the ars dictaminis and consists of most of the parts recommended in letter writing manuals: a salutatio, captatio benevolentiae, petitio, narratio, but without a formal conclusio. The salutatio begins the letter addressed to Medina and according to the prescribed practice, Rodríguez acknowledges the social status of his receiver: "Johan Rodríguez del Padrón, el menor de los dos amigos eguales en bien amar, al su mayor Gonçalo de Medina, juez de Maldoñedo, requiere de paz y salut" (67). As we will see later, the "menor...mayor" formula is repeated in Siervo although the reference to "bien amar" changes in that it refers to human rather than divine love.

The salutatio is followed by a rather long captatio benevolentiae that serves to capture the goodwill and to influence the addressee.[8] Here the protagonist Rodríguez explains that he will write about his "muy agria relaçión del caso, los pasados tristes y alegres actos y esquivas contemplaciones, e ynotos e varios pensamientos" (67). He says that two reasons cause him to write. The first is rather ambiguous and implies a duty to love and is implicitly directed to his Lady: "La fe prometida al yntimo y claro amor" and the second is at the insistence of his superior: "y la instancia de tus epístolas, oy me haze escribir" (67). Accordingly, Rodríguez explains that he will imitate past authors: "non confiando en mi symple ingenio, seguiré el estilo de los antiguos" (67). He recites a long list of auctoritas that includes not only classical authors

but Homer and medieval writers such as Dante. The choice of authors whose style Rodríguez will emulate for the benefit of Medina follows ars dictaminis manuals that prescribe that the letter's style be pleasing to the receiver. In order that Medina be disposed further to Rodríguez's letter and that there is a deeper meaning within the "ruda letra," Rodríguez hastens to reassure Medina that since he is a "syeruo yndigno del alto Jhesús," he will merely employ the fictions of these authors to teach and delight:

> Eficçiones, digo, al poético fyn de aprouechar y venir a ty en plazer con las fablas que quieren seguir lo que naturaleza no puede sofrir aprouechar con el seso alegórico que trahe consigo la ruda letra, aunque parece del todo fallir. (68)

Imitating past fictions, the sender will thus instruct and entertain Medina by providing a deeper level of meaning. The "ficciones" are only one level, that of the "ruda letra," and so he provides Medina with the key to interpreting a deeper meaning in the "seso alegórico." Thus the "Primer tịtulo" guides the listeners/readers through the three parts of the work and here Rodríguez provides the more experienced Medina with the key to the "meollo" of the work. As a religious, Medina like Rodríguez, was no doubt well versed in Biblical exegesis. Murphy notes that borrowing from the ars praedicandi or preaching manuals in letter writing, although unusual, is mentioned in some dictaminal manuals (237). Given the religious vocation of both sender and receiver in Siervo, as well as the license Rodríguez has as a fiction writer to loosely follow his textual models, it is understandable that Rodríguez would employ the tools of

interpretation of the ars praedicandi for Medina's appreciation. Rodríguez secures the goodwill of Medina by emulating the style of auctoritas in combination with the tools of exegesis as used in preaching manuals.

Rodríguez follows the rules for the captatio benevolentiae although he also employs letter writing dictates to fit his needs as we will see in his reversal of the petitio and narratio. Impey notes that the rhetorical structure of Rodríguez's letter to Medina is reversed with the petitio following the captatio benevolentiae. Rodríguez writes: "que en señal de amistad te escrivo de amor por mi que sientas la grand fallía de los amadores y poca fiança de los amigos; e por mi juzgues a ty amador" (68). Following the petitio is the already announced narratio of the "muy agria relación del caso" ("Ovid, Alfonso X" 290). The reversal is not uncommon since dictaminal manuals present ways to rearrange letters to fit circumstances (Murphy 223). Since the protagonist in this case is writing in response to Medina's petitio that he explain the caso, Rodríguez's own petition is of minor importance and only requests that Medina be sympathetic and listen to his story of lost love.

Following the petitio and as an introduction to the narratio, Rodríguez reveals his need to persuade Medina that he is a sincere servant of God and has kept his vows. He is playful in that he remains purposefully ambiguous and never explicitly says that he rejects human love for God's love. In fact, he tells Medina that he was "bien affortunado" when he loved humanly, even though now Medina is witness to his

failure in love. Rodríguez tells Medina that he had achieved in human love that which even those above him desire and had been rescued from passion at the moment when it would turn to harm: "e por amar, alcançar lo que mayores de mi deseavan; que perdy por amor la principal causa de mi perdición" (68). He explains further that he lost love at its pristine moment: "Digo perder, quan perdy favor de lynda señora en tiempo que es el amor comienço de gentileza" (68). Rodríguez was no doubt referring to what Andreas Capellanus called amor purus, human love untainted by sexual intercourse. Capellanus states that this pure love when contaminated by sexual relations becomes mixtus. Rodríguez declares that his love never reached the stage of amor mixtus: "por no venir en complimiento de amor, que es fuera de gentyleza e fyn de descortesya, la qual siempre aborreçí" (68). The ambiguity of whether Rodríguez is rejecting human love is in part explained by the dichotomy of amor purus and amor mixtus in order that Medina be convinced that Rodríguez is worthy of his religious vows.

After the introduction to the narratio specifically addressed to Medina, the narratio, or orderly account of the matter, constitutes the remainder of Siervo. The letter from Rodríguez to Medina subtly blends into the protagonist's narration of his love experience in which he relates how he fell in love and then lost his Lady when he entrusted the secret of the love affair to a disloyal friend. The protagonist may be guilty of a lack of discretion but not disloyalty. He explores his reactions to the events from the

perspective of an allegorical journey through various emotional and psychological states of loving and not loving. As will be demonstrated, external action is subordinated to an analysis of the protagonist's emotional adventures. The internal psychological state becomes the mise-en-scene of the plot.

The narratio consists of a number of aspects that will be addressed pertaining to orality and textuality in the exposition of the psychological state of the protagonist-lover. Oral habits of thought and expression are revealed through the influence of memoria on plot and characterization, the personification of abstractions in polemical contexts, and the adversarial and agonistic tone. Siervo thematizes the impression that love and the other faculties of the soul imprint on memoria by presenting allegorical figures and places (loci) that are more mental constructs of memory than reality. The narratio stresses the work as the protagonist's mental quest to recoup his lost or misplaced memory of a higher, divine love that was disturbed by passionate worldly love. The use of the rhetorical tradition of the ars memoria influences the arrangement of the material and the personification of abstract figures such as Memoria, Libre Albedrío and Entendimiento. As facets of the protagonist's mental state, the personified abstractions are an indication that the world of thought is conceived in Siervo as taking place in an oral exchange (Ong Presence 60; Orality 95). The polemical tone of the work, common in expression originating

in oral habits of thought is also a constituent of the protagonist's mental state.

The narratio shifts from Rodríguez-protagonist's narration of having lost his Lady due to a moment of indiscretion to the narration of the protagonist's mental struggle with personified abstractions including Discreçión, Libre Albedrío, Entendimiento and Memoria. The latter three represent the Augustinian division of the three potencies of the soul. The Augustinian potencies, a textual tradition, are transformed by the author into personified beings that attempt to convince the protagonist to follow their individual course. Each abstraction is described by the narrator as corresponding to one of the three love states given at the beginning of the work in the "Primer título" and each in turn tries to persuade the protagonist to follow it: Memoria is tied to loving and being loved, Libre Albedrio waits on the path of self-destruction and Entendimiento attempts to convince him not to choose the path of desperation but rather the path leading towards wisdom. The oral polemical tone is evident due to the adversarial relationship of the protagonist's faculties as each in turn attempts to gain the upper hand through rhetorical and emotional arguments.

Another characteristic feature of Siervo originating from oral habits of thought and expression and corresponding to the adversarial and polemical nature of the personified abstractions, is their close proximity to the human life world. The personifications affect humans personally and in

themselves react in highly emotional ways to human experience. For example, Discreçión, who is very upset, uses a persuasive oral tone exclaiming "Oh, oh!" and lapses into verse in an attempt to lead the protagonist away from "ayrado amor." (69-70). The Heart finally makes peace with Love expressing in verse: "Pas a pas, gentil señor" since Discretion will not. Other examples will be given to demonstrate that, for early writers, inner emotional and psychological states were conceived of and expressed in oral agonistic terms of personifications in constant dialogue within the self.

Entendimiento is perhaps the best example of a personified figure who uses the persuasive power of the spoken word within an oral-agonistic psychological setting. The structure of Entendimiento's speech was probably adapted from preaching manuals of the ars praedicandi tradition and relies on rhetorical devices and oral authority in order to persuade the protagonist away from desperation. Entendimiento begins his sermon-like speech with an exclamatio: "¡Ay amigo, amigo!" The proposition to be proved follows: "El passaje a los Campos Ylíasos es peligroso." In typical sermonic fashion he divides the matter into a tri-partite structure. The proofs, similar to a sermon, begin with a series of authoritative quotations but derive from Classical authorities rather than biblical ones. Although derived from textual sources, the reliance on the Classical auctoritas of Ovid and Virgil for examples of disastrous love affairs (78-81) are at the service of spoken discourse.

Entendimiento continues with more proofs in the form of classical exempla, in accord with the prescribed formula for a sermon.

Entendimiento ends his discourse on an angry note by making a personal exhortation to the protagonist that he will be denied access to the lovers' circle:

> [T]e será vedado el paso...donde no es mi voluntat de pasar, ni seguir tu dañada compañía; e solo más quiere prender la angosta vía...avnque muy áspera sea, que mal acompañado yr contygo a la perdición. (80-81)

Entendimiento's reluctance to accompany the protagonist on this path of desperation is based on his strongest argument which comes from the authority of the spoken word:

> Se oyo bien cierto que antes del quarto çerco donde penan los que mueren por bien amar, te será vedado el paso; ca serás luego arrastrado de las guardas de aquel donde penan los infortunados que por fuyr los peligros de la syniestra fortuna, más quisieron moryr que padeçer y beuir. (80-81)

It is interesting that Entendimiento who has relied on classical authors in most of his speech now uses oral authority ("Se oyo bien") to make the most convincing argument against desperation. The combination of oral authority with the use of exclamatio and the exhortatory tone keeps the speech/sermon emotionally charged and linked to the world of sound. While Entendimiento exemplifies the oral-polemical quality of the protagonist's psychological and emotional state, other personified abstractions illustrate that inner conflict does not take place in silence.

The inner conflict continues in a milieu that is increasingly full of sounds. The protagonist's Libre

Albedrio shouts out loudly ignoring the "sabia respuesta" (81). The protagonist's senses are extremely vocal: "culpava a mis çinco sentidos que andauan en torno de mí, dando los fuerte gemidos" (82), tying the inward struggle to the oral world. We should remember, that thought operates in the midst of sound (Ong Orality 95). In Siervo, thought is polemical and as exemplified in the protagonist's psychological experience, an interior battleground of debate and dialogue.

The narratio continues to describe the protagonist's inner struggle that will eventually lead to the story of Ardanlier and Liessa. As the protagonist is tending towards self-destruction, deserted by his forces, the story of Ardanlier comes to mind and he begins to narrate the "Estoria de dos amadores," a novella that treats the tragic love of Ardanlier and Liessa framed by the rubrics "A propósito del autor."

After the "Estoria" ends signalled by the rubrics "Aquí acaba la novella" the protagonist emerges from a condition of deep contemplation "como un sueño" to a state of confusion and indecision.[9] He finds his way to the shore where he witnesses the arrival in a ship of Syndéresis, who asks for a recounting of his adventures.

Syndéresis represents in scholastic and simplified terms the inclination or spark towards doing good and avoiding evil. Thomas Aquinas associates Syndéresis with intelligence and identifies it with the first moral principles that lead to right reason and an understanding of

Natural Law. On the other hand, the Franciscan Saint Bonaventure associates Syndéresis with the Will, defined as that inclination of the Will which causes the desire to do good or avoid evil (Cátedra Amor 146-47). Given Rodríguez del Padrón's affiliation as member of the Franciscan order, the association of Syndéresis with Will is probably closer to its use in Siervo.[10] The presence of Syndéresis in Siervo exemplifies the convergence of a strong textual tradition of scholasticism with oral habits of thought and expression that present abstractions as personifications that speak and interact with the protagonist on a human level. The use of Syndéresis also is important for the reception of the work by the character to whom Rodríguez directs his letter, the Franciscan Medina, who would have appreciated the "inner" meaning represented by the scholastic figure. Since Syndéresis also asks for a recounting of Siervo's adventures, she also symbolizes Medina, who demanded a recounting of the caso in writing at the work's beginning.

We have tried to demonstrate that throughout this discussion of the narratio the description of Siervo's mental state is influenced by oral habits of thought and expression through the personification and vocality of the inner forces that operate in a world dependent on the spoken word. The narratio makes up the largest portion of the letter to Medina and continues implicitly to the end of Siervo with the arrival of Syndéresis.

The narratio and petitio (reversed in Siervo) are

usually followed with a conclusio according to the ars dictaminis tradition. Siervo does not contain a conclusio which suggests that Rodríguez is incorporating other textual models as well. Given his association with the Franciscan order he also appears to be following the ars praedicandi tradition as mentioned previously. We should remember that since both preaching and letter writing developed during the Middle Ages from the rhetorical arts, they share similar features corresponding to the oration. Since sermons are naturally destined for oral transmission and reception, its inclusion here adds another dimension of orality to Siervo. The following analysis will illustrate how Siervo employs a sermonic structure and the type of audience to whom it is directed.

The sermonic prologue functions like the salutatio and captatio of the letter to secure the goodwill of the audience. In a sermon, a divisio usually consisting of three parts follows the prologue. In the case of Siervo, the divisio corresponds to the "Primer título" addressed to a general audience that explains the tri-partite structure of the work. The sermon contains proofs that cite multiple authorities. This is evident in Entendimiento's speech to the protagonist which lists a series of quotations from Virgil and Ovid. Stories are also told as a form of proof in sermons, and exempla are recommended "so that the learned may savor the profundity of the allegory while the humble may profit from the lightness of the story" (Murphy 313). The interpolated "Estoria" as exemplum would provide both

entertainment and instruction for two types of audiences, the general one addressed in the "Primer título" and the more learned public represented by the letter to Gonçalo de Medina. The sermon's conclusion usually consists of a recapitulation or an exhortation. In Siervo the demand by Syndéresis of a recounting by the protagonist of his adventures serves as a recapitulation that begins the memory process for listeners or readers. It is clear that Rodríguez drew on both the arts of letter writing and the arts of preaching in the composition of his text in order to appeal to two types of audience, a learned audience who would appreciate a deeper meaning represented by Medina, and an audience who demands to be entertained. Whereas the letter in the text appears to be directed to Medina, the sermon-like discourse includes a wider listening audience.

In addition to the ars dictaminis and ars praedicandi, both Andrachuk and Gerli have linked Siervo with penitential traditions. A knowledge of the parallels with penitential writings has brought to light possible autobiographical elements in Siervo. The term siervo libre meant "the requisite state of voluntary contrition for novices seeking to take final religious vows" (Gerli "Penitential" 94). Since it is known that the author Rodríguez was about to or had just taken final vows near the date of composition of Siervo, the work could be viewed as a type of written confession to Medina following the protagonist's oral confession given to Syndéresis. Also the penitential manual Breve confessionaris in discussing pilgrimages to Jerusalem

calls for personal authorization from a superior (Gerli 95). Rodríguez could be seeking personal authorization from his superior Medina and then symbolically at the end of the work from Syndéresis. In addition, the appearance of Syndéresis and the ship at the end of the work might symbolize a spiritual voyage to Jerusalem. Gerli imports the presence of penitential traditions to Siervo's autobiographical element: "...in this view, would be both a confession and an obligatory reassurance to Medina that the author, whose moral liberty to take vows needed to be openly declared, was indeed free to become a religious" (95). We will now turn to a brief discussion of the possibilities of regarding Siervo as an oral or written confession.

The letter to Medina resembles a written confession since Rodríguez-protagonist says he must provide an answer about a certain caso. Although oral confession was widely recommended, written confessions were common until they were forbidden by the Council of Trent (Gerli "Penitential" 96).[11] In spite of being written, Rodríguez's confession in Siervo retains an oral flavor due to the use of oral-rhetorical strategies of the ars dictaminis and ars praedicandi associated with spoken language. In addition, the use of confession functions as part of Rodríguez's narrative strategy in order to integrate the interpolated "Estoria" into the work. The pretext of including the tale of Ardanlier and Liessa as an exemplum in order to emphasize the protagonist's sincerity serves to blend both frame story and "Estoria" narratives into the textual fabric of the

work.

In sum, an evaluation of the above frame story has shown that there were a number of textual traditions adapted by Rodríguez in the composition of Siervo. The traditions of the ars dictaminis and ars praedicandi were destined for a listening audience, while penitential traditions included both oral and written confession. Even the protagonist's psychological state although based in textuality has been described as a noisy dialogue where personified figures interact and argue among themselves in a world where thought is far from silent. The convergence of orality and textuality in the frame story is highly complex and, as this analysis of the frame story has demonstrated, accomplishes the task of delighting and teaching not only a general public but the more demanding Medina.

"Estoria de dos amadores"

An examination of the intercalated love story "Estoria de dos amadores" reveals a convergence of sources with close ties to orality. Rather than a web of textual models from academic and religious sources seen in the frame story, orality is underscored in the "Estoria" through popular sources and oral narrative devices as well as through acts of commemoration. The commemorative nature of the intercalated love story is suggested immediately by the epithet "al digno de perpetua membrança Ardanliel" even before the rubric that frames the tale: "Comiença la estoria de dos amadores: los quales el dicho Joan Rodrígues reçita al su propósito" (84). The use of the verb "reçita" alludes

to the status of the tale as inherited from oral narrative. Thus the "Estoria's" beginning refers to an act of oral story telling whose authority is based on the experience of the lovers and whose plot is woven from oral narrative elements (folk motifs, legends, popular rituals and festivals, symbolic objects and colors) through a process of memorative composition.

This part of the chapter will illustrate the basis of the "Estoria" as rooted in popular orality in contrast to the academic orality of the frame story. We will first study the question of the creation of the "Estoria" from an act of memorative composition. Next, a plot summary will be provided followed by an analysis of oral narrative and popular elements found in the "Estoria" that will demonstrate that the principal plot combines elements of popular narrative traditions with the tragic story of Inés de Castro. The debt to oral narrative will be emphasized further through the identification of narrative elements regularly found in oral tradition. One such oral narrative element is the folk motif, also called theme, that is a type of narrative formula helpful in identifying popular sources or transcultural themes. Later in the section of the chapter treating the unity of frame story and "Estoria," the other prominent narrative element from oral tradition, the epithet, will be considered. Epithets are extremely numerous in both the "Estoria" and the frame story and represent an important oral element in Siervo.

The "Estoria's" beginning is not as clear cut as the

introductory rubrics might suggest. Rather the creation of the "Estoria" entails a transformation of consciousness as the desperate protagonist suddenly recalls the lover Ardanlier just before the appearance of the rubrics announcing that Rodríguez Auctor will recite the love story. It is evident in the introduction following the rubrics "Aquí acaba la novella" formally ending the "Estoria," that the interpolated tale originates from the protagonist's act of deep contemplation: "Complida la fabla que pasado entre mí . . . desperté como de vn graue sueño" (107). Although some might interpret the "Estoria" as a dream, the above quote indicates that it is "like a dream" and reveals that the "Estoria" originated orally as a dialogue carried on by the protagonist with himself: "entre mí." The description of the act of deep concentration combined with spoken dialogue describes the compositional technique outlined in rhetorical manuals and can be termed memorative or rhapsodic composition, "not as an act of writing, it is rumination, a listening and a dialogue, a 'gathering' of voices from their several places in memory" (Carruthers 197). The contemplation or "grave sueño" of the protagonist calls to mind the process of inventio which is the first step in composition. An important aspect of inventio is the emphasis given to the emotional impact of the material in order to make an impression on the mind (soul). The protagonist's own perturbed situation becomes the creative impetus or strong impression for the formation of the "Estoria." The substantial number of folk motifs and epithets in the

"Estoria" support its creation from an act of memorative composition. Previous studies on oral-formulaic and rhetorical compositional practices substantiate the view that memorative composition figured in the creation of the "Estoria" since they have demonstrated how smaller syntactic units of stock themes and formulas are woven together in the creation of larger narrative compositions (Parry; Lord; Ong; Yates).

The composition that originates from the protagonist's mental reflections is the intercalated tale called "Estoria de dos amadores." The "Estoria" concerns two lovers, Ardanlier and Liessa, whose parents are opposed to their love. The lovers flee with two loyal servants and journey to the courts of Europe where Ardanlier displays his knightly prowess and loyalty to the beautiful Liessa. Ardanlier's loyalty to Liessa does not prevent Yrena, the daughter of the king of France, from falling in love with him. Yrena vows eternal devotion and gives Ardanlier a key, symbol of her servitude to him.

After years of travelling in the performance of chivalric deeds, Ardanlier and Liessa build an underground palace in the hills of Galicia where they live happily. Meanwhile, King Croes, Ardanlier's father, has been searching for his son all these years. One day King Croes discovers the secret palace and encounters only Liessa and the loyal servant Lamidoras who are awaiting the return of Ardanlier. Despite the pleading of Liessa that he spare her life for the sake of her unborn child, King Croes kills them

by piercing her belly with his sword, an act witnessed only by the loyal servant Lamidoras. King Croes leaves the sword as a sign of his visit in order that Ardanlier know who killed Liessa.

After learning of the tragic event from Lamidoras, Ardanlier writes a farewell letter to Yrena and then commits suicide with the same sword his father had used to kill Liessa. Lamidoras carries the sad news and Ardanlier's letter to Yrena, who decides to establish a shrine in honor of the lovers which soon becomes a pilgrimage dedicated to not Venus but Vesta. A devoted Yrena acts as priestess of the shrine doing penance for the sake of Ardanlier's suicidal death. After she and Lamidoras die they are buried in corresponding outer chambers of the shrine leading to the inner rooms that house the tombs of the lovers. The shrine becomes a magical test, (commonly found in chivalric literature), in that only the truest lover can penetrate the outer chambers to reach Ardanlier's and Liessa's tomb. Many try to enter the inner rooms where Ardanlier and Liessa lie but it is not until Macías, the Galahad of love arrives and succeeds, that the spell is broken (Dudley 120). After Macías breaks the spell, the shrine magically opens itself three days of the year: May 1, June 24 and July 25. At this point the "Estoria" formally ends with the rubric "Aquí acaba la novella."

The plot summary given above contains elements typical of a tragic fairy tale. In essence, the skeletal frame of the "Estoria" descends from folklore, originating from a

folk tale analogous to a story in the oriental One Thousand and One Nights (Lida de Malkiel Estudios 110). The oriental tale did not influence the "Estoria" directly but was diffused through the thirteenth-century French prose Vie de Merlín[12] which ends on a happier note. The tragic denouement of the "Estoria" originated from another source, the incorporation of the Inés de Castro legend into the happy ending of the French tale (111-12). Rodríguez probably utilized the tale found in the French Vie de Merlín[13] adding the tragic story of Inés de Castro, killed in 1355 by Alfonso IV of Portugal, father of her prince lover (111).[14] Similar to Liessa who begs for the life of her unborn child, Inés had sought mercy by showing the king her children. The Inés de Castro legend is augmented through a visual relief of her story ordered by her royal lover at Santa María de Alcobaza (112). The visual relief of her legend is probably the inspiration for the lovers' richly decorated tombs in the Siervo.

Along with oral tales and legends, the "Estoria" and the Siervo are possibly linked with the romancero, an oral poetic form. Lida de Malkiel provides evidence that Rodríguez del Padrón had elaborated three romances or Spanish ballads, El conde Arnaldos, La hija de Francia and Rosaflorinda (Estudios 31-33). There are analogous themes and motifs in Siervo and Lida de Malkiel notes the correlation with the ballads:

> En segundo lugar, es notable que se atribuya al autor de la primera novela caballeresca-sentimental, no tres romances cualesquiera...sino caballerescos, y no de los

> ciclos caballerescos clásicos, por así decirlo, como los artúricos o carolingios, sino de ficción sentimental libre con vago fondo caballeresco, lo que concuerda muy sutilmente con el modo de la Estoria de dos amadores. (32n10)

In addition to the above comments on the possible influence of the ballads on Siervo is the strong parallel between El Conde Arnaldos and the sentimental work. Conde Arnaldos arrives at the shore and watches the approach of a mysterious ship on the day of San Juan, June 24. Similarly, in the last scene of Siervo, the protagonist watches an approaching boat coming towards the shore. The allusion to the ballad Conde Arnaldos could be another undertone to the arrival of the mysterious ship that brings Syndéresis.

In addition to employing oral poetic forms like the ballad and past legends such as the Inés de Castro story for the plot of the "Estoria," Rodríguez uses oral tradition to authenticate the legendary status of his tale. He tells how after the lovers had died the birds, horses and dogs became wild and are now seen inhabiting the areas surrounding the underground shrine. Eyewitness testimony to the fate of the animals both historicizes the overall events of the "Estoria" and makes them legendary. The best example of how Rodríguez provides two contradictory versions based on hearsay is the description of the fate of Ardanlier's horses and hunting dogs:

> En testimonio de lo cual, oy día se fallan cauallos saluajes de aquella raça en los montes de Teayo, de Miranda y de Bujan, donde es la flor de los monteros, ventores, sahuesos de la pequeña Françia, los cuales affyrman venir de la casta de los treze que quedaron de Ardanlyer. Otros, por lo contrario, dizen que los treze canes, vyendo fallyr el su obedeçido señor, çercaron de

> todas partes las dos tumbas rricas, donde jamás no los pudieron partyr; e falleçidos del spíritu, los cuerpos no sensibles mudáronse en fynas piedras, cada vno tornándose en su cantidat, vista y color, e tan propia figura, que ynfinitos el día de la grand perdonança, veyéndolos en çerco de los altos sepulchros, verdaderamente los affyrman beuir. (106)

The use of oral testimony and its geographical specificity as exemplified in the above citation authenticates the anecdote's historical veracity while the presence of two contradictory reports, one of which is fantastic, adds a mythic or legendary dimension to the "Estoria."

A number of other anecdotes occur within the "Estoria" that historicize and thus contribute to the illusion of reality while at the same time attributing a fantastic quality to the events. Rodríguez as author emphasizes oral history by attributing the foundation of the port city of Margadán, "oy día llamada Padrón" (100) to the popularity of the lovers' shrine as a pilgrimage site. Another anecdote concerns the history of the change of color of the heraldic eagle of the Emperor's coat of arms from gold to black. When the news of the deaths of the two lovers reaches the Emperor at Cologne, in his grief he has the eagle changed from gold to black: "puesto el estrado de luto, mostrança de la grand tristeza, hizo teñir delante sus armas el águila negra, segund que es oy día, que antes dorada ardía en llamas" (98). In elevating the shrine to a site of pilgrimage in one instance, and the affect of the deaths of the lovers on a European coat of arms in another, Rodríguez intertwines the Galician tale of love with European folk tale, consequently elevating Rodríguez's story to an import beyond Spain's

borders. On both national and international levels, the "Estoria" as legend is affirmed.

The transformation of the golden eagle of the Emperor's coat of arms permits us to turn to the significance of color words and physical objects in both the "Estoria" and the frame story. The use of colors and physical objects in oral narratives are potent verbal stimuli for listening audiences. Colors and physical objects are strong symbols that carry extra-textual meanings and imagery into the story. Although Dudley has studied the significant role of color and its transformations in reflecting moods or feelings in Siervo, (119-20) a few examples of colorful imagery and physical objects will demonstrate their verbal power as an aid to visualization and conveyance of meaning for a listening audience. For instance, it is the first of May when Lamidoras brings the sad news of the lovers' death to the brightly dressed court at Paris. The news triggers a change of dress to the colors of mourning, accompanied by a verbal description that indicates the shock and grief felt by those who knew Ardanlier and Liessa (96). In another description, the union of the two lovers is symbolized by the depiction of the combination of Ardanlier's and Liessa's coat of arms wrought by Yrena and engraved on the lovers' sepulchre. Both the heraldic images and colors are described: "de la una parte releuando el escudo, mostrante en su verde campo la honça dorada, con el rey de las fieras, antigua deuisa: la honça de lira, en campo enir o azul y el de Mondoya, juntas las armas de Arndalier y Lyessa." (101).

A further example is the colorful image evoked by the legend of the hunting dogs who are turned into stone: "cada uno tornándose en su cantidat, vista y color" (106).

The emphasis on color also occurs in the frame story. In the "Primera parte" the three paths are described by three trees that are associated with color: "el tiempo que bien amo y fue amado" is the "verde arrayhan" or myrtle that carries white flowers; "el tiempo que bien amó y fue desamado" is the "árbor de parayso" or "álamo blanco" the white poplar; and "el tiempo que no amó ni fue amado" the "verde oliua" or green olive. Also, Syndéresis, "la antigua dueña" and her "hijas" who arrive by ship at the end of the text are dressed in black as a sign of mourning for the dead lovers and as a symbol of the state of contrition in which the protagonist finds himself after "hearing" the intercalated tale and deciding that he will not choose the path of desperation.

The visual stimuli provided by the use of color words served more than a descriptive purpose but helped create further meaning for the audience. The transformation to black, the color of mourning and contrition, expressly unifies the frame and "Estoria." Another important color leads us to consider the symbolism behind the bloody sword.

Although not referred to explicitly, the color red is implicit in the image of the sword stained with Liessa's blood. The bloody sword is a potent symbol of violence and the old sense of feudal justice of oral society. It has long been a strong symbol of oral justice (Clancy 203-07, 234) as

well as being a frequent motif in oral genres like the epic and ballad. Within the "Estoria," the sword is the instrument by which King Croes metes out Liessa's punishment for taking his son away. It is also employed as proof of Lamidoras's innocence, left by King Croes in the underground palace as a sign to Ardanlier that Croes, and not the loyal servant Lamidoras, had caused Liessa's death. Ardanlier uses his father's sword for his own death, passing sentence upon himself he declares: "porque los dos partesanos de la vida del plazer devan juntamente moryr, e padecer" (94). Later when Lamidoras leaves the sword in the center of the lovers' graves after their burial, the sword is transformed into a memorial sign as a visual indicator of the lovers' sad fates: "por medio dellos la espada sangrienta" (96). Thus within the "Estoria," the sword both dispenses justice and acts as visual proof of both guilt and innocence. Lastly it becomes a memorial sign of the lovers' fate in an oral world where such signs are more potent than words.

The second important physical object in the "Estoria" is the key which Yrena gives to Ardanlier as a sign of her servitude. The key serves another function later in the story when Ardanlier requests that Lamidoras return the key accompanied with Ardanlier's letter to Yrena. The return of the key symbolizes the release of Yrena from further devotion to Ardanlier and it also represents a powerful form of testimony to Yrena regarding the authenticity of the letter. As Michael Clanchy has shown, until writing could stand on its own authority, physical objects authenticated

the validity of the written document. Similarly, the power of the physical sign represented by the returned key provides Yrena with the affirmation of Ardanlier's death and the authenticity of his letter.

As we have seen, the "Estoria" is compiled from a combination of legends and ballads from oral tradition and contains verbal descriptions of color words and physical symbols evoking strong visual images. Along with the incorporation of stories and symbols, we have indicated the manner in which the "Estoria" achieves legendary status by means of the inclusion of contradictory oral anecdotes that take place in Rodríguez del Padrón's native Galicia. We will now turn to a discussion of folk motifs, oral narrative elements that contribute to the legendary status of the "Estoria" and which make up a large portion of the plot.

One of the most common oral narrative elements of the "Estoria" is the folk motif. Many folk motifs found in Siervo are listed in Thompson's index, a sign of the popular substructure of the "Estoria."[15] We will indicate some of the folk motifs and their functions below in order to demonstrate the popular and oral foundation of the "Estoria." The following list of folk motifs as they are indexed by Thompson and their function will serve to demonstrate their pervasiveness in the intercalated "Estoria." R213 "Escape from home," indicates the first plot movement as Ardanlier and Liessa take flight. F721.5 "Subterranean castle," F771ff "Extraordinary palace," and F771.3.5 "Underground house," mark the folkloric basis of

the palace. Ardanlier's hunting dogs are recognized in motif B121.1.1 "Infallible hunting dogs" and move the plot towards the tragic murder: B151.1.6 "Dogs indicate road to be taken." The motifs concerning punishments: Q553.4 "Death of children as punishment" and S115 "Murder by stabbing" illustrate Liessa's death. Other motifs advance the story: Ardanlier upon finding Liessa dead, accuses Lamidoras, K2116 "Innocent person accused of murder;" Ardanlier's death: N343.4 "Lover commits suicide on finding beloved dead;" and T86 Lovers are buried in same grave." Relationships are described by motifs: that of Lamidoras and Ardanlier, P311.8 "Friendship between a prince and a common man" and Ardanlier, Liessa and Yrena: T92.1 "Triangle plot and its solutions." The impenetration of the tomb after Yrena and Lamidoras die: D1148 "Magic tomb" and K315.0.1 "Underground passage gives entrance to closed chamber" until Macías disenchants it. The transformation of Ardanlier's hunting dogs is found in popular tradition as well: D435.1.1 "Transformation: statue comes to life," D422.2.3 "Dog to statue" and B292.8 "Dogs as guardian of treasure." The sheer quantity of motifs evident in the above list reinforces the relevance of popular traditions in the creation of the "Estoria."

The presence of certain motifs in the "Estoria" indicate popular rituals and festival days and are associated with the tomb of Ardanlier and Liessa. The association of popular and religious festivals with the lovers' shrine unites both sacred and secular love in the

"Estoria." The three particular days when the tomb opens are related to popular celebrations. May 1 is a special day in popular poetry as the tradition of the "Mayas" (May Queens) and originally was a tradition in honor of Aphrodite, the goddess of love, listed as Thompson's motif V70.1.1 "Festival of Beltane (May Day). This feast of the first of May recalls the Galician-portuguese lyric tradition dedicated to "Mayas." The other days when the tomb opens are June 24, the feast of San Juan, a day for lovers and magic, and July 25 the feast of Santiago, or St. James, patron of Galicia. The opening of the shrine on this day links the secular and sacred pilgrimage centers. The ritualistic opening of the tombs on three feast days associated with ancient and popular fertility and religious celebrations also heightens the commemorative function of the "Estoria." The association of popular celebrations with both pagan and religious references contributes to a fusion of the secular and sacred evident throughout the work.[16]

Folk motifs although fewer in number can also be identified in the autobiographical frame story: Z71.1 "Formulistic number 3" and N122.0.1 "The choice of roads (three roads)" is a main structural element of Siervo. The mythological allusions fall under A151 "Elysium-home of the gods/earthly paradise," A220 "Sun god Apollo," A443 "God of wild beasts/Diana" and F10 "Journey to terrestrial underworlds." The formulistic use of numbers is evident in both the autobiographical frame and the "Estoria." Z71.2.0.1 "Formulistic number four" relates to the lover's fourth

circle where the protagonist will not be admitted and the four precious stones Yrena orders on the sepulchers "quatro virtuosas piedras" (101) while Z71.9 "Formulistic number thirteen" is the number of Ardanlier's hunting dogs.

The study and identification of folk motifs in the "Estoria" has tried to show that not only are they essential components of the plot but that they reveal a debt to oral and popular traditions rather than to textual traditions associated with the frame story. The written word couched in the letter to Medina inscribes the protagonist's lost love while the spoken word recited by Rodríguez celebrates the lyrical and magical qualities endowed in creating a legendary love story.

Despite the gulf that appears to divide the rather dogmatic autobiographical frame story from the third person narration of a tragic but magical love, there are elements related to orality (such as the use of epithets and formulaic repetitions and key phrases), and to textuality, (exchanges of letters besides that of Medina), that unite the two seemingly disparate parts of Siervo. These elements that serve to unify the frame story and "Estoria" will be treated in the following discussion.

Unity of the Work: Orality and Textuality

Siervo libre de amor is highly oral in a way that differs from later sentimental fiction. Even a cursory examination of Siervo indicates an extremely high quantity of epithets, defined as "standard or expected qualifiers or substitutes for given nouns" (Ong Interfaces 181). The

epithets far outnumber those found in the romances of Juan de Flores and Diego de San Pedro. It should be kept in mind that epithets and other formulaic phrases were functional devices for knowledge storage and retrieval in cultures with little or no writing and their appearance in written works is a form of residual orality (Rhetoric 42-43; Interfaces 189-212). The large number of epithets in Siervo is startling and is not limited to the orally infused "Estoria" where they would be expected, but are found throughout the work and serve several different functions within the text. The following examples of epithets and their purpose will illustrate their abundance in Siervo.

A great number of epithets serve to intensify a given emotion or mood ("peligrosa demanda" "amoroso y ledo silencio" "cruel espada" "tenebroso valle"). Others are used to describe the particular qualities of a character or place ("la sabia Julia," "plazible Ardanlier," "plazentera Liessa," "peligroso passo," "brioso caballo") or to reinforce inherent qualities ("aluo cristal" "fiero salvaje" "brauo león" "fieras animales brutas").

Many become standard epithets in that the same adjective is repeatedly identified with a particular person ("gentil Liessa," "fiel ayo," "alto Cupido," "la pequeña Francia") or thing ("antiga cibdad" "secreta llave" "secreto palacio"). Others substitute for the noun: Lamidoras is "fiel ayo" and "el no desconocido ayo del famoso Ardanlier;" Ardanlier is "el descuydado montero;" the sword is "la sangrienta vengadora de su voluntat;" or hunting is "el arte

plazible de los cazadores." Other epithets are employed in place of more analytical explanations, such as the use of the epithet "ofendido ayo" which serves to underscore the long and affectionate relationship between Ardanlier and Lamidoras and to illustrate that Ardanlier had gravely offended his ancient teacher by accusing him of Liessa's murder. The "secreta llave" not only suggests the key as a sign of Yrena's love for Ardanlier, but that this relationship is kept hidden. Some epithets are used antithetically such as those used to express the body-soul dichotomy: "pasando las ligeras ánimas, syn los graues cuerpos...que dexes el pesado cuerpo que no sufre la ligera naue" (79; emphasis added).

A particular type of epithet is more prevalent in the autobiographical frame story and is known as the epithet of literary allusion (Ong Interfaces 201). They are epithets because they are predictable but they are also anti-epithets because:

> ...for effectiveness they demand not a listener but a trained reader with a store of information and a disposition to bookish attention which contrasts with the free-flowing, easy, though skilled, spontaneity governing transactions in the kinds of epithets more frequently emerging in the oral tradition...they are "cool" epithets, epithets of low definition, calling for interpretation by the receiver, whereas "stately tree" or "forked tree" are "hot," conveying their message instantly and insistently, without intensive input from the listener. (Ong Interfaces 201-01)

An educated reader like Medina would possess the interpretive skills necessary to appreciate "cool" epithets. Some examples of cool epithets in Siervo are "el muy esclareçido hijo de Vulcan," (73) "la incontinente Fedra,"

"ynoçente Ypólito," "la sabia Sebilla" (78) or "el anciano Caron, (79) "triste Ysyón," (79-80) "el pobre Ysyon," and "al viejo hambriento Tántaro (80). Even though not all modified nouns function as epithets in accordance with the above definition, enough do to indicate an economy of language that can be traced back to the exigencies of oral habits of thought. It is notable that the noun modified by at least one or more adjectives in a prefixal position is the major stylistic feature of Rodríguez's prose since very few nouns go unmodified.

Besides epithets, there are various formulaic and repetitive phrases that serve to unify the autobiographical and third person narratives. The repetition and slight variation of a phrase serves to guide a listening audience into making the correct associations within the text. A few examples will be given in order to illustrate how formulaic phrases appear and then later reappear in the text in order to guide the listeners/readers through the complex transformations of characters and topics. One such transformation is the "caso" or matter that undergoes several changes within the work. Initially the "muy agria relación del caso" (67) appears to be the matter of the protagonist's failed love affair in the letter to Medina. But in the "Estoria" the "caso" signifies the deaths of Ardanlier and Liessa described by Ardanlier in his final letter to Yrena as "la muy agra relaçión" (94) and a few lines later by the Auctor (as the narrator of the "Estoria" is called) as the "triste caso" (95). The repetitive but

slightly varying representations of the "caso" serve to fuse both narratives by superimposing the protagonist's "caso" of his love affair with the tragic "caso" of the death of the loyal lovers.

Another example of repetitive phrases concerns the description of the disloyal messenger of the autobiographical frame as "al piadoso maestro de Nero, inuentor de crueldades" (73) that is later used with reference to King Croes as "Croes, segundo Nero, actor de las crueldades" (92). The Nero epithet links the two narratives by equating the disloyal messenger with King Croes. It also functions as an affective device that raises sympathy for the protagonist as a victim of the disloyal messenger.

A very important repetition and variation pattern concerns Yrena and Syndéresis who are coupled by the similarity in the arrival of both women by ship and dressed in mourning. Yrena has come to take the place of Venus, goddess of sexual love, as a priestess of Vesta, goddess of Chastity. Similarly, Syndéresis arrives ostensibly to take the place of human love completely and lead the protagonist to God's love. The parallel between the two is evident by the narrator's description of the arrivals. Significantly, this is the only moment in the "Estoria" that Auctor, the narrator, lapses into the first person, as if he were personally there to meet Yrena's ship: "he aquí Yrena....E hecha la deuida salua, en rrecuentas de las aventuras, desçendieron al nuevo templo de la deesa Vesta" (101). In

analogous fashion, the protagonist of the frame story personally greets Syndéresis upon her arrival: "después de la salua, vyno en demanda de mis aventuras; e yo esso mesmo en rrecuenta de aquéllas" (112). The repetition with variation of key phrases helps the audience make the correct parallels between the characters. Yrena is a type of secular Syndéresis. The above examples have shown that formulaic and repetitive phrases occur with slight variations and guide the listening audience towards connecting the various elements of the double plot structure.

In addition to the above oral elements of epithets and formulaic or repetitive phrases that link the frame and "Estoria" narratives together, textuality also unites the two sections through the exchange of letters. The first letter, from Rodríguez to Medina, was addressed earlier in the chapter and extends to Siervo's end. A second letter, Ardanlier's farewell to Yrena, parallels the letter to Medina. Besides the protagonist's letter to Medina and Ardanlier's to Yrena, the only other letter whose contents we are allowed to read is the Emperor's letter of challenge to King Croes in the "Estoria." There is also mention of a letter from the protagonist's Lady to Medina as well as Medina's letter to the protagonist. As the following discussion will show, the presence of a number of letters, even those whose contents are never revealed, are very important as a way of linking and blending both autobiographical frame and "Estoria" narratives together.

A comparison of Rodríguez-protagonist's letter to

Medina and Ardanlier's final epistle to Yrena indicates similarities that unite the frame and "Estoria" narratives. Along with the similarity in letter format, the salutatio, captatio, narratio etc., there are parallels which help identify the protagonist with Ardanlier who professes a pure love for Yrena and a further comparison which identifies Yrena with Medina. Just as Medina receives the protagonist Rodríguez's confession that he is worthy to be a servant of God, Yrena receives Ardanlier's last letter containing the confession that he always loved her but kept it secret out of loyalty to Liessa. Both letters also relate a matter or "caso" as mentioned above. Another parallel between the protagonist and Ardanlier concerns the oath Ardanlier makes to the "deesa Minerua" that effectively links him with the third path of the frame story described as "la verde oliua, consagrada a la deesa Minerva (76) and which is the path that the protagonist will eventually take. The two letters thus encourage an identification between the protagonist with Ardanlier and Yrena with Medina.

In addition to the protagonist's letter to Medina and Ardanlier's last letter to Yrena, the frame story contains two other letters whose contents are kept from us. The protagonist tells us that Medina holds a letter from his Lady which we have not seen although the identity of the lady remains a mystery. The letter from Medina to the protagonist is also kept from us although we can surmise part of its contents: a request to have a certain matter explained and that Medina possesses a letter from the Lady.

The Lady's letter can only elicit questions. Has she perhaps complained to Medina of the protagonist, at present a loyal servant of Christ? The existence of this letter does point to the fact that the Lady is somehow still part of the protagonist's present narrative and not the past. Is she the implied reader, the ambiguous "Al yntimo y claro amor" he mentions as one of the reasons for writing? The presence in the work of poems directed toward the protagonist's Lady, especially the poem dealing with his bitter feelings ("Alegre del que vos viese" [82]) supports the conjecture that she is an implied reader. If so, this would explain the protagonist's insistence on loyalty in aligning himself with the human Macías on one level, while also implying a deeper spiritual interpretation of the work for Medina. Letters whether revealed or not unify frame story and love tale.

The union of the frame story and "Estoria" through both orality and textuality is further rendered through the use of memory that serves both a mnemonic and commemorative function. Since the role of memory has been alluded to throughout this chapter, it will be briefly summarized here as it, too, serves to unify the outer and inner narratives. As we have previously seen, the autobiographical frame story elaborates mnemonic devices suggested in <u>ars memoria</u> manuals by presenting the protagonist's psychological journey in terms of <u>loci</u> (three paths) and figural personifications of abstractions (Discreción, Libre Albedrío, Amor). Furthermore, the "Estoria" employs inscribed objects that act as powerful mnemonic symbols. The most memorable objects

are the bloody sword, a sign of oral justice, Yrena's secret key, a symbol of devotion, heraldic inscriptions on clothes and saddlery to denote the importance of nobility, and the inscribed sepulchre erected by Yrena, that indicates that the tragic event is worth memorializing. The monument erected to the dead lovers becomes a locus around which all the major elements are set that would provide an effective memorial for the story. Like the inscription on the tomb, the "Estoria" is consciously framed and the rubric "acaba la novella" explicitly limits its borders. Thus both the academic orality of the frame story and the popular orality of the intercalated "Estoria" rely on memorial acts and commemorative devices that would eventually unite in the individual memories of Siervo's listeners.

In conclusion, Grieve is correct in referring to Siervo as a work of fusion and linkage (Desire 22). The author avoids condemning human love but succeeds in affirming sacred love by uniting oral with textual traditions, mythic with historic, and pagan ritual with religion in the fusion of the two narratives.

Rodríguez del Padrón behind the protagonist and as Auctor of the "Estoria" not only narrates the tale but aligns himself with the legendary poet Macías to emphasize his loyalty to the service of love in both narratives. In the "Estoria" Rodríguez becomes a "guarda mayor de las dos sepulturas" (103) metaphorically and geographically linked to the monumental image of the "roca del Padrón" of Galicia. The use of Galicia enhances the legendary status of the

"Estoria," reinforced by the insertion of oral histories, magical transformations of enchanted caves and animals, and the Franciscan-like actions of animals and especially birds who surround the dead lovers and then pay homage to their tombs. The "Estoria" is the process by which a legend is created. Just as the protagonist legitimizes his own love story through aligning his personal loyalty to that of the characters of the "Estoria" particularly Ardanlier and the devout Yrena, the "Estoria" is validated as legend through elements originating in oral tradition such as the use of oral testimony, colors which bring to life moods and emotions for the audience, and concrete symbols that recall oral forms of justice such as the bloody sword.

Medina is also ingratiated as a member of this cult of love as "eguales en bien amar (67). By placing himself, Medina and Macías within the tale Rodríguez as protagonist reinforces his insistence in the captatio benevolentiae of the frame story that he had the best of human love and was its faithful servant. Having proven himself the faithful servant of human love by referring to himself in humble terms as a descendent of Macías: "yo siendo el menor" (106), Rodríguez as protagonist creates a parallel here with his earlier salutatio to Medina: "el menor de los dos amigos eguales en bien amor" (67) where he identifies himself as the lesser of the two religious in loving well, meaning presumably love of God. The ambiguous nature of "bien amar" and the analogous phrases dissolves any clear boundaries between the two narratives as well as between the two

literary personae of Rodríguez as protagonist of the frame story and Rodríguez as Auctor of the "Estoria."

The juxtaposition of the frame story with the "Estoria" is reconciled on the textual level of the "seso alegórico" designed for the intended reader Medina. In this way Rodríguez provides multiple interpretations loosely modelled on the interpretive levels of biblical exegesis[17]: the literal interpretation or "ruda letra" of his psychological struggle with passion and the embedded tale of tragic human love, are transformed allegorically into a mirror of Divine love, morally or tropologically turning from human loyalty to loyalty to God, and anagogically into the quest for God's saving grace towards the day of Glory. The historical level is espoused in the elevation of Galicia as legendary site of pilgrimage for both human and divine love.

Siervo libre de amor is the product of a residually oral society. Inner experience is still conceived of as an incessant dialogue although now the analysis of the psychological experience and use of texts made possible by writing combines with existing traditions in the creation of new forms of narrative. The inner battle fought among the protagonist's senses although originating in written allegorical and rhetorical traditions is agonistic and dialogic. The tensions caused by the struggle within the protagonist is released through the popular tale of Ardanlier and Liessa but produces ambiguity as to Rodríguez's denial or acceptance of human love. The answer, as in oral performance, lies outside the text, with each

member of Rodríguez's public who "hears" the work read.

Rodríguez del Padrón utilizes both the power of the written word and the power of the spoken word towards the same end, the fusion of experience with myth that satisfies his needs on the level of the "ruda letra" and the "seso alegórico." The autobiographical frame story, and the "Estoria" are ultimately unified on a structural level through the narration of the protagonist's psychological journey that acted as catalyst for the conception of the intercalated love tale. The "Estoria" in turn provides the protagonist with a means of reconciling tensions between the pedantic and the lyrical expressions of love through the common theme of loyalty. The work in a sense remains open-ended whether it is believed to be complete or not. Grieve comments that there is a sense of continuation in the work, not in more adventures, but in the countless retelling of the tale (22). Analogous to oral performance, it is the act of retelling that recreates the work. In Siervo the narrative act completes the fusion of the two tales of love.

Notes

1. All references to Siervo are from the edition prepared by Antonio Prieto unless otherwise noted.

2. Grieve (Desire 21) and Impey ("Ovid, Alfonso X" 291-94) discuss the importance of loyalty as a unifying theme for the total structure of Siervo.

3. Rodríguez adds two of his own epistles, Epístula de la Madreselva and Troylos a Breçayda to his translation of the Heroides. See Impey's "Ovid, Alfonso X" for a study on how Alfonso X's own translation of some of the letters of the Heroides influenced Rodríguez del Padrón and the Siervo.

4. For a discussion of the connections between Macías and Rodríguez del Padrón see Carlos Martínez-Barbeito, Macías el enamorado y Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, Biblioteca de Galicia, 4 (Santiago de Compostela: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Gallegos, 1951).

5. Andrachuk ("On the Missing") believes the missing third part would consist of the protagonist's repentance and Syndéresis inviting the virtues off the ship in order to lead him down the third path. According to Herrero, the "meeting with Syndéresis is, obviously, the beginning of the new way" as a prelude to the protagonist's taking vows in a religious order (764).

6. As a reminder from chapter one, "For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to note that rithmus attempts to introduce into certain kinds of prose some of the compositional principles usually employed in writing verse" (Murphy 161).

7. Cátedra also views the "Título" as the intention of the real author to distance himself from his protagonist-persona and create a universal or general context around the particular or individual experience (Amor 154).

8. The salutatio and the captatio benevolentiae serve the two purposes of the exordium of the Ciceronian oration (Murphy 225).

9. Many critics have viewed this as the beginning of the third phase of "not loving or being loved" (Cvitanovic 9). Dudley believes the "Aquí acaba la novella" refers to the ending of the main narrative and not the Estoria. But as Andrachuk has noted, Rodríguez refers to the main narrative as a Tratado so the term "novella" refers to the "Estoria" not the longer work ("On the Missing" 174).

10. I agree with Cátedra's reasoning: "Y que tras tal formulación late un escolasticismo franciscano más que dominico se percibe especialmente por el hecho de que también la doctrina franciscana de la sindéresis constituye el punto de partida de la concepción del fundamento de las virtudes, que en la epístola del 'Siervo libre de amor' son presididas en el gran barco que viene de alta mar por la dama Syndéresis" (Amor 149).

11. Deyermond notes that the privileging of oral over written confession is referred to in the Libro de buen amor: "Carnal makes a written confession, which the friar rejects, giving him a one-stanza sermon on the necessity of oral confession (v.1130)" ("The Sermon" 136).

12. Lida de Malkiel cites the Vie de Merlín from the edition of G. Paris and J. Ulrich, Merlin: Roman en prose du xiii siècle, 2 vols. (Sociéte des anciens textes français), Paris, 1866.

13. The Spanish Baladro del Sabio Merlín coincides more closely with the "Estoria" but the evidence presented by Lida de Malkiel suggests that it was probably influenced by the "Estoria" rather than the reverse (Estudios 110-11).

14. See Martin Nozick, "The Inés de Castro Theme in European Literature," Classical Literature 3 (1951): 330-41.

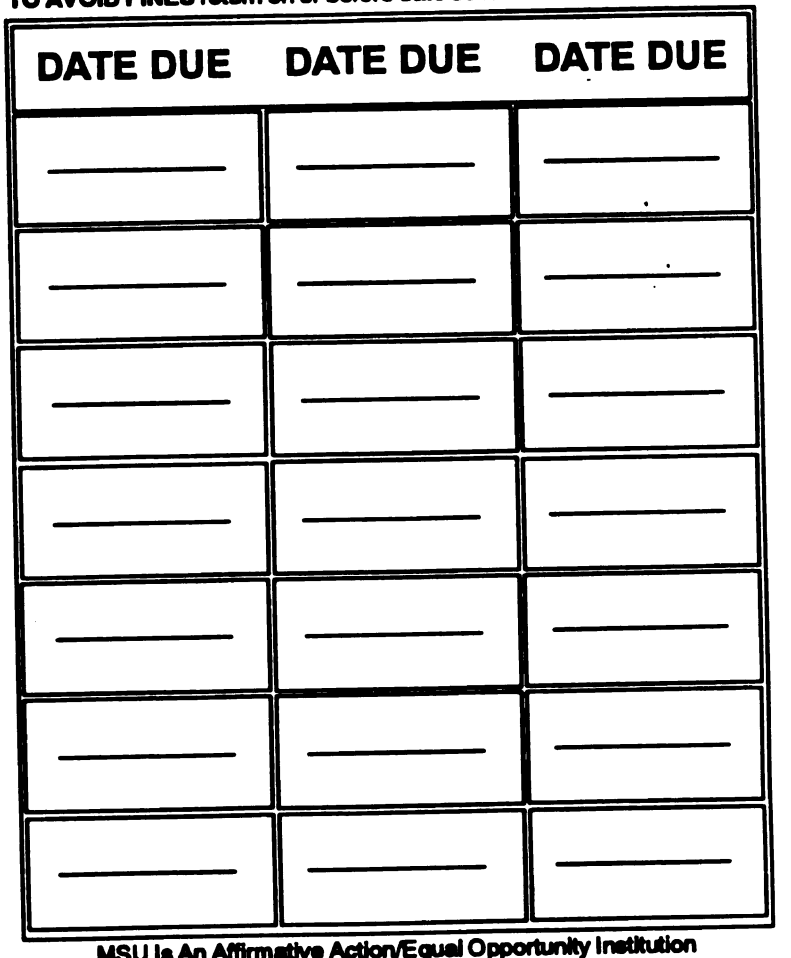
15. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Laura Tooker who kindly shared with me her careful research on folk motifs in Siervo.

16. Grieve has treated at length the function of the "Estoria" as a miracle narrative, associating Liessa (the name Liessa signifies alegría) with the cult of the Virgin of Laos (Desire 17). Another possible influence for the name Liessa might have been the Roman de la Rose: v. 729 dame Leece, v.831 a rhetorical portrait of Leece and v.10.455 that is an enumeration of personifications where leece appears (Lida de Malkiel Estudios 113n15, 143).

17. "There are four ways of interpreting Scripture; on them, as though on so many scrolls, each sacred page is rolled. The first is History, which speaks of actual events as they occurred; the second is Allegory, in which one thing stands for something else; the third is Tropology, or moral instruction, which treats of the ordering and arranging of one's life; and the last is Anagogy, or spiritual enlightenment, through which we who are about to treat of heavenly and lofty topics are led to a higher way of life" (Murphy 302).

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ORALITY AND TEXTUALITY IN THE SPANISH SENTIMENTAL ROMANCE

VOLUME II

By

Diane Marie Wright

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Chapter Four

Juan de Flores's Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa: Oral-Rhetorical Stalemates

Chapter four will evaluate the convergence of orality and textuality in Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa[1] two romances sentimentales by Juan de Flores.[2] Despite the emphasis on other texts, both Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa retain a high degree of oral residualism evident in an evaluation of their extant manuscripts and early printed editions, mixture of oral and textual sources, oral rhetorical style and structure and polemical tone.

Along with an analysis of oral and textual features, this chapter will underscore the performative quality and participatory nature of Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa demonstrating their close association with oral performance. Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa are performance texts in that they provide internal cues for appropriate gestures and sounds and invite active participation from their female destinataires and external listeners/readers.

As we will explore further on in the chapter, Flores's sentimental romances are works that reflect tensions between oral and written language. The oral polemical structure of Grisel y Mirabella explores dialectically the tensions between language and truth, love and justice, secret and public while Grimalte y Gradissa continues Giovanni

Boccaccio's Elegia di madonna Fiammetta (1340).[3] Flores's appropriation of the Fiammetta explores the effects of reading and writing as rhetorically and socially conceived actions, a primary function of reading in an orally residual culture. In both Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa violence is frequently the only avenue of resolution when communications fail. Acts of violence are often the result of rhetorical stalemates when a decision concerning the winners or losers of the numerous debates and polemical discussions in the works cannot be resolved.

Before turning to an evaluation of orality and textuality in Grisel y Mirabella and then in Grimalte y Gradissa, we will first present an overview of the life and works of Juan de Flores. Knowledge of the oral and textual formation of the writer (when known) behind a given text is helpful for an understanding of aspects of a work's composition and transmission.

Juan de Flores: Cronista, Pesquisador, Escritor

Juan de Flores, unlike his predecessor Rodríguez del Padrón, did not attempt to create a legend for himself. He preferred to enter the fictional world in a less obtrusive manner, obscuring his role as author through the guise of semi-omniscient narrator in Grisel y Mirabella and through his textually contrived transformation into the character Grimalte in Grimalte y Gradissa. Scholars have attempted to obtain information concerning the life of Flores but data on his life is almost as ambiguous and elusive as the authorial role he paints for himself in his works.

From the scant evidence provided in the prologues to his texts, it appears that Flores wrote his two sentimental works Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa and his third sui generis, Triunfo de amor for a small courtly feminine audience.[4] Although those for whom he wrote certainly knew him and once his works were printed in 1495 his fame grew, his personal life has remained a mystery. Not having achieved personal fame, Flores's position as author is closer to the oral world of anonymous storytellers than to that of more modern writers. Scant material has been gleaned from his literary works so that even today he remains an elusive figure.

Several people called Juan de Flores have been identified as living and working in fifteenth-century Spain but the difficulty has been in linking them to Juan de Flores writer of sentimental fiction. The little biographical information unearthed by Matulka in her thorough study of the works of Juan de Flores has only recently been amplified through the careful scholarship of Carmen Parrilla, Joseph Gwara, and Antonio Gargano.[5] Independently, they have pieced together certain aspects of Flores's life that connect him with courtly society.

Early registers and public documents list several Juan de Flores. One such Flores, whose name appears in the Registro general del sello, was a resident of Toledo and corregidor (royal administrator). He was accused of counterfeiting in 1477. In 1479 this Flores sought and obtained the position of pesquisidor (investigator or

magistrate) in Avila where he was subsequently accused of veniality (Parrilla Grimalte vii-viii). Despite accusations of wrongdoing he continued to hold positions of public service. According to various depositions after 1483, Flores performed a number of services. These depositions present him exercising the function of pesquisidor and place him in ever closer proximity to the royal court (ix). It is evident that a Flores performed his services with the confidence of the Catholic Monarchs when in 1503, according to the Archivo General de Simancas, "Gaspar de Flores hijo de Juan de Flores contino [member of the royal household] de mi casa" is named royal chaplain (x).

Flores has also been identified with a Juan de Flores who was named rector of the University of Salamanca according to the cartularies of the University.[6] This Flores served as rector in a transitional capacity for six months (Parrilla, "Un cronista" 126). His election was not without dissent given that a certain Juan Alonso de Peralta voted against Flores because "non queria elixir sinon letrado." It seems then that this Juan de Flores was not graduated in Law and therefore was not considered letrado (126).

The strongest evidence to date links Flores the writer with a Salmantine Flores, a chronicler of Ferdinand and Isabel who composed the Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos. A Flores, "fijo de Fernando de Flores, vesino de la çibdad de Salamanca" was named chronicler of Ferdinand and Isabel in Valladolid in 1476 (Parrilla "Un cronista"

131).[7]

The argument in favor of the same Flores as both writer of sentimental fiction and the Crónica incompleta is further strengthened by a comparison of the Crónica with other chronicles of the epoch and with Flores's sentimental works.[8] Gwara notes the literary character of the Crónica in comparison with other chronicles. The imagery, narrative devices, and subject matter are similar to that of Flores's fictional works ("The Identity" 110-11, 119-21). There are also stylistic and textual parallels between Flores's fiction and the Crónica incompleta (124-30). References to a Flores by name in subsequent writings support the hypothesis that the sentimental writer and salmantine chronicler are the same person.

Other elements further support the conjecture that Flores the writer and Flores the court chronicler of Salamanca are the same person. Flores the writer, similar to Flores the chronicler, is also interested in aspects of justice since it is one of the principal themes of both Grisel y Mirabella and Triunfo de amor. The Crónica incompleta lists individuals from Salamanca who were famous jurists such as Rodrigo Maldonado de Talavera.[9] The presence of salmantine individuals in the Crónica incompleta that are not found in other chronicles of the epoch strengthens the hypothesis that the Juan de Flores, temporary rector of Salamanca, was also the court chronicler (Parrilla "Un Cronista" 128). The presence of a musician named Alonso de Córdoba in Salamanca from 1480 on provides

further ties between the writer Flores and Salamanca since it is known that a certain Alonso de Córdoba wrote the poetry for Flores's Grimalte y Gradissa.

Gwara goes one step further and uncovers biographical information in the Crónica incompleta that reveals something of Flores's life. Some of the conclusions reached by Gwara indicate that Flores did not rely solely on prior literary models for the descriptions of events in his works but from his own personal observation ("The Identity concluded" 205). He seems to have travelled extensively and probably promoted Italian literary tastes in fifteenth-century Spain (208). The types of specific details Flores provides in his narration of certain historical events reveals his degree of personal participation. As mentioned above, several episodes of the Crónica incompleta indicate that he personally knew Alonso Maldonado, the vecino jurist of Salamanca and also indicate that Flores participated in small skirmishes during Isabel's war with Juana la Beltraneja (208-10).[10] Evidence found in the Crónica leads Gwara to believe that Flores the corregidor of Avila, the rector of Salamanca, and the cronista real are the same person as Flores the writer of sentimental fiction (214-17).

Given the above background information, we can conclude, although tentatively, that Juan de Flores, writer of sentimental romances, was a resident of Salamanca, influenced by the university environment, was temporary Rector of Salamanca, although his qualifications were not those of a letrado, and was closely involved in court life

as official chronicler of the Catholic Monarchs. If Flores the writer cannot definitively be linked to Flores the temporary rector of Salamanca or corregidor/pesquisidor, it is fairly certain that the chronicler Flores and the fiction writer Flores are one and the same person.

Grisel y Mirabella

Juan de Flores's Grisel y Mirabella (1495) is a literary creation dedicated to the service of courtly love as exemplified in Flores's subtitle: "Tractado compuesto por Juan de Flores a su amiga." As María Eugenia Lacarra has rightly noted, "Flores une en esta obra el servicio a la amada con el de escritor de ficción sentimental, al utilizar la escritura como vehículo de su empresa amorosa" ("Juan" 223). Lacarra recognizes the implicit contradiction between the destructive power of love that unfolds in the work and Flores's dedicatory prologue as mere scribe in the service of love. She proceeds to show that Flores's dedication to his "amiga" along with the presence of the literary characters Torrellas and Braçayda allow both internal and external readers to cross the line between reality and fiction.

Expanding on Lacarra's comments, the blurring of fiction and reality also helps readers and listeners adjust to the absent author. The use of dialogue and debate allows the external listeners/readers to imagine themselves a part of the fiction. In this way early writers like Flores included their audiences as participants in the text. As will be presented in the discussion of the work's reception,

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even the intended reader of Flores's work, his "amiga," appears to collaborate as an active creative force. Her role is contrary to that of the passive lady of courtly love poetry who receives homage through her patronage of her lover poet.

In Grisel y Mirabella, the union of courtly service, a lyrical enterprise of subjective motivations, with the act of writing produces a number of tensions between spoken and written forms of discourse that end in rhetorical standoffs whose resolution is only validated through violence. It will be shown through an analysis of the many debates in the work, that all attempts to find a solution through rhetorical means fail or lead to acts of violence. The series of verbal polemics in the work culminate in a disputation where Braçayda, a woman character from classical literature debates the misogynist poet Pere Torrellas in order to save the life of Mirabella. The debate between them gradually exposes the power of the written word and textual traditions of judicial process and rhetoric as decidedly in the hands of males, while women must rely on their untrained oral skills and their own form of justice in order to avenge themselves.

In sum, the following evaluation of Grisel y Mirabella will explore how oral and written modes of discourse feature in the concerns outlined above as well as examine other aspects of orality and textuality. We will begin by examining the extant manuscripts and early printed editions followed by an analysis of the convergence of oral and

textual sources. Next, the oral-rhetorical structure and style will be studied before turning to a presentation of the thematic concerns of love and justice affected by orality and textuality. Lastly, we will examine the role of the narrator and aspects of the work's reception that contribute to the work as a performance text. It is hoped that this investigation of orality and textuality in Grisel y Mirabella will lead to a deeper understanding of the oral-textual processes at work in its composition, transmission and reception.

The Physical Evidence: Extant Texts

The following study will demonstrate that oral and textual traditions have affected most features of the extant versions of Grisel y Mirabella. As will be shown, the surviving manuscripts and printed texts of Grisel y Mirabella, while not discounting silent reading, are in the realm of those texts read aloud, dramatically, in small groups. We should remember that vestiges of orality in the form of oral residue and acoustical interference help us determine the influence of the world of sound on early written texts.

Grisel y Mirabella was well received judging by the number of texts that survive. Three extant manuscripts of Grisel y Mirabella exist in varying states of preservation. One from the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville is fragmentary, another is a fragment from the Vatican Apostolic library in Rome[11] and the other is a sixteenth-century copy in the Trivulziana library in Milan, Italy. A number of printed

editions also are extant. The first is undated although it has been found to have been printed in 1495 in Lérida. Subsequent printings occurred in 1524, 1526 and 1529 (the 1524 and 1529 editions were printed by Jacob Cromberger in Seville).[12]

In spite of the number of texts, there is great variation among them that can be likened to the variety noted in oral performance. Like oral performers, scribes and printers freely emended texts (oral and written) in order to conform to their conception of the work albeit unconsciously perhaps. Gwara has studied the textual transmission of Grisel y Mirabella and has concluded that although the Columbina MS is based on an original version, the printed texts derive from a second revision of the work of which the Trivulziana MS is a corrupt witness (377).[13] Although both manuscripts confirm the readings of the printed editions (Deyermond "Notes...on Text" 108n10), there are emendations present that were made by Flores or the printer. The last line of the King's answer to the Queen's plea for mercy is not found in the two extant manuscripts: "y mi muerte si la quieres: yo la atorgo. mas biuo que ella biua es impossible" (Matulka 358). Deyermond suggests that the editor, either Flores or someone else may have desired a more dramatic ending ("Notes on Text" 109). He also suggests the lack of clarity of many phrases in the printed edition might be due to the changes made by an editor who perhaps was not sure of a meaning (109-10). The transference of manuscript to printed text corresponds to the general problems encountered

between various scribal copies of a work. The editor, like the scribe continues the tradition of re-creation common to oral societies in that material is constantly recycled to meet present needs. In much the same way, scribes and early editors viewed the text as a performance freely open to emendations of a creative, interpretive or stylistic character.

The first printed editions exemplify the variations found in oral performance and in manuscript transmission. The most significant changes between the first printed edition of 1495 and later ones are orthographic and involves visual or aural discrepancies. Some examples of variants show that por a in the 1495 edition became para in later editions. Other variants include: casa to causa, and quepa to queda. A few changes affect the subject, changing for example, a direct appeal in the original, a vos senyora, to the indirect a mi señora in a later text.

The textual history of early works was closely connected to the world of sound due to the interference of a writer's--or a scribe's--dialect in the composition or transmission of a written text. The acoustical interference from the scribe's own language as he copies the text may lead him to make spelling, semantic or syntactic changes thus altering the work in the process. This orality of early printed texts is evident in the orthography of Grisel y Mirabella and indicates Aragonese influence stemming from a scribe, Flores or an editor (the site of publication is Lérida, in Aragón). Some examples of aragonisms in the first

printed edition include: "al buen martil" (337) for "martir" or the aragonese "sta" for "esta" or "scusa" for "escusa." The presence of aragonisms indicates the initial diffusion and reception of Flores's works in the eastern portion of the peninsula. Other extra-linguistic factors such as the appearance of the Catalan poet Torrellas as a fictional character in Grisel y Mirabella confirm the possibility of eastern transmission. In Grimalte y Gradissa Flores's collaboration with Alonso de Córdoba (who has been connected to the Aragonese court of Juan II) also links this work to Aragon (Waley Grimalte lvi). In addition, the discovery of other versions in Italian libraries strengthens the hypothesis for an eastern diffusion of Flores's texts.

Other elements that link the written text to orality that are present in the manuscripts and printed editions of Grisel y Mirabella include word boundary confusion and punctuation that indicates breath marks and pauses. Variability in word separation and punctuation designed as a guide for speaking are elements clearly based on oral rather than written demands and might have guided oral, perhaps dramatic, readings of the text.

Having established the dependence of the manuscripts and printed editions on the world of both sound and ink, we will continue by considering the mixture of popular and learned sources, the oral expression of Flores's style, the debate structure, and the effects of orality and textuality on the major themes of love and justice that illustrate the influence of oral and written modes of communication on

Grisel y Mirabella.

A Fairytale Gone Awry

It will be useful to provide a brief plot summary of Grisel y Mirabella in order to illustrate the tensions upon which the work is built. The story begins much like a fairy tale. A king noted for exercising justice has a beautiful daughter, Mirabella, who is sole heir to his kingdom, Scotland. The King jealously delays her marriage which causes civil unrest in the kingdom. Many men die attempting to win Mirabella which leads the King to the decision to lock her away in a secret place. Unfortunately, two knights assigned to guard the princess both fall in love with her. Despite their great friendship, all communication between them eventually fails and the verbal joust over Mirabella disintegrates into a bloody battle that leaves Grisel (who opposed drawing lots over her) the winner, judicium dei style, of Mirabella's love. Unfortunately, the secret love affair that results between Grisel and Mirabella is discovered by Mirabella's servant who informs her lover, the Maestresala, who then reveals it to the King. The publication of the love affair is deadly for the lovers and the courtly love discourse, governed by its law of silence, is superseded by judicial discourse, which has its own laws. The lovers must answer to the famous ley de escocia: he or she "el que mas causa fuesse al otro de hauer amado: que padeciesse muerte: y el otro destyerro para toda su vida" (337-338). The King sets out to discover who is the guiltier party and the secret love between Grisel and Mirabella

becomes a hermeneutic key to the truth of the events. From this point on, the search to discover greater culpability in love becomes a centralizing force in the work. Both lovers generously profess to be the cause of love for the other and since neither will accuse the other, the King commands that they both be tortured in one another's presence in an attempt to unearth the truth of the matter.

Since the lovers refuse to cooperate, the King consults his council of wise men who find that they both are equally guilty of loving. According to the law one party must be found guilty so they suggest that a debate will argue the general principle, whether man or woman is most responsible for causing the other to love. The letrados admit their knowledge of law is greater than their knowledge of love, and they decide that Pere Torrellas (a fifteenth-century misogynist poet), famed as a detractor of woman, be brought from Spain to argue the men's side, while Braçayda (a literary personage from classical literature, known for her discretion and ability to deal with men) will defend that of the women. After a skillfully argued debate the twelve male judges decide that in matters of love women are guiltier then men, and Mirabella is condemned to be burned at the stake. The Queen attempts to convince the King to spare their only daughter but he refuses, prizing his fame as a just king over the life of Mirabella. Another act of judicium dei determines the course of events as Grisel suddenly sacrifices himself to the flames meant for Mirabella. She attempts to follow him but is held back by

the women. Unable to live without Grisel, she later jumps from a tower into a lion's den below.

The final pages of the work reverse the order of events as the women are seen creating their own form of justice in a ritual scene of torture and violence. Torrellas falls in love with Braçayda and writes her a letter proclaiming his devotion to her. He is later tricked by her into believing that she returns his affections, thus reinforcing his previous conviction that women are easily fooled by their own vicious natures. Unaware of the tragic fate in store, he makes no secret about his new conquest and gleefully boasts to the men. Unbeknownst to Torrellas, Braçayda with the Queen and other ladies have set a plan to avenge the death of Mirabella. When he arrives at the rendezvous with Braçayda, the women set upon him and take him to the Queen's chambers where he is bound and gagged. The night is then spent torturing him through both physical and verbal means. The women take time out to eat and drink and even offer Torrellas a meal composed of "maestresala." By morning, they burn his bones and keep his ashes as a remembrance of their night of vengeance.

Sources: Oral, Textual Convergence

It appears from the plot summarized above, that Flores may have borrowed for the outline of Grisel y Mirabella from Boccaccio, although the borrowing is not as explicit as it is in Grimalte y Gradissa where the Fiammetta is summarized in the prologue. Rather than the Fiammetta, Flores utilizes Boccaccio's Decameron, IV, I, the story of Guiscardus and

Sigismonda as a model for the main narrative thread of his tale.[14] There are many parallels between the Spanish and the Italian texts. Both Grisel y Mirabella and the story of Guiscardus and Sigismunda present daughters whose fathers keep them from marrying due to an excessive paternal love bordering on the incestuous. The fathers in both Flores's and Boccaccio's texts discover the secret affair, the lovers die and the daughters commit suicide.

However, there are many differences between the stories indicating that Flores did not strictly follow Boccaccio's tale. The number of differences between the works suggests perhaps that Flores used Boccaccio's tale as an outline, even based on his memory of it rather than directly utilizing a written text. Whereas in Boccaccio's story Prince Tancredi shows mercy and spares the life of his daughter (he has her lover Guiscardo killed), Mirabella's father is willing to have her put to death for the sake of his fame as a "just" king. In Boccaccio's version, Sigismonda, a young widow, actively pursues Guiscardo while Flores's Mirabella passively accepts Grisel's initiative. Boccaccio's Sigismunda generously attempts to sacrifice herself in place of Guiscardo whereas both Grisel and Mirabella actively enter the combat of generosity in order to save the life of the other. Given the popularity of Boccaccio's tale, Flores probably was familiar with it although the items he does borrow are--by the fifteenth century--part of a common tradition appearing in romances and folktales.[15]

In addition to the close textual parallels with Boccaccio, other oral and textual sources can be found and will be addressed briefly in order to underscore the convergence of sources from oral and textual traditions. The diversity of sources suggests that Flores employed a form of memorative composition in combining common European romance motifs of the cruel father and incest with Arthurian chivalric elements and the "ley de escocia," itself a blend of oral and textual antecedents.

Matulka illustrates that the motifs found in Grisel y Mirabella had already been diffused in Spain. She offers by way of example a sentimental tale set within Fernando de la Torre's De vn tratado e dispido de mosen Fernando a vna dama de religion en la qual la amonesta (c. 1446). In this work, similar to Grisel y Mirabella, the lovers are submitted to judgement by the girl's father, Duke Creonte. Julian, the lover is exiled and the daughter, Medusa, rather than be unfaithful, commits suicide (50-51).

In addition to the motif of the cruel father, the episode of Mirabella's father locking her away in a secret place so that none of his knights will have occasion to see and fall in love with her can be traced to the Barlaam and Josaphat or the Libro de los engaños de las mujeres that contain similar stories of the confinement of children by parents. Versions of this motif appear throughout Spanish literature and are exemplified in a philosophical manner in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's La vida es sueño.

Rather than protect Mirabella from the evils of the

world as in some of the works in which fathers confine their children, such as Barlaam and Josaphat,[16] Mirabella, inversely, is locked away to protect the world from her beauty and because of the King's incest-like overpossessiveness. The incest motif is also not new to Spanish literature and appears in the fourteenth-century Spanish Apolonio. Since Mirabella is the sole heir to her father's kingdom, rather than incest, he jealously guards her as a political commodity that he is not yet willing to share with a rival.

Other important oral and textual sources found for Grisel y Mirabella derive from Arthurian traditions. Clearly Arthurian in origin is the scene of Grisel and Mirabella's entrapment by the King and his men that appears to conjure up the Lancelot and Guinevere episode:

> ...y vna noche stando Grisel en la cama con Mirabella: el Rey mando sercar la casa. y ahun que grande rato se defendio: pero ala fin tomados en strechos carçeres por fuerça fueron puestos. (337)

Although much briefer, the general outline alludes to the same incident in which Lancelot fights his way out of Guinevere's room, caught in a trap meant to catch them together.

In keeping with Arthurian tradition, Grisel is presented as the typical chivalric knight referred to as "la flor de la caballería" (334), eager to do battle for Mirabella rather than draw lots as his rival suggests. Grisel's response reveals his eagerness for battle: "yo lo que por caro precio he comprado: no quiero poner lo en

auentura de suertes sino de batalla" (336). Although it has been suggested that Grisel may have murdered his rival (Grieve "Desire" 61), it is more probable that Grisel in knightly Arthurian fashion killed his friend in battle since the narrator refers to Grisel as "Aquell cauallero vencedor" with the sense that he defeated his rival as vencedor, rather than murdered him as an asesino.

The "ley de escocia" or Law of Scotland appears in various forms in Arthurian and chivalric tales as well as explicitly in Grisel y Mirabella and Cárcel de amor and implicitly in other sentimental romances. The "ley de escocia" is a curious product of both oral and textual sources and can be traced back through Biblical and legal traditions on one hand and literary traditions, particularly in the Spanish Amadís de Gaula and Arthurian romances, on the other (Matulka 55-69).

The multiple sources and motifs in Grisel y Mirabella outlined above suggest that rather than specific textual sources (where there is no one to one verbatim correspondence as is found in Flores's other works), Flores probably heard or read previous romances from which he gathered material in order to compose his story. The episodes of the cruel father, the sacrifice of lovers, combats of generosity, and secret meeting places are stock European romance motifs.[17] Rather than working from a specific text, Flores (no doubt similar to many early fiction writers) relied on a fairly accurate memory for material which he then reworked into his Grisel y Mirabella.

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The weaving of motifs and episodes suggests the same practices of composition used by oral poets, classical rhetoricians and medieval academicians that Carruthers calls "memorative composition" (Carruthers 197). Along with the presence of elements of style linked to oral expression that will be considered next, the fact that the text contains such a variety of direct and indirect influences, oral and written, points to Flores's participation in the gathering or recollection process of inventio, in the arrangement of diverse material into a structured discourse, the speeches and debates heard with his mind's "ear."

Oral/Textual Style

The following analysis of the style of Grisel y Mirabella will illustrate that Flores's work is based on oral habits of thought and expression and was meant to be read aloud perhaps even dramatically. Flores in Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa does not make the elaborate use of formal rhetorical adornments as do Rodríguez del Padrón or Diego de San Pedro. Waley summarizes Flores's style as consisting of

> simple syntactical adornments such as infinitive construction, a proliferation of dependent clauses (which the punctuation of the princeps edition makes seem more complex than it is), some separation of subject and verb, consistent placing of the verb at the end of a sentence or clause, and a massive use of the subjunctive, there is little ornamentation by amplification, etymologia, anaphora, parallelism, similicadence and so on. (Grimalte lv-lvi)

In spite of the scant use of rhetorical devices, the subsequent evaluation of oral elements in Grisel y Mirabella will show that Flores's works are decidedly oral in

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expression and lend themselves to dramatic readings in small groups. First, dramatic elements that contribute to the performative quality of the work will be examined including the use of exclamatio and acoustical language as evidenced through the use of alliteration. Secondly, aspects identified with oral expression such as coordination and types of formulaic language such as epithet and phrases that are described by Waley as "sententiousness, particularly combined with antithesis (Grimalte lv) will be addressed.

In addition to elements typically identified with oral expression, the discussion will then turn to Flores's use of descriptive language that was meant to assist his listening audience in making associations between characters, events, and themes, particularly when they did not have the pages in front of them. Examples will illustrate Flores's employment of martial and chivalric terms to express the love relationship, and mercantile terms to signify Grisel's perception of his relationship with Mirabella, in especial, the image of Jason and the Golden Fleece. Lastly, Flores's use of oral imagery will be considered in order to show how images of consumption tie sections of text together and contribute to associations that link the character of Torrellas, the King, and his noblemen with the lions who ultimately consume Mirabella. As will be presented, the use of oral imagery borders on cannibalism when the "maestrasala" (337), servant to the King, is linked with "maestre sala" (369) which is served to Torrellas. In sum, a consideration of dramatic expression, formulaic and

descriptive language in Grisel y Mirabella will show that speeches and even narrative portions of the work are full of oratorical expression and vivid language particularly designed for a listening audience.

The dramatic caliber of expression in Grisel y Mirabella qualifies the work as a performance text intended to be heard by a listening audience. The use of exclamatio is prevalent in the work, especially in speeches where a high degree of emotional impact is felt and illustrated by the following examples: Grisel's use of hiperbole, "O enemiga fortuna" (339), the Queen's planctus over the forthcoming death of Mirabella, "O Dios...O fortuna" (360), Mirabella's farewell to Grisel, "O vida de mi vida" and, later, her grief at Grisel's death, "O apassionada yo....O Grisel...O atribulada yo...O que certenidad del amor..." (362). The emotional power of the above expressions creates a theatrical effect affirming the performative quality of the work that is strengthened further through the additional acoustical quality of Flores's style primarily through alliteration.

Acoustical features of the oral style of Grisel y Mirabella are reinforced through sound repetitions found throughout the work as the following examples indicate: "flaquas las fuerças que nunqua fueron fuertes...Y pues esto es de fuerça: mostrad fuerça de flaquesa: o dad vantaia del seguimiento a quien dello es digno" (337) and "fuerças para sforçaros...os deueys sforçar. y baste est para vuestro beuir. que lo flaco sfuerça sin fuerça lo fuerte" (361). In

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addition to the use of alliteration in f and b/v illustrated above, the play with forms of forçar, a rhetorical device called annominatio (the same word in varied forms) and antithesis (flaco/fuerte) combine sound plays with plays on meaning, and is illustrated by the following example of annominatio concerning the form sola:

> no solamente me duele el perder por vos honras y bienes...de vna sola vida non puedo perderme...y no creo que tan sola mi muerte...mas de vna sola vez morir no puedo...y con una sola vida. (361)

Some alliterations concern only a few words that are closely united grammatically as in the following examples: of the epithet, "los corrientes caballos" (345); the possessive, "vuestro beuir" (661); or the verb-object, "desama desaventura" (363). As shown by the above examples, Flores creates word plays that employ acoustical patterns.

As with sound repetitions, Flores's use of formulaic language, especially his use of epithets, represents a convergence of orality and textuality in Grisel y Mirabella. The use of epithets, descriptive noun qualifiers common in oral expression, are frequent, particularly in the narrative sections of the text. Rather than employ traditional epithets inherited from a previous oral tradition, Flores creates his own epithets corresponding to the specific context of the narration. In other words, the epithets in Grisel y Mirabella although similar to those found in oral tradition, are his individual signature on the work rather than that of a previous tradition.

Some examples of epithet constructions that are

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commonly used in Grisel y Mirabella are: "secreto lugar," "strecha amistad," "strecho amor," "la secreta noche" (334), "las aquexadas y secretas vozes," "strecha amistad," "peligrosa vista," "la famosa enpresa" (335), "strechos cárceres" (337), "scondida malicia" (344), "el scondido secreto" or "las delicadas carnes" (345, 363). The epithets provided above, however personalized, continue to serve as they had in oral cultures as a form of verbal economy. In other words they express an essential idea that is greater than the sum of their semantic parts.

In addition to epithets, another feature of oral expression found in early written texts, that of coordination, is also present in Grisel y Mirabella although it frequently converges with the increased use of dependent clauses known as subordination, an aspect of written discourse. The instances of coordination in Grisel y Mirabella occur specifically at the beginning of a periodic grouping (the use of a coordinating conjunction such as "and" to begin a new sentence following what would be a period in modern punctuation). The following illustration of the use of coordination (expressed by "y....y....y....") at the beginning of the narration of Grisel y Mirabella is an example of coordinative style that adds to the feeling that we are listening to an oral tale:

> En el regno de Scoçia huuo vn excellente Rey de todas virtudes amigo. y principalmente en ser iusticiero. y era tanto iusto: como la misma iusticia. y este en su postremera edat huuo vna hija que despues de sus dias succedia en el reyno. y esta llamaron Mirabella. y fue de tanta perfection de gracias acabada: que ninguno tanto lohar la pudo. que el cabo de su mereçer contar

> podiesse. y como ella fuesse heredera dela senyoria del padre: non hauia ningun emperador ni poderoso principe que en casamiento no la demandasse. Y ahun que ella fuera de pequenyo stado: solo por sus beldades y valer la fizieran delas senyoras mas grande. Y el Rey su Padre por no tener hijos: y por el grande merecimiento que ella tenia: era dell tanto amada: que a ninguno delos ya dichos la queria dar. y asi mismo en su tierranon hauia tan grande senyor a quien la diesse: salvo a grande mengua suya. de manera que el grande amor suyo era aella mucho enemigo. y como ya muchas vezes acaheçe quando hay dilacion en el casamiento delas mujeres: ser causa de caher en verguenças y yerros. (334; emphasis added)

The above passage serves to illustrate that coordinating patterns typical of oral expression continue to function in Grisel y Mirabella in spite of the increased use of more complex syntactical patterns of subordination within periodic groupings.

A more frequent aspect of oral style in Grisel y Mirabella involves the use of balanced phrases such as: "quiero yo consentir en mi muerte: que dar lugar a vuestra verguença" (340). Balanced patterns of phrasing are so powerful as memory devices that proverbs and other types of oral sayings are usually structured on such patterns. The basic structure for the expression of oral wisdom or authority in the work is a balanced pattern. In many cases the proverbial or sententious sayings, often cast into a symmetrical form, tend to sum up a prior argument made by a character, encapsulate or confirm a specific point in a speech by alluding to oral authority.[18]

The following examples from the text will serve to show how sententious phrases of proverbial wisdom are employed in Grisel y Mirabella as a form of expression essentially based

on oral habits of thought. The examples also illustrate how and for what purposes certain characters employ sayings and proverbs. A number of examples will show that in some of the characters' speeches, sententious sayings are grouped together one after another in what is termed an aggregative or accumulative pattern typical of oral style.

A principal function of the sayings is to justify a character's behavior. This is exemplified by the King's precautions in secluding Mirabella which is summed up in the following proverb-like phrase: "el desastre con buenas guardas se resiste" (334). Later he defends his role as harbinger of justice by referring to oral wisdom: "como la persona del Rey es speio en que todos miran. Y sus obras conuienen ser tales: que resplandezcan entre todas las otras gentes" (357) and "que quien de si mismo non faze iusticia: non la deue fazer de otro. mas primero deuen los nobles punir a si mismos: que asus sieruos" (357). Similarly, the Queen ends her appeal to save Mirabella's life with an oral refrain directed at the King: "pues en virtud y nobleza consiste: perdonar a quien yerra: ante que dar pena a quien no la merece" (357).

Other examples of proverbial phrases serve to illustrate a specific aspect about a character, such as the phrases that demonstrate Grisel's awareness of the rules of courtly love: "porque quien verdaderamente ama: non se porna al peligro de non le caher la suerte...y el que non teme: non ama" (335); "pues al bien amar nunqua se le aparten desdichas" (336); "que quien con affeccion sigue amor tan

bien vençe las cosas altas como las baxas" (338). Grisel's awareness of his role of courtly lover is displayed through a group of maxims cited below that exemplifies the aggregative nature (the accumulation of elements) of oral style:

> porque es cierto: que todo hombre que bien ama: es desdichado. y todas venturas contrarias lempeescen. mas siempre alos menos dignos amor les es fauorable que non lo sopiendo dezir amar seguir: sus fechos se hazen meior que lo piden. mas los que verdaderamente mueren amando: el padecer dellos por vida lieuan y por gualardon. y porque amor no tiene a cadauno delos que le siguen en mas delo que pueden soffrir. (336)

Grisel's claims as lover <u>par excellence</u> is presented through an accumulation of sententious phrases representing oral authority.

Similar to Grisel's use of phrases denoting oral authority, Mirabella employs an oral and misogynistic piece of wisdom in order to justify her attempt to condemn herself and save Grisel: "pues conocido es: ser mas desonesto el oyr alas mujeres: que el requestar alos hombres" (339). She continues to rely on sententious sayings in order to justify her higher social status as a reason for rewarding Grisel with her love: "la condicion delos grandes es fazer mayores las pagas que los trabaios merecen" (340).

Further examples of the characters' use of proverb-like or sententious sayings concern Torrellas and Braçayda. Torrellas uses a number of sententious phrases in his debate with Braçayda: "del que mas trabaja en las obras de bien o mal: mas merece el gualardon o pena" (345); "que como sea cosa cierta las mujeres ser de menos discrecion que los

hombres" (347); "que mas vale una engañosa palabra vuestra: que muchos provechosos sermones" (348); "la cosa del mundo mas bella es ver damas de rico aparato" (349); "meior es el mal obrando con discrecion: que no las simples que no sepan las mercedes que dan. porque quien en poca se stima: poco gualardon merece" (352); "si huuo alguna buena: no haze verano" (353). In another instance of Torrellas's use of oral wisdom two sententiae are grouped together in the aggregative (accumulative) pattern of oral style: "no puede dar ninguno lo que no tiene. y quien de sus enemigos fia: bien se emplea que asus manos muera" (356). Braçayda also makes use of oral sayings in the formal debate with Torrellas and in a reversal uses her opponent's words against him: "quando alos enemigos que hauemos de dar pena damos gloria: a los amigos al respecto que les daremos" (369).

The above examples of proverbial or sententious phrases of oral wisdom have illustrated some of the purposes underlying their use by various characters. In some cases the sayings are used to convince another character or group of characters, as in the debates between Torrellas and Braçayda, or Mirabella's attempts to save Grisel, or the Queen's attempts to persuade the King to spare their daughter's life. At other moments the sententious expressions function to justify actions as in the case of the King who defends himself as the enforcer of justice or Grisel who views himself as courtly lover. The high frequency and integral role that sententious phrases play in

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the work is another example of the continued application in early written texts of expressions that convey oral habits of thought.

Besides oral expression in the form of epithets, sententious phrases and oral syntactical structures such as balanced phrases and coordination, another illustration of orality in Grisel y Mirabella is the presence of language that projects images used to illustrate abstract concepts, relationships and emotions. Much of the imagery is based on metaphors related to war and chivalry. Other uses of comparison and antithesis involve more concrete terms that serve to describe an emotion and function as affective devices for the audience. The use of oral imagery of consumption is particularly intriguing due to the associations it creates linking characters and events found in different parts of the text. Representative examples of battle, chivalric, mercantile, concrete and consumptive images will be given in order to illustrate Flores's use of descriptive language, both metaphorical and concrete that serve to unite the loose debate structure of the work for a listening and, later, reading audience.

Martial and chivalric imagery is the most prevalent type of descriptive language utilized by Flores and similar to the same imagery found in courtly love poetry, defines the love relationship. Grisel, for example, refers to his relationship with Mirabella as "tan grande victoria" (338) and in turn Mirabella describes their love as "esta strecha batalla" (360). The language of combat is employed to

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describe not only the love between Grisel and Mirabella which brings "victoria" for Grisel, but for Mirabella, it is a "strecha batalla" that will bring death. The metaphors signify the positive quality love has for men, but the negative consequences it has for women. Another example of martial imagery occurs during the formal debate between Torrellas and Braçayda, the negative qualities of love are stressed when women are described "como fortalezas combatidas" (351). Braçayda regards the debate itself as a battle and refers to Torrellas as "tan grande guerrero" (367).

Although martial imagery is more frequent, mercantile expressions are used in a number of speeches, particularly in Grisel's discourse regarding his relation to Mirabella. In spite of his avowed courtly discourse as suffering lover, he often expresses his situation in mercantile terms. He refers to "el precio" (336) or "por mucho vos he comprado" (340) on separate occasions, and later, "y tan bien si dixiesse con quantas cosas y seruicios vos he comprado" (341). The use of terms denoting the buying and selling of goods in order to describe Grisel's relationship to Mirabella, clarifies several matters for the listening/reading audience: the motives underlying the seriousness of loving a princess and one who is sole heir to a kingdom, as well as the severity of the price Grisel must pay. Mirabella's worth and Grisel's strong desire to possess her is best exemplified when Grisel sees himself as another "Iason" and Mirabella as the Golden Fleece: "que en

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pensamiento presedian alas que Iason hyso en la victoria del velleçino de oro. y como Mirabella fuesse tan peligrosa: y mas de hauer: yo me arme" (338). When Grisel casts himself up in the classical role of Jason in search of the Golden Fleece, he evokes a strong association between himself and Jason that the external listeners or readers can also understand. The image of Jason has the further effect of stimulating the shared, communal memory of writer, character and audience and attributes in Grisel qualities normally identified with Jason. The comparison is one in keeping with an oral-rhetorical mode of thinking in that one's actions are perceived and interpreted with reference to a common standard that is the shared experience of the community rather than through close psychological analysis of individual motivations. In this case Flores sparks the memory of his audience to associate Grisel with Jason.

Furthermore, descriptive language is employed in order to convey the emotional reactions of the characters. For instance, Auctor expresses grief at the news of Mirabella's death sentence through a simile that is full of visual imagery evoking the contrast between light and dark and nature's sensitivity to the plight of Mirabella: "que parecia el sol scurecerse. y el cielo querer dello tomar sentimiento" (356). A further example of how emotions are conveyed through contrasting imagery uses the seasons: "por caloroso verano el destemplado hyuierno...que deseays las noches" (345). Another passage ironically contrasts what should have been Mirabella's wedding day with her impending

execution: "como el dia de sus bodas se le pensauan fazer alegres" (385). The contrastive imagery exemplified above, serves to convey a strong emotional and abstract message to both an audience of listeners who cannot peruse the pages of text as well as to readers who can.

Descriptive imagery in some cases is repetitive and functions to link one part of the story with another or to establish connections or ties between episodes and characters that will convey a particular message or insure a specific response from the listening/reading audience. Oral imagery is an interesting example of how episodes, characters and ideas are united, especially through images of consumption and appetites. The "las delicadas carnes" of Mirabella (363) literally becomes food for the "leones" who represent at once the animals who both literally devour her and traditionally are symbols of royalty that according to legend would never harm royal blood. The phrase also alludes to the King, Mirabella's father, who enforces the death sentence and to Torrellas and the noblemen who eagerly look forward to Mirabella's death. The phrase "cada uno contento el apetito" is repeated twice in the work. First it is made in reference to Torrellas's meeting with the men upon his arrival where he "lo qual supo bien contentar: y satisfazer alos apetitos de cadauno de dellos" (343) and later when the lions devour Mirabella (363). The belief that the lions who in oral tradition are supposed to respect royalty is questioned here since the lions satiate their own hunger ignoring Mirabella's royal lineage. Like the lions, the men

satisfy their appetites through Torrellas and show a clear lack of respect for Mirabella's royal lineage. The juxtaposition of both phrases links, through a chain of cause and effect, the uncivilized and metaphorically cannibalistic role of the men in Mirabella's death.

The repetition of consumptive imagery also implies cannibalism through the image of the "maestrasala" (337), the devious servant who publicizes the affair to the King. The word for the King's steward, "maestrasala" is repeated later in the work and linked to consumption: "y tanto fue de todas seruido con potages y aues y maestre sala" (369). It is "maestre sala" that is served to Torrellas as a final, bitter, last supper in the last pages of the text. The cannibalism remains implied due to the juxtaposition of the two images of "maestresala".

The lion's banquet and the women's nocturnal feast are two other such juxtapositions that emphasize oral consumption. In this case it is the women who are uncivilized so that one reading of the above passage "y tanto fue de todas seruido..." (369), could signify that Torrellas was forced by the Queen and her ladies to eat a stew containing the King's servant. The noble ladies avenge themselves through literal "orality" as Torrellas is made to eat the figure who made the secret public to the King, the "maestra sala."

The "concretizing" of blame, by means of the image of the men juxtaposed with that of the lions, or of acts of vengeance, such as the image of Torrellas eating the

ambiguous servant/dish "maestresala," no doubt was a source of satisfaction for those in the audience (especially female) hostile to the King, his noblemen and Torrellas.

Oral imagery in the work is associated with the power of speech and the spoken word as well. During Torrellas's torture the women gag him so he cannot speak therefore denying him a voice. Significantly, they not only torture him physically but inflict verbal pain as well, as the narrator explains, the words they use cause even more pain than the physical agony the women inflict. The ability for the women's words to "wound" Torrellas even deeper than the physical pain exemplifies the power of oral speech in keeping with the oral imagery of the scene.

In sum, as this study of oral expression in Grisel y Mirabella has illustrated, the use of exclamatio, epithets, coordination and sententious phrases converge with the repetitions of imagery that grants the written word an aural-oral performative dimension. The presence of words and images that are repeated, juxtaposed, compared or contrasted (lions, maestrasala) throughout the text play an additional role in unifying the series of debates that form the structure of the work. As the succeeding discussion will demonstrate, one of the principal forms of orality in Grisel y Mirabella is the debate structure that underscores the oral polemical makeup of the work.

Verbal polemical structure

Grisel y Mirabella is structured upon a series of verbal combats that take the form of types of oral polemic

such as flytings and academic disputatii.[19] Although the structure has been described as "un hilo narrativo conductor, que ensarta un cierto número de 'anillos' o núcleos retóricos" (Alcázar López 25-26), the dialogic organization serves to convey thought as essentially conceived and functioning through verbal exchange. In Grisel y Mirabella social and political issues are cast up in rhetorical dialogue or speech, reflective of the oral mindset of fifteenth-century culture. A character takes a particular stand on an issue and then defends or refutes it through forms of polemical speech. Furthermore, actions are then understood in light of the social and rhetorical stance taken by a character, that is the actions tend to give authority to the spoken words. Results of an action (ie. death of Grisel's friend after the joust), thus serve to confirm or deny a character's rhetorical position (ie. Grisel as the more deserving lover). The close relationship between speech and act is typical of oral societies in that "without literacy man tends to solve problems in terms of what people do or say --in the tradition of the tribe, without much personal analysis" (Ong Presence 134). Similarly, in Grisel y Mirabella, the action often turns to violence, often in extreme forms such as in battle or through torture, as an accepted means of validating a character's rhetorical position.

The oral agonistic structure exemplified through the series of debates in Grisel y Mirabella serves several important functions. Forms of verbal contest advance the

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plot, plant issues and themes, individualize characters and encourage audience participation. Each verbal confrontation will be treated separately below in order to underscore the the dialogic structure as an example of the work's oral expression.

The first verbal debate in the work is the result of the rivalry of two young knights who have fallen in love with Mirabella. The result of the knights' verbal joust sets in motion the tragic chain of events that ultimately leads to many deaths. Ironically, the King's decision to seclude Mirabella provides the opportunity for the two knights to see her and fall in love with her. The two knights, who are friends, try to resolve the issue through debate and the verbal polemic between the two former friends leads to deeper subjects such as the role that fortune and Divine Providence play in love. The general topic of fortune and Providence is particularized through the present situation in which the two friends find themselves. The first knight who remains unnamed says he has fortune and God on his side and thus is assured that he will win Mirabella by a drawing of lots. Grisel, on the other hand, takes a pessimistic view and responds that lovers always suffer and are doomed to bad luck. He would not risk losing Mirabella to fate. The debate reaches a stalemate and the verbal joust becomes physical as they break into "rompimientos de palabras."

It appears that each was correct to a degree since the friend who had believed fate was on his side dies <u>ad judicium dei</u>, and Grisel, who believed himself to be the

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most unfortunate because he was the greater lover, is also the one upon whom fortune smiles. Grisel's apparently greater prowess at arms defeats his friend and assures him the spoils, which is Mirabella.

The first "debate" comes to a rhetorical stalemate and resolution can come only through physical violence. God's judgement, judicium dei, from the world of oral justice and decisions, is the deciding factor. Within the first verbal confrontation, both knights fail to convince the other or the audience. It is only the violent outcome that proves to Grisel and to the listeners/readers that he is the most deserving lover. The verbal violence is validated by the ensuing physical violence.

The next debate takes the form of a verbal combat of generosity between Grisel and Mirabella after the two lovers are imprisoned for breaking the "ley de escocia." They are both tortured by the King in order that one of them admit blame for having started the love affair. Both lovers reserve blame for himself or herself alone, each claiming the other is innocent. Grisel and Mirabella argue skillfully in an attempt to save each other's life. Mirabella declares that Grisel as a man has superior verbal ability while the little oral skill she possesses is based on the deceptive nature of women's verbal and aural talents. She uses the argument of woman's lack of verbal prowess in order to prove that she is guilty of tempting Grisel.

Grisel argues just as skillfully and this debate also ends in a stalemate, since the King's advisors find both to

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be equally convincing. Violence is employed as a means of breaking the verbal impasse and the two are subject to more torture. Despite undergoing severe torment they continue to reproach one another for not yielding.

Despite the cruel torture, the King's counselors find both arguments to be rhetorically successful and determine that the lovers are equals in everything but gender. They decide that a general precedent must be set in order to determine which is the guiltier party in matters of love. So it develops that a formal disputatio between Torrellas and Braçayda is the setting for the next debate. The question is now one of a general principle: whether man or woman is more guilty of causing the other to love. Although the precedent to be set is general, the outcome is not, and if women lose, Mirabella will lose her life. The trial represents a clash between universals and particulars, a favorite academic topic of medieval philosophers popularized here.

The structure of this debate is a popularized version of the formal disputation. Taking place between Torrellas and Braçayda it follows closely the formal academic disputatio. Both parties argue and counter argue skillfully. Braçayda opens the argument by accusing men of seducing women through powers of communication such as music, social events, letters, go-betweens or by defamation of character. Torrellas skillfully refutes Braçayda's arguments (that women welcome men's advances and are willing to sacrifice everything for love).

Braçayda next argues that men are superior in knowledge

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and should protect women rather than entrap them. She then refers to nature through the example of the male peacock who, in his beauty, tries to attract females. Torrellas again refutes her arguments pointing out that contrary to the animal world, nature has made the human female the beauty who insists on decorating herself beyond what nature has provided, thus illustrating her eagerness for male attention. Torrellas, relying on examples and primarily his own experience, counters that women are more cunning in love and will even love their inferiors.

Braçayda insists on woman's greater ignorance and man's responsibility to protect the weaker sex, but men prefer to use male superiority to control the law, seeking personal advantage. According to her, men employ both oral and written discourse to control women: orally, they can ruin a woman's reputation through slander; rhetorically, the debate --a medieval form of verbal combat--is a male activity and one that, agonistic or contest-oriented, has always been outside the purview of women. The debate or disputation is part of the scholastic tradition, oral in performance but based in textuality, and textual traditions were decidedly male dominated. Braçayda argues that women have a great disadvantage in the male-dominated arena of formal debate since the power of the pen is held by men:

> soys causadores de nuestros innocentes yerros...y que nos cumple questionear contra los que por si tienen auctoriçadas leyes y toda ordinacion de la universidad de las cosas...porque en nuestra simplicidad no ay quien scriuar en favor nuestro, y vosotros que tenys la pluma en mano; pintays como quereys. por donde no es mengua sino fuerça el sofrir a mas no poder. (350)

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The debate that ensues here is one in which the written traditions belonging to men, are used against women who have no such traditions with which to defend themselves. In Grisel y Mirabella, the debate between the Catalan poet Torrellas and the literary personage Braçayda, is not strictly limited to the traditional feminist debates popular in the fifteenth century, but also stresses the written word as men's source of power over women.

Torrellas counters with examples from his own Coplas and from biblical traditions (male dominated discourse) that women are by nature deceptive. He argues that because of woman's evil nature, knowledge itself is dangerous for women: "que las mujeres mas simples son en alguna manera mas castas...la simplesa os es salud. y el saber danyosa" (351) and further, "ternia en poca mengua al desuelado studio de las letras" (352).

Braçayda brings in textual examples that prove that women would rather die than lose their chastity or become unfaithful. If some women are bad, there are far more that are good. Torrellas attacks Braçayda's use of written authority by questioning its veracity and then rejects her arguments in favor of those based on personal experience: "pues mayor fe daremos alo que la vista nos certifica: que alo que oymos" (363). In spite of Torrellas's remark about personal experience, he does not rely solely on experience in his own arguments and strengthens his views with written authority saying, "las scripturas stan llenas de vuestras perversas obras" (353). He thus discredits oral authority

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but accepts written authority. He even refers to his own Coplas as an example of written authority: "ya otras vezes dixe en alguna obra mia: soys lobas en scojer" (354). Here lines between reality and fiction become blurred as a character relies on his own external text as authority since the extradiegetic audience--like the internal audience--would probably have known him or known of his works.

It is evident from the arguments within the work in favor of personal observation that there is a new tension between sight and sound. Men, as controllers of writing were oriented to written discourse and it became a new authority based on personal observation or experience.

Torrellas denies women a voice through personal experience or textual tradition, and he reduces what little voice they have to dissimulation and deception. They are silenced because he divorces what women say from what they do or how they act. Woman's voice is never genuine, according to Torrellas. The misogynist's concluding remarks indicate woman's complete inability to communicate: "Concluyo que pues sin lo dezir lo fazeys: mayor pena merece la obra vuestra: que la culpa de nuestras palabras. y mas desembuelto es vuestro pensamiento que nuestra lengua" (355). According to him, men's words of love are nothing in comparison to women's actions which are without words and worse because women are irrational creatures.

The skillful arguments of Braçayda do not win her the debate. The resolution comes from an external source, the twelve male judges whose reasons for the decision in favor

of Torrellas is never given in the text. The ambiguity involved in not knowing why the women lost could indicate that the judges' reasons are not as important to the story as the decision. The judges' ruling advances the plot toward further conflict while the reasons for the decision might purposely have been left ambiguous in order to allow the extradiegetic readers and listeners to form their own opinions. If the work were read aloud in small groups, the basis for the judges' decision might have led to lively conversation among the work's courtly audience.

The ruling that condemns Mirabella to death leads to another verbal contest although this one is informal and takes place between the King and Queen. The Queen attempts to convince her husband to spare Mirabella's life. The dialogue between them reveals a good bit more about the character of the King. The King prides himself on being an arbitrer of justice which he uses as his justification for remaining harsh. His fanatical view of justice is founded on problems of legitimization of his family's claims to the throne. He validates his own dynastic claims to the throne in a distinctive way, by emphasizing his role as law enforcer. Mirabella's transgressions of the law of the kingdom, and the King's role in enforcing the sentence meted out by the judges, threatens the stability of his kingdom. In spite of the King's attempts to be the harsh "rey justiciero," his kingdom reacts with secrecy and dissimulation as well as unrest, confirmed by the many deaths that Mirabella's death occasioned. The King's

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response to Mirabella's plight is based on political reasons for which he will lose his legitimacy if he relents. The Queen --who exemplifies parental love-- fails to convince the King not to hold his dynastic legitimacy above love for his daughter.

The series of debates examined here are designed to resolve issues such as rivalry in love, to illustrate the generosity of the lovers towards one another, to establish legal precedent through the popularization of the formal disputation and in the last debate, to beg the life of an only child. As has been shown, the rhetorical speeches do not provide any solutions to the problems encountered by the characters and all communication eventually disintegrates into acts of violence that frequently lead to death.

Structurally, the principal organizing feature of Grisel y Mirabella is the series of verbal polemic. Perhaps more important yet more difficult to recognize is that the oral-rhetorical structure serves to "cast up" issues and themes in a dialogic pattern typical of oral habits of thought and expression. As the ensuing discussion will show, the principle themes of love and justice are filtered through a convergence of orality and textuality.

Themes: Love and Justice

Grisel y Mirabella considers the themes of love and justice as two distinct discursive modes that clash in confrontation. Love and justice meet in the work when the secret love affair between Grisel and Mirabella is made public and they are put on trial. As with other aspects such

as oral and textual sources and style already treated in this chapter, thematic concerns of love and justice are filtered through oral habits of thought and expression that converge with textual traditions.

Courtly love represents the theme of love in Grisel y Mirabella and is a textual tradition controlled by males. Two examples will be given in order to illustrate how males govern courtly love discourse. The first example will show that Grisel uses language in order to dominate rhetorically the love affair with Mirabella from its inception. The second example centers on the character Torrellas who assumes control of courtly love discourse in order to seduce Braçayda but is subverted by it when he is tricked by Braçayda into believing that she returns his affections. It is interesting that both Grisel--who had acted as a genuine courtly lover--and Torrellas--who uses courtly love in order to deceive women--meet roughly the same end since they both are consumed by flames. As will be discussed below, the answer might lie in the symbolic deconstruction of the male dominated courtly love discourse both in its chivalric mode, exemplified by Grisel, and in its misogynistic mode, exemplified by Pere Torrellas.

In Grisel y Mirabella love is the pretext in a trial between men and women that implicates men as the controller of courtly love discourse and women as creation and victim of men's ability to control written language and textual traditions. The courtly love code, as it had developed, permitted men to determine the rules in the love

relationship: this created a paradoxical situation for women. The same women who are worshipped by their male lovers under the courtly code are slandered when the love affair becomes public knowledge. In Grisel y Mirabella courtly love fails to protect Mirabella from violence and death when her secret affair with Grisel is revealed. The unveiling of the secret exposes the incompatibility between love and justice. Women lose in either case since men control written language exemplified by their control of the practices (or codes) of courtly love and laws.

It is evident in the relationship between Grisel and Mirabella that courtly love discourse is controlled by males. Mirabella has little control in her choice of lovers, and in fact was not given the opportunity to choose between Grisel and his rival who both sought her. Violence settled the dispute when Grisel killed his rival-friend. The narrator tells us that Grisel then pursued Mirabella who promptly returned his affections. Thus from the very beginning Grisel controlled the relationship between himself and Mirabella.

Even in their "combat of generosity" when Grisel and Mirabella each try to save the life of the other despite being tortured, Grisel is more rhetorically aware of a larger audience that must be convinced of his guilt since he not only directs his speeches to Mirabella, but to others; in contrast, Mirabella directs her speeches exclusively to Grisel. Although Grisel is supposedly talking to Mirabella, a good portion of his speeches are directed toward the

torturers who are the ones he feels must be convinced. Later in the work when it is decided that Mirabella must die, Grisel commits a violent act that asserts his control over the outcome of the work when he gallantly and in the spirit of chivalry throws himself into flames meant for Mirabella. By this action he claims ultimate victory over Mirabella since the judges accept Grisel's sacrifice as a sign ad judicium dei that Mirabella is innocent. Grisel, at the cost of his life, maintains control over the love relationship while also achieving a rhetorical victory over Mirabella who had argued the opposite point in order to prove herself guilty in love.[20]

Another example of the male control of courtly love discourse that actually subverts male authority concerns the misogynist poet Torrellas who argues the cause of the men in the trial scene with Braçayda. Torrellas reaffirms men's role as controllers of courtly love when he uses courtly love discourse in order to satisfy his lust for Braçayda. His use of the courtly love discourse of suffering and pain expressed in a letter to Braçayda is intended by him to convince Braçayda of his genuine feelings of passion. When she deceitfully accepts his advances in order to entrap him, he brags to the men that her capitulation confirms his accusations against women as deserving of the blame in matters of love. The tide turns on Torrellas when the figurative torments he has offered in courtly love service to Braçayda turn into actual physical torture a few pages later in the work. Employing the metaphorical discourse of

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pain and suffering in his letter of seduction, he tells Braçayda:

> quise alegrar vos con mi atribulada vida, pues mis tormentos os seran deportes...mas servir y morir por las cosas pasadas en que mostráis de mí ser deservida; y así como contra mujeres pequé por ellas muera. (364)

Unsuspecting, he then offers himself to the whims of the women: "que usareis comigo como Dios con los pecadores" (365). Torrellas thus unknowingly invites the women to avenge themselves. The women's victory is complete when Torrellas's figurative language is transformed into real physical torments that are inflicted on him by the Queen and her ladies. The women are ultimately avenged when men are betrayed by the very pen they control, e.g. Torrellas's capitulation to Braçayda as he plays the courtly lover. He is blinded by lust and is seduced through Braçayda's words to misinterpret their ultimate message of revenge.

Before turning to the role of justice, it will now be necessary to discuss briefly the role of secrets in Grisel y Mirabella since it is the revelation of a secret that unites the principal themes of love and justice.[21] Secrets are an active force in the work since what they fail to communicate serves to stimulate the transformation of a simple story of courtly love into a tale with a larger judicial context. The King's secret internment of Mirabella meant to protect his kingdom from the further slaughter of its knights actually engenders more secrets, beginning with the clandestine death of Grisel's rival and followed by the secret love affair between Grisel y Mirabella. The publication of the love

affair sets in motion a search for the truth of whether Grisel or Mirabella was responsible for starting the affair. The judicial process is set in motion by a law that condemns the responsible party to death; it attempts to uncover the culprit but instead leads to further secrecy and deception.

In addition to the principal secret of the love affair, it should be noted that the work is full of secrets. Besides those secrets mentioned already, there are those by Torrellas, for example, who veils his true feelings of lust beneath the trappings of courtly love discourse, and Braçayda, who uses secrets in order to entrap Torrellas so the women can avenge Mirabella'a death. Additionally, Torrellas and Braçayda each accuse the other's gender of hidden motives during the formal debate. Braçayda accuses Torrellas of "la scondida malicia delos hombres" (344) and Torrellas counters with "el scondido secreto de vuestro querer" (345). He promises during the disputation to let out the "secrets" he knows about women: "vos me fagays agora sin verguença paraque diga algunas cosas secretas delas que de mujeres conoxco" (345). Thus secrets are used by Torrellas and Braçayda as "ammunition" during the debate.

The cause for the large number of secrets in the kingdom centers on the King's almost manic quest for "truth" concerning Grisel and Mirabella as well as the rigid posture towards justice that encourages his subjects to deceive in order to protect themselves from his cruelty. For instance the Queen keeps secret the abduction and torture-murder of Torrellas in order to avoid incurring the King's wrath. That

so much is being suppressed in the kingdom of Scotland illustrates that, in spite of the King's attempts to discover the truth behind secrets through the application of justice, he is setup to fail. Beginning with the King's secret hiding place for Mirabella, secrets only serve to engender more secrets and rather than encourage cohesiveness through shared confidence, they suppress true dialogue in the work while foregrounding the irreconcilable difference between the concepts of love and justice.

The final aspect to be considered regarding thematic issues of love and justice will center on the tensions that are produced when oral practices of justice clash with written or textual traditions of justice. The thematic concerns of justice can be translated into what was no doubt a problematic issue in societies evolving towards written codes of justice: how to reconcile traditional means of resolving legal issues that often involved violent practices based on external signs and superstition in situational and always personal and individual contexts, with a new view of the law interpreted literally as an impersonal code that decides issues through precedents established impersonally and based on generalities (ie., raising the particular issue of Grisel and Mirabella to a universal one of men and women).

In Grisel y Mirabella, all attempts to decide legal matters through textual traditions (trial, use of written law embodied in the ley de escocia, setting precedents) are subverted by traditionally oral means of settling matters of

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justice (jousts, use of torture, signs of God's intervention through acts of judicium dei). The conflict --as written practices superseded oral traditions in law-- will be illustrated by the example of the King who does not regard the spirit (orality) of the law but interprets the law literally and impersonally, while ignoring the external signs that function as the real determinators of justice in the work. A principal conflict between oral and written justice centers on the actions of the King who must choose between his duties as a father and those of a just monarch. The King who tries to use the written word to resolve legal matters is himself blinded and therefore not able to "read" (interpret) justice.

A second example that considers the evolution from oral to written justice is illustrated in Grisel y Mirabella through the contrast between male and female forms of justice. We will show that although it appears on the surface that men adhere to civilized forms of justice based on textual traditions (judicial decisions based on the results of formal disputations) while women adhere to practices based on emotionalism and irrationality, Flores makes clear through strong visual symbols (the judges' bloody swords and the juxtaposition of the men with the lions mentioned earlier) that the men are not, in fact, different and their use of "civilized" traditions masks the same thirst for blood as in the case of the women. The reason that justice cannot be carried out in the legal arena in Grisel y Mirabella is due to the fact that oral habits of

thought still persist in the tendency to rely on external signs of God's favor and, when words fail, to settle legal disputes through acts of violence.

The theme of justice linked to that of love through the public disclosure of the secret affair between Grisel and Mirabella concerns tensions that result when written law comes to replace oral law. One of the principal examples of the tensions produced when oral and written justice meet concerns the King and his decision to execute Mirabella in order to maintain his fame as a just king. The King's desire to be known for his ability to distribute justice is so strong that he imagines himself "la justicia misma" (334) according to Auctor, the narrator. Later, Auctor as narrator hyperbolically repeats the identification of the King with justice:

> y como el Rey fuesse el mas iustificado principe que la sazon se hallase en el mundo: ahun en aquell caso no quizo vsar de rigor ni de enoioso accidente. mas como6 si fuessen sus yguales: con ellos se puso a iusticia. (337)

Auctor states that the King's intentions are to be fair in the case of his daughter but when it comes to interpreting the law, his overwhelming desire for fame as a just ruler blinds him. Unfortunately the King does not understand the true meaning of justice when he inflexibly considers the letter of the law rather than its spirit. The monarch regards justice as completely "written in stone" for to him, it means following literally the letter of the law.[22] The King confuses the objective nature of written law with his decision in the particular case of his daughter. His

decision is not based on objectivity because he fails to consider his personal motivations that are both irrational and self-interested. While the written law illustrated by the "ley de escocia" may be based on the impersonal qualities of objectivity and thus in its application impersonal, there remains a subjectiveness exemplified by the motivations of the King. Ong explains the objective quality of written law:

> Conceived of, consciously or subconsciously, as something written, law itself thus acquires a somewhat different, relatively objective quality. If it 'applies' to someone or something, it applies from the outside....For laws, even when considered as somehow externally objective are at one time always to some degree personal: they come from the most personal, the most interior of all acts, the act of personal decision. 229-230)

The objective quality of written law contrasts with the subjective act of decision making. In the case of the king of Scotland, his decision to execute his daughter is a personal decision based on the application of an external law. The King does not distinguish the law itself, which is always literal as inscribed in writing, from its spirit, which is to some degree always a personal decision that should be based on good reason and sound judgement. It is clear that the King lacks both qualities due to an excessive and unnatural love for Mirabella that keeps him from marrying her to one of his knights, "de manera que el grande amor suyo era a ella mucho enemigo" (334), and for reasons related to his dynastic pursuits. The King as administrator of justice cannot distinguish between the literal and impersonal code of justice and its application based on

sound and merciful interpretation. This failure inevitably leads to the dissolution of his kingdom through the loss of its sole heir, Mirabella.

Oral and written forms of justice are elucidated further in Grisel y Mirabella when the Queen and her ladies avenge Mirabella's death by capturing and torturing Torrellas, the misogynist poet who had won the debate for the men. Since the women did not find justice in the "civilized" arena of the male court of law, they seek revenge through their own form of justice as presented in the last pages of the text. As mentioned earlier, the women trick Torrellas into meeting Braçayda for what he thinks is a love tryst by having her answer his letters positively. The women thus learn to use the male dominated textual tradition of writing and the inherent ambiguity of the written word in order to convince Torrellas of Braçayda's sincerity. Torrellas misreads her intentions because of his desire for Braçayda and his low opinion of women as lustful and stupid creatures. Thus the misogynist writer who condemns women is himself condemned by the written word, and the women have learned to use it to their advantage in order to gain a kind of justice.

The women's primitive scene of vengeance is a reverse-image of the men's more "civilized" court of law, represented in Grisel y Mirabella by the formal disputation between Torrellas and Braçayda. Women's justice is still controlled by the old oral world while that of men's is fixed in written law that has lost the mitigating forces of

mercy and love, especially between a parent and progeny, and thus implicates men as more primitive than women. The King's court only loosely veils the violence and terror that the women openly perform. Resolution even in the supposedly civilized male court of law is ultimately settled through violence exemplified by the image of the judges carrying bloodied swords, a visual sign remitting back to oral customary law. The emphasis on the intervention of God through signs, the winners of duels as being therefore on God's side, or Grisel's self-sacrifice taken by the judges as a sign from the heavens that he is the guiltier party represent the idea of an oral code of justice built on the direct result of physical actions or signs.

In summary, the themes of love and justice, united as they are by the disclosure of the secret love affair between Grisel and Mirabella are mediated through aspects representative of oral and written traditions. Love as it is expressed through the discourse of courtly love has been textualized into a code that demands obedience from its followers. Unfortunately, when the code is broken, as it is with the revelation of the secret love affair between Grisel and Mirabella, the disclosure leads to death and disaster for its practitioners, be they genuine lovers, like Grisel or false seducers, like Torrellas. In addition, the language of courtly love is a male controlled discourse that Mirabella gladly follows but that Braçayda and the women manipulate in order to trap Torrellas. Torrellas, blinded by lust, misinterprets Braçayda's letter and offers to suffer

for her, not realizing that the women will torment him in an unambiguous and literal manner when they kidnap and verbally and physically abuse him. Flores provides a form of textual vengeance on one of the most famous misogynist poets of the fifteenth century by playing with the literal and metaphorical levels of text, something no doubt the female members of Grisel y Mirabella's audience would have particularly enjoyed.

The theme of justice is also dependent on the differences between the literal interpretation of the letter (of the law, in this case) and its spirit. The King misinterprets justice and is willing to sacrifice his only daughter due to his seemingly incestuous feelings towards her and his need to prove himself above all a just ruler. He confuses the objectivity represented by the impersonal written law with the personal decision-making involved in its interpretation. The King places Mirabella on trial in order to prove himself a just and impartial monarch but like the lion's den that consumes Mirabella literally, the male court of law also consumes her. The semblance of civilization that the male court of law represents is unmasked by the dependence on superstition such as signs from God, and ritualistic practices, such as the carrying of bloody swords. The men are thus depicted by Flores as acting under the same impulses as the Queen and her ladies who take justice into their own hands.

Flores thus presents in Grisel y Mirabella, a world that is slowly adapting itself and struggling to resolve

tensions produced as the written word and literate habits begin to replace oral habits of thought and expression in the world of love and justice. Despite the inroads toward literate practices, those customs deriving from oral habits of thought (superstition, physical violence through torture and jousts) continue to assert themselves in settling legal disputes.

We will now turn to an analysis of the narrator in light of the convergence of orality and textuality in order to illustrate the performative nature of Grisel y Mirabella. The subsequent discussion will suggest that Auctor, the semi-omniscient narrator who guides us through the events that lead to the confrontation between love and judicial discourse, is more akin to an oral performer than a narrator on a written page.

Narrative: Auctor as Narrative Performer

The narrator in Grisel y Mirabella appears as both a semi-omniscient narrator who hardly makes his presence known in the telling of the story, and as an oral performer who participates actively in the narrative, attentive to both the story and his audience. Although the narrator in Grisel y Mirabella is not clearly defined or identified, it is still possible to construct a narrative persona from his commentary. Auctor's perspective shifts between that of an impartial eye witness who informs us almost summarily at the beginning of the work of the state of affairs in Scotland, and that of an interested party and active member of the kingdom, as his frequent appeals to inexpressability, his

sometimes prejudicial observations and his emotional outbursts reveal. On the one hand, he has privileged knowledge through his ability to narrate the events leading up to the love affair of Grisel and Mirabella and its subsequent discovery. On the other hand, he only possesses partial knowledge of the characters' motives, as in the case of the judges' decision in favor of the men or the King's excessive possessiveness of Mirabella. Due to the shifting narrative perspective, Auctor's role is more akin to that of an oral narrator or director of scenes of a drama. Although he is not an active participant in the events and in spite of his sometimes omniscient perspective, he intrudes upon the narrative as another character, by commenting, choosing at times to keep silent through what is presented and how, or admitting his own weaknesses and faults as a narrator. In this way Auctor guides the listener and reader through the work's narrative texture.

In order to elucidate Auctor as narrator's role in the work, we will first piece together a narrative persona or authorial voice by examining the way in which he controls the narrative through his commentary of events and characters, and through his use of the first person "yo." Because narration and reception are closely linked, we will then turn to an examination of the reception of Grisel y Mirabella where we will illustrate the participatory character of the work through Flores's real or feigned collaboration with his "amiga." An important part of the discussion will concern how Flores provides internal cues

through his narrator Auctor in order to help the listening/reading audience visualize and even read or perform dramatically the characters' speeches. The expectation of audience participation and the use of Auctor as narrative persona will demonstrate the performative character of Grisel y Mirabella.

A number of examples from the text demonstrate that despite the seemingly unobtrusive observations of certain events, Auctor guides the audience by his commentary about characters and events and is often surprisingly opinionated. For example, it is clear that Auctor approves of the fact that the King, in attempting to decide the case of Grisel and Mirabella, calls his advisors for counsel: "que era lo que sobre este caso se deuia hazer" (342). During another moment, Auctor raises the suspicion that the King's knights are acting out of motives of jealousy and envy by questioning the Maestrasala's motives for informing the King of Grisel y Mirabella's love affair. Still later, Auctor hints at the political unrest among the King's nobles that led many to declare Mirabella their enemy, perhaps suggesting that these knights were ruled by selfish interests:

> principalmente algunos caballeros de aquella tierra a quien continuo crecia enemiga con Mirabella. porque su grande beldad hauia sido causa: como muchos se hauian perdido en la requesta y seguimiento famoso de aquella amorosa batalla. (343)

Besides suggesting hidden motives for the characters' actions as indicated by the above examples, Auctor uses ambiguity in order to raise issues. For example, he curtly

explains the reasons for the judges' sentence against the women: "y fundaron por muchas razones" (355). Although the short explanation does not tell us much, Auctor provides a clue that he is sympathetic towards the Queen and her ladies through his narration of the women's reactions to the judges' decision condemning Mirabella. Rather than react directly, his narration of Braçayda's protest of the decision and her accusations concerning the judges' gender and self interest are indicative that Auctor shares her viewpoint: "porque seyendo ellos alcaldes y parte: conocida staua la sentencia que agora oymos" (355) and further "pues ellos son iuezes y partes y auocados del mismo pleyto" (356). The fact that Auctor does not suppress the rage and indignation of the women while he does not allow the men to justify their decision tends to support the idea that Auctor sympathizes with the women.

Further examples of Auctor's narrative voice provide an intriguing portrait of his persona and how he guides the sympathies of external listeners/readers towards certain characters. Although Auctor remains fairly noncommittal in his approval or condemnation of the King, Auctor's remarks concerning the King's excessive love for Mirabella tend to make of the monarch a tragic rather than cruel figure: "Y ahun que en stremo la amaua: pero la iusticia era mas poderosa quel amor" (358).

On the other hand, a close perusal of Auctor's comments regarding Torrellas provides a generally unsympathetic portrait of the misogynist. For example, when the Queen

abandons her search for a way to vindicate Mirabella's death out of fear of the King, Auctor informs us that Fate has already cast sentence on Torrellas: "la Fortuna que sabe buscar a quien desama desauentura hizo" (363). Torrellas's boastful attitude concerning Braçayda's feigned capitulation is noted by Auctor as distasteful and in violation of the rules of love. Auctor expresses his disapproval directly to the audience: "Y mirad que tan malicioso era: que non pudo su mal secreto guardar que aquella letra con otros galanes no communicasse" (367). The epideictic "mirad" invites the audience to share in Auctor's disapproval of Torrellas.

Not only does Auctor direct the audience toward a general disapproval of Torrellas, but by informing the listeners/readers about the secret plot of the women against Torrellas before it occurs, he sacrifices suspense but gains and invites the audience's collaboration. At one point Auctor justifies the actions against Torrellas and ironically explains his death:

> Pero el malauenturado non pudo conoçer aquell enganyo dela muerte: que en la presta piedad de Braçayda se scondia. y ell iuzgando la por ligera de vençer: fue ell mas ligera simple y neciamente vencido. (367)

In this way the audience achieves satisfaction by sharing in the women's vengeance in collaboration with Auctor.

In spite of the sense of collaboration between Auctor and his addressees, he never identifies himself by name, although there are a few moments in the text when Auctor exposes his individuality by speaking in the first person "yo." The first time occurs just after Mirabella's death

when he is so emotionally moved that he forgets himself almost to the point of speechlessness: "yo non podria tan dolorosas cosas como eran figurar: non quiero sino dexar lo a quien pensar lo podiere" (363). Auctor is so moved that those among the audience who have the ability must fill in the gaps. Another moment of first person narration occurs during Auctor's description of Torrellas's torture by the women: "que por cierto yo stimo que ellas dauan al cuytado de Torrellas mayor pena que la muerte misma" (369). Here as well, a burst of emotion causes Auctor to use the first person.

Auctor communicates moments of extreme emotionalism in other ways as well in Grisel y Mirabella. At times Auctor betrays his limitations to fully portray reality by his reference to the insufficiency of words. The verbal expression of emotion and pain is often so difficult that Auctor must resort to inexpressibility topoi. Auctor utilizes phrases of inexpressibility most often in order to illustrate the inadequacy of written words to convey completely the moment as in the following examples: "Grandes altercaciones passaron entre Torrellas y Braçayda: mas delas que ninguno podria scriuir" (355); "quien podria scriuir las cosas de gran magnificencia que para su muerte stauan ordenadas" (358); "la qual como vio sacar muerto del fuego asu amado Grisel: no se como scriua las llastimas que ella dixo" (362).

The loss of words experienced by Auctor actually leads to a fuller expression of the idea or emotion he cannot

adequately convey verbally. He depends on the participation of listeners and readers to draw on their own inner experience in the recreation of the textual experience. In other words, the audience can participate actively by filling in the gaps left by Auctor in order to recreate for themselves the emotions and attitudes when Auctor himself cannot express them adequately. One such moment of participation occurs with the discovery of Mirabella's death:

> Y como la Reyna y las damas vieron la beldad de aquella donzella crudamente feneçer de tan rauiosa muerte: sin scriuir esta bueno de presumir el stremo y grandeza de sus llantos. pero porque yo non podria tan dolorosas cosas como eran figurar: non quiero sino dexar lo a quien pensar lo podiere. (363)

Another moment when the audience must fill in the gaps occurs when Auctor finds it difficult to describe completely Torrellas's torments: "que no se scriuir las differencias delas iniurias y offienças que le hazian" (369). The inadequacy of the written word to completely convey an emotion or moment is underscored by Auctor as narrator while it also leaves the audience with an active role in filling in the gaps through the use of shared experience and memory.

The above examination of a selection of Auctor's discourse reveals a narrative persona that is less than omniscient who guides the audience through the text, expanding and contracting the narration according to his perceptions, but who invites collaboration from his audience, often calling upon them to supply the appropriate emotions or personal vision when words fail. The narrative

persona outlined above betrays a presence, although unidentified, that takes on a performative role in guiding the audience through the text, controlling the formation of opinions concerning how the audience should view particular characters and events but who also calls on his listeners and readers to participate fully in the story. The performative character of the text will be explored further in the following discussion concerning the work's reception.

Reception: Grisel y Mirabella as performance text

The use of a narrative persona as examined above and the presence of rhetorical speeches full of acoustical and oral elements suggest that Grisel y Mirabella was read aloud in small groups gathered together for purposes of entertainment (Alcázar López 39-40). Such aspects as the length of the work, the presence of framed spectacles (jousts, debates, formal disputation), the use of internal cues to guide the reactions of the characters, all suggest dramatic, oral transmission as one form of the work's reception and will be addressed below. The discussion will begin with an examination of the prologue of Grisel y Mirabella, with references to Flores's other work, Triunfo de amor, in order to show that the works were intended to be read aloud. In addition, it will be shown that the prologue to Grisel y Mirabella indicates Flores may have shared authorship with his internal reader, his "amiga".

Indications that Grisel y Mirabella was read aloud is found in the brief prologue directed to his "amiga." In the prologue, Flores is preoccupied with his lack of rhetorical

skill or as he says, "la gracia de hablar" and warns his intended reader, his "amiga" that "si ello no sta tal que de oyr sea: vos senyora merezcays la pena de mi culpa," and a little further along he worries about the "grande occasion ala riza y malicia delos hoyentes" (333; emphasis added). From the above citations, it appears that Grisel y Mirabella circulated orally and like many early works enjoyed a form of oral life or transmission before it was published. The presence of phrases referring to hearing the work read underscores its oral reception. In another work, Triunfo de amor, Flores also refers to his listeners rather than readers: "vengo acompañado de novelas, porque oirlas os gocéis" (73) and "y si yo me pudiera tanto detener, que todas las novedades pudiera escribir tan alegres al contentamiento de quien oyese como ellas pasan a quien las vee" (175; emphasis added).

The prologue to Grisel y Mirabella also reveals Flores's concern that his work will cause the Ladies to make him the butt of their jokes and so he requests anonymity. He further distances himself from their criticism by placing responsibility for the possible negative reception of the work on his "amiga" when he admits to only acting as scribe: "pues yo desto solamente soy scriuano" (333). Although it is possible that Flores uses his Lady in order to protect himself from criticism, we can also conjecture on the possibility that his amiga was the true author behind the work. Flores appears to indicate that his Lady took an active part in the work's conception: "que por la

comunicacion de vuestra causa he trabaiado por fazer alguna parte delas obras de vuestra discrecion: para me aprovechar en esta necessidad dellas" (333). The ambiguity of the written word makes it difficult to be certain if Flores means the argument within the work in favor of the women's cause "vuestra causa" or the extradiegetic cause of putting in writing his Lady's ideas for the story of Grisel and Mirabella. The phrase "obras de vuestra discreçion" gives credence to the idea that the work might have at least in part been inspired by the imagination or "discrecion" of Flores's "amiga." A point in favor of a collaboration between Flores and his "amiga" in the composition of Grisel y Mirabella is that Flores is so willing to make her an equal partner in the praise or blame of the text.

Although the prologue raises questions concerning the true extent of collaboration between Flores and his "amiga," it does confirm the oral reception and the participatory character of Grisel y Mirabella. We will now consider the presence of theatrical elements such as embedded performances, dramatic speeches, metalinguistic signs as built in cues that aid both actors and listeners alike.

One aspect of a theatrical model found in narrative, the use of a type of embedded performance, the framed spectacle, is also found in Grisel y Mirabella and serves several functions inside and outside the text (Maclean 12). Framed spectacles in the form of verbal jousts, informal debates and formal disputations highlight the performative quality of the work. The staging of the point by point

arguments for and against men and women invites participation and encourages polemic from a listening and even reading audience. We can imagine the external listeners expressing their pleasure or disapproval as they heard the work read. This possibility has been raised by Alcázar López and González Núñez in their introduction to Grisel y Mirabella. According to them the length of the works and the use of speeches suggest that the work could be read aloud at one sitting in less than two hours, a respectable amount of time for a dramatic reading (11).

In addition to the performability aspect suggested above, the informal and formal debates are types of framed spectacles requiring the presence of an audience. On the extradiegetic level, framed spectacles function to help audiences adjust to the written fiction in lieu of an oral performer. The use of debate as dramatic dialogue, for example, in the dramatization of court scenes such as that between Braçayda and Torrellas, provided a diegetic space of which an extradiegetic audience could imagine itself a part. The audience could imagine themselves hearing Braçayda and Torrellas defend and refute their arguments, forgetting the fictional context surrounding the debate. For the particular courtly audience who would have heard the work, the idea of a woman formally disputing must have been entertaining to a society where only men normally argued such topics as the nature of love or issues of justice in purely academic settings.

In addition to framed spectacles in Grisel y Mirabella,

speeches are filled with rhetorical elements such as apostrophe and exclamation that when read aloud by the characters would move the audience of listeners. The speeches also produce changes in narrative space and time, concentrating it between the speakers (Maclean 11-12). In some cases the theatrical quality is evident by the presence or absence of characters made known through the speeches alone. For example, when the Queen's very emotional appeal for the life of her daughter is not granted, she launches into a planctus that is all the more dramatic since she delivers her lament in front of her still living daughter (Alcázar López 42). Mirabella offers a lament that is equally dramatic since her words serve to conjure up the image of Grisel lying dead before her: "O Grisel es cierto que ya no biues. ante mis ojos te veo muerto" (362). Through her speech, Mirabella fills the stage with the image of Grisel's inert body before her.

The power of the characters' words to paint the scenes for the listening audience underscores an important role that is exercised by Auctor as narrator. At various moments in the work he acts as a sort of director of scenes by providing visual cues or metalinguistic signs of pointing, showing or describing, so the audience can create the scene before them in order to enter into the fiction either as a listening public in the extradiegetic sense or as dramatic readers where the work serves as a script. As the following examples will illustrate, cues in the text not only help the audience imagine itself within the fiction but also instruct

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A good example of how Auctor sets the stage in order to guide the placement of the characters is the opening scene of the trial between Braçayda--who will argue in favor of the women--and Torrellas who takes the men's side. Auctor's detailed description of the seating arrangements at the debate betw2een Braçayda and Torrellas not only allows the external audience to visualize the scene but it also serves as a type of internal stage direction for dramatic readings:

> y ala huna parte dela sala stauan la Reyna con infantas y damas y otras dozellas: que para ver y oyr fueron iuntadas alli. y ala otra parte el Rey con grande multitud de gentes: y ala postremera grada staua Mirabella que veya a Braçayda por su auocada: y Torellas con Grisel. y luego dexaron de tanyer vn alto son de trompetas. y todos guardando y dando silencio: en tal manera comiença Braçayda su razon contra Torrellas. (343- 44)

As the quote above indicates, the placement of the woman on one end and the King and men at the other end underscores the division between the men and women of Scotland. The sound of the trumpet and the ensuing silence creates a "puesto en escena" that serves to open the formal disputation quite dramatically.

Other verbal cues provided by Auctor function to introduce the characters' speeches and describe their emotional demeanor. In order to represent, for example, Mirabella's tears as she pleads with Grisel, Auctor records: "con muchas lagrimas de grande piedad comiença a dezir" (340). Another example paints Braçayda's violent reactions after the judges condemn Mirabella: "en tal manera appellando ante la majestat de Dios: como soberano iuez

delos hombres clama y quexa" (355). The Queen's violent reactions and physical response to the King upon hearing the judgement is also vividly described:

> la Reyna y ella con todas las damas se ponen ante los pies del Rey: humilmente supplicando por la vida de Mirabella. al qual ningunos ruegos vençer pudieron. mas como la Reyna lo vio de proposito de fazer aquella iusticia: en tal manera le supplico. (357)

Auctor later portrays the Queen's rage as she speaks: "con desenfrenada rauia ansi comiença" (359). Even the words which the Queen directs toward Mirabella are described as being delivered with kisses and tears: "ala qual la Reyna fue hauer infinitas vezes besando la. y con calientes lagrimas la banyaua. y en esta forma el dolor de su muerte le manifiesta" (359). Mirabella's lament to Grisel is also delivered with tears: "y tales palabras mescladas con lagrimas le dixo" (360). The introduction and description of the characters' physical reactions thus serve as cues in order to guide how the passages may be read aloud. The use of the theatrical model in the narrative of Grisel y Mirabella "highlights the complementarity of written narrative and drama and their common roots in oral performance" (MacLean 13).

In conclusion, an examination of Grisel y Mirabella reveals the work to be a complex interchange of oral and textual elements. It has been illustrated that there is a convergence of oral and written sources while the work's style remains close to orality through the presence of coordination of periodic groupings, proverb-like forms of wisdom primarily structured as balanced phrases, and

descriptive vocabulary and parallel imagery that convey abstractions and emphasize particular connections between characters or parts of the story for a listening or reading audience. The structure of Grisel y Mirabella has been shown to be dependent on oral forms of expression as it is built on forms of verbal polemic through verbal jousts, informal debates and formal disputations.

The convergence of orality and textuality is also evident in aspects of the narration governed by a narrator who fulfills an intermediary role between oral performer and written narrator guiding the series of debates through his narrative of the events that lead up to them and the results that follow. The role of Auctor as narrator serves an additional purpose since he must mediate between fiction and reality in order that the extradiegetic audience can enter into the fiction. It is helpful to remember that audience fictionalization came about due to the decontextualization of writing when the absent writer had to fictionalize himself and his public since unlike the oral performer, he could not face his audience directly (Ong Interfaces 69).

Grisel y Mirabella illustrates what Jesse Gellrich calls "the late medieval crisis between literacy and orality" at the moment when the written word began to supersede oral discourse. In Flores's text this crisis or tension is represented by the confrontation between courtly love and judicial discourse. Judicial discourse is used to discover the truth as to whether it was Grisel or Mirabella who was to blame for having caused their love affair but the

truth of the matter is never revealed to the King. Instead, the search for ultimate truth brings rhetorical stalemates (debates that cannot be decided or thwarted by acts of God) that are settled through violence. Whether in the "civilized" court of the King and his men or the savage midnight ritual of the Queen and her ladies, violence reigns as the ultimate means of resolution within the work.

The second half of this chapter will demonstrate that like Grisel y Mirabella, resolution comes through acts of violence in Grimalte y Gradissa when communication, oral or written, fails to convince or persuade. Unlike Grisel y Mirabella, where violence is inflicted on characters from the outside by others, in Grimalte y Gradissa the characters resort to acts of self-inflicted violence. The use of violence as a means of settling issues casts an agonistic tone to both works that reminds us that although written, the works incorporate oral habits of thought and expression that are characteristically adversarial in nature.

Grimalte y Gradissa

Grimalte y Gradissa preserves both oral and textual traditions that contribute to its composition, transmission and reception. The discussion of Flores's second work will begin with an examination of the extant manuscripts and early printed editions and what they reveal about the work's composition and transmission. As will be seen, the preservation of a more archaic version in a manuscript fragment is particularly helpful in elucidating the evolution of the work from manuscript to print. Before

turning to several topics of particular interest to Grimalte y Gradissa, a brief summary of the plot will be given after which some of the major oral and textual sources will be explored; in particular Flores's use of Boccaccio's Fiammetta. Flores's appropriation of Boccaccio's famous heroine, Fiammetta, implies a greater debt to textuality than in other sentimental romances since Flores employs direct borrowings from Boccaccio's text and incorporates them into his own work. He literally appropriates Boccaccio's famous heroine, Fiammetta and her lover Pamphilo, as protagonists in Grimalte y Gradissa.

The chapter will then analyze the work's oral-rhetorical structure. The romance's structure will be shown to be more complex than that of Grisel y Mirabella since the characters express themselves through oral and written modes of discourse in the form of prose (narrative, speeches and letters) and poetry. Next the work's oral rhetorical style will be studied to illustrate Flores's use of dramatic expression, epithets, physical and proverbial-like phrases. Oral habits of thought will also be indicated through a study of the way in which the characters interpret their experience rhetorically by comparing themselves to a public standard based on shared experience.

We will then turn to several themes related to orality and textuality. Although thematic concerns may not in themselves relate overtly to orality and textuality, their presentation is colored by oral habits of thought and expression. In Grimalte y Gradissa, the themes of love and

fortune relate to oral expression since they are conceived of as personified forces that threaten a person's inner powers in a battle for control that leads to defeat (irrationality) or victory (rationality). The theme of honor or fame can also be linked to oral thought processes since honor represents the public expression of an individual's worth. Thematic concerns are an important consideration in an evaluation of the convergence of oral and textual aspects in a work since their presentation is filtered through oral habits of thought and expression.

Next, the oral-rhetorical function of reading and writing is especially pertinent to understanding the convergence of orality and textuality in Grimalte y Gradissa. All the characters use reading and writing as a means of shaping and interpreting their individual experience and from which they create specific roles for themselves or others. Gradissa sees herself as the ideal reader of Fiammetta who responds to the exemplum quality of the text. Although Grimalte imagines himself the ideal reader, he is in fact, an unwelcome reader who misinterprets the text and uses Fiammetta to seduce Gradissa. As will be shown, Gradissa thwarts the attempt when she gives Grimalte the task of rewriting Fiammetta in that he must bring the Italian lovers to a happy reunion. The discussion below on shaping of experience through reading and writing will then bring us to an interesting dilemma regarding the role of narrator. Interestingly, Grimalte's (as narrator) close observation of Fiometa and Panfilo suggests that the role of

narrator can at times be intrusive, even bordering on the voyeuristic.

The discussion will then turn to aspects of the work's narration. Grimalte y Gradissa is further complicated by Flores's declaration in his prologue that he is changing his name to Grimalte, the main protagonist of the work: "Comiença un breve tractado compuesto por Johan de Flores, el qual por la siguiente obra mudó su nombre en Grimalte" (1). By assuming a fictitious persona, Flores complicates the role of narrator by becoming a sort of actor in performance. Lastly a discussion of the work's reception will show that Grimalte y Gradissa is performative in nature and invites participation through the direct discourse of the characters and the narrator, in the references to "hearing" and "hearers" and through the possible dramatic readings of the speeches. The ensuing discussion will thus hope to demonstrate that orality is a powerful component on most levels of Grimalte y Gradissa amidst the apparent textual dependence on Fiammetta and use of epistolary discourse.

Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions: Oral-Textual Influences

An examination of the extant manuscripts and early printed editions is necessary for an understanding of orality and textuality in Grimalte y Gradissa. These texts can provide clues as to whether the work was orally composed and transmitted and to what uses were made of the extant copies, whether they were destined for oral recitation or

private reading. In addition, we can detect to what degree that acoustical interference or textual influence might have played in the composition and transmission by examining the number of orthographic and syntactic variants, and any additions and deletions of text between extant manuscripts or early editions. An investigation of the above elements in the textual history of Grimalte y Gradissa indicates that there is enough variability among the texts to consider each individual text as a unique "performance." The focus of the following comparison of the extant texts will center on how the Seville manuscript is possibly an "oral" or more archaic version of Grimalte y Gradissa then the other surviving texts and in the process will demonstrate the significant variability between the extant versions.

The textual history of Grimalte y Gradissa has recently been evaluated by Carmen Parrilla in light of the two extant manuscripts, Biblioteca Nacional MS 22018 (=M) and the Colombina (Seville) MS 5-3-20 (=S) and the undated printed edition (but 1495 Henrique Botel, Lérida) (=L).[23] One of the most evident differences between the versions is the presence or absence of text. Parrilla has noted that the poetry appears in M and L but not in S, supposing from the evidence that the source for S did not contain the poetry. Also, neither M or S contain the colophon that appears at the end of L, the 1495 printed edition that announces: "La sepultura de Fiometa con las coplas y canciones quantas son en este tractado hizo Alonso de Cordoua. Y acaba la obra. Deo Gratias" (Matulka 432). The addition of Alonso de

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Córdoba as author of the poetry in L indicates another interpretive voice in the work that is lacking in S. The reception of the two texts would certainly be influenced by the presence or absence of Córdoba's poetry.

Although S is only a fragment of the work compared to the other texts it is interesting in that its ending employs a different version although in keeping with the story line. S is an important text because it is a more archaic perhaps oral version of Grimalte y Gradissa before further manipulations of its text by scribes and printers elaborated the work. A comparison of lexical items between S and ML confirms S as an earlier version (ie., onesdad S / honestidad ML; assaç MS / muchas L; ansi S / asi ML; ca S / que ML). S contains archaic verbal forms (ie., fuerades SM / fuerays L; vido SM / vio L) and syntactic archaisms as well (ie., que te yo he SM / que yo te he L; me vos mandar S / me mandais ML) (Parrilla Grimalte lxv). S also contains more abbreviations than the other two texts (lvi).

Other textual evidence supports S as an older version. It is less embellished not only in its lack of poetry (found in M and L) but also due to a generally more straightforward style. A few examples will suffice to illustrate S as overall less embellished than the other two texts, although the fragmentary status of the work makes it difficult to reach an unequivocal conclusion. Following are a few examples that indicate S as a less embellished and more archaic text than M and L:

"me defiende, de la otra vuestras requestas y

servicios" L
"me ayude vuestros serviçios" S (4)

"Y pues dizen su partida es en busca de" L
"Y pues dize partirse en busca" S (8)

"dad la obra" L
"obrad" S (9)

"el tiempo tan largo" L
"el largo tiempo" S (12)

"tal remedio y final respuesta" ML
"tal respuesta" S (15)

"en la inquisicion o busca de Fiometa" ML
"en busqueda de Fiometa" S (18)

"que tenéis" ML
"tener" S (18)

"y deshabitadas silvas fazer las diligencias a la busca convenientes seguiendo aquella vida de" M
"y campos de seguir la vida" S (21)

"los otros muchos tristes" M
"los muy tristes" S (22)

"a quien respondiendo dixe assí" ML
"a la qual yo asi respondi" S (23)

"a quien envialle" M
"a quien le enbiar S (28)

"y por la tener hallada más senzillos los siento y aliviados que los usados" ML
"y ya por la aver hallado mas senzillos que lo usado lo siento" S (36)

"ofrezco de aquí todo lo que por vos pudiere disponer más" M
"ofresco de aqui las mis cosas mas" S (38)

"la que yo recebí" M
"la recebida" S (40)

"si mis ruegos valen algo: que" ML
"mis ruegos que" S (68)

"el su descolorido gesto" M
"el gesto" S (78)

"algún merescido premio" ML
"algun premio" S (85)

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A vivid illustration of S as less embellished concerns the scene in which Grimalte comments on the reunion between Panfilo and Fiometa found in M but also typical of L. M reads:

> ni con más lindos modos entenderse. Sin duda, quanto más los yo mirava, tanto de mayores gracias en mis ojos eran representados, porque me parescía que el mesmo Dios de los amores los enseñava. (77)

On the other hand, Grimalte the narrator is less exuberant in his observations in S:

> ni tan graciosos modos ninguno podria pensar como aquellos hazer sabian tanto que me parecia amor los enseñava. (77)

Although there are a few occurrences when S gives more information or embellishments as the following examples show, it appears that M and L are more adorned overall:

"soy obligado" ML
"soy mas obligado" S (73)

"plazeres, y" ML
"plazeres perdidos y" S (78)

"Panfilo busco piedad forçada" ML
"Panfilo forçado, busco piedad prestada" S (78)

"el afición" ML
"la grande afición" S (87).

Given the above comparison, S then appears as a more archaic or even "oral" version than M or L. The above comparison, along with Parrilla's careful textual study and examples further support her suggestion that S "representa una versíon de Grimalte y Gradissa anterior a la que hizo possible el impreso" (lxvi). That S is an earlier version is supported also by its fragmentary nature, abbreviations, word boundary confusion, and few scribal corrections.

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All three of the texts show a convergence of oral and written elements of style. In S, there is a greater degree of the type of coordination found in oral narrative, through the use of "and...and...and..." to link thought groups, while written style is evident in the sophistication and manipulation of syntax of M and L. Although both M and the printed text L begin periodic groupings with the coordinating conjunction "Y," S many times uses "y" with no pause before it. M and L typically end phrases as illustrated in the following examples compared with S: ML have "me quede. Y" whereas S continues with no pause "me queda y" (30); or L has "la qual Pánfilo" and S "y jamas Panfilo" (2); or M's "a ella. Y" and L and S "a ello y" (8); M lists "deseos, no" while LS puts "deseos y no" (10); M and L have "deleites. Y" contrasted with S "deleites y" (10); ML put "de aborrecerme. Y" and S reads "de me aborrecer y" (14); and ML's "pasare. Esto" while S lists "pasare y esto" (14). The lack of punctuation separating periodic groupings in S brings it closer to the world of sound than M or L.

A comparison of the use of the words "hearers" or "readers" and the use of epideictic phrases and direct discourse also clarifies whether or not a particular text was read aloud. Specific examples from M concern the following phrases referring to the oral-aural senses: "Y por no dar tanta pena a los <u>oyentes</u>, no quiero contar por extenso sus desaventuras graves" and later the narrator continues: "por ser incredibles cosas de <u>oír</u>, callo" (176; emphasis added). The changes from a listening to reading

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audience is noted in the Lérida printed edition which substitutes in the first passage "leyedores" for "oyentes" and in the second example "creher" for "oír."

Direct address or epideictic phrases are found again a little later in M when the narrator tells his audience that he is at a loss for words: "mirad lo que de su figura me paresció" (177; emphasis added). Again, the Lérida printed text does not contain the epideictic "mirad" as the manuscript does. Another comparison of direct discourse to outside listeners/hearers found in the manuscript states, "no podría deziros quántas maneras de pensamientos a mi memoria acorrieron" (149; emphasis added). From these examples we can conclude that the manuscript M was probably received orally, while the printed edition L included readers. It appears from the variants that S and M were read aloud to oneself or to small groups while L consciously includes groups of readers as well as listeners.

A comparison of the texts also indicates that early printed editions are not always reliable copies, and like scribes who copy manuscripts, printers and editors manipulate text and even create new errors or perpetuate old ones. Unlike S which appears to have been copied mechanically, M is a careful copy with abundant corrections of eye slips and other errors committed by a copyist (Parrilla Grimalte lvii). On the other hand, the editor of the printed version L was not as careful, and there are many errors in the printed text including carelessly resolved abbreviations or omissions of text at the beginning or ends

of lines. Serious errors also appear in the poetry involving carelessness in rhyming or irregularities in the computation of some strophes (lvii). Parrilla concludes that Flores probably did not take part in the preparation of the printed edition, and either an error-filled copy was used or the editor was careless (lvi-lvii).

A careful examination of the three early texts shows that they are independent of one another and none served as a source for the others (Parrilla Grimalte lvii-lviii). The differences between the texts can lead to a change in viewpoint or affect the meaning of the work. Certain differences between the texts, especially between M and L, signify changes in perspective or in the sense of the passage. Following are several examples of changes in perspective given by Parrilla:

11.69 qual yo por conoscer tus M
qual cosa por yo no adobar tus L

19.68 tus pérdidas lloro, de las M
tus perdidas lohores. las L

20.43 causa estás con alguna tu amiga
causa estara con alguna suya amiga. (lxi)

Examples of divergent readings include:

7.85 fazer alarde de M
hazer al arte de L

11.81 te llega, yo M
te llaguen yo L

20.83 si Casandra te M
si cadal dia te L

23.47 me los llegues. Y M
me quieres. Y L (lxi)

In some cases S gives a contradictory but more correct

reading that changes the meaning of the passage:

9.12 reçar fue ML
rezar no fue S (Parrilla lxiii)

Of the three extant versions, M presents the most careful reading before S's fragmentation (it contains about a third of the text) and L's frequent errors. Although M and L, and M and S share readings, L and S share few coincidences (lviii). The great variability between the three texts as exemplified above reminds us of the usefulness of considering each version in the spirit of an oral performance.

Summary: Two stories of the destructive power of love

Before turning to other aspects of the convergence of orality and textuality in Grimalte y Gradissa, the following summary will help clarify the complex plot structure of the work. Grimalte y Gradissa begins with a prologue announcing that Flores will change his name to that of Grimalte. The prologue then summarizes the story of how Fiometa had been deserted by her lover Panfilo, and how she had set off in search of him. Grimalte suppresses the information that Boccaccio is the real author and instead makes Fiometa author of her own tale.

Following the prologue, we discover that Grimalte has been pursuing Gradissa and performing courtly service in her honor. Gradissa utterly disdains him, giving the reasons that she is afraid of the consequences of love and does not trust the fickle nature of men. One day, in order to incite Gradissa to return his love, Grimalte gives Gradissa

Fiometa's book to read but his amorous plan backfires when Gradissa empathizes completely with Fiometa's tragic plight as a woman deserted by her lover. Gradissa identifies with the intended reader or "enamoradas damas" of Fiometa's book and listens to Fiometa's warning to beware of all men.

Gradissa, moved by Fiometa's plight charges Grimalte with the task of finding and reuniting Fiometa and Panfilo. In addition, Gradissa demands that Grimalte must record his efforts in writing. If he is successful, Gradissa herself will be the prize. Grimalte, grumbling, departs in search of Fiometa convinced that Gradissa just wants him out of her sight.

After wandering through strange lands Grimalte encounters Fiometa in the wilderness and they set off for Panfilo's homeland. Upon arriving they stay in a convent under the pretext that they are on a pilgrimage. Fiometa sends Panfilo a letter requesting a meeting and demanding that he not answer in writing or even finish her letter but come immediately. Panfilo ignores Fiometa's request to come in person and instead answers her with a letter full of reasons for not meeting her. When Fiometa sees the response in writing she is enraged and Grimalte offers to go in person to try and convince Panfilo to see Fiometa. Grimalte is received by Panfilo's father and after much ceremony Grimalte, alone with Panfilo, tries to convince him to meet with Fiometa. Panfilo gives some very un-courtly reasons for not resuming the relationship that are quite different from the reasons he had written to Fiometa. After much debate,

Grimalte manages to persuade Panfilo to see Fiometa.

After what appears to be a successful reconciliation that is described in great detail by Grimalte, Fiometa and Panfilo launch into a series of informal debates that end with Panfilo's departure and Fiometa grieving and angry. She dies and Grimalte builds Fiometa a splendid tomb replete with representations of her unhappy fate. Grimalte, determined to avenge Fiometa, challenges Panfilo to a duel. Panfilo cedes victory to Grimalte without a battle explaining that he is exiling himself in penitence and remorse for Fiometa's death. Grimalte returns to Gradissa to whom he sends his story knowing that like Fiometa's original text, this one will serve to warn Gradissa against men.

Having lost all hope of gaining Gradissa's affections, Grimalte decides to search for Panfilo in order to see, if as promised, he had sought penance through exile, or as Gradissa believes, had lied and has by now returned home. After searching for twenty-seven years, Grimalte finds Panfilo in the wilds of Asia and joins him where they both live as wild men. Every three days they witness a hellish vision of Fiometa being tormented and chased by demons.

Oral Textual Sources: Flores's Continuation of "Fiammetta"

Grimalte y Gradissa is especially complex due to the oral and textual traditions that converge in the work. The following study will address a number of prominent traditions utilized by Flores that relate to orality and textuality. As the above plot summary indicates, Grimalte y Gradissa is dependent on Boccaccio's Fiammetta as a primary

textual source and the role of the Italian text in Flores's work will be discussed first. Also to be considered are a number of other sources that display a convergence of oral and textual traditions that Flores and his collaborator Alonso de Córdoba drew upon in the creation of Grimalte y Gradissa. The first is a discussion of Fiometa's sepulchre that appears to have been influenced by the sepulchre in Siervo libre de amor. We will suggest that the sepulchre functions as a metatext in that it presents iconically another version of Fiometa's story within Grimalte y Gradissa. Rather than Flores, Alonso de Córdoba is responsible for its verse inscription, thus representing extra-authorial participation in the composition of the work. Next, Flores's use of the traditions of the Erotic Hell and Arthurian motifs will be discussed followed by an examination of the use of the wild man motif that can be traced to oral popular and written penitential traditions. The vow of silence is an important element in both oral and popular traditions and will be addressed briefly for its significance in an orally residual culture. Although the above sources and traditions appear to be unconnected, Flores drew upon his knowledge of them and united them in Grimalte y Gradissa. Except for his use of Boccaccio's Fiammetta, the other influences may have been mediated through memoria and therefore transmitted to Flores either through written or spoken language.

The most significant textual feature and, perhaps, for fifteenth-century imaginative fiction one of the most

innovative features, is Flores's use of Boccaccio's Fiammetta. Although many lines are translated directly from Boccaccio's text, the addition of Flores's two lovers, Grimalte y Gradissa, complicates and adds originality to the Spanish text.[24] Flores has not created a simple adaptation in order to satisfactorily close the tale of Panfilo and Fiammetta by reuniting them, but rather he takes up the story where Fiammetta's pseudo-biographical account of her desertion by Panfilo leaves off. The Fiammetta is a pretext that allows Flores's own characters to try and influence the fate of Fiammetta/Fiometa whose final destiny will in turn affect their lives. Rather than have Fiometa remain plaintively weeping over her lost love as Boccaccio does in his Fiammetta, Flores permits Fiometa to complete the vow she had taken in Fiammetta and actually set off in search of Panfilo. After reading of the Italian heroine's struggles, Gradissa charges Grimalte with the task of reuniting Fiometa and Panfilo so that the fate of Flores's lovers will rest with Grimalte's rhetorical success over Boccaccio's Italian lovers.

Flores's Fiometa retains the self-absorption and hyperbolic attitude she exhibits in Boccaccio's text; however he adds a new dimension when he takes her verbosity and translates it into action, in other words, when he permits her to act on the promises, vows and threats she makes in the Italian text. He also adds new dimensions to her character by presenting her through the eyes of the other characters. Grimalte's descriptions of Fiometa, and

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Panfilo's speeches that provide his view of their love affair, present Fiometa from the point of view of others (Waley Grimalte xxxiii)

Flores also appropriates Pamphilo and maintains the image of him conveyed by Fiammetta as being handsome and clever. Unlike Boccaccio's Pamphilo who is an absent voice in the Italian text except when he is conjured up through Fiammetta's remembrances, Flores gives his Panfilo a voice through which he can defend himself against Fiometa's accusations. Flores skillfully maintains the tone of the Italian text in describing the lovers' relationship as one of constant one upmanship when he has Panfilo complain to Fiometa: "Pero tú siempre quisiste en todas tus cosas sobrarme y mostrar mayor amor y deçir mejor tus quexas" (52). This is in keeping with Fiometa's hyberbolic conception of herself and her fate, first created by Boccaccio.

In spite of the textual debt to Fiammetta primarily through the characters of Fiammetta and Pamphilo, Flores diverges from Boccaccio's text in several important ways. He does not maintain the introspective pseudo-biographical narrative in which the Italian Fiammetta relates to her private diary the story of her love affair with Pamphilo and his subsequent desertion of her. With the obvious publication of her book implied in Grimalte y Gradissa, she is no longer anonymous as she was in the Italian text. Her story is public knowledge as "famosa scriptura" and no doubt has even entered into the oral tradition since Flores

informs us that the Italian lovers are known in all the towns and villages. In addition, Flores effaces Boccaccio as author of Fiammetta by making Fiometa author of her own story. Rather than a continuous first person narration by Fiammetta as in the Italian text, Flores's Grimalte y Gradissa contains diverse forms of discourse including speeches, narration, letters and poetry that present the characters from numerous perspectives. The main narrative is cast in a letter to Gradissa explaining Grimalte's attempts to reunite Fiometa and Panfilo while speeches, verse and other letters express individual points of view.

Besides Flores, Alonso de Córdoba provides another version of Fiometa's story within Grimalte y Gradissa through his verse rendition of her fate inscribed on her sepulchre after her death. The sepulchre is also a visual interpretation of Fiometa's story since it includes pictorial carvings and symbolic colors. Grimalte builds the sepulchre after Fiometa's death and it is reminiscent of that built by Princess Yrena for Ardanlier and Liessa in Siervo libre de amor. Matulka points out the affinities between Flores's and Rodríguez del Padrón's use of the sepulchre and the parallels between the characters Grimalte and Yrena (264-65). Fiometa's tomb is much more detailed than the sepulchre in Siervo libre de amor and relates the story of her sad affair reflected visually through iconic representations and color symbolism (Matulka 266-67).

As metatext, the sepulchre also refers the listener/reader not only to Boccaccio's original, but also

to Flores's story of Fiometa after she has left her home in search of Panfilo. This particular version of Fiometa's tale is not Flores's but, rather, that of his collaborator Alonso de Córdoba. Córdoba drew on a tradition of richly carved and embellished sepulchers designed to memorialize aspects of the life of the deceased (Matulka 267-275). The commonplaces and colors used by Córdoba are drawn from stock motifs and traditional imagery (273-75). Color symbolism in particular was utilized to express emotions or ideas through heightened sensual experience. The visual sense received the colors through verbal expression. The sepulchre of Fiometa functions as both a monument within the story and as a mnemonic device: "porque su grand gentileza despertase la memoria de esta señora" (134). It is an iconic representation that helps the listener or reader visualize the main events of Fiometa's story.

The prose description of the four sections of the sepulchre is followed by a verse interpretation inscribed on the tomb. The following examples illustrate the blend of sight and sound since each part of the sepulchre represents a different color and image and a unique poetic interpretation that was probably sung originally. The first prose description describes the main picture on the tomb: "con muy verdes ondas...estaba una barquilla sin remos" (135) which is followed by an allegorical interpretation of the sea imagery in verse: "En esta barca de amor / y mar de vana esperanza, es un barquero, Dolor" (135). Another part of the tomb is described as:

> la parte siniestra estava sobre pardillo un fuego de muy ardiente resplandor, en el qual era metido un niño de tierna edad, que con sus mismos manos atizava aquellas llamas en que ardía. (135)

The inscribed verses that follow are the words of this "niño" who "gozoso" explains: "Esto sintiendo la gloria / daqueste fuego de amor" (136). The sepulchre incorporates both verbal (and tactile) and visual imagery in order to form a memorial to Fiometa's impassioned life and a verbal-visual exemplum of the "daños / de la vida enamorada" (139) as the last line of poetry on her sepulchre states.

The ravages of passion that are pictorially described on Fiometa's tomb through the images of boats dependent on the sea (of passion) for example, or the boy joyfully fanning the flames (of desire), are also conveyed through the wild man/woman motif that has oral and textual antecedents. Matulka points out that with so many popular legends about hairy anchorites since John the Baptist, Flores "drew upon his memory for several incidents connected with the 'hairy anchorite' in the saint's legends as well as upon the Amadís, combining them artistically with telling effect" (287).[25]

Flores explicitly establishes the link between wilderness and passion: "las selvas y los campos y lugares envegescidos e desiertos son conformes a los muy desesperados coraçones" (30). Similarly, in Grimalte y Gradissa, Fiometa, Panfilo, and Grimalte, who in varying degrees all surrender to passion, become inhabitants of uncivilized lands. Panfilo, for example, becomes an hombre

salvaje in penitence for his cruelty to Fiometa. His changed appearance after twenty-seven years in the wilds of Asia calls to mind the famous Saint Mary the Egyptian who seduced many men through her physical beauty but during her wilderness penance lost her former attractiveness. Grimalte models his wild man image after Panfilo, although unlike Panfilo, he retires to the wilds due to his rhetorical inadequacy to seduce Gradissa and his failure to unite Panfilo with Fiometa.

Fiometa, who wanders through the wilds searching for Panfilo, is a type of wild woman because she has completely surrendered to her passions. She even alludes to her own changed appearance. Even after her death, Fiometa is pictured as a type of wild woman as she is denied a voice and cannot speak during her three nightly visits a week to Panfilo and Grimalte.

In conjunction with the wild man motif and particularly related to the penitential tradition, is the loss of speech through a vow or other form of restraint. The vow of silence is also a common hagiographic and literary motif and appears in stories of the lives of saints and hermits, and in the Arthurian stories of Merlin. For the penitent, the restraint of speech whether voluntary or not was a punishment or penance for past sins. In a society that relied on the spoken word, a vow of silence would be a severe censure in that it would signify an individual's separation from society through loss of the primary mode of communication. The harshness of such a vow is hard to imagine in cultures

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where the written and printed word dominate. The inability to express oneself orally is identified with anti-societal behavior and irrationality as Panfilo's behavior illustrates when Grimalte must hunt him down like an animal. Panfilo's self-imposed vow of silence is not broken until Grimalte imitates him by crawling like an animal. For Fiometa, prevented from speaking by the demons that pursue her in Panfilo's after death vision, silence is not voluntary but employed as a form of punishment.

The imposition of silence as a form of punishment is represented through the Erotic Hell motif, itself a combination of oral and textual sources (Matulka 295-302). Three nights a week Panfilo and later Grimalte witness a vision of Fiometa emerging as a ghastly shadow of her once former beauty, being tormented by demons. Significantly, the demons would not allow her to speak:

> y ella que començava a llamar mi nombre con propósito de algo dezirme, grande estorbo de aquellos que la seguían sentí yo por fuerça sus palabras revocaron. (175)

Vision stories of heaven and hell were prominent during the Middle Ages and gradually entered written tradition. Many vision stories originated as the oral telling of the visionary experiences of the unlettered and were recorded and even embellished in writing by parish priests (Gurevich 124). In Grimalte y Gradissa, the visions repeated to and subsequently recorded by Grimalte in writing, are further combined with Arthurian sources.

The Arthurian tradition figures strangely in Panfilo's

hellish vision. He witnesses Fiometa being put on a chariot by demons no doubt in order to indicate her public shame, similar to the scenes in the French romance of Lancelot and Chrétien de Troyes' Conte de la Charette where the knight is publicly shamed when he is forced to be carried in a cart (Matulka 302).

Fiometa's ghastly apparition is thus a composite of a number of sources including Arthurian and Erotic Hell motifs as well as originating in threats made by Fiammetta in Boccaccio's text. As Matulka points out, Flores fulfills the vow of Boccaccio's Fiammetta's that she would return from hell in order to torment Panfilo (297). The fulfillment of this threat is literally brought to fruition by Flores within the Spanish continuation. When Fiammetta rages in her diary that she would return from the depths of Hell just to torment Pamphilo, Flores grants her wish by playing with the literal sense of her threat. As mentioned previously, the Italian Fiammetta has not changed much in Flores's text. Similar to Torrellas's capture by the written word and textual destruction in Grisel y Mirabella when he is tricked by Braçayda's letter, Flores brings about Fiometa's downfall through a textual act. The threats to haunt Pamphilo that Fiammetta made in the Italian text become a self-fulfilling prophecy in Flores's work when she literally appears three nights a week in a tormented vision witnessed by Panfilo and Grimalte.

As presented above, Grimalte y Gradissa, like other sentimental romances such as Grisel y Mirabella relies on an

amalgam of oral and textual sources. As suggested earlier, Flores probably followed the rhetorical practice of inventio in gathering his material from the places in his memory, and recombined them to form his story, the method called memorative composition. With the additional appropriation of Boccaccio's feminine protagonist and her lover from the Fiammetta, and by making of them autonomous characters, Flores opens up new possibilities for the creation of fictional prose out of oral and textual traditions.

Structure: Poetic validation of prosified persuasions

Grimalte y Gradissa is structured on the direct discourse of the characters through both prose and verse. Waley has correctly noted that "the work is a kind of debate between the sexes, between man as a rational and woman as an emotional being, and a demonstration of their respective roles in the progress of an amour" (Grimalte xxxv). Each character steps forth as if on stage to present his or her rhetorical position. Unlike more modern literary characters, they are not defined by particular psychological features but by their rhetorical stance. The character Grimalte, for example, is developed through speeches which attempt to persuade Gradissa and, later, to win her, all depending on his success at reuniting Fiometa and Panfilo.

Many of the speeches are polemical and represent informal debates between the characters. Like Grisel y Mirabella, the speeches function to advance the plot, express themes, portray character and encourage resolution and outside participation through dramatic readings. Letters

and poems perform many of the same rhetorical functions as the speeches and will be studied next in order to demonstrate their unique contribution to Grimalte y Gradissa.

The Epistolary Mode

The frame upon which a good portion of Grimalte y Gradissa is built involves the letters that Grimalte writes to Gradissa. Grimalte constructs the main narrative of his attempt to reunite Panfilo and Fiometa through the letters Gradissa had requested: "por estenso escritas me las enbiéis" (9). The letters not only narrate the events of Grimalte's attempts to reunite the Italian lovers, but are also meant to be persuasive in order to win Gradissa. Since Gradissa is the intended reader of the letters, we must keep in mind that Grimalte is writing with the ulterior motive to win her favors. Other letters are exchanged in the work as well and are meant to convince or persuade. For instance, Fiometa's letter to Panfilo attempts to convince him to come back to her and Panfilo's letters in response try to persuade Fiometa to return to her husband. Rhetorically there is little difference between speeches and letters in that both present arguments and are meant to persuade a character to adopt a specific position. As rhetorical discourse both letters and speeches require a listening audience who will hear the arguments and decide for themselves whether they will be moved by Fiometa or by Panfilo in one case, or by Grimalte or Gradissa in the other.

Poetic Discourse

Poetry provides another example of the interworkings of orality and textuality in the work. As stated earlier, the verses are not the work of Flores but of his collaborator, Alonso de Córdoba. Therefore the poetic compositions represent a response to and interpretation of Flores's text. The poems have several functions on different levels of text. The most obvious function of the poems is on the extradiegetic level. As Waley has suggested, they were sung accompanied to music for variety in entertainment as the work was read aloud in groups, perhaps even dramatically (Grimalte xlvii). We will also demonstrate through several examples that poetry functions within the text as an emotional guide to the characters and as reinforcement for the listeners, as well as a mnemonic device on both the diegetic and extra-diegetic levels of text.

The poems appear regularly throughout the work at the end of a character's prose speech and each poem is preceded by a small introduction that justifies its presence. The introductions indicate that the poems are employed as affective and mnemonic devices. The first poem is directed toward Grimalte and represents Gradissa's poetic reiteration of the quest she has given Grimalte. In the prose introduction before the poem, Gradissa justifies her poem by emphasizing its mnemonic value: "Y por que lo metrificado más dulcemente a los sentidos atrahe a rescebir la memoria, aliende de lo informado, por esta mi cancionilla, lo quiero más recordaros assí" (10). The second poem represents

Grimalte's reply to Gradissa's verses and its prose introduction emphasizes the close proximity of the written word and courtly love service: "Y comoquiere que de tinta semejen letras y bordadura, no lo creáis, porque el triste mi sospiro la escrivió con la sangre del sentible coraçón que heristes" (17). In the prose introduction to the third poem Grimalte again stresses the mnemonic value of poetry as a way that Gradissa may not forget him: "Y porque de mí, que consolación no tengo, vuestra membrança se recuerde" (19). Another poem is "composed" by Fiometa in order to provide herself with a diversion and as a way of offering Grimalte some consolation not provided by her prose speech. She introduces the poem by explaining:

> Y porque con más gentileza mis pobrezillas razones consuelen vuestras angustias y quexas enamoradas, quiero aliviar el peso de mis enojos y fazer alarde de mis sentidos...de la habla me despido y me vo para la copla. (39)

Fiometa's speech also serves to show that the characters are aware of the change effected when they switch from prose to poetry. The self-conscious announcement that the character is switching to poetry brings the change to the listener/reader's attention and serves to create distance from the text by reminding the audience of the literariness of the work. The announcements of the change of discourse also could have been a means of introducing the extra-textual performance if the poems were to be sung aloud.

Characters in Grimalte y Gradissa generally provide reasons for the transition from prose to poetry in the brief prose introductions before the poems. The reasons might be

to encapsulate an emotional appeal, to persuade, or to commit to memory certain events and people. For example, at the end of one of Grimalte's speeches he acknowledges the economy of language of verse in place of prose as a means of introducing the poem or as he calls it here, copla: "Y si largo en la ya propuesta habla he seído delante vuestros ojos, resciben los sentimientos esta copla" (68). The copla that follows the prose is clearly shorter than Grimalte's prosified speech to Panfilo. Another reason for changing from prose to poetry is to persuade through the senses rather than through reason, as Panfilo says in introducing his poem: "más dulcemente engañaré tus oídos para que las puertas de aquellos entren dos otras coplas mías a tus sentidos" (105).

As the above examples have sought to illustrate, the use of poetry in Grimalte y Gradissa is not ornamental but functions to aid the characters to persuade one another, to express emotions and as an aid to remembrance. The extradiegetic audience benefits as well as they listen to the emotional appeals of the characters and to the poems which would serve to move them and remind them of particular aspects of the story as the plot progresses.

Oral/Textual Aspects of Style

The speeches, letters and poetry discussed above represent the main types of discourse in Grimalte y Gradissa and are conveyed through an orally residual style as the following analysis will illustrate. The forms of oral expression in the work that will be addressed include the

use of dramatic expression such as exclamatio and apostrophe, word plays that are linked to sound, the presence and function of epithets, physical phrases and proverbial-like sententious phrases of oral wisdom. In addition, the use of comparison through which the characters interpret their own actions and behavior according to established models will also be addressed. An examination of the types and function of oral expression will serve to indicate the convergence of orality and textuality in Grimalte y Gradissa as well as the dramatic quality oral expression adds to the work as a performance text.

Similar to Grisel y Mirabella, the use of exclamatio adds dramatic expression to the characters' speeches. The numerous examples of exclamatio and apostrophe in the work such as Fiometa's "¡O cativa yo!" (34), Grimalte's "¡O sin ventura muy desdichado Pánfilo!" (40) and Fiometa's despairing speech: "¡O Romanos...O desdichada de ti Fiometa...O vida más tenebrosa..." (118) function as oral expressions of emotion and affective devices in order to move a listening audience. Fiometa's theatrics and hyperbolic expression are particularly conducive to a dramatic reading of the text. Her final speech to Panfilo (108-11) and her last lament upon definitively losing him (115-119) are good examples of the use of rhetorical devices such as anaphora, exclamatio, and reiterations that create dramatic expression in the work. The last speech is spoken in Panfilo's presence which heightens the tension, and similar to Mirabella's lament over the dead body of Grisel

before her in Grisel y Mirabella, it cues the listener/reader to the physical positions and reactions of the characters when she exclaims: "Quítate ya, pues, Pánfilo, de mi vista, y la muerte que no me diste, dexámela tomar" (110).

Fiometa's final lament illustrates the accumulatio typical of oral rhetorical speeches. Here she aggregatively condemns herself: "Tú ensuziamiento de limpio matrimonio, robadora de la honra de tu marido...Tú destruimiento de tu casa...Tú, oprobio de las famosas dueñas, enxemplo de toda maldad..." (115). The repetition of "tú" in reference to herself emphasizes her desperate mental state and divided self: both are causes of her death.

Grimalte's lament after Fiometa's death follows the conventional pattern for the expression of grief. Typically, his lament extols the virtues of the deceased Fiometa, questions why he did not die instead, and expresses self-pity (Waley Grimalte lvi). The formulaic pattern of the speech as well as the emotional effect it is intended to produce suggest a dramatic performance of the work.

In addition to formulaic patterns for structuring speeches, the use of rhetorical devices in Grimalte y Gradissa is linked to sound as the following examples will demonstrate. Simple plays on words are acoustical as well as conceptual manipulations indicated by this example of annominatio: "os esforçó buen esfuerço" (61). Other types of plays on words such as that of inversion and repetition are common: "fazer de grandes menores, mas los menores fazerlos

grandes" (65). Alliterations are another frequent acoustical device: "plazenteros deportes pasaron" (1), "flaquilla fortaleza" (2), "mi sospiro la escrivió con la sangre del sentible corazon" (17), "procuro prolixidad" (18), "furioso fuego" (102), "vuestra victoria es mi vencimiento" (120), "mi maldad con una muerte no muera" (147), "fauor y esforçandoles fuerte contra animal tan flaco" (166), or "mis flacas fuerças contra aquellos sacavan simple victoria" (176).

Grimalte y Gradissa achieves economy of expression (to convey a great amount of information in few words), by utilizing epithets or standard noun qualifiers, in formulaic and mnemonic patterns such as those found in oral genres such as the epic or ballad. Epithets are quite numerous in Grimalte y Gradissa as these selected examples demonstrate: "valeroso marido" (1), "estraño hombre" (1, 53), "sobrado servir" (12), "sentible coraçon" (17), "desabitadas selvas" (21), "las enamoradas dueñas" (26 [S also contains "las enamoradas damas 2]), "desesperados coraçones" (30, 146), "escondida cámara" (47), "engañosas palabras" (49), "desesperada vida" (53), "la desonestada vida" (56), "la mudable Fortuna" (60), "mudable rueda" (61), "una segreta cámara" (63), "secreta cámara" (76), "apretados labios" (78), "amorosa batalla" (79), "el famoso morir" (87), "ciegos ojos" (98), "desesperados coraçones" (102), "desesperada muerte" (110, 177), "la grand conversación" (43), "continua conversación" (55, 122), "los desabitados desiertos" (146), "malvado Pánfilo" (153), "desesperada

empresa" (157), "despoblada selva" (162), "temerosos animales" (163), "las espantables visiones" (174), "la espesa montaña" (174).

Sometimes epithets are strung together for dramatic effect: "en la espesa montaña espantosos gritos con dolorosos gemidos" (174; emphasis added). The grouping of such gloomy epithets in an aggregative fashion casts a dismal and melancholic pall over the description. Many of the other epithets are also highly negative or sorrowful expressions that would seem to confirm Spinelli's study that the sentimental romance contains a high degree of negative phrases giving the works an overall melancholic tone.

In addition to the presence of epithets Grimalte y Gradissa contains another group of expressions more commonly found in oral epic poetry that contribute to the performative nature of Flores's text. These expressions are called physical phrases because they are verbal references to the characters' gestures and postures. Physical phrases in Grimalte y Gradissa function as a means of verbally presenting the movements and emotional responses so that an audience can imagine how the characters would gesture. Physical phrases serve as cues for a dramatic reading of the work so those who "perform" the work can respond and gesture appropriately. A few examples of physical phrases include: "llorando con lágrimas de sus ojos" (56); "que muy tiernamente con sus oios lloraua. y con sus manos se heria. y con sus dientes sus carnes con rauia despedaçaua" (426) and "de mi boca alguna consolación" (120). The person

reading the corresponding speech could use the physical phrases to make the reading more dramatic.

A good example of a physical phrase occurs when Grimalte as Auctor describes for his audience the manner in which Fiometa recites a poem she has composed in order to persuade Grimalte to help her: "con sollozos y lentos ojos de lágrimas, esta canción me dio por memoria" (59). A person reciting Fiometa's poem would then know how to gesture. Fiometa's funeral scene displays the same type of physical phrases and here expresses the grief of the gathering crowd: "parescía con sus bozes que los muertos recordavan de su siglo. Y tanto quanto con los ojos la lloravan, tanto con su boca a Pánfilo maldizía " (138). The presence of physical phrases emphasizes the performative character of the text. The phrases are a means of guiding readers and listeners to the emotional responses of the characters by suggesting appropriate gestures during a dramatic reading of the text in small groups.

An important form of oral expression in Grimalte y Gradissa involves the employ of balanced and sententious phrases. The work is formulaic through the use of balanced patterns conveying wisdom of oral authority through phrases that are proverbial-like or sententious. These phrases of oral wisdom many times succeed one another in an aggregative fashion typical of oral style.[26] As in Grisel y Mirabella, the characters employ proverb-like or sententious phrases to support their respective positions, serve as examples, or represent the copia typical of oral-rhetorical speeches. A

few examples will be provided in order to illustrate Flores's reliance on sententious phrases that represent oral or popular wisdom and their function in the characters' speeches and letters.

Grimalte employs proverbial wisdom throughout the work to express his point of view. For instance, in one speech he applies oral wisdom as a measure of his relationship with Gradissa:

> En especial, que las personas que en grandes afruentas se veen suelen a las vezes mirar en tales agüeros, así que en lo que a ella pensáis servir la deservís; pues ella verá bien que yo mesmo en mi caso no supe dar el remedio. (16)

Another example of oral wisdom is expressed in a sententious phrase in order to convey Grimalte's view of courtly love: "Ninguna cosa se estima en más de la quantidad de la pena con que se alcança, aquéllas en más tenemos que más caras las ovimos" (35). Grimalte thus relies on oral expression to explain the courtly love paradox of desire and pain.

The aggregative nature or adding style found in oral expression is illustrated in Grimalte y Gradissa through the use of series of sententia, short proverbial phrases, in order to convey an idea. An example of this type of aggregative use of sententious phrases concerns Grimalte's censure of Panfilo:

> Y como a las polidas gentes agradan sus conformes compañías, así a ti deviera acaeçer aquella tan singular ermosura. Mas como las muy luzidas armas a las rústicas personas les pongan por la no usança covardía mayor, no menos a ti que en los muy simples amores te eras deleitado; y los muy buenos, llenos de tanta beldad, como sean a tu indiscreto ánimo enojosos, te <h>a plazido refusarlos por buscar otros que los sabios escarnecen. (41)

Another series of sententia has a clear textual origin in biblical tradition: "que los de poco juizio sean ricos de ventura, y los que son sin ventura sean ricos de saber; unos son bienes eternos, otros son febles humanos" (42).

Panfilo also uses proverbial wisdom as expressed in sententious phrases to justify his desertion of Fiometa:

> ¿Vos no sabéis que dessean las voluntades siempre conosçer nuevos deleites? Y ninguna puede ser tan bella que por tiempo continuado no sea enojosa. Muchas vezes vemos desechar las grandes señoras por sus menores siervos, que nunca Amor govierna a los suyos por justas leyes, mas antes muchas vezes lo muy aborrido escoje y lo desseado aborrece. Las cosas agenas se suelen dessear, y después que son suyas, de quien las pide son en sí casi en nada tenidas. (70)

Further on, Panfilo endeavors to persuade Fiometa to end their love affair by using a balanced phrase combined with antithesis: "Y si lloras lo que conmigo perdiste, yo asimesmo lo que contigo gané" (105). Rather than explain to Fiometa that he is no longer interested in her, Panfilo uses proverbial phrases as authority in order to justify his actions.

The examples of how proverb-like or sententious phrases are employed by characters in Grimalte y Gradissa demonstrate how oral forms of expression are used in order to convey issues, concepts or ideas. Not merely decorative features of the work, the sententious phrases of oral wisdom, whether deriving from oral or textual sources, are the principal means of oral expression through which the characters communicate arguments and issues.

Another more implicit aspect of orality and textuality in Grimalte y Gradissa concerns the manner in which the

characters perceive themselves and their actions or situations. Based on studies concerning memory and the role of texts as organizers of experience from chapter one it is important to remember that in highly oral and therefore memorial cultures such as that of medieval society, the function of judgement (whether coming from inside or outside an individual) is not based on an introspective analysis of psychological motivations but is, rather, regarded as part of an ethically conceived social-rhetorical process (Carruthers; Ong Interface 211; Stock Implications 4). Carruthers describes how an individual's actions or situation is defined in medieval society:

> Character indeed results from one's experience, but that includes the experience of others, often epitomized in ethical commonplaces, and made one's own by constant recollection. (Carruthers 179)

Individuals measure themselves and are guided ethically by the past communal standards (shared experience) that is already set by the good or bad actions of others in order to give meaning or to authenticate their own personal experience. What was necessary was "a recollecting subject, a remembered text, and a remembering audience" (182). In Boccaccio's text, Fiammetta constantly measures herself in reference to the experience of famous classical personages, making their experience her own. Flores continues this aspect of her character in his own Fiometa. In one scene for example, Fiometa compares herself to the tragic "Casandra" (98) while in another Panfilo compares her to Lucrecia: "los antiguos romanos...como aquella Lucrecia" (87-88). Both

Fiammetta and Fiometa correspond to Carruthers's statement that:

> A modern woman would be very uncomfortable to think that she was facing the world with a 'self' constructed out of bits and pieces of great authors of the past, yet I think in large part that is what a medieval self or character was. (180)

Other characters also view themselves from "the bits and pieces of great authors of the past (180)." In another example, it is shown that Grimalte, like Fiometa, is given to hyperbole when he compares Fiometa's funeral to the grief felt at Troy: "ni las fijas de Príamo lloraron tanto por Héctor ni desolación de Troya, ni mucho menos Ecuba se mostró tan dolorida quando el cruel fuego de Grescia abrasava sus palacios" (138). He thus authenticates and gives deeper meaning to his situation in light of the destruction of Troy and its citizens.

The characters frequently measure their actions by comparing themselves to classical heroes and heroines. The use of famous classical figures also provides a common point of shared experience between the author and listener/reader through communal memory since classical stories were the vogue in fifteenth-century Spain (Beardsley). References to people, places and events that are known evoke further allusions to qualities the characters either possess or lack. For instance, the allusion to Panfilo as "otri Alexandre" (66) emphasizes Panfilo's fame caused by his ignoble activities regarding Fiometa. In turn, Grimalte measures his own quest in terms of the Classical image of the Golden Fleece that we saw in Grisel y Mirabella: "la

demanda a los del vellecino dorado...aunque no armado de las armas de Jasón" (161).

As we have hoped to show, the perception and judgement of an individual's qualities or personal situation in Grimalte y Gradissa is not based on an introspective psychological analysis which developed in literary texts with the increased use of writing, but rather on a social-rhetorical process understood by the community. The oral-rhetorical model for describing oneself in relation to the past experience of others unites characters and a listening audience through shared memory. As many of these examples have shown, in Grimalte y Gradissa classical models represent the shared experience or standard, in keeping with the humanist spirit of fifteenth-century Spain.

In sum, we have demonstrated that Grimalte y Gradissa includes elements typical of oral residual style and is illustrative of oral habits of thought and expression. From the above study of the work's oral expression it appears that the characters were meant to be heard by both internal addressees and external audiences. The speeches were meant to persuade and move audiences through phrasings that are balanced and pleasingly worded and that carry the authority of proverbial wisdom. The oral-rhetorical style of the work creates a polemical context for the themes in the work as well. As the following discussion will demonstrate, concepts such as love and fortune are portrayed as personified forces that take on adversarial qualities exemplifying the polemical nature of oral habits of thought and expression.

Themes: Love and Fortune, Fame and Death

Thematic concerns in Grimalte y Gradissa are influenced by the polemical nature of oral habits of thought. It will be shown that Love and Fortune, as well as other types of abstractions, are regarded by the characters as personified and adversarial forces that they must struggle to overcome. The theme of love will also be explored concerning the issue of rationality and irrationality. Next, the role of honor will be considered as important to the orally residual society in Grimalte y Gradissa and lastly, the relation between the themes of fame and death will be considered in order to show that Panfilo's fame is the motivating force for his surprising penitence in the wilderness.

Love, the principal theme in Grimalte y Gradissa, is viewed in the work as a discordant force that is ruled by the fates. As Grimalte reiterates, "porque con las discordias de mal conformes voluntades están los cielos llenos de amor, contra el qual ningún remedio conosco" (44). Love is also inextricably tied to Fortune and disharmony. Grimalte blames all his troubles on his own bad fortune, never quite accepting Gradissa's rejection of his love. Instead of accepting Gradissa's refusal to return his love as something personal, he regards her rejection as a direct result of the hostile, external forces of love and destiny. After Fiometa's death, Grimalte rages against the forces of Love and Fortune as if they were his personal foes. In the following speech he personally harangues love and fortune:

¡O engañoso Amor! ¿Por qué en la tormenta de tus

> alterados mares anegas aquellos que más te sirven? ¿Y cómo tú con Fortuna abrazado las sus opiniones sigues? (129)

Grimalte's speech directed at love as a personified force expresses the agonistic tone of much of the work.

Inner forces such as the emotional and rational senses are also conceived of as adversarial in Grimalte y Gradissa. The matter of rationality and irrationality is therefore an important underlying issue in relation to the theme of love in the work. As the following examples show, love and passion set in motion internal conflicts between rational and irrational powers that lead to a struggle for dominance of one sense over the other.[27]

Both Grimalte and Panfilo lose control of their rational senses and Eros rules over reason. In spite of attempts at rational communication, violence erupts. Physical violence is not directed towards another character in the text, but toward oneself, emphasizing the self-destructive nature of passionate love. Grimalte is notable for inflicting violence on himself both intentionally and unintentionally. A series of physical phrases (phrases referring to acts of gesturing or posturing) describe how Grimalte lets loose physical violence on himself in response to Fiometa's death. It appears from the description that his body acts on its own volition:

> que mis ojos a los lloros, y mi boca con lástimas de sentible coraçón, y mis oídos inclinados al clamor, todos juntos se acordaron con las manos que mucho sin piedad travavan de los mis cabellos, de cuyo muy grand estrago las señales se mostravan en el suelo; y las uñas encendidas en la hambre de mis carnes, raviosamente feriendo se me tornavan cuchillos, de

> cuyas llagas y miserable justicia la biva sangre corriendo. (134-35)

Curiously, violence is self-inflicted in Grimalte y Gradissa whereas it originates and stems from a public decision (the judges' sentence) rather than a private passion as in Grisel y Mirabella. In both cases, violence is exercised as a form of resolution.

Like Grimalte, Panfilo is also reduced to an irrational state. Panfilo's bout of madness is voluntary, self-inflicted in order to repent for his role in Fiometa's death. His reduction to an animal-like existence is ironic given his appeals to Fiometa that she use reason and set aside her irrational passion.

Grimalte describes Panfilo's irrational conduct as being beyond that of a reasonable human being: "porque todos los señales de persona razonable tenía perdidas" (164). According to Grimalte, Panfilo crawls on hands and knees like an animal and even refuses to speak. Grimalte is forced to hunt him down with dogs before Panfilo will see him. Like Grimalte before him, Panfilo performs violent acts against himself while maintaining his self-imposed silence. A series of physical phrases presents Panfilo's self-inflicted violence similar to Grimalte's former expression of grief: "Y por ningunos aquexamientos no le pude ninguna cosa fazer dezir, salvo tiernamente con sus ojos llorava, y con sus manos se fería, y con sus dientes sus carnes con ravia despedaçava" (165). As a result of adversarial forces represented by love and fortune, both Grimalte and Panfilo

succumb to an irrational state of being that is emphasized in the text by self-inflicted violence and self-imposed silence.

Fortune is also regarded as an adversarial force that works against the characters, and is illustrated when Grimalte counsels Fiometa on the changeability of fortune through a series of proverbial expressions:

> la qual a los más prósperos pone en mayores peligros, que lo alto suele muy presto abaxar; no menos enxalça a los más míseros, porque aquélla, de los pequeños adorada y de los grandes temida, continuamente de los que biven con temor o con loor que sea solempnizada. Ya pues este sea su conoscido oficio, contra sus tiempos adversos conviene los coraçones magnánimos, que para los prósperos, do el favor está, no da lugar que parezcan los escondidos efectos. (60)

Fortune is tied to orality in that it is perceived as an uncontrollable personified force.[28] For example, Grimalte refers to Fortune as his enemy: "a la fin Fortuna, que siempre tuve enemiga, daría muy vergonçoso fin a mí propósito" (19) and again later, "Fortuna viendo mi sufrimiento sobrar a su crueldad" (22) Fortune, like love, is considered by the characters to be a personal adversary. Typical of orally residual cultures, the abstractions as personifications remain close to the human life world as they are perceived as interacting on a human level.

The theme of honor has been thoroughly treated in Grimalte y Gradissa but the role of fame and its relation to death less so (Waley "Love and Honour"). Fame pertains to oral tradition since it concerns in great part what is spoken about an individual. Panfilo especially is concerned about reputation and in fact it is one of his reasons for

deserting Fiometa: in order to protect their reputation, since other characters--including Fiometa's husband--were beginning to suspect their love affair: "mas porque desto, segund nuestra continua conversación, ívamos el secreto divulgando" (55-56).[29] Panfilo is equally concerned with Fiometa's public protest and how his reputation has been hurt by it. It seems that everyone blames him for failure in love. He also advises Fiometa that public dishonor is not hers alone but pertains to the entire family:

> Porque bien es que seas liberal en aquello que a ti solamente toca, mas que tú hagas mercedes de la honor de muchos es grand agravio, por cierto. Piensa que a cada uno de aquellos de la pérdida tuya le alcança parte. (53-54)

Panfilo explains to Fiometa that she has a responsibility to guard her honor since it is a commodity that lies outside an individual and its loss affects all related members of a family.

Death is related to fame because it concerns the way an individual will be remembered in the minds and on the "tongues" of the living. Panfilo considers fame after death more important than how an individual is reputed while living: "y quieres que vergonçosa muerte, o aun peor, la desonesta vida quede por testimonio de nosotros y aun por ejemplo a los que prósperos viven" (56). This would adequately explain Panfilo's change of heart after Fiometa's death and his willingness to spend the rest of his life as a penitent in the wilderness. As he says to Fiometa: "En el fin de la vida es el alabança o vituperio de los que biven; pues aquello devemos guardar que más loados nos haze" (88).

The motive to clear his muddied reputation as a false lover could have been the reason for seeking a penitential existence. He would have recouped some of the damage to his reputation caused by his desertion of Fiometa and her impending death: "sería yo juzgado verdugo de tu muerte" (92). The apparent change of heart that causes Panfilo to convert from heartless to repentant lover appears to have been motivated by his concern for public opinion and fame.

Grimalte is also preoccupied with what others say about him and it appears to be one of his motives in challenging Panfilo to a duel: "porque si alguna dixese mal de Pánfilo, que la otra de mí se loase" (143). He threatens Panfilo with publication of his faults if he does not respond to the challenge "y el mundo oigan vuestro merescimiento" (144). For both Grimalte and Panfilo orality as a manifestation of public opinion is a principal means of motivation for their actions.

In conclusion, thematic concerns are affected by oral habits of thought and expression. Love and Fortune are perceived by the characters as personified beings that act antagonistically. Even Fame as public opinion is important to the characters, especially since once dead, what others say about a person will live on. Panfilo's repentant march into the desert then has been shown to be an attempt to rectify the damage his fame or reputation suffered when he deserted Fiometa.

Other topics in Grimalte y Gradissa are also affected by habits that are primarily oral but are influenced by the

increasing use of texts. The following discussion will demonstrate that reading and writing are principal textual activities in the work that are still governed by orality in that they represent social and rhetorical actions.

Reading and Writing: A Social Rhetorical Process

Weissberger was one of the first to note in Grimalte y Gradissa the characters' awareness of themselves as readers and writers, and to relate the theme of reader incitation (reading as a stimulus that causes readers to recreate or create new roles for themselves outside the text) to Flores's work a hundred years before the theme's inclusion in Cervantes's Don Quixote ("Authors, Characters"). The thematization of the reading process and the effects of reading on characters is a reflection of the growing pressures of texts on an orally residual culture. As Brian Stock has stated, texts were increasingly used as organizers of experience as they became more widely available and literacy increased (Implications 4). We will demonstrate that all the characters, from the protagonists to the villagers use texts as a means of organizing experience through the acts of reading and writing that take on the function of rhetorical and social activities meant to influence and persuade an audience.

It will be shown that Grimalte y Gradissa contains different kinds of readers and writers who define themselves and others and interpret motives and actions through reading and writing. We will establish that Gradissa represents the ideal reader to whom Fiometa directs her story in order to

serve as an example of the deceptiveness of men. Gradissa's response as reader is a request that Grimalte reunite Fiometa and Panfilo in an attempt to impose a new organization on the ending of Boccaccio's text. Grimalte's ability to impose a happier conclusion on the story of Panfilo and Fiometa will determine the outcome of Gradissa's response to him. Another type of reader that will be discussed is Grimalte, an uninvited male reader who misinterprets the text and uses it as a tool in order to seduce Gradissa.

The characters are also writers. Fiometa is the author of her story and Grimalte is also given the task of writing. Through the process of rewriting Fiometa's ending, Grimalte comes to better understand Fiometa's story although he remains a male reader who can never be entirely sympathetic to her situation. Grimalte also serves as the principal narrator, a role that will be treated regarding the intrusive quality that narrators by nature possess.

In Grimalte y Gradissa, not only the protagonists Grimalte y Gradissa, but the village people are influenced by Fiametta and allow the text to shape their relationships with members of the opposite sex. Grimalte explains that news of Panfilo's treatment and desertion of Fiometa spread from village to village: "Y muchas Fiometas en cada villa hallé, porque quien se quería fingir ella bien se pasava sus tiempos escarneciéndose de mí" (30). Although many of the people probably heard the tale through oral readings, the text remains the organizing principle around which they

order their love affairs. Panfilo speaks of the talk that has been generated and has affected those that have heard or read Fiometa's story:

> Así entre las gentes no ay otro razonar sino de vos, y aun los viejos, con esperanza de resucitar nuevos amores, si algunos disfavores resciben de aquellas a quien requestan, no creen que defectos suyos los privan de ser amados, mas antes piensan vuestras culpas los embaraçan. (66)

Panfilo's complaint about the response to Fiometa's story demonstrates the power of texts, whether in oral or written form, to change attitudes and perceptions of those outside the text. As the next section will attempt to show, in some ways the ability to change attitudes and influence readers depends on whether the reader is the intended addressee or an intrusive presence.

Male and Female: Ideal to Voyeuristic Readers

Gradissa is the deeply moved and ideal reader of the Fiammetta who interprets the work so closely that she recognizes her situation and that of all women in it, as she tells Panfilo, "casi como ella los siento" (4). She is so affected by her reading that Fiometa's experience becomes her experience and gives her all the more reason to reject Grimalte: "soy cierta que seréis a mí un Pánfilo a Fiometa" (4). Incited by Fiometa's writings, Gradissa uses her power over Grimalte to charge him with reconciling Panfilo and Fiometa. Grimalte in service to Gradissa is asked to find Fiometa and serve her with the message that Gradissa has "heard read" and responded to Fiometa's words: "paresca que alguna ovo que con piedad tocó sus orejas, la cual quiero

ser yo" (7). Thus Gradissa is personally moved to respond to Fiometa's story and takes upon herself the role of the ideal reader.

Not satisfied solely with changing the fate of Fiometa, she demands that Grimalte in courtly service rewrite the story, imposing on it a different, happier ending. Gradissa recognizes the power of the written word to effect change and so she charges Grimalte with the task of writing down the story of his quest. She further emphasizes that he should write it so that she should want to identify with Fiometa: "vos pido que todas las cosas que entre ella y su Pánfilo pasaren, por estenso escritas me las enbiéis...Y vos, trabajad que Fiometa le aya tal y tan próspero, que yo me desee ser ella" (9). Only through the written word used rhetorically to persuade will Gradissa allow herself to be won.

For Grimalte, his own success in love depends on his ability to unite the lovers as well as on his own rhetorical skills. His role as writer and lover is further combined with that of go-between since he must act as "tercero" between Fiometa and Panfilo, when "verguenza" prevents Gradissa from taking on the task herself: "y bien quisiera ser yo aquella tercera si el freno dela vergüença no me templara" (8). In order to prove his love to Gradissa, Grimalte reluctantly accepts the role of author and "tercero."

Although both Grimalte and Gradissa have read Fiometa's work which was addressed to the "enamoradas damas," they

respond in distinct ways to the text. Gradissa as the intended, ideal reader identifies completely with Fiometa and shares her pain: "las agenas tristesas tanto la apassionaron que ella no menos llagada que aquella otra se sentía" (2). Grimalte on the other hand, seriously misinterprets Gradissa's reaction to Fiometa's story in that he expected the work to aid him in his seduction of Gradissa as he explains to Fiometa:

> pensando un día cómo mejor la serviesse, un libro llamado Fiometa le levé en que liese, el qual bien pienso, señora, por vos ser visto...De manera que quanto yo más de piedad la tentava, tanto más a crueldad la convertía. (26-27)

Grimalte, as an intrusive male reader offers his own interpretation of Fiometa's story that reveals little empathy for her:

> Y si dezís que los engaños de Pánfilo me an sido enemigos, devíades pensar, si bien su istoria leístes, quan pocas passiones rescibió en el seguimiento de Fiometa, mas ella muy más contenta que él alegre, pocas dilaciones dieron a sus desseos. Pues todas aquellas cosas que con pequeños trabajos se alcançan, no duelen tanto perderlas como aquellas que con grandes afanes se resciben, y así como aquel que ligeramente la ovo, ligero la dexa perder. (13)

Grimalte's interpretation reveals his lack of emotional involvement in her story. He has little sympathy for Fiometa and considers her an easy conquest for Panfilo, justifiably abandoned by him.

Grimalte regards Fiometa's text as a means to an end: the seduction of Gradissa. Unlike Gradissa, Grimalte reads the work without becoming involved in the lives of the characters and does not at this point identify his own situation with that of Fiometa. If at all, he reads like a

man, identifying with Panfilo and revealing little empathy for the plight of Fiometa. Grimalte's original intent in giving the book called Fiammetta to Gradissa was to seduce her, just as Panfilo's intent was seduction. Grimalte's failure to understand Fiometa's story reflects his failure to identify with the intended reader, the "enamoradas damas." A prime example of Grimalte's failure to identify with Fiometa is illustrated when he meets her for the first time. He does not recognize her, and addresses her as "señora" inquiring if she has seen Fiometa. Fiometa's reply expresses surprise that he would not know her: "¡Qué yerro es el preguntar en las cosas que parescen manifiestas! Porque a cualquiere deve der claro yo ser aquella Fiometa sin ventura que buscáis" (33). Even when Grimalte does attempt to sympathize with Fiometa after she is deserted by Panfilo, he chooses the same uncourtly words that Panfilo had used before him. Grimalte never reads the work from the perspective of the "enamoradas damas" and so remains the unintended reader of Fiometa's story.

The characters are not only readers but also writers. When Gradissa gives Grimalte the task of resolving the story of Fiometa and recording it in writing, he complains that she is only trying to get rid of him. He employs a sententious phrase to summarize his role and her cruelty:

> A las personas aborrecidas suelen mandar ir a los desastrados casos de tales viajes quales vos a mí mandáis y las que son amadas, ante los ojos las tienen en grande seguridad, y temen sus peligros. (14)

Grimalte also complains that he must furnish the story of

his quest in writing. He does not believe himself as capable a writer as Fiometa:

> que bien conocéis vos que la gracia con que Fiometa quexa sus males caresce de mí para recontaros aquellos. Y aún sería muy gran dichoso si la Fortuna quisiese que el loor que hasta aquí ella tiene merescido por su gentil razonar, que agora por mi rudeza no lo pierda. Pues a mí no sería posible que la memoria ni el sentido me bastase a recontar las cosas tan bien dichas como a ella las oyese. Que si Dios a mí de sus gracias alguna parte me diera, yo soy cierto que vos ya fuérades mía, sin aver de ir agora a los estraños reinos a conqueriros. (14-15)

Grimalte praises Fiometa for her ability to write but recognizes his own lack of rhetorical skills. Up to this point his verbal skills have failed to convince Gradissa to love him and it appears he has even less faith in his abilities to write.

By providing Grimalte with another opportunity to win her through the rewriting of Fiometa's story, Gradissa demonstrates reading as a rhetorical activity. She reads rhetorically in the sense that she reads to be persuaded just as she would listen to a speech in order to be convinced. Her reading of Fiometa's text successfully persuaded her to distrust men and now she provides Grimalte the opportunity to create a text in order to persuade her to trust him.

Grimalte is thus challenged by Gradissa to use his rhetorical skills to bring about a satisfactory closure of the love affair that began in Boccaccio's Fiammetta. As Author, Grimalte must prove himself worthy and persuade Gradissa as the intended reader of his new text. His success at writing a new ending will therefore determine his prowess

as lover. The act of writing, of authorship with a particular end in mind, of a happy reunion between Panfilo and Fiometa has the consequence of drawing him personally into their story. If Grimalte does not on his first reading of Fiometa's text sympathize with Fiometa and the female perspective, Grimalte changes as he becomes personally involved in the lives of Fiometa and Panfilo through the process of recording in writing their story.

In fact, Grimalte becomes so involved in the lives of Fiometa and Panfilo that his descriptions border on the voyeuristic when he observes and describes scenes of great intimacy between them. Fiometa and Panfilo's reunion is so exuberantly described by Grimalte that it appears he has been successful in reuniting them:

> que no creo jamás dos enamorados de voluntad mejor oviesse, ni con más lindos modos entenderse. Sin duda, quanto más yo mirava, tanto de mayores gracias en mis ojos eran representados, porque me parescía que el mesmo Dios de los amores los enseñava. (76-77)

The scene Grimalte describes is influenced by his own passionate desire as lover. He does not describe so much as interpret the events colored by his unfulfilled passion for Gradissa. As Grimalte observes Panfilo's and Fiometa's amorous encounter, he is reminded of his own situation with Gradissa and grieves:

> ¡O quán atento yo los mirava, pensando que de sus gracias alguna deprendiese!...Yo, a lo menos, contento me hazía el mirarlos, que tanto vencido estava en dulçor de sus amores, que los amores dellos me davan sentible pena. (77)

His intrusion into Panfilo and Fiometa's ardent meeting leads to pain as it reminds him of his own unrequited

passion. Further erotic description of the fervent encounter between Fiometa and Panfilo and Grimalte's role as "medianero jueç" (76) reveal the voyeuristic tendency of narration as it exposes and relates for public scrutiny the most intimate experiences.

The final speeches between Panfilo and Fiometa reveal that Grimalte's ardent description of their reunion was more fantasy than reality, influenced by his passion. The speeches are verbal polemics that lead to a final confrontation in which Panfilo rejects Fiometa and departs. Grimalte fails when Fiometa and Panfilo separate for the second and final time. He has failed as author as well. He cannot write a better story than Fiometa.

Fiometa is another writer in Grimalte y Gradissa. Although her story is already written and diffused both orally and in written texts, she is aware of her role as author and comments on the merits of the act of writing. For her, the act of composition was therapeutic in alleviating her intense suffering after Panfilo had left her: "porque en quexar sus fatigas más senzillas las sentiesse" (2). Writing as a social process allowed Fiometa to share her pain with a chosen group, the "enamoradas damas." As Fiometa explains, "por fazer menos graves busqué con quien se doliesse de mí, y por la tener hallada más senzillos los siento y aliviados" (36). Writing also served an exemplary purpose in that by writing her story, other women could heed her fate and not fall prey to men: "tomó remedio manifestar sus males a las damas enamoradas, porque en ello tomando exemplo, contra la

maldad de los hombres se apercibiessen" (2). For Fiometa, suffering caused by desperate love was both rhetorically productive in the engendering of a written text as a form of release, and as an example to others after the text was produced.

In sum, Grimalte y Gradissa contains different types of readers and writers who use reading and writing both to interpret and shape experience. Reading and writing, similar to oral speeches and functioning within a residually oral society, are conceived of as social and rhetorical activities utilized by the characters in order to persuade and move others. An important facet of textuality in the work, the activities of reading and writing exemplify the pressures of literacy in a culture that privileges oral rhetorical modes of communication over the written word. The oral rhetorical function of the text extends beyond the diegetic space to include the extradiegetic audience as well, exemplified further through the role of narrator as the following section will illustrate.

Author as Character: Flores as Grimalte

Grimalte as both narrator and character presents a more complex narrative persona than the narrator of Grisel y Mirabella who remains behind the scenes.[30] The narrator of Grimalte y Gradissa is complicated by Flores's announced transformation into the character Grimalte. By becoming a fictional character Flores effectively erases the boundary between fiction and reality by placing himself, his intended audience, the "enamoradas damas" of Isabel's court, and his

characters on the same fictional plane. When Flores takes on the role of the character Grimalte he is inviting his internal and external listeners/readers to do the same. The listeners and readers can therefore join in the fiction more readily because the author has opened the way for them. Because Grimalte also acts as narrator, Flores has taken on the additional fictional role of a sort of master of ceremonies that underscores the performative nature of the work.

Acting as a sort of Master of Ceremonies, Grimalte como Auctor is in charge of making the work come alive as performance. As in Grisel y Mirabella, Grimalte como Auctor, guides the recreation of the work by describing the characters' physical responses to events through his descriptions of gestures and emotional reactions. At once this serves as a distancing technique and as a way of guiding the presentation of the characters. The following examples will show various ways that Grimalte as Auctor contributes to the performative quality of Grimalte y Gradissa in providing cues and descriptions that would aid in the dramatic reading of the work. In turn, Grimalte as narrator encourages active participation from the extradiegetic audience who must fill in the gaps he leaves when he himself is at a loss for words.

Grimalte, eyewitness to the story's events, reports the actions and emotional reactions of the other characters to his intended reader, Gradissa, and to the listeners/readers both inside and outside the text. In particular, Grimalte as

narrator's descriptions of Fiometa furnishes her character with an added dimension for his listeners/readers. Grimalte as narrator is particularly adept at describing the external signs of Fiometa's inner turmoil. One moment in which "Grimalte como auctor" captures with words the emotional changes Fiometa is experiencing occurs at their first meeting. He paints a vivid portrait of her attempt at emotional composure when she discovers that she has mistaken Grimalte for Panfilo:

> Y no menos ella que yo, todos los caminantes por su Pánfilo juzgava; y después que yo a ella bien acercado estove y ella ovo entero consocimiento yo no ser aquel que su desseo buscava, y a la continua y muy usada tristura buelta, con la pasciencia que muchas vezes era engañada, aquella comportó. (23)

The description presents a portrait of a woman resigned to disappointment but hopeful that she had found Panfilo only to be disillusioned once more.

Another example illustrates Grimalte's ability as narrator to recreate Fiometa's reactions for the listening audience. Grimalte provides narrative portraits of Fiometa that both guide his audience to and distance his audience from her. Rather than relate to her plight, the audience identifies with the situation of the narrator. Here Grimalte describes Fiometa's volatile reactions upon receiving, not a visit from Panfilo, but a letter:

> no fue poderosa que la carta liese, mas de congoxa alterada, cosas jamás oídas començó de razonar, y la fuerça de la pena muchas vezes la traspasava tanto que muerta me semejava. Después que largas lamentaciones ovieron algún tanto afalagada su ira, muy piadosamente llorando con lágrimas de sus ojos. (12)

As listeners and readers we look in from the outside and are

not permitted by Grimalte to hear her specific words but that they were "cosas jamás oídas." During the narrative moments we are guided by Grimalte to look in on the scene, rather than to become personally involved in the life of Fiometa.

In another scene the audience is also guided by Grimalte as narrator and allowed to observe Fiometa's attempts at self composure upon seeing Panfilo but from a distance:

> del grande gozo turbada, movida de más apresurado passo que al hábito femenil se requiere, corrió a las puertas de Pánfilo presumía que fuese venido, Y deque ella lo vido, empachada de vergüença de algunas estrañas personas que allí se acaescieron, con grand pena hizo que pudiese más la honestidad que los deseos. Y con honesta mesura,, como se suelen las personas de poco conoscimiento rescibir, con aquella continencia, más alegre en lo segreto que de fuera se mostrava, lo rescibe. (76)

Grimalte as narrator guides the audience through the movements of Fiometa as she greets Panfilo. A little while later in the work, Grimalte's ardent description of the meeting between Panfilo and Fiometa helps the audience visualize the lovers' movements. Grimalte-narrator describes Fiometa's "apretados labios" and in great detail highlights her emotional state: "abrió Fiometa los agenos ojos, y con turbada vista le començó a mirar, queriendo de nuevo tornar a las passadas razones" (78). Again, the listeners look in on the scene as if they were observing it from a distance.

The narrator Grimalte also relies on his audience of listeners and readers to fill in gaps when words are not enough to convey an emotionally filled moment. In one scene

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Grimalte describes Fiometa's response after Panfilo's final departure:

> las lástimas de su boca dezía no las podría yo tan piadosas representar, porque no solamente con la lengua lo dezía, mas con las manos se ayudava, de manera que aquesto no es a mí posible de escrivir; mas a quien de tales congoxas conosce, razonable cosa es de pensar. (112-13)

Grimalte as narrator understands the difficulty of trying to represent sounds and gestures that are too powereful for verbal expression.

As the examples have intended to show, the transformation of Juan de Flores into the character Grimalte complicates the work since Grimalte also is the narrator of the story. The most important function of Grimalte as narrator is to serve as a sort of master of ceremonies and guide the audience through the presentation of the characters, especially Fiometa. In the process, the audience could visualize the scenes as if from a distance. The recreation of intense emotional scenes by the narrator Grimalte could also have guided dramatic readings of the speeches that make up the majority of the work.

Reception: Hearing/Reading

The participatory function of "Grimalte como Autor" probably encouraged oral readings of the work in small groups. The dramatic speeches and debates as well as the use of poetry that was probably sung aloud for variety in entertainment are also theatrical elements. The preliminary announcement by the characters that they will change discourse from prose to poetry contributes to the notion of

a formal presentation of the poems before a group of listeners. Along with the poetry, the speeches, including the letters, full of formulaic and rhetorical expressions meant to be heard rather than read, suggest that the work was read al2oud in small groups, perhaps in dramatic readings. Several passages from the work refer to hearing and hearers as opposed to readers and reading, and are direct evidence that the work was meant to be heard.

In the following passage Grimalte como Auctor speaks directly to his listeners/"oyentes" explaining that he does not want to cause them pain:

> Y por no dar tanta pena a los oyentes, no quiero contar por extenso sus desaventuras graves, que tales tormentos obravan en ella que de pura compassión mis ojos partía de mirarla; pero no podía tanto esconderlos que sus gemidos no me fiziesen a menudo mirarla. (176)

Grimalte is conscious of the power of the oral word to cause a reaction in his listeners. Later in the same scene he chooses to abbreviate the scene for his listeners because they will react with disbelief: "por ser increibles cosas de oír, callo" (176).

The narrator Grimalte at times calls on his listeners directly in order to fill in the gaps when he is at a loss for words: "Que no sé que diga della para que en mi vida diese fin a contarlo, mirad lo que de su figura me paresció" (177). The use of the imperative form "mirad" calls his audience to attention. Another example in which Grimalte as narrator directly calls upon his outside listeners/readers is: "no podría deziros quántas maneras de pensamientos a mi memoria acorrieron" (149).

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Sometimes Grimalte directs himself to listeners/readers inside and outside the work. For instance when Grimalte describes Panfilo's appearance he directs himself not only to his intended reader Gradissa, but to outside listeners: "puede quien me oye ser cierto que jamás una persona tan gentil parescer no nació" (14; emphasis added). A moment of close identity between Grimalte and his audience occurs when he uses the first person plural: "jamás en la su boca otra palabra oímos" (127; emphasis added).

The direct discourse of the narrator to his audiences, both intended and outside listeners/readers, demonstrates the participatory nature of Grimalte y Gradissa. The examples of references made to "hearing" and "hearers" demonstrate that Grimalte y Gradissa was meant to be read aloud to groups of listeners and is in keeping with other oral aspects studied in the work, such as types of oral expression through formulaic language and proverbial phrases and other manifestations of oral habits of thought that influenced thematic concerns--such as love and fortune, and reading and writing--as rhetorical and social activities.

It has been the intention throughout this chapter to illustrate the convergence of orality and textuality by examining various aspects indicative of oral habits of thought and expression that affected the composition, transmission and reception of Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa. Although this study is far from exhaustive, it has provided a different perspective on the problem of literary works that are composed and transmitted

at a time when the oral and acoustical modes of communication were not as yet superseded by written texts meant to be read in silence.

Many of the aspects examined in this chapter indicate the dependence of the works on oral habits of thought and expression. These have included a study of the extant manuscripts and early printed editions, of oral and acoustical style and structure through the presence of rhetorical and formulaic language, proverbial expressions, physical phrases, and polemical speeches. It was also demonstrated that even thematic concerns were expressed through the polarizing and polemicizing nature of oral habits of thought that transform abstract concepts such as love and fortune into adversaries designed to be struggled against by the characters.

The topics of reading and writing have been shown to be affected by oral habits of thought. The activities of reading and writing do not privilege the written text over speech but are understood by the characters as social rhetorical activities that function to persuade, to interpret and to organize experience.

The role of textuality in close proximity to the world of sound creates interesting possibilities for the manipulation of characters. It has been noted that Flores makes use of autonomous characters and both works owe much to Boccaccio for models. In both Grisel y Mirabella particularly through the characters Torrellas and Braçayda, and in Grimalte y Gradissa with Fiometa, the characters are

selected by Flores from either extra-textual or intertextual realities. In Grisel y Mirabella, Flores employs his contemporary, Pere Torrellas, a fifteenth-century Catalan poet who had gained notoriety through a misogynistic poem and a character Braçayda, from Classical literature. In Grimalte y Gradissa, he borrows Fiometa from Boccaccio's Fiammetta. Flores in a sense has glossed as texts both Pere Torrellas and the Fiammetta by his appropriation and "rewriting" of them. His response to both outside "texts" comes in the form of an act of "textual" destruction since Flores has his characters, Torrellas and Fiometa end up in flames due to their foolish excess passion. Flores deconstructs literally Torrellas for underestimating the female sex in his lust for Braçayda, and Fiometa for her obsessive passion for Panfilo.

It is also interesting that it is a failed textual act in both works that invites tragedy: a letter for Torrellas and Grimalte's failure as a true lover, e.g. one that has the necessary rhetorical skills to seduce, witnessed through the failure to provide his written account with the happy conclusion (the union of Panfilo and Fiometa) demanded by Gradissa. Flores's use of previous textually-contrived characters and the textualization of flesh and blood figures (i.e. Torrellas) adds a new level of sophistication to imaginative fiction that functions in a world still attached to the spoken word.

The convergence of orality with fictional writing and textual traditions is evident in the manner in which Flores

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blurs the border between fiction and reality that invites his listeners/readers outside the text to imagine themselves a part of the fictional scene as listeners and witnesses to the speeches and debates. Resolution of the works' conflicts and complications, although guided to a conclusion by the author, could have ultimately been reworked and debated by outside audiences at every dramatic reading.

It is hoped that this study of orality and textuality in Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa will contribute to a fuller appreciation of the complex nature of works composed and transmitted when the oral-aural world was still the rule rather than the exception. The power of the oral word and sound coupled with the potentialities of the written word initiated exciting new possibilities for fictional narrative.

Notes

1. All references to Grisel y Mirabella are from Barbara Matulka's edition and to Grimalte y Gradissa are from the edition by Carmen Parrilla and appear parenthetically within the body of the text unless otherwise noted.

2. Although both works were published in 1495, Grisel y Mirabella was probably written earlier. Pamela Waley discusses the dating of Flores's romances (Grimalte y Gradissa xi-xii, xxi, xlvii). She feels Flores had not read San Pedro's Arnalte y Lucenda or Cárcel de amor when he wrote Grisel y Mirabella but that San Pedro might have been influenced by Grisel y Mirabella when writing Cárcel de amor while Flores probably had read both Arnalte y Lucenda and Cárcel de amor when he wrote Grimalte y Gradissa due to the technical and narrative improvements (xxii-xxiii).

3. A Castilian translation was published in Salamanca in 1497. For a study of Boccaccio's influence in Spain see C. Bourland, "Boccaccio and the Decameron in Castilian and Catalan Literatures," Revue Hispanique 12 (1905): 1-232).

4. It will be necessary from time to time to refer to Flores's third work of fiction, Triunfo de amor. All citations are from the edition of Antonio Gargano. Besides Gargano's introduction, see Grieve for an analysis of Triunfo de amor ("Juan de Flores Other Work").

5. For an exhaustive study of the various Juan de Flores identified in the fifteenth century see Parrilla's introduction (v-xxiv) in her edition of Grimalte y Gradissa and Gargano's edition of Triunfo de amor. See Gwara, "The Identity" and "The Identity...(concluded)" for a study of Flores as court chronicler as well as a succinct summary of the proposed candidates for Flores, sentimental writer.

6. The Libros de claustros of the University of Salamanca, dated April 27, 1478, contain a certain "Juan Flores beneficiado de la villa de Alba de Tormes" (Parrilla "Un cronista" 126). See also Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1218-1600. (Salamanca: Universidad, 1970), I: 544 and Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca: la Universidad en el Siglo de Oro. (Salamanca: Universidad, 1970, II: 82 (n. 167e). Gargano was the first to note the possible link between the rector Flores and the writer Flores (Triunfo de amor 25-27).

7. The quote is found in the Registro general del sello, legajo 1, folio 329 and continues "acatando vuestra ydoneidad e sufiçiençia, filidad e abilidad, discreçión e por los muchos e aceptables serviçios que nos avedes

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fecho...". Parrilla has located another document that links Flores with Salamanca and helps explain that the name of an Alonso de Flores rather than Juan de Flores was mistakenly propagated by historians. Parrilla explains the misnomer as a confusion with the father's name, by referring to a letter dated May 10, 1469 found in the Archivo Catedralicio of Salamanca, Cajón 3, Legajo 2, Núm. 26/2 from a Fernand Alfonso de Flores, "mercadero vezino de la noble y leal çibdad de Salamanca" and "su hijo Johan de Flores" (Parrilla, "Un cronista" 126). See also Gwara's discussion of the reference to Flores in Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal in his Anales breves del reinado de los Reyes Católicos where a certain Alonso Flores is listed among the court chroniclers of Ferdinand and Isabel and cf. with Parrilla's findings discussed above. Gwara succinctly explains the confusion between an Alonso de Flores and Juan de Flores ("The Identity" 112-15).

8. See Parrilla for an evaluation of the Crónica (Grimalte y Gradissa xxi-xxiv).

9. Maldonado held a chair in law and had been called by the Catholic Monarchs to help them understand "en las cosas de la justicia" during their first days of rule (Parrilla, "Un cronista" 128).

10. See Gwara for a discussion regarding Flores's admiration for Rodrigo Maldonado de Talavera ("The Identity concluded" 219-20).

11. For bibliographical information on this manuscript see Jones ("Research") and Parrilla (Grimalte xxxvi).

12. The second known edition of 1514 is unavailable for consultation (Matulka 332). Grisel y Mirabella was widely diffused throughout Europe not through the Spanish versions but through an Italian edition (Matulka 169-78).

13. According to Gwara, the textual history of Grisel y Mirabella would be: "First, Flores composed an original version of the romance [O_1] whose sole surviving witness is S [the Colombina MS]. The reliability of this source's readings suggest that it is an apograph or a copy not far removed from [O_1]. [...] Second, at some stage in his literary career, Flores prepared a second version of the work based on S but substantially altered (he may have intended to present it to a different audience or he may simply have been dissatisfied with it). During this redaction ([O_2]), he deleted several lengthy passages, added a few others, and generally made the work's style more concise. This hypothetical revision is known only through T [the Trivulziana MS], a very corrupt descendant which infrequently provides an adequate insight into the revision process. Third, some time after the completion of [O_2] a

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manuscript of the romance was prepared for publication. The text of [O_2] became the basis of the second revision, perhaps undertaken by Flores himself but most probably by an anonymous editor (Gwara 376-77, qtd in Deyermond, "Notes on the Sentimental Romance" 109, note 12).

14. For the popularity of the love story between Guiscardo and Sigismunda in fifteenth century Europe see Matulka, pp. 47-50 and Note 3, p.46.

15. See Matulka's study for Flores's probable debt to common romance motifs and their identification in Grisel y Mirabella.

16. Barlaam y Josaphat is a christianized version of the Buddha story in which a king locks his son away to protect him from the evils of the world.

17. See Frye, The Secular Scripture for a discussion of common romance motifs.

18. Additional examples of proverbial sayings found in Grisel y Mirabella include: "y en los tiempos delas adversidades se conozcan y se vean los corazones fuertes" (360); "y quien se dispuso ala gloria. que se disponga ala pena" (361); "Ca meior es subito obrando padeçer: que tristeza y pauor de hazer lo sperar" (362); "pues meior es delos enemigos recebir seruicios: y viuiendo dar les continuada pena: que no dexar los morir. pues la muerte en los animos nobles es la menor parte dela vengança" (365); "que alos malos deuemos mucho contentar: porque de sus lenguas no nos lastimen" (366); "despues de condemnadas quien no sabe hablar busca lengua prestada para mal dezir de nosotras" (366); meior es loada con plazeres: que honestad con vituperios" (367).

19. See Matulka's overview of the debate tradition (138-46).

20. Flores provides a curious twist here since the traditional chivalric hero who rescues his Lady before she is to be thrown into the flames is rewarded, as in the stories of Lancelot and Guinevere. Grisel however, is rewarded only by death.

21. There is a definite accumulation of secrets 1. Mirabella's secret hideaway; 2. Secret love of the two knights; 3. Secret joust and death of the friend (never discovered); 4. Secret love between Grisel y Mirabella; 5. Torrellas's secret knowledge of women's evils; 6. Braçayda's defense of women's secret errors that ruin women if they are public; 7. Secret place of the Queen and her ladies after the sentence is delivered; 8. Torrellas's secret courtly love of Braçayda (he makes public against courtly

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tradition); 9. Secret vengeance women plan. 10. The secret torture of Torrellas in Queen's chambers.

22. Aquinian natural law philosophy reflects the internal qualities of oral law from which justice should develop and could be applied to the king of Escocia's situation. The King fails to consider a higher moral law, natural law, the Divine law as imprinted on man's soul in the principle that a parent must protect his progeny. According to Thomas Aquinas, "It is evident that all things partake in some way in the eternal law...in so far as, namely, from its being imprinted on them, they derive their respective inclinations to their proper acts and ends. Now among others, the rational creature is subject to divine providence in a more excellent way, in so far as it itself and others. Therefore it has a share of the eternal reason, whereby it has a natural inclination to its proper act and end; and this participation of the eternal law in the rational creature is called the natural law...the light of reason...which is the function of natural law, is nothing else than an imprint on us of the divine light. It is therefore evident that the natural law is nothing else than the rational creatures participation of the eternal law" (Q.91.Art.2).

23. For an in-depth study of the textual history of the three witnesses see Parrilla (Grimalte xli-lxxii).

24. For samples of Flores's verbal borrowings of passages from the Fiammetta see the introduction to Waley's edition of Grimalte y Gradissa (xxxvix-xli).

25. See Matulka for examples of several legends that Flores might have drawn upon for the wild man image (287-94).

26. Here is a list of other proverbial or sententious phrases in Grimalte y Gradissa: "Mas como sea comuna cosa los mudamientos de la fortuna" (1); "Pues todas aquellas cosas que con pequeños trabajos se alcançan, no duelen tanto perderlas como aquellas que con grandes afanes se resciben" (13); "que las personas que en grandes afruentas se veen suelen a las vezes mirar en tales agüeros" (16); "¡Qué yerro es el preguntar en las cosas que parecen manifiestas!" (33); "Ninguna cosa se estima en mas de la quantidad de la pena con que se alcança" (35); "es tan fuerte el encobrir los males como el padescer dellos" (36); "Que de las cosas que como enemigos foir devríamos, en aquellas muy más presto nos dexa caer" (37); "y los que firmemente aman, ninguna necessidad les haze buscarlas" (38); "Mas como las muy luzidas armas a las rústicas personas les pongan por la no usança covardía mayor" (41); "Siempre acaesçe los simples con pequeños trabajos alcançar las grandes cosas, y así lucen al fin en ellos como so tierra los escondidos

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thesoros; y los muy gentiles hombres, dispuestos a la virtud y a la gala, están menguados de las sobras que los pobres y muy groseros desechan" (42); "que los de poco juizio sean ricos de ventura, y los que son sin ventura sean ricos de saber" (42); "las pequeñas cosas buscar los altos palacios, y las muy grandes dessear los menores siervos" (44); "que lo alto suele muy presto abaxar" (60); "Y pues el buen sentido es contra las turbaçiones remedio" (61); "Pensad que las pequeñas cosas no pueden mucho sonar, mas los casos grandes universalmente ocupan los oídos de los bivientes" (66); "lo que a hombre en un tiempo agrada en otro que le desplega" (69); "quan presto desseamos tan presto aborrecemos" (70); "más vale que dubdando pene, que si de cierto, moría" (96); "porque caso que la voluntad los pide, la virtud los aborresce" (104); "Y en la vida no pueden los trabajos muy largos fines tener, ni menos el descansado plazer" (121); "Quien, pues, bivir se dessea hase de conformar con el tiempo, tomando así tan alegre las fatigas como los deleitos" (121); "¡O quánto es de loar aquél que contra las adversidades muestra la cara alegre! Y quántas virtudes, por mengua de ser provadas, están en las personas nobles occultas, y de aqueste compás, en las malas muchos vicios por esta causa callados! Que no sería posible que los flacos fuesen dignos entre los esforçados conocidos si en la necesidad de espada no se oviesen visto" (123); "Quien trata a otro segund es tratado no cae en yerros, ante el mundo sigue segund las maneras de él" (125).

27. This is also illustrated in chapter five of the dissertation in relation to Cárcel de amor when the lover Leriano is virtually imprisoned by his senses.

28. The role of fortune visualized as "Goddess Fortune" or as the "rueda de la fortuna" is present in other literary works of the fifteenth-century, particularly in Juan de Mena's famous poem, Laberinto de fortuna and similarly, Flores refers to fortune as "mudable rueda" (61).

29. The phrase "conversación" is a euphemism for the sexual act and Flores uses it several times in Grimalte y Gradissa. It is best known in Celestina when Melibea chastises Calisto for his "cruel conversación."

30. Flores alludes to the Provençal poet Lucca di Grimalti, in some respects similar to Rodríguez del Padrón's close identification with the Galician poet lover Macías in Siervo libre de amor. According to Matulka, the thirteenth-century Grimalti died a tragic death due to his passion for a lady who disdained him (253). The transformation of Flores, the real author, into Grimalte, a textually conceived character who, like the provenzal Grimalti also suffers the disdain of his Lady in the tradition of the French "belle dame sans merci" further complicates the role of narrator in Grimalte y Gradissa.

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Chapter Five

Oral and Written Discourse/Discord in Arnalte y Lucenda and Cárcel de amor

Arnalte y Lucenda and Cárcel de amor, two sentimental prose romances by Diego de San Pedro, preserve oral expression through a highly rhetorical language and structure.[1] Despite differences between the prominent acoustical language of Arnalte y Lucenda and the more densely stylized rhetoric of Cárcel de amor--which reflect changes in literary tastes from the humanist rhetoric of the Middle Ages to that of the Renaissance (Whinnom Diego 113-16)--both works exemplify the convergence of orality and textuality. Orality is conveyed through an agonistic, polemical tone, oral-rhetorical style and structure that preserve oral habits of thought and expression while textuality is indebted to academic and religious traditions and to an increasing sophistication of narrative technique made possible with writing.

Like the other sentimental romances studied in the preceding chapters, Arnalte y Lucenda and Cárcel de amor can be better understood through a study of the interaction of orality and textuality in the processes of composition, transmission and reception. This chapter will examine the convergence of orality and textuality in Arnalte y Lucenda and in Cárcel de amor in the following manner: a study of the extant manuscripts and early printed editions, a discussion of certain oral and textual sources, an

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evaluation of oral-rhetorical style and structure, and a consideration of the self-conscious narrators and of modes of reception. Since each work is a unique creation, a study of the manner in which oral and textual aspects interact within each one will also accentuate different thematic concerns. While Arnalte y Lucenda emphasizes tensions as oral story becomes written narrative, Cárcel de amor exposes the negativity of the written word through the exchanges of letters that do not fulfill the expressed purpose of uniting the lovers. We will begin with a brief biographical discussion of Diego de San Pedro in order to demonstrate that our understanding of early fiction writers is often dependent on what can be established from their literary works.

Diego de San Pedro: Writer of Courtly Romance

Very little is known about the life of Diego de San Pedro and most of the information concerning San Pedro's identity comes from his literary works and his connection as servant to the powerful Téllez-Girón family. The textual portrait that will emerge from our study of San Pedro is that of a writer, well trained in the rhetorical tradition, much more so than his contemporary Juan de Flores who wrote in order to please a small courtly audience of ladies and knights.[2] Since much of the information about San Pedro derives from his direct address to the destinaires within his works, this type of textual communication between writer and audience helps remind us of the close relationship between author and public in orally residual cultures.

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Three men have been identified by scholars with Diego de San Pedro, the writer.[3] Whinnom has determined that one was a poet in the time of Juan II who acted as regidor of Valladolid but was too old to have been the writer. A second Diego de San Pedro was bachiller and alcaide of the fortress of Peñafiel. He was at first identified as the writer since he was in service to don Pedro Girón from 1459 and was legatorio to don Pedro in 1466. This second San Pedro, the alcaide, is not mentioned in documents after 1472 although he was still at Peñafiel in 1476 when the name of another, a third Diego de San Pedro appeared on the list of hidalgos living at Peñafiel. It is known that a Diego de San Pedro, writer of sentimental fiction also lived in Peñafiel under the service of Juan Téllez-Girón, the son of don Pedro Girón. San Pedro the writer could possibly be the third San Pedro whose name appears on the above mentioned list of 1476 (Obras I, 16-17).

Diego de San Pedro's social station as member of the Girón family household provides us with some information about his background. The Girón family was a powerful clan, mentioned throughout the chronicles. As in most feudal societies, servants, like blood relatives, shared in the fortunes of the family with whom they were aligned.

San Pedro's ties with the Girón family binds him to the sometimes turbulent relations between this powerful family and the Crown. Don Pedro Girón had arranged his marriage with Enrique IV's sister, the future Queen Isabel but he died on the way to the ceremony in 1466. Don Pedro's second

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son, Juan Téllez-Girón eventually became the second count of Urueña and Diego de San Pedro, the writer, entered the service of this Juan Téllez-Girón around 1472 (Whinnom Obras I 22-23). After Enrique IV's death, the Giróns sided with Isabel's rival, Juana la Beltraneja in the battle for the Castilian throne. In 1476 the Girón family changed sides and pledged allegiance to Isabel in return for her pardon (24). Later, during the war against the Moors in Granada beginning in 1482, Juan Téllez-Girón proved his family's loyalty to Isabel and entered Granada alongside the Catholic Monarchs on January 2 of 1492.[4] Whinnom suggests that the allusion to returning from war at the beginning of Cárcel de amor: "Después de hecha la guerra del año pasado...en la Sierra Morena" and the ending that mentions arriving at Peñafiel: "Llegué a Peñafiel," might indicate that Diego de San Pedro accompanied Téllez-Girón during the Granada campaign (25).

San Pedro's literary works further tie him to the Girón family. The second printed edition of Arnalte y Lucenda (Burgos 1522) describes San Pedro as "criado del Conde de Urueña su señor" don Juan Téllez-Girón and the end of Cárcel de amor reads "llegué aquí a Peñafiel" a fortress and villa that belonged to the Girón family. His Desprecio de la Fortuna is dedicated to Juan Girón, "al Conde de Urueña su señor" and the prologue states that San Pedro had been in service to Don Juan Girón for twenty-nine years (Obras I 15).

The mention of two historical figures in San Pedro's works adds to these biographical data. He dedicates Cárcel

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to Diego Fernández de Córdoba, "alcaide de los Donceles" who was active in the Granada campaign and became famous after the Battle of Lucena in 1483 (Obras I 27-28). The second figure, doña Marina Manuel is mentioned in the prologue of the Cárcel. She functioned as a sort of literary critic for San Pedro and her preference for a particular style is expressed in the prologue:

> [D]evía hazer alguna obra del estilo de una oración que enbié a la señora doña Marina Manuel, porque le parescía menos malo que el que puse en otro tratado que vido mío. (28)

The reference to Doña Marina strengthens San Pedro's connections with the Girón family since she was related to Juan Téllez-Girón as well as being the great granddaughter of don Juan Manuel, author of Conde Lucanor.[5] She was one of Isabel's ladies in waiting until she married Baldwin of Burgundy. She was living in Flanders by 1496. It is evident that she moved in literary circles since her name appears as the author of a mote glossed by the poet Cartagena in the Cancionero general of Hernando de Castillo and as the destinaire of a love poem in verse by Diego López de Haro (28-30). As Whinnom summarizes, Marina Manuel's parentage with don Juan Téllez-Girón as well as her own literary background combine to make her an important figure in San Pedro's life (30).

It is worth mentioning that a major question concerning San Pedro's life has been his tentative converso background. To date none of the evidence collected on this topic has been conclusive enough to definitively prove that San Pedro

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is of Jewish or converso ancestry.[6]

In addition to the information that links San Pedro with a courtly and literary society, we can piece together a portrait of San Pedro's textual personality through a reading of his works. His literary corpus reveals a writer with a strong desire to please his audience by allowing addressees and other acquaintances to dictate both style and subject matter. All his works, secular and religious, demonstrate the preoccupations not only of the writer but of the addressee and were written at someone's request for a specific purpose. Besides the above mentioned importance of Marina Manuel as literary critic, San Pedro mentions the requests made by others that he continue writing. The Pasión trobada, for example, was written at the behest of a nun whom San Pedro loved, and whom he addresses in a verse prologue that explains his reasons for granting her request for a sacred poem. He says that by contemplating the passions of Christ he can forget his own suffering in love. Similarly his Sermón, a type of ars amatoria in the form of a sermon, was written expressly because the Ladies of the court "le desseauan oyr predicar" (Gili Gaya 99). One of San Pedro's last works, a lengthy poem called Desprecio de la Fortuna, appears to have been written for Juan Téllez-Girón, Conde de Urueña, according to its prose prologue:

> Mas por servicio de Vuestra Señoría y de algunos señores grandes de quien me fue mandado que no passasse la vida en silencio, pensé hazer esta pequeñuela obra, y llaméla Desprecio de la Fortuna, donde prueva por notorias razones que havía de servir, aunque la dexamos mandar, y enderecéla a Vuestra Señoría, porque según dixe ya otra vez en una escriptura mía, para que toda

> materia sea agradablemente oída, conviene que el razonamiento del que dize sea conforme a la condición del que oye. (Whinnom Obras III 273)

The above quote indicates that San Pedro would have cut short his literary pursuits but for the entreaties of his betters that he continue writing. Behind San Pedro's humility a certain authorial pride is detected when he mentions the petitions from others that he continue his literary enterprises when he thought of ending his writing career. Cárcel refers to a similar request that San Pedro continue writing:

> [Y]o estaba determinado de cessar ya en el metro y en la prosa, por librar mi rudeza de iuyzios y mi espíritu de trabaios; y parece, quanto más pienso hazerlo, que se me ofrecen más cosas para no poder conplirlo. (86)

It appears that behind the modesty, San Pedro does make note that others constantly call upon him to write.

Although modes of reception will be treated later, the constant repetition in some of the above citations of how San Pedro's works are "heard" should be emphasized since it illustrates that he was not only preoccupied with the subject matter and style, but how his work would sound when heard by his audience.

Returning to our discussion of San Pedro's need to write in order to please his audience, it is obvious that the Desprecio follows Juan Téllez-Girón's later taste for religious texts. The contrition San Pedro expresses in his Desprecio coincides with Téllez-Girón's own behavior of christian devotion following the war (Obras I 38-39).

The Desprecio also helps in determining the chronology

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of San Pedro's bibliography and biography. Whinnom correctly assumes a later date of composition for the Desprecio than that proposed by earlier scholars due in part to his interpretation of San Pedro's mention of his twenty-nine years of service to Juan Téllez-Girón and San Pedro's expressions of remorse and piety after the ending of the war with Granada. Since the Desprecio also contains a rejection of San Pedro's sentimental and courtly works it appears to have been written years later: "y si hasta aquí con más osada licencia algunas cosas escriuí, fue porque en los tiempos passados me preciaua de lo que agora escuso" (Gili Gaya 234). This passage from the prologue to the Desprecio speaks as if San Pedro had written his courtly works years earlier and the first strophe indeed includes mention of his own aging: "Mi seso lleno de canas, / de mi consejo engañado, / hasta aquí con obras vanas / y en escrituras livianos / siempre anduvo desterrado" (275).

Whinnom utilizes this information from Desprecio's prologue to tentatively fix the year of San Pedro's death. Although the exact date of San Pedro's death remains conjectural, Whinnom places it after 1498 since the Desprecio was written after 1498 and before 1506 (40).

Furthermore, the Desprecio is significant since its first three strophes contain what amounts to be the first bibliography of San Pedro's works (36). As mentioned above, the Desprecio contains a rejection by San Pedro of his secular works: Cárcel is "salsa para pecar," the "yerros que ponía / en un Sermón que escreuí," Arnalte is "aquellas

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cartas de amores" which are "mis acusadores / para delante de Dios" and his other love poems as "pertrechos / con que tiren contra mi" (Gili Gaya 236-37). In consideration of the Desprecio and other intertextual and textual references, the chronology of San Pedro's works would be the Pasión trobada, Arnalte y Lucenda, Sermón, Cárcel de amor and Desprecio de la fortuna. San Pedro's love poems, primarily found in cancioneros, were probably composed during the same years as those of the writing of his sentimental fiction (Whinnom Obras I 41-42).

Less is known about Diego de San Pedro than either Rodríguez del Padrón or Juan de Flores and most of this information has come to us peripherally from his association with the Téllez-Girón family and his own literary works. The lack of data surrounding the biography of San Pedro is surprising due to the apparent success of his sentimental prose works.[7] The dearth of direct biographical material can be explained in part by the fact that for San Pedro, and most early authors, a cult of the writer or author as personality had not as yet emerged and the text itself, oral or written, remained foregrounded over the personality of its composer or author. As with Rodfíguez del Padrón and Flores, San Pedro was, if only marginally, still within the realm of the anonymous oral storyteller. Only gradually as print became internalized, did the text become identified completely as a product of its author rather than as a product of a performance. In the case of San Pedro's identity, we have an author who is a product of his

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Arnalte y Lucenda

Arnalte y Lucenda thematizes the process by which story becomes text, a process referred to as institutionalization (Lombardi). As the act of composition unfolds before us, tensions are produced as oral story is transformed into written narrative. The contradictory nature of the work is underscored by the demand for secrecy in the love affair between Arnalte and Lucenda and its subsequent exposure to public scrutiny when it is written down.

Not only does Arnalte thematize the writing down of the story but in keeping with sentimental fiction treated in previous chapters, the work discloses a convergence of orality and textuality. This part of the chapter will begin by examining the extant manuscripts and early printed editions followed by a plot summary and discussion of selected oral and textual sources. We will then turn to Arnalte's oral-rhetorical style which affirms that the work was intended to be heard rather than silently read. Next, the variety of discursive structures in the form of narrative, letters and poetry will be treated followed by a study of the function of the ars memoria, particularly the metaphorical and structural use of building imagery. The theme of love will be examined in light of the adversarial role of love and suffering as a form of rhetorical productivity for Arnalte. Lucenda's rejection causes Arnalte suffering that eventually allows him to become rhetorically productive in the creation of written narrative. Later, a

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consideration of the role of narrator will help settle the perplexing issue of the discrepancy between Arnalte's uncourtly actions and the high flown style of the work. Lastly, a discussion of oral reception will close the treatment of orality and textuality in Arnalte y Lucenda.

The Physical Texts: "Tractado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda"

An inspection of the extant manuscripts and early printed editions of Arnalte y Lucenda in consideration of both oral and written modes of communication contributes information on dating and geographical provenance of editors and scribes. As we will demonstrate in this study of the early versions of Arnalte, acoustical interference played a crucial role in the linguistic makeup of the texts. The presence of Aragonisms, Italianisms and seseo are oral markers of a scribe or printer's dialect or language in the various editions. In addition we will indicate that a move away from the Latinate spelling and syntax of the earlier versions towards a more natural syntax and greater use of punctuation marks in later texts, are signs that indicate a printer's interventions and a more advanced stage in the evolution towards the printed word. We will begin by considering Arnalte's date of composition, which like other aspects of the work's textual history is estimated by examining and comparing internal evidence from the extant versions.

According to Whinnom, Arnalte y Lucenda was composed during the early 1480's. His dating is largely based on

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internal evidence contained in the work, particularly the long praise poem to Isabel recited by Auctor. San Pedro would not have written the panegyric until after the Girón family had pledged loyalty to Isabel. The textual reference to Castile's domestic tranquility signifying the end of civil war supports a composition date of the early 1480's. Since there is no mention of activities in Granada, Whinnom further suggests that Arnalte was composed before the Granada campaign had begun in force (Obras I 46).

Early versions of Arnalte are found in two extant manuscripts besides the early 1491 and 1522 printed editions and numerous reprintings and translations.[8] The first manuscript that will be described is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (= MS 22021) and is dated from the late fifteenth century with script from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Corfis Arnalte 11). The second manuscript that we will examine is from the Trivulziana library in Milan (= MS 940) and is an early sixteenth-century copy. We will then discuss the early printed editions and conclude with a comparison of all the texts.

The high quantity of linguistic variation between the extant versions indicates aural-oral interference as well as textual influences. Ms 22021 of the Biblioteca Nacional contains a preponderance of Latinate spellings, more than in the other texts (Corfis Arnalte 27). Some examples of Latinate orthography from MS 22021 include: "thema" (35), "fraugoso" (37), "condempna" (47, 123, 133), "themo" (123),

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"aucto" (140, 170), "themor" (165, 168), "aquá" (166, 172), "condempnen" (167). In addition, the eastern origin of MS 22021 is evident since it is heavily laden with Aragonisms due to acoustical interference from a copyist's eastern dialect.[9] For example, the forms "seguredat" or "voluntat" (33), "virtut" "estillo" (34), "estranya" (36), "montanya" (37), "sallida" (37,44), "suenyo" (41), "senyalauan" (43) or "estranyo" (171). These are just a few of the words that indicate the linguistic influence of the eastern part of the peninsula. Now that the particular linguistic features of the manuscript have been noted, we will end our examination of MS 22021 with a description of some of its physical aspects.

MS 22021 lacks a title and begins with the directive "Johan de Sant Pedro alas damas dela Reyna nuestra señora." The text is neatly copied with corrections in the same scribal hand. Some of the corrections might be due to acoustical errors or possibly mispronunciations such as the correction "mal las cosas" for the error "malas cosas" (16v) or "esperanca" for the error "esperiencia" (35v). The last page of the work has deteriorated but contains the same text found in the printed editions, minus the colophon. MS 22021 contains the Siete angustias poem to the Virgin similarly found in the 1491 printed edition. There are simply-ornamented capitals at the beginning of divisions and a few reader's marks in the form of pointed fingers and decorative brackets. Punctuation is limited to slashes which divide phrases into breath groups. In sum, the transmission of MS

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22021 depends on both writing and orality as it was clearly copied from a written text but was influenced by acoustical interference as well.

The second extant manuscript to be described is housed in the Biblioteca Trivulziana in Milan (=MS 940) and dates from the first half of the sixteenth century (Corfis "Tractado" 36). The manuscript appears to be the efforts of a scribe of Italian background due to the Italian influence on the orthography evident throughout the text. For example, male for mal, se for si (165r.8) or in seguiente rather then siguiente (159r.9), enstante for instante (163r.3), "desiando" for "deseando" (166v.16-17), "endustrias" for "industrias" (179v.13) "mangiar" (140v.10) and forms such as "anbaxada" for "embaxada" (185v.13), "ambaxada" for "embaxada" (191v.9), "ascuchado" for escuchada" (205r.3-4), "ponto" for "punto" (193v.13). Some Italianisms and other sound interferences include the frequent use of "ya" for "ia" as in "cortesya" (137v.19) or "ansyas" (179v.16), the misplaced tilde over mañera (138v.6; 179v.8; 203v.9; 222r.14). Another characteristic of MS 940 is the overabundant use of z for ç or c or s such as palazio for palacio (134r 1.5), torzer for torcer (136v. 1.8), nazian for nacian (136v 1.15) zufrir for sufrir (160v.12), or zibdad ciudad (162v.14).

Word boundary confusions are common in the text and appear to be due to sound confusion. For instance, "y poco remedio le eson enemigos" should be "y poco remedio le son enemigos" (180v.6-7) or "no lestraño" for "no le estraño"

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(183r.4), "tratados de lamor" rather than "tratados del amor" (194v.5) or "dengañoso" for "de engañoso" (206v.3). The "vocality" of MS 940 further complicates the problem of textual transmission since many of the variants represent sound misinterpretations due to acoustical interference from the copyist's native language as well as textual errors due to eyeslips or carelessness. The few corrections that are made in the text seem to be in the same hand as the scribe. The following passage remains uncorrected in MS 940: "vna fiesta que a dormir se retraxeron" that to make sense should read "una siesta..." (180r.7). There are also blank spaces in the text where the scribe had difficulty understanding a passage.

Corfis has analyzed the variants in the Milan text and concludes that the Italian witness does not completely align itself with any of the printed editions.[10] Some variants between MS 940 and later editions are the result of sound confusion: "secreto" to "discreto" (134v.8), "presta" to "preza" (158r.12). Others are variations or deletions: "se fue a su sala" to "se fue a su posada" (163v.11), "me saluan y desculpan" becomes "me saluan" (218v.2).

The Milan text does correspond structurally to the second known printed edition of 1522 that also lacks the Siete angustias. Given the comparison of witnesses on structural and linguistic grounds, Corfis is probably correct in asserting that the MS 940 is related to the same family as the 1522 edition rather than MS 22021 from the Biblioteca Nacional or the 1491 edition.[11]

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The Milan manuscript also lacks a title and begins "A las damas de la Reyna" (133v.1). It has some capitalization but no noteworthy ornamentation. There are more reader's brackets than in MS 22021 (it has two) that highlight a few lines of the text such as "cata que la fortuna es de los prosperos enemiga y de los mas miserables mayor esperanza" (170r.16-18) or "ni los alegres de su fauor fauoreszer se deuen ni tu de su bienandanza desperar deues" (170v.2-4). The bracketed areas in the other parts of the manuscript all are sententious or refrain-like pieces like the examples here given.[12] The marginal notations left by the scribe or reader affirms the popularity of proverb-like phrases confirmed by the numerous editions of florilegia collections printed in the sixteenth century. The orality of MS 940 is further supported by its ending lines: "y porque quando cansadas de oyr hablar discretas razones estays al burlar de las mias. Cabo." (222v.13-16). Like the other Arnalte texts it refers to aural reception in the words "oyr hablar."

In addition to the two extant manuscripts of Arnalte described above, there are also a number of printed editions that were affected by aural-oral as well as textual influences and that demonstrate stages of the work as it developed along with the advances made in printing techniques. Arnalte was first printed in 1491 in Burgos by the German Fadrique de Basilea and a second edition was printed in Burgos in 1522. The second is independent from the first and does not contain the Siete angustias, a long independent poem found in the first printed edition.[13] The

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1522 edition contains additions and emendations that suggest a more advanced stage away from oral and manuscript culture and toward the printed word:

> El texto de 1522 está modificado y enmendado de tal manera que habría que pensar más bien en la intervención de un impresor que hiciese independientemente los cambios y corrigiese los errores a la luz del texto original, impreso o manuscrito, o bien,...en la intervención personal del autor, en otra edición perdida anterior. (Whinnom Obras I 45)

Whinnom, who bases his edition on the 1491 text with corrections from the 1522 one, notes that the later text indicates a more advanced stage in printing (82). The later edition shows greater use of punctuation marks and at other moments adds or omits words. A change in literary tastes towards less latinate syntax is illustrated through attempts by the printers to normalize the latinized syntax (Obras I 79-83).

As the above study and comparison of the early versions of Arnalte have indicated, the textual history of the existing versions is complex and is affected by acoustical interferences and linguistic changes away from the latinate style of MS 22021 and MS 940. The texts contain enough independent variants to indicate that they did not derive from one another. The exception is MS 940 that may be grouped with the 1522 edition, if only tentatively, given this edition's substantial variability. MS 22021, for example contains variants from both the printed editions that indicate that "all three, A, B and Ms derive independently from the same source, a, which has elements common to A, B, and Ms." (Corfis Arnalte 20). The complex

textual transmission may lead to establishing the archetype of a lost original, a text that represents not something that existed but a hypothetical textual performance in itself.

My goal has not been to construct the archetype when considering each text and comparing relationships but rather to stress the uniqueness of each extant text and its proximity to the world of sound through acoustical interference, punctuation based on breathing and word boundary confusion due to speaking, or even marginal notations that mark proverb-like phrases in the text. The archetype, like an "original" performance, might begin albeit hypothetically the transmission process, but similar to oral performance, subsequent texts recreate the work upon the salida of each new manuscript or early edition. In spite of written transmission, the extraordinary number of variants and diverse linguistic signs present the texts as participating in and being influenced by the world of sound.

The physical texts that comprise the work known as Arnalte y Lucenda are textual witnesses to both written and oral transmission. The quantity of linguistic variants due to orthographic and syntactic irregularities and punctuation designed not for silent reading, but for pauses between breath groups indicate a certain vocality that is now lost in modern printed texts. Now that we have examined the extant texts we will begin with a summary of the plot before turning to other aspects that illustrate the convergence of orality and textuality in Arnalte y Lucenda.

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The following brief summary of Arnalte will help clarify the structural complexities of the narrative. The plot of Arnalte concerns two parallel stories. A frame story is directed to the Ladies of the court and concerns Auctor's narration of the circumstances and ultimate written composition of his experiences while journeying through the wilderness. The inner story is told by the character Arnalte and concerns his attempts to seduce Lucenda.

Arnalte begins when Auctor as narrator-character comes upon a clearing where he finds a dwelling with a foreboding aspect. He soon learns that the inhabitants are a self-exiled caballero and his servants. Auctor is welcomed by the sad knight, Arnalte, who provides him with food and lodging but who exhibits some mysterious habits. After Auctor's literary prowess has been tested through his oral improvisational performance of a long praise poem to Queen Isabel, Arnalte rewards him with the task of listening and later recounting the story of his failed love affair to the ladies of the court.

The inner story begins with Arnalte's enamoramiento of Lucenda at her father's funeral and describes his various attempts to win her first through the aid of servants, then with the help of his friend Elierso, and finally through the efforts of his sister Belisa. Belisa is successful in persuading Lucenda to hear Arnalte's pleas and meet with him. He manages to get a kiss from her and that appears to appease his desires for the time being. Arnalte, content,

retires to the country in order to recover his health weakened by the sickness caused by love.

While Arnalte is away, his false friend Elierso betrays his trust and marries Lucenda. Arnalte is affronted by the betrayal of friendship and publicly challenges Elierso to a duel. He kills Elierso and in order to console Lucenda offers himself in marriage to her. Lucenda refuses to marry him and her last gesture is to deny Arnalte's sister Belisa further access to her. She enters a convent amidst great ceremony. Arnalte decides to exile himself and after finding a suitable husband for his sister (since their parents died of the plague) he and his loyal servants make a home in the wilderness. In his new dwelling, draped in black with words of despair inscribed on walls and doors, Arnalte spends his days in mourning and increases his pain through self-flagellation.

The love story ends shortly after Arnalte recites a lengthy religious poem known as Siete angustias in order to better verbalize and reflect his pain. After Arnalte has finished, Auctor returns as narrator of the frame story and directs himself to the "Damas." The work ends with Auctor who, rather than expressing sympathy for Arnalte, comments on the diversion that he hopes the work will provide for the ladies of the court.

Oral Textual Sources: From Machaut to Ovid

Arnalte demonstrates sentimental fiction's ability to absorb a variety of traditions both oral and written, popular and learned. The present discussion of some of the

oral and textual sources found in Arnalte will illustrate the convergence of French sentimental fiction, the Ovidian tradition, oral law through French and Spanish chivalric literature, and the influence of Spanish epic and romancero. As with the other sentimental works studied in previous chapters, the variety of influences and traditions suggests San Pedro's use of a form of memorative composition to gather and arrange his diverse material.

Arnalte shares certain aspects with the French sentimental romances of Guillaume de Michaut, Christine de Pisan and Jean Froissart (Whinnom Obras I 55-56). In Arnalte the similarities are primarily structural through the use of allegory, a combination of verse and letters, and in the personality of Lucenda who disdains Arnalte in the tradition of the belle dame sans merci.[14]

In addition to French influence, many scenes in Arnalte are reminiscent of the advice on seduction found in Ovid's Ars amatoria. Scenes such as sending servants with messages, Arnalte disguising himself in women's clothing, and spying on Lucenda from his friend's house are Ovidian in nature. Additionally, language is expressed through a filter of courtly love discourse with its emphasis on suffering and inclusion of religious and feudal motifs.[15]

The influence of French writers and Ovid's Ars amatoria, converges with other sources that are more difficult to trace from oral or textual traditions. Two episodes in Arnalte may be derived from oral feudal law: the offer of Arnalte to marry Lucenda in order to replace the

husband whose death he had caused, and later the marriage of Belisa in order to provide her with a male protector. The substitution of one male protector for another is found in French romance and the Spanish epic. In the French Yvain of Chrétien de Troyes, Yvain, the murderer of Laudine's husband, marries her. In the Spanish epic Mocedades de Rodrigo Jimena marries the Cid who killed her father. The tradition may descend from oral feudal custom when women were owed the right to a protector.

The oral genres of the epic or romancero traditions could account for the presence of agüeros in Arnalte. These signs of foreboding are utilized in retrospect in the sentimental work since Arnalte does not recognize their significance until he has lost Lucenda. The signs are interpretive tools in that they foreshadow the events of Auctor's narrative for the intended audience, the "Damas." The following example will illustrate that both hunting motifs and agüeros, common elements in stories from epic and romancero traditions, are found in Arnalte.

Arnalte retires to the country in order to recoup his strength after his passions have been assuaged by Belisa. While in the country, he enjoys the activity of the hunt, a noble pastime. The first agüero concerns his hunting dog:

> Y vn nubloso día que a caça saly, vi muchos señales y agueros que del mal venidero me certificaron...vn sabueso mío en mi cámara entró, y junto con mis pies tres temerosos aullidos dio; y yo en agüeros poco mirasse, no curando de tal misterio. (125-26)

When the second warning sign occurs, he is out hunting with his hawk. During the hunt his thoughts dwell on his friend

Elierso's recent coolness and acts of avoidance. As Arnalte mentally excuses Elierso's recent unfriendliness his hawk suddenly falls dead: "Y quando el tal pensamiento de mí despedí, el açor que en la mano tenía, súpitamente muerto cayó" (126). Although Arnalte has already insisted that he does not heed superstitious warnings, he nevertheless takes this second sign as trouble and climbs a hill in order to better see Lucenda's dwelling. The signs were correct and Arnalte discovers that Lucenda is celebrating her marriage to Elierso.

In addition to hunting and agüero motifs, a more direct source from the romancero tradition in Arnalte is suggested by the similarities between the description of Arnalte's dwelling place and a similar location described in a romance by Don Juan Manuel (Waley "Love and Honour" 253-54).

Although influences can be difficult to pinpoint, the representative sources examined here exemplify the complex network of oral and written traditions. The incorporation of popular and learned, oral and textual traditions in a single work indicates that San Pedro, like Flores, probably relied on memory and memorial composition in composing Arnalte. Like other early writers, he relied more on the "texts" stored in his memory that he had heard and read, rather than consulting or relying on written texts. San Pedro probably would then have gathered and arranged this material in the act of composition, perhaps mouthing the words aloud to test how they would sound to his audience. We will now turn to consider San Pedro's awareness of the vocal dimension of

Arnalte by analyzing its oral-rhetorical style and structure clearly based on the sounded word.

Rhetorical Style and Structure

Arnalte y Lucenda has been especially recognized for its highly rhetorical style and structure particularly in the employment of acoustical elements. The presence of acoustical devices underscores the vocality of Arnalte and affirms the performative quality of its story for oral readings in small groups. In this discussion of the oral-rhetorical style, we will consider the acoustical devices studied by Keith Whinnom, the dramatic qualities of the characters' speeches provided by examples of exclamatio and apostrofe, and then we will turn to less examined aspects of Arnalte's orality of expression. These aspects include the quantity and function of epithets, sententious proverbial-like phrases, formulaic and physical phrases, rhythmic prose and the use of metaphorical and descriptive language that helps the audience visualize abstractions, emotions and key elements. For example, the love relationship is conceived of as adversarial portrayed through metaphorical language that describes love as war. Particularly noticeable is the metaphorical use of building imagery as an aid to visualization. We will also stress that like most works that share features of oral residualism, Arnalte is agonistically toned and essentially polemical in nature. Let us begin by addressing the work's highly rhetorical language which preserves oral expression and possibly allows for dramatic readings of the text.

Whinnom has analyzed San Pedro's use of rhetoric in Arnalte and confirms it as:

> ... de lo más elevado que se encuentre en lengua vernácula en el siglo XV. No sólo emplea una sintaxis exageradamente latinizante (verbo postergado, subjuntivo después de como, etcétera), sino una serie de recursos retóricos, sobre todo los llamados 'conceptos acústicos', que va a condenar el 'buen gusto' de la época humanista. (Whinnom Obras I 60-61)

Acoustical devices represent an example of the convergence of orality with textuality in Arnalte. Acoustical devices are dependent on textuality through rhetorical practices made possible with writing but converge with orality since they can only be fully appreciated when recycled back into the world of sound when read aloud.

Some frequent acoustical phrases include diverse types of parhomoen or alliteration, and word plays such as annominatio and traductio, the use of varied forms of the same word: "orden ordenadas" (34) "nueuas de mis nueuas" (35) "parte de mi apartado" (37) "nueuo de sus nueuas" (53) "soledad sola" (61) "poco a poco te apocas" (71) "seruicios seruida" (78) "posada a reposar" (80) "forçado que me fuerçe" "minas minando" (85) "vençedor, vencido de la voluntad" (89) "cargo de mis cuydados no descargado" (112) "muchas mataste a su matador" (137).

Another recurrent acoustical device in Arnalte is that of derivatio: "sepan que saben" (34-35) "senty que sientes" (54) "quiero, pues no quieres" (78) "vista lo veas" (109) "hazérmelo hazer" (11) "conosció que por conoscer" (112) "dirías lo que dizes, pero no farías lo que fazes" (114). Forms of alliterations or parhomeon are very numerous and

include: "caballos con cubiertas y cuello y testera" (133-34) and "en mucha manera cansados; y como los corajes creciesen" (135). Alliterations are so numerous in Arnalte, that Whinnom says it would be almost impossible to list them all. He notes that there are twenty five in the first one and a half pages of Arnalte's first letter to Lucenda ("Stylistic" 6).

Other rhetorical figures such as exclamatio and apostrofe make for dramatic oral readings of the characters' speeches. For instance, Auctor's emotional response before Arnalte's self-punishment and the cries of his servants is particularly dramatic: "¿Quién duda, que quando las tales cosas yo viese, que más vencido de la turbación que sojuzgado del sueño no estuviese?" (41). In another dramatic moment Arnalte's passionate lament to himself is captured in the following apostrophe: "¡O morada de desdichas, o hedeficio de trabajos!" (70).

Other less studied forms of oral residue are found in Arnalte as well and are indicative of oral habits of thought and expression. Epithets or noun qualifiers, an important element of oral expression, are encountered primarily in the narrative sections of Arnalte and have the effect of conveying a dramatic tone and at times indicate Auctor's subjective reactions to events. Some examples of epithets from the text include: "la ajena necessidad" "el largo caminar" "estraña soledad y temeroso espanto" (36) "penado coraçón" "la espesa montaña" "las humosas nieblas" (37) "el espacioso y litigado pensamiento" "penados sospiros" "la

gentil disposiçión" (38) "graue dolor" (39) "seguro sosiego" (40) "aquexados lloros e gemidos mortales" "lastimera musica" (41) "trabajoso exerçiçio" (42) "estrecha necessidad" "guerreros deseos" (57) "el triste coraçón" (59) "honesto biuir" "afrontada negociación" (118). Some epithets in the work refer to specific characters. For example, Arnalte is described as "el caballero triste" (40, 41, 52) "el cauallero syn dicha" (42) "el caballero syn ventura" (43) and Belisa is "la amorosa hermana mia" (112) "la amada hermana mía" (118) "la enbaxadora discreta" (129) "la amada mi hermana" (140).

Another form of oral expression, sententious or set phrases, are more prevalent than epithets although the phrases are not quite as numerous as those sententia found in the romances of Juan de Flores. Nevertheless, the objective of the phrases remains the same, to validate a character's position or convince another character of an argument through the authority of oral wisdom. The following are a few examples of some of the uses and possible origins of a number of the phrases found in Arnalte.

Many of the speeches are argued from the authority of oral wisdom. For instance, by employing a set phrase of oral wisdom, Arnalte enjoins Lucenda that she should be grateful for his service to her: "bien sabes tú quánto la virtud y el desagradecimiento en la condición diuersan" (64). She responds with her own sententia: "porque ya tú sabes que el desconfiar consuela y el entretener enlaza" (66) and "quánto es mejor temprano con pena guarescer que tarde con muerte

salir" (67). In a defense of her honor, Lucenda relies on sententious expressions: "quánto la honrra de las mugeres cahe quando el mal de los honbres pone en pie" (101) and similarly in her letter to Arnalte: "porque quien de ninguna bien puede ser causa, de ningún mal debe ser ocasión" (110).[16]

Some sententious phrases or refrains in Arnalte can be traced to a direct textual source although it is uncertain whether San Pedro utilized a written or oral source for the phrases. The following piece of advice on love in Arnalte is also found in Ovid's Ars amatoria Book II, 351: "porque muchas vezes suele el fingido oluido [dar] lo que el cierto seruicio niega" (103) (Whinnom Obras I 128n96). Another Ovidian derivative is the well known phrase "es regla por general tenida, que todas las cosas quando aver no se pueden son estimadas, y después de avidas suelen en menosprecio venir" (108) that Whinnom notes is "sentencia conocidísima por los florilegia" (131n102). There are other sayings that may derive from oral tradition. The saying "saqué unas matas...dezía la letera así" (76) is considered to be a set-phrase and matas has a tradition of oral proverbial usage (Corfis Grimalte 183-84; Whinnom Obras I 113n73). A common source, either oral or written is shared with Celestina: "el tiempo lo que deuiese fazer me dixiese" (Corfis Arnalte 177).

In keeping with oral style, many of the sententious phrases as well as other phrasings are balanced and in many cases antithetical as the following examples illustrate:

"que me hallé tan arrepentido de la entrada como deseoso de la salyda" (37) "y como yo más para trabajo que para rreposo aperçeuido estouiese" (80) "quanto mas su lloro crescía, tanto más mi sueño menguaua" (41). Some phrases are set in formulaic patterns: "por vn solo Dios" (78, 82, 107 and 164). Others combine variations of similar items in balanced clauses that are repeated later in the text: "porque yo no para acertar, mas para ser cierto nascí" (65) and "Tú para alegre biuir y yo para triste ser nascimos" (86) echoes Elierso's "tú para el dezir y yo para el hazer nascimos" (132). The balanced phrases are structured on patterns conforming to oral habits of thought that tend to cast knowledge into memorable patterns for easy storage and recall.

Other features corresponding to a complex oral residual style can be found in San Pedro's prose as well. His prose shares features of poetic discourse normally found in cancionero poetry such as the use of antithetical and often paradoxical language in order to describe the love experience.[17] For example, Arnalte's identifying emblem and mote, "porque no muero muero" of the 1491 edition (Whinnom Obras I 169) is also a common paradoxical phrase of cancionero poetry. Furthermore, Arnalte's prose, similar to that of Siervo libre de amor, is rhythmic and utilizes a recourse of the prosaica modulatio.[18] An example of rhythmic prose as well as the frequent use of anaphora, the repetition of the first word or phrase, is presented by Belisa's speech pleading with Arnalte to reveal the cause of

his suffering:

> Sy quieres de tu pena descargar, tú y yo tu la suframos; sy quieres que lloremos, nunca otra cosa agamos; sy quieres morir, sea de por medio la muerte; sy quieres que tú y yo tu mal consolemos, asy se haga; sy quieres que se encubra, tú y yo mejor que tú solo encobrirlo podemos; sy quieres que tu rremedio se busque, tú por cabo y yo por el mío, de fuerça lo hallaremos. (83)

As expressed in the above citation, the anaphora "Sy quieres" and the multi-syllable end rhyme "-emos" or cadens difiliotore highlights San Pedro's familiarity with the rhetorical teachings of rhythmic prose and tends to confirm the view of an oral reading of the work.[19]

The oral aspects discussed so far consist of highly acoustical elements and demonstrate San Pedro's preoccupation with the vocal dimension of Arnalte. In addition, descriptive imagery of Arnalte's prose and poetry is both visual and acoustical. The imagery evokes sensorial experiences in order to convey strong impressions that help a listening audience remember and understand abstract emotions and conceptions. For instance, Arnalte's passion is represented by the use of sea metaphors: "con mis pensamientos el nauío de mis passiones a rremar començé; pero como la tormenta de las ansias grande fuese, nunca puerto de descanso fallé" (73). Other prominent imagery to be considered below include sensorial descriptions and the use of building imagery.

Textual references to the senses of sight and sound evoke strong sensorial impressions for listeners/readers. For instance, the unique perspective from which Arnalte

first catches sight of Lucenda during the joust is shared with those hearing his story: "por la vysta de mi yelmo la luz del rrostro de Lucenda entró" (75). The dazzling reflection of Lucenda's face on Arnalte's helmet is inscribed there by light and, significantly, will only last for a moment. Another example that gives a strong sensorial impression is the description of sound and sight that interact with each other to portray Arnalte's tears: "al son de sus lágrimas mis ojos dançaban" (82). This phrase represents the verbal expression of the senses of hearing, sight and touch through rhythm. A third example occurs when Arnalte finally heeds the agüeros and climbs the hill to see Belisa's house, where he is greeted by sounds described as "el estruendo de muchos atabales y tronpetos llegó a mis oydos" (126). What Arnalte's ears could detect but his vision could not, were the sounds represented by the joyful celebration of Lucenda's marriage to Elierso.

Other sensorial phrases in Arnalte are similar to those physical phrases typically found in oral epic. The phrases refer to physical gestures and aid the oral performer by providing cues for appropriate gestures during a dramatic performance or even reading of a text. Physical phrases are fairly frequent in Arnalte such as: "Y como sus ojos a mí le mostrasen, vi que de verme alguna alteraçión sintió" (38) or "que los ojos deseándola çegasen, de manera que en grand manera desfigurado me yba" (70).

Other prominent descriptive imagery found in Arnalte includes that of architectural imagery. The use of phrases

that refer metaphorically to doors or windows for instance, clarifies and defines the abstract experience of passion and its effects particularly for a listening audience. Lucenda responds to Arnalte's advances with architectural imagery: "que no ay fuerça deste mundo que de quicios la puerta de mi propósito saque, porque tú puedes bien ver que tan herradas labores del dechado de tu demanda sacaría" (66). Belisa advises Arnalte, "Pues sy las llabes deste consejo las puertas de algún rremedio pueden abrir" (84).

Arnalte's monologue, full of dramatic exclamatio relies heavily on building metaphors:

> ¡O morada de desdichas, o hedeficio de trabajos! ¿Qué es de ti? ¿Adónde estás?...¿Por qué tus ojos las escalas de tu fe en tan alto muro pusieron, que antes tu caymiento que tu sobida dél esperas? (70-71)

The use of the edifice in order to describe Arnalte's emotional turmoil and interior struggle with self leads us now to consider the oral polemical tone of the work.

In addition to the use of architectural imagery, the above speech and its continuation below remind us that in keeping with oral habits of thought and expression, inner conflict takes place within an oral exchange and is conceived of as a debate with oneself. Although a monologue, Arnalte's speech is played out in the first and second persons as he continues speaking to himself:

> Veo que poco a poco te apocas, y veo que tu deseo al cabo te ha de acabar....No sé qué escojas, ni sé qué pidas. ¡O alma triste, fiel compañera mía! ¿Para qué morada tan entristeçida escogiste? (71)

The soul as a dwelling place for the body had long been a part of textual and biblical tradition but the playing out

of the divided self in love serves to illustrate Arnalte's psychological state as operating within an oral milieu. The idea that love causes a state of war within oneself is in keeping with the oral polemical nature of thought as Arnalte expresses: "E pues asy es, a los trajes de tus guerras tu sufrimiento llama; y en él los golpes que esperas rrescibe" (72). Internal struggles operating within characters can be explained as the tendency of oral thought to convert abstractions to personifications in order to conceptualize inner mental and emotional struggles.

As in oral cultures where abstractions are personalized and polarized around good and evil, Arnalte regards love as a personified force that he must struggle to defeat. In Arnalte love is conceived by the lover Arnalte as that force or "agena fuerça" (85) that controls him. Arnalte describes love as something to be struggled against: "porque el amor defiende con priessa, e ventura conbate de espacio" (86). Later he tells his friend Elierso how he came under love's power: "a sus mandamientos el amor tan sometido me [ouiese], con todas sus ponçoñosas plagas ofendido me tiene" (90).

Passion or love is dangerous since it obstructs both reason and will. It subjugates man's faculties and, worse, numbs his perceptions so that he is unable to recognize desperation. Arnalte speaks of how his personified internal strengths turned traitorous before Love:

> ... aquellas gentes de quien valerme solía, haziéndome traición cada qual por su parte se yendo hanme en grand soledad dexado. Negóme el esperança; huyóme el rremedio; dexóme la rrazón; el seso no quiso valerme...y de verdad puedo dezirte que de la priuación

> de mi juyzio no me pesara, porque tales daños no conosciera, e porque no conociéndolos no me dolieran. Y asy del seso seyendo priuado ni bien esperara, ni mal syntiera, de manera que, nada esperando, de nada desesperara, como agora de la vida y del bien lo hago. (90-91)

Thus the personalization of Love and Arnalte's other inner attributes that desert him, coupled with the academic view of love as leading to irrationality, exemplifies the convergence of oral habits of thought and expression with textual traditions. According to academic and religious views of Love, it is dangerous precisely because it inhibits reason and man's natural ability to act rationally.

The self-analysis made possible with writing converges in Arnalte with the adversarial, agonistic thinking common to oral cultures. The tendency to consider and describe psychological conflicts in terms of oral polemical thought fought by a character's inner forces is a form of oral residue preserved in writing.

The above study of oral style in Arnalte has found that oral expression is preserved through such elements as acoustical devices, dramatic expressions, formulaic patterns through epithets and sententious phrasings, as well as poetic and rhythmic prose. Descriptive language full of sensorial images of seeing and hearing reinforces the vocality and dramatic dimensions that contribute to the performative quality of the work. Evocative imagery serves the needs of listening audiences who must rely on sound and visualization rather than the printed page. As we have seen, the oral polemical tone which places characters in

adversarial positions turns even descriptions of psychological experiences into exciting drama.

Rhetorical Structures: Speech and Epistolarity

Arnalte's use of oral rhetorical style is reinforced through the formulaic structure of speeches modeled on the oration and letters structured on the ars dictaminis. Rhetoric not only marks Arnalte for oral delivery and reception, it also contributes to the formulaic nature of the work's discourse in keeping with oral habits of thought and expression. The following discussion will first consider the rhetorical structure and function of the characters' speeches and letters in Arnalte. It will be shown that although letters also follow rules governing rhetoric, they are not always as effective as speech.

Speeches in Arnalte are governed by the rules of rhetoric following the precepts of rhetorical treatises for construction and arrangement or dispositio. The following analysis of Belisa's speech to Lucenda in order to persuade her to see Arnalte will exemplify how San Pedro closely follows the rhetorical model of the oration.

Belisa's speech to Lucenda exemplifies the oration as followed in its five-part structure. The speech begins with the captatio benevolentiae or exordium, where Belisa compliments Lucenda on her discretion and prepares her for the request that she see Arnalte. She asks Lucenda not to judge her until Lucenda has heard her speech. Belisa then requests that Lucenda judge the intention rather than the words themselves. The narratio which follows the exordium

relates how Arnalte had fallen in love with Lucenda and was experiencing great suffering because of her. Belisa tells Lucenda that Arnalte had kept his love secret despite Belisa's attempts to discover his passion for Lucenda. But finally, Belisa continues, her great persistence led her to his secret and now she fears that her brother Arnalte might lose his life due to lovesickness.

In Belisa's argumentatio that comes next in the structure of the oration, she reminds Lucenda of the love she bears her and appeals to Lucenda's sense of sympathy by reminding Lucenda that she and Arnalte were made orphans when their relatives died in the plague. If Lucenda denies her request and Arnalte dies of passion, she, Lucenda, will be guilty of killing Belisa's only relative and protector. Belisa continues her argument by countering Lucenda's appeals in defense of her honor by suggesting that Lucenda only pretend to return Arnalte's love in order to appease him. Belisa then makes her petitio, or request, that Lucenda write Arnalte.

The last part of the oration, the peroratio, reminds Lucenda that Arnalte has sought her attentions for two years and Belisa asks Lucenda that she not cause him further pain (97-100). In the end Belisa turns out to be rhetorically victorious with Lucenda as she finally capitulates after Belisa's second speech. Like the first speech outlined above, the second also follows the rules of dispositio for an oration (107-108).

The purpose of the characters' speeches remains

rhetorical: to persuade one's adversary to one's own position. In Arnalte, characters aware of their social-rhetorical stance are defeated only when they back down from their position. Significantly, Lucenda calls Arnalte "vencedor" not when he has seduced her physically but when she has been defeated rhetorically by Belisa. When Lucenda later agrees to meet with Arnalte, he holds the rhetorical space to further his amorous cause. Arnalte steps forward to argue his case in a type of dramatic performance in which he "performs" in the presence of Lucenda and other characters and before a listening audience who will decide for itself if they are persuaded to his cause based on how they have been "moved" by him. As discussed next, the letters within the text are also "heard" by characters and by the listening audience. They are modeled on the oration through the ars dictaminis and are meant to persuade. We will demonstrate that although the letters serve a lyrical function they are fragile and lack the power of voice and presence for effective persuasion.

Although epistolary discourse is highly rhetorical, the use of letters presents the opportunity for the characters to speak lyrically and multiplies the number of points of view in the work. Letters also give the characters the vantage point of distance, a distance appreciated by Lucenda who wants nothing to do with Arnalte, but a distance deplored by Arnalte in his attempts to win Lucenda.

Arnalte utilizes letters more often than the other characters. Lucenda only writes one letter to Arnalte at the

insistence of Belisa. Arnalte's letters to Lucenda do not aid his cause as much as they provide an opportunity to present his point of view to Auctor and to the listeners/readers inside and outside the text. Except for the letters' effects on Auctor and the audience, the purpose of two of the letters addressed to Lucenda never is accomplished. One is ripped up and the other is never found to have been read by her. Although letters have the power to express a given position, they are ineffectual if not read.

When Arnalte receives the one letter Lucenda sends him he notes the disparity between the symbolic object of hope that the letter represents and the reality of its contents that embodies despair:

> Pero sy viéndola me alegré, leyéndola me entristecí, porque çerrada mostraua el rremedio, y leyéndola confirmaua el daño; y juzgada por su razonar tu yntención, señales el mal por venir, y no rremedias la pena presente. (114)

The letter, a textual element, is a physical symbol of hope for Arnalte while its contents actually bring him bad news. Lucenda's act in sending the letter, in order to please Belisa and allay the suffering of Arnalte, is not in harmony with the words contained in the letters, which reject Arnalte's advances. As a communicative tool, letters can be deceptive as well as demonstrative of the fragility of the written word which unlike the persuasive power of oral speech, can be destroyed, ignored and never read.

As mentioned earlier, the letters follow the rules governing the ars dictaminis which is based on the oration. So closely does San Pedro's text follow the rules governing

rhetoric that Whinnom notes that the English translation of Arnalte was used in sixteenth-century England for teaching rhetoric.[20] In addition to the rhetorically structured speeches and letters, San Pedro utilizes the division of rhetoric known as memoria in Arnalte which also exemplifies the convergence of orality and textuality in the work.

The "Ars memoria" in "Arnalte"

The part of rhetoric known as memoria is underscored throughout Arnalte. As Yates has suggested, advice for using memory devices and systems suggested by the ars memoria might have been applied to imaginative works as well (81). Many elements in Arnalte hold a commemorative value for the characters and the extradiegetic audience. In fact, the description of Arnalte's "triste morada" serves as a tool by which Auctor as narrator could keep the events in order, to be able to record them later for the ladies of the court. The rooms described in Arnalte's "triste morada" are similar to the "places" that are prescribed for memory systems while the emblematic verses that appear over doorways and on walls in the rooms resemble what is called "memory for words" (Yates 96). Inscribed clothing and objects appear throughout the work and assisted Auctor in remembering Arnalte's story which he first heard orally, and functioned as a guide memoria ad verbum for the listening audience who could not turn back the pages.

The frequent textual references to memory and the use of inscribed objects as mnemonic aids is another example of the convergence of orality and textuality in Arnalte. Since

the ars memoria is also a feature in San Pedro's Cárcel, especially in relation to allegory, the aspect of architectural imagery as allegorical edifice will be treated later. We will now turn to a discussion of the function of the various poems included in some of the versions of Arnalte.

Poetry in "Arnalte"

Poetry occupies a unique place in the work on both diegetic and extradiegetic levels. Several of the short coplas appear engraved or painted on objects, walls and clothing, and serve as emblems that are both memorial devices and emotional intensifiers.

One brief poem illustrates Lucenda's lack of interest in Arnalte. This poem is said to be a song written by Arnalte to Lucenda. Arnalte's song is typical of courtly love poetry yet it serves to establish a contrast with the gritos Lucenda answers in reply. Another probable function of this particular poem is its entertainment value. Arnalte's song could have been sung during a dramatic reading to a small gathering of courtly persons. In addition to these brief poems are two larger poetic compositions that share several purposes.

The two larger poems, the panegyric in honor of Queen Isabel and the Siete angustias praising the Virgin each have a special raison d'être on diegetic and extradiegetic levels of the text. Together they serve to frame the inner narrative of Arnalte's passion for Lucenda. The praise poem in honor of Queen Isabel serves the political function of

ingratiating the Tellez-Girón family with the Queen since it is composed by one of their servants, Diego de San Pedro. In addition, it allows Auctor to show off his literary expertise through the oral improvisational composition of the poem. The other long poem, the Angustias, that frames the ending to Arnalte's tale, honors the Blessed Mother and allows Arnalte to express his literary skills just as the first long poem earlier afforded that same opportunity to Auctor. The juxtaposition of Isabel and the Virgen serves to exemplify Isabel as earthly mirror of the heavenly Mother. Finally, the presence of poems about both illustrious women elevates the estimation of the entire work. Let us now consider the thematic concerns of Arnalte which are neither religious nor noble despite the connection with these renowned women.

Themes: Love and Rhetorical Prowess

The theme of love and its rhetorical effects ties thematic concerns in Arnalte with orality and textuality. As in all sentimental romances love or passion is the force which motivates characters to take their respective rhetorical stands.

As Mary Wack and Toril Moi have shown, love is also a source of creativity that provides the lover with the rhetorical prowess to dominate language. The lover's pain and frustration are released through a steady stream of words. Arnalte as lover illustrates the central role of language in desire. The ensuing discussion of the role of language and desire in Arnalte will emphasize the following

aspects: the role played by Arnalte's imagination in increasing his desire for Lucenda, Arnalte's need as lover to dominate the rhetorical space in order to convince Lucenda, and the easing of his suffering through the publication of his secret love for Lucenda that leads to the eventual written publication of the whole affair between them. Lastly, we will note that although Arnalte uses both oral and written means of communication to dominate the relationship with Lucenda, she defends herself through her honor and by restricting Arnalte's opportunity to dominate her rhetorically. Although denied rhetorical space, Arnalte is still given the last word through the creation of Auctor's written narrative. Let us now begin by considering first the function of the imagination in the creation of desire and language.

Wack explains the importance of imagination to the lover in the creation and storage of the image of the beloved in order to sustain and heighten desire for the beloved. Imagination thus generates erotic desire and then stimulates language to persuade in its fulfillment. "Paradoxically, then, the lover's imagination is potentially both physically destructive and rhetorically productive" (110). If the lover can successfully convince through words, then he avoids physical suffering. Although Arnalte fears the destructive powers of love, he recalls how desire stimulated his imagination at the sight of Lucenda at her father's funeral and he remembers that despite his struggles to the contrary, he could not defeat the forces of love.

Later, Arnalte verbalizes the image of himself and Lucenda created by his imagination:

> contemplando, sy asy lo mandasses, en cómo te adoría, no sé qué digo. Figúro me [yo a mí] puesto a tus pies, las rodillas en el suelo, y los ojos en ty. E poniéndome asy, contemplo cómo tú en tu altiuo meresçimiento te gloriarías, y cómo yo con que acatamiento te miraría. Y pues yo de ser tuyo y en esto pensar cansar no me espero. (117-118)

The imagination is the stimulus for Arnalte's idealized portrait of their relationship.

Arnalte imagines himself the ideal courtly lover who follows the rules of seduction until he does achieve some success through his sister who succeeds in arranging a meeting between him and Lucenda and where he even manages to kiss Lucenda's hand. This is a far cry from Arnalte's initial request to Lucenda that she simply acknowledge his pain. As she hesitantly grants him more and more favors, Arnalte remains unsatisfied and continues to plead for more. The gradual granting of a lover's wishes follows the dictates of Ovid's Ars amatoria and later the rules of love as set by Andreas Capellanus. The increasing instances of communication between the lovers also permits Arnalte the space to demonstrate his rhetorical prowess to Lucenda, a space that she had previously denied him.

As is made clear when Lucenda tears up Arnalte's first letter and does not ever acknowledge the second, is that until Arnalte can gain access to the "ear" of his beloved, there is no opportunity to display his rhetorical prowess as lover. It is not the letters but the voice of Belisa acting on his behalf that permits Arnalte entry into Lucenda's

"rhetorical" space and the chance to ease his suffering. The danger begins for Lucenda and any woman for that matter, when the lover is given center stage. Toril Moi has noted that it is the male lover who does most of the talking (23). The very act of speaking is akin to an act of power since the lover gains the courtly aspiration of eloquence. She affirms that the lover's desire is produced by language and hence he seeks satisfaction in verbalization. Arnalte seeks satisfaction for his suffering through speeches and letters. Even after Lucenda has entered the convent and he has lost all hope of winning her, he seeks satisfaction by recounting his story to Auctor and then requesting that Auctor recount the tale to the ladies of the court so they might take it as example. In this way Arnalte persists to the very narrative end in his rhetorical right of access. If he can no longer communicate with Lucenda directly, then he seeks release through the "damas" of Isabel's court. Arnalte's suffering is therefore "rhetorically productive" in the creation of his tale in writing.

Arnalte's rhetorical excessiveness leads him to transgress the courtly love code of secrecy when he publicizes his affair with Lucenda. Arnalte's passion overwhelms his communicative abilities so that he eventually breaks the very code he professes to follow. He speaks of his love for Lucenda to Elierso and further publicizes it by arranging a public duel when the latter treacherously marries Lucenda. Even Arnalte's physical appearance betrays his secret. Typical of descriptions of love sickness in

medical treatises, Arnalte's lovesickness permits his sister Belisa not only to diagnose his passion but to guess the identity of the woman he loves. Belisa, in attempting to convince Arnalte to share his secret with her, had stressed the relief that Arnalte's confessed passion will bring: "Bien sabes tú que el descanso de los tristes es quando su pena es comunicada, porque la recreaçión de la habla el dolor del sentimiento afloja" (84). Further release from suffering is evident in the exuberance with which he eagerly tells his tale to Auctor; however, it also signifies the publication of the affair that as lover he is obligated to keep secret. Paradoxically, the solace that comes from verbalizing his pain and suffering actually increases the torment since relief entails the most serious transgression of the rules of love: the publication of the secret.

The opportunity to communicate with the desired lady, so important for the courtly lover, works against the beloved as Lucenda is well aware. Her primary reason for denying Arnalte her favors, she tells him once they are on a speaking relationship, is the damage done to her honor. What others say in public about a woman determines her social life or reputation. Lucenda expresses the "no win" situation faced by the female sex because of the honor they are forced to guard: "E sy por otro precio, --que honrra no fuese--, pudiesse hazello, tan libre en el dar como él en el recebir [yo] sería. Pero pues que su ganancia, sin que yo pierda, ser no puede" (101). We are made aware that she is very proud of the stoic attitude held by the females in her

family when she tells Belisa: "mira como por ty de la bondad oy quiebro el filo, que jamás en mi linaje muger quebró" (108). Lucenda's honor is so important to her that after capitulating to Arnalte's request for a letter, she speaks as though she had offered him her virginity rather than a mere letter. She realizes that her letter to Arnalte is metonymically equal to the full extent of a love affair. Later when Lucenda meets Arnalte in the monastery, she comprehends that she has lost the rhetorical battle and has been persuaded: "Lucenda es agora vencida, y tú Arnalte, el vencedor" (123). The communicative battles fought by Lucenda over rights of rhetorical access are crucial to her honor, as much as those that guard her virginity.

Just as Arnalte stands to benefit from the publication of their story, Lucenda fears the damage it does to a woman's honor. She recognizes the futile position women face when love affairs are revealed: "Syn el daño que adelante en la ynfamia espero, el presente en la fama me condena, porque temo que tu vitoria no podrás en el callar detener" (123). Her fears are heightened by the idea that now that she has capitulated and established contact with Arnalte, even if only discursively, he will not keep the "discursive" affair secret but will make it public. Lucenda turns out to be right and Arnalte never acknowledges or proclaims Lucenda's public honor. At the end of the story, peace comes to Lucenda through her voluntary confinement in the convent, the only place where she can escape Arnalte and the scandal he has brought her.

In sum, the secret so dear to Lucenda cannot be kept by Arnalte especially once he has lost Lucenda to the convent, left unable to do more than suffer the tortures of unrequited love. Arnalte's release from passion comes through language when he eagerly tells Auctor his story with the request that Auctor publicize it. In this way Arnalte's suffering as lover is rhetorically profitable in the creation of text that memorializes his role as ideal lover and bears out his threats to Lucenda that she will be became infamous. Arnalte uses the publication of their tale for two purposes: as a means of revenge for Lucenda's cruelty, and as an example to the Ladies of the court.

Arnalte benefits from the publication both rhetorically, in the creation of his story, and personally, as an act of vengeance against Lucenda's rejection. On the other hand, Lucenda, by first allowing Arnalte the rhetorical space to argue his position and then by capitulating to his requests for opportunities to see her, meets disastrous social defeat through the publication of the secret. However, Lucenda's decision, although a defeat in some sense, is in some ways a victory in that she has effectively found a way to deny Arnalte and his sister Belisa further rhetorical space. The theme of love in Arnalte, involved in the act of communication, both oral and written, becomes the force for destruction and creativity.

Narrator as Intimate, Author as Distant

The role of narrator is thematized in Arnalte as Auctor takes on the task of recording Arnalte's oral tale of

frustrated love for the "damas" of the court. Auctor's repeated anxiety to please his audience and his frequent claims of inadequacy of expression exemplifies the fictionalization of author and audience. Writing and even more so print, called for readjustments on the part of both writers and audiences alike. The writer had to fictionalize his public since he was no longer an oral performer facing his audience directly. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance the author was still closer to his readers and listeners because he would imagine himself speaking to them as he composed (Orality 95). San Pedro, who addresses the ladies in waiting of the Queen directly and writes in their absence, makes frequent excuses for their patience that they not "burlarse de él" and if they do, as he asks in his prologue to Arnalte, "que la burla sea secreta" (34). He thus intimates his self-consciousness and insecurity about his authorial role. The frequency of the abbreviatio figure in Arnalte illustrates San Pedro's awareness of audience reaction to the overuse of language. Some examples of Auctor's frequent appeals for brevity include: "Y porque la prolixidad necessidad de enojo me traya, vengo, señoras, a daros la cuenta" (35-36) "y porque la prolixidad...por estenso dezir" (135) and "Las cosas...en el callar detenellas acuerdo" (171).

We will now examine in more detail the role of Auctor and other narrators in Arnalte. Auctor as narrator mediates between reality and the fictional world and, as we will suggest, is put to a test of his literary skills that

depends not on his writing abilities but on his talents at oral composition in performance before he is given the part of narrator. Next, we will discuss other narrators besides Auctor, who reveal similar concerns for eloquence in speech and brevity of style. Lastly, the function of Auctor as recorder of Arnalte's tale will be helpful in explaining the discrepancy between Arnalte's uncourtly behavior and the elevated style of the work.

For San Pedro, the real author, and Arnalte his character, the criteria for judging literary competence rests within the world of sound. Texts are meant to be recycled into oral performance in order to move or persuade. If Auctor first has the necessary oral rhetorical skills then it follows that the material can be recorded in writing. At the beginning of the work, Auctor must first prove that he is capable of the role of principal narrator before he is allowed to tell Arnalte's tale. San Pedro affords Arnalte the power to choose his own narrator and to put Auctor unawares to a test of his literary ability:

> quise por saber lo que sabes oírte, y porque en ella señalases, en plática tan fuerte quise ponerte; y esto porque en de mis pasiones quiero notorio hazerte; y quise primero saber lo que sabes si el recevimiento que merescen les harías. (101)

Arnalte's deceptive test of Auctor's rhetorical skill is intriguing not only because of the autonomy granted the fictional protagonist in choosing his narrator but the idea that Auctor is judged not on what he writes with pen and ink but on his improvisational oral performance.

Now that Arnalte is satisfied that Auctor is worthy to

repeat his tale to others, Arnalte takes on the role of narrator. He acts as oral narrator and Auctor becomes the listening audience who must remember in order to retell the story. The written version we read is the product of two narrative levels, one oral and one written. As secondary narrator, Arnalte confesses some of the same preoccupations in the desire to please his audience as Auctor. The use of abbreviatio, the emphasis Arnalte places on memory, and his awareness and appreciation of eloquence indicate Arnalte's self-consciousness as narrator. For example, the importance of both memory and eloquence in speaking are illustrated by Arnalte after his first meeting with Lucenda during Christmas Eve mass. He explains to Auctor:

> como la gracia de su hablar con tal saber esmaltada viese, ninguna parte de mí comigo quedó; y como mi memoria atenta estobiese, por ver sy en alguna rrazón algún bien descobría, todo quanto me dixo noté. (68)

Arnalte memorizes Lucenda's harsh words so that later he can remember or better "re-create" them when he is alone in order to search among them for a sign of hope. The explicit mention that he memorizes her words also guarantees their authenticity to Auctor. Furthermore, Arnalte cannot help but admire Lucenda's eloquent speech despite the rejection the words contain.

The other characters are also self-conscious of their speech and its effects. Elierso expresses the importance of abreviatio: "Y porque querría más con mi consejo alegre azerte que con mis palabras enojo darte, pongo en mi habla silencio" (95). Silence like words is a desirable

communicative device. Lucenda indicates the harm that saying too much can cause: "Y porque mucho alargar y poco hazer en la persona rrogada es tan mal, quiero antes de [corta rrazón] que de larga porfía preciarme, dexando de más dezirte" (102). The frequent enjoinders for abbreviatio whether through Auctor, Arnalte and the other characters reflect San Pedro's preoccupation with the power of language. The awareness of how language should be used brings us now to consider the discrepancy between Arnalte's words with their lofty ideals and elevated style and his actions.

The presence of two narrative levels in Arnalte might help explain an incongruity that has bothered scholars but has never been adequately explained. There appears to be a gap between the high-minded ideals expressed by Arnalte in elevated style and his seemingly buffoonish, anti-courtly actions. For Regula Rohland de Langbehn, the ignoble behavior contrasts with Arnalte's idealistic words in order to portray a comical figure of the egotistical courtly lover (Zur Int 127-28). Keith Whinnom also agrees that the lofty style does not match the events which are more fitting for a low, humbler style. He suggests that San Pedro observed the tenets of medieval rhetorical tradition and posits that the fifteenth-century reader did not necesarily consider Arnalte as comical (Obras I 59-63). The evidence of the work's reception through the numerous translations into French, Italian, and English shows that readers considered Arnalte a serious, even tragic lover, and frequently condemned Lucenda

for her coldheartedness (Whinnom Obras I 60).

The complex narrative levels suggest another possibility for the discrepancy between the style and Arnalte's actions besides those mentioned above. Since it appears that San Pedro was thoroughly versed in medieval rhetoric, it is hard to imagine that he would not deliberately created such an incongruity between expression and content. It should be remembered that the narrative is complex and concerns at least two if not three levels (if we include that of the real author). We are reading San Pedro's story of Auctor's rendering in writing of Arnalte's oral and subjective tale. Arnalte's tale is an interested one of attempted seduction but the narrator's version is Auctor's attempt not just to relate Arnalte's story but to reproduce it rhetorically thus exhibiting his own literary prowess. San Pedro as Auctor tells the ladies of the court and us that he consciously chose his means of expression: "Bien pensé por otro estilo razones seguir, pero aunque fuera más sotil fuera menos agradable, y desta causa la obra del pensamiento dexé" (88). The narrative must swing between Auctor narrator's interest in his craft and Arnalte's desire to gain the sympathy of his intended audience, i.e., the ladies in waiting of Isabel's court. Whinnom has noted that there is evidence of San Pedro's effort to please and write for his audience throughout his works. We should remember that writing with a specific audience in mind, a constant preoccupation for San Pedro, exemplifies the author's anxiety with the distance created between composition of the

written word and ultimate reception by an audience.

The apparent incongruity between the high flown style in which the text is written and the seemingly anti-heroic antics of Arnalte exemplifies tensions as the oral tale becomes written text. Auctor's written text represents a formalized version of Arnalte's oral account. As experience is ordered into text, and becomes decontextualized from its original place in time and place, the writer must rely on his rhetorical skills and creativeness to close the distance between himself and his audience. Perhaps the struggle of early writers like San Pedro to adapt their rhetorical skills to creative fiction offers another way of perceiving the distance between style and content in Arnalte. If we take Cárcel as a point of comparison, it would appear that San Pedro has learned to adapt his apparently well-trained background in rhetoric to the exigencies of his story. Although Cárcel is still structurally and stylistically rhetorical, the actions of the hero Leriano are in harmony with the tone and style of the work. Even though the close relationship between early writers, narrators and audiences has been kept in mind throughout the chapter, a few words about the work's reception, will complete the study of the convergence of orality and textuality in Arnalte y Lucenda.

Reception: Reading and Hearing

It seems from both the prologue and conclusion as well as the acoustical style that the text was meant to be read aloud and even circulated in manuscript before its printing. According to Waley's suggestion regarding the musical

performance of the verses in Grimalte y Gradissa, the poems in Arnalte could also have been recited (Grimalte xlvii). The episode in which Arnalte composes a poem and then sings it under Lucenda's window could have been dramatically portrayed in order to vary the entertainment. Other poems treating historical and religious figures might have been sung or recited as well. The poem in honor of Queen Isabel could have been destined for oral recitation in her presence. In like manner, the poem in praise of the Virgin could have been intended to be sung or recited, perhaps forming a part of a particular feast day celebration in Her honor since it is not contained in all the extant versions. The juxtaposition of religious and secular poems is not so scandalous if we remember that interchanges of sacred and profane topics were common in the Middle Ages (Gerli "La 'religión'"; MacPherson "Secret Language").

Although the idea that the poems were sung or recited for diversion remains conjectural, textual references make it clear that the work was meant to be read aloud in small groups. San Pedro tells us himself that he composed the work for the enjoyment of the ladies of the court "y porque cuando cansadas de oír [y] fablar discretas razones estéys, a burlar de las mías vos retrayáys" (173). Similar references to "hearing" are found in his other works demonstrating that reading aloud was the intended mode of reception for the work.

In conclusion, Arnalte y Lucenda through composition, transmission, and reception exhibits a convergence of

orality and textuality. The rhetoric and highly stylized discourse are dictated by the exigencies of the world of sound. Even the written transmission of the work displays a variability caused by textual and acoustical interferences, typical of a manuscript culture and an evolution towards a society dominated by print. The convergence of orality and textuality is expressed by the way the work underscores the process by which story becomes written narrative and by the active role of Auctor as narrative persona. Just as Arnalte is fictionalized, so the "virtuosas señoras" and San Pedro in the guise of Auctor are fictionalized within the text. The audience of "damas" of the court could imagine themselves listening to Arnalte as he related his own story.

Finally, oral and written modes of communication have been shown to be important thematic aspects in Arnalte. Thematically the lover's suffering becomes a source of rhetorical richness that literally drowns out the appeals to protect the honor of the beloved. When Lucenda finalizes the break in communication with Arnalte by entering the convent seemingly given the last word, we find that this is not so. Arnalte, armed with rhetorical fecundity, uses the masculine control of language as a powerful weapon when he attempts to defame Lucenda and elevate himself through the public revelation of his story. He does not have the last word, or the last laugh, however, since Auctor, successfully distanced from the events through his role as narrator, deflates Arnalte's self-absorption by calling the tale a mere "pasatiempo" (172). In spite of Arnalte's attempt to

control his tale it is the power of the mediating narrator that wields the final blow.

Cárcel de amor

Although Cárcel de amor contains many of the same elements of orality and textuality as Arnalte y Lucenda, the work warrants special attention since it represents not only a greater progression toward the printed word but also deals thematically with tensions between oral and written discourse that impose an extreme negativity on the written word. The powerful image of Leriano as he ingests the letters of his beloved before he dies definitively links death with written discourse. Other uses of textual traditions in Cárcel that will be considered concern the popularization of certain issues traditionally debated in medieval academic circles such as the topic of passion's influence on man's ability to act rationally, as well as issues of Aristotelian moral philosophy concerning the right of subjects to rebel against unjust monarchs.

Although the thematic concerns in Cárcel may rely heavily on textual traditions, they are expressed through oral habits of thought and expression as the following study will demonstrate. We will begin by considering the extant versions of Cárcel in which acoustical and textual features interact in the production of the texts and will trace their evolution from script to print. Following a summary of the plot we will then consider the convergence of oral and textual sources. Next an evaluation of the oral-rhetorical style and structure will demonstrate that the principal

paradigm for Cárcel remains the oration. Finally, the role of narrator and modes of reception will be addressed. We will show that the tension resulting from Auctor as character and Auctor as narrator contributes to the creation of the story of Leriano and Laureola. In addition, we will indicate that Cárcel demonstrates the process of fictionalization of narrator and audience which underscores the slow transition from oral to written narrative as writers attempted to create roles for themselves and their audiences within their fictional works. It is hoped that this wide ranging study of orality and textuality in Cárcel de amor will lead to a clearer understanding of the oral-textual processes at work in the production of early fiction.

Textual Witnesses: Printed editions

The interaction of orality and textuality can be discerned by examining the extant versions of Cárcel de amor. The following study of the early printed editions will consider such aspects as the date of composition, acoustical interference from a scribe's or editor's regional dialect, and punctuation based on sound rather than on syntactical structures associated with printed texts. We will also consider linguistic and structural differences between earlier and later editions of Cárcel that reflect ideological changes as well as advances in printing practices.

Internal evidence in Cárcel suggests that the work was composed after the beginning of the war with Granada since

the author states in the text "la guerra del año pasado" probably the 1483 Battle of Lucena. Whinnom suggests a date of composition somewhere between 1483 when the work's addressee, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, became well known enough to have had a work dedicated in his honor, and 1492, the date of publication of the editio princeps of Seville (Obras I, 27, 47-48).

Although there is no extant manuscript yet available for Cárcel it was no doubt first diffused in manuscript form before it was finally printed.[21] If the work was composed sometime after 1483 and the first extant printed edition does not appear until 1492, there is ample time for its courtly diffusion in manuscript form. The personal dedications to courtly personages, the references that works have been seen by others, such as the reference to Marina Manuela's literary opinion of San Pedro's works, would seem to point to some form of personal publication or private diffusion before Cárcel and San Pedro's other works were printed, a form of publication typical in oral residual society (Root).

The textual history of Cárcel begins with the first known printed edition of 1492 in Seville by the Cuatro Compañeros Alemanes since no extant manuscripts have been located as of yet. The numerous editions and translations produced in the sixteenth century that followed the 1492 edition indicate that Cárcel, like Arnalte, was very popular throughout Europe.[22]

An examination of the printed editions indicates the

influence of orality on the linguistic features of incunabula and sixteenth-century printed editions.[23] Corfis, who has most recently studied the textual relationships and linguistic variations between Cárcel's extant versions, indicates that the texts were influenced by the world of sound, and reveal a development towards advances in printing. Some of the results of her study will be used to explain oral and textual aspects concerning the texts.

Corfis notes that the high number of errors and omissions in the 1492 edition in comparison with those in later editions suggests that the accepted first edition of 1492 might not have been authorized or supervised by San Pedro. The singular linguistic features of the 1492 edition also suggest the use of an unauthorized printing. These linguistic elements include single rather than double s ("pasando" rather than "passando" [86]), the use of ié endings for the conditional and imperfect (mostly found in the 1492 edition "podrié" [108], "auiés" [174], "podié" [178]) and lack of Latinate spellings ("tratado" rather than "tractado" [85], "acetas" for "aceptas" [174], "dino" for "digno [196]) (3, 73-74). Further support that the 1492 edition was not authorized by San Pedro comes from the fact that it is the only first printed version of San Pedro's works that was published outside of Castile (Corfis Cárcel 2-3, 73).

An interesting acoustical feature of the 1492 edition is the presence of seseo or the substitution of s for ç, z

or c before e or i, common to the dialect of Andalucía and Seville, where the edition was published (Corfis Cárcel 73). Some examples of seseo found in the 1492 edition are "Hernandes" for "Hernández" (85), "ensuciar" for "ensuziar" "firmesa" for "firmeza" "isquierda" for "izquierda" (87) "desir" instead of "dezir." Although the acoustical interferences of a scribe or editor's seseo represents an interesting facet of the 1492 edition, as we will see, punctuation usage or rather the lack thereof represents a more prevalent oral aspect of the edition.

The type of punctuation usage found in the first edition is based on sound and rhythm. Corfis in her analysis of the texts confirms the aural qualities inherent in the work:

> Thus, the text finds itself divided into extremely long sentence segments...what little punctuation there is appears to respond more to breath groups than to a logical division of clauses. Many of the periods placed in the text are erroneous according to rules of modern punctuation, but seem to correspond to a rhythmic punctuation. (Corfis Cárcel 70)

Corfis includes a few examples in order to illustrate the use of punctuation to modulate the rhythm:

> Aunque me falta sofrimiento para callar no me fallesce conoscimiento para ver. quanto me estaria meior preciarme de lo que callase que arepentirme de lo que dixiese. (85)
>
> Quien yo soy quiero dezirte. de los misterios que vees quiero informarte. la causa de mi prision quiero. que sepas que me delibres quiero pedirte si por bien lo touieres. (93)
>
> la mesa negra que para comer me ponen es la firmeza con que como. y pienso y duermo en la qual sienpre estan los maniares tristes de mis contenplaciones. (96)

The 1492 edition represents punctuation that is at the

service of the spoken rather than written word.[24] Corfis notes that the presence of increasingly syntactical and less rhythmical forms of punctuation is evident in the textual evolution of the sixteenth-century editions (Cárcel 71). The increasing use of punctuation breaks up the discourses into smaller groupings of syntactical structures and is a sign of the evolution towards a text destined for silent reading. We will now briefly consider other editions of Cárcel and their contents that demonstrate that the work was not considered a closed field but open to further creative efforts.

The next known edition of Cárcel after 1492 is published in Burgos by Fadrique, Aleman de Basilea in 1496. In addition to the text of Cárcel, the 1496 edition contains numerous woodcuts and a prologue and continuation of Cárcel by Nicolás Nuñez. After the 1496 edition come a host of other editions that include in their pages the woodcuts and Nuñez's sequel representing extra-authorial responses to San Pedro's original work. The apparent acceptance of Nuñez's continuation evidenced by its presence in the majority of Cárcel editions seems to indicate the work's resistance to closure. Even though Leriano is dead, Nuñez endeavors to unravel the mystery of Laureola's true feelings for Leriano. Cárcel is not unique in inspiring sequels, and the popularity of other imaginative works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is demonstrated by their continuations. There are sequels and continuations that succeeded Celestina, Amadís de Gaula and Lazarillo de Tormes, as well as the continuations of the pastoral novel La Diana.

It is important to remember that the idea of a text as a closed field seems to have taken a long time to evolve. Print invites the notion of closure, in that the text is viewed as completed (Orality 132). Although writing also is a closed field, print increased the sense of detachment and autonomy between writer and reader. A printed work seems self-contained since print suggests the completeness of a text in its final form. Manuscripts tend to be open-ended and dialogic with subsequent additions of glosses and comments many times worked into the text in later copies. In this sense manuscripts resemble oral performances. Nowadays movies, a multi-sensorial genre or type of oral performance, attract audiences with countless sequels although sequels to books are perhaps less eagerly accepted. Now as then, the continuation of story is a good sign of its popularity.

A study of the variants among the numerous editions of Cárcel is enlightening for an understanding of the process of transmission and reception as the work evolved along with advances made in printing during the sixteenth century. An analysis by Corfis of the reordering of phrases that took place in later editions indicates a move toward a more natural and less Latinate syntax.[25] Similarly, we earlier indicated that Arnalte also evolved from a more to a less Latinate style with succeeding printed editions. Punctuation marks that in the 1492 edition were basically no more than breath marks also became increasingly more complex as the work evolved. A comparison of Cárcel's editions reveals other changes in the work due to the intervention of

printers and editors.

It appears that editors and printers felt free to embellish later editions of Cárcel. For instance, Corfis has found that there are more additions of descriptive adjective variants than the deletion of the same and in the bimembration variants that also increase rather than decrease, indicating greater embellishment by printers as the work evolves textually (4-6).[26]

Embellishments of early printed editions did not stop with language modifications but also reflected ideological changes of the epoch since editors and printers also felt free to eliminate passages. Corfis notes that in one family of editions references to God have been suppressed, while others shorten the list of virtuous women that would indicate the influence of an editor's personal criteria for stylistic, aesthetic or ideological reasons (14). The additions and deletions reflect particular reactions of readers and editors. Corfis notes that this includes ideological changes since it is edition M of 1544 that deletes religious references that correspond to the awakening of Spanish conservatism. The deletions also come at the dawn of the increasingly censorious activities of the Inquisition evidenced by an unofficial Index in the early 1540's and the official one of 1547 (14).

The study of Cárcel's early printed editions has determined that the texts that have come down to us bear indelible signs of orality through acoustical features, punctuation and the oral mentality of editors and printers

who feel free to respond to the text by adding, deleting and emending, thus making it their own. As advances were made in printing techniques, the easier to read printed word called for changes in the presentation of the text towards more natural syntactical structures and punctuation designed for seeing the word rather than hearing it. A comparison of different printed editions of the same work such as that provided above of Cárcel increases our understanding of the textual evolution from script to print.

Plot: Leriano as Ideal Lover

The following summary of Cárcel will be useful for outlining San Pedro's general story line. The work opens with the seemingly realistic return of the narrator from a war, transformed into a Dantescan allegory when he meets a savage figure called Deseo leading a prisoner, Leriano. The prisoner begs for help, but Auctor narrator loses sight of the unfortunate captive and spends a fearful night lost in the wilds. At dawn Auctor chances upon a castle-like structure where he finds Deseo's prisoner, Leriano, wearing a crown of thorns. Leriano appears as a Christ-like figure surrounded by fantastic personified symbols. Auctor does not understand the full significance of this strange scene until Leriano explains it to him. According to Leriano, the edifice is a prison of love built upon his own faith as lover.

Leriano further elaborates that he has been in love for a year with Laureola, the only child of King Croes of Macedonia. Leriano then invites Auctor to act as his

intermediary and Auctor, moved by Leriano's situation, accepts the task. Auctor's acceptance begins the story of his attempts to unite Leriano and Laureola.

After familiarizing himself with the customs of Macedonia, Auctor travels to court where he gradually enters into courtly life. He eventually gains access to Laureola and after much arguing and pleading on his part succeeds in convincing her to write to Leriano by appealing to her natural inclination towards Christian charity. She hesitates in agreeing to write Leriano since her charitable action conflicts with the pressures to protect her honor.

Auctor, accompanied by an army of abstract figures and arms, triumphantly reenters Leriano's allegorical world with an answer from Laureola and frees Leriano from his prison. Once free, Leriano returns with Auctor to the court and encounters Laureola. The encounter is witnessed by Persio, a noble of the court who also is in love with Laureola. This rival reads his own desires into the first encounter between Leriano and Laureola, and later publicly accuses the two of meeting secretly. Laureola is compromised by Persio's accusation since, according to ancient law, it threatens both her honor and her life. In the kingdom there is the famous "ley de escocia" that sentenced to death the lovers in Grisel y Mirabella. Here it is defined as "que la muger que fuere acusada de tal pecado muera por ello" (150). In Cárcel it is only Laureola and not Leriano, who is imprisoned by her father, King Gaulo.

Rather than listen to his daughter's appeals, the King

believes Persio and the false witnesses he has brought forth. Leriano tries to no avail to free Laureola through reasonable means. First Leriano answers Persio's letter of challenge by agreeing to a judicial combat. Leriano almost wins the battle but the King, swayed by Persio's relatives, unexpectedly suspends the joust.

Both justice and reason fail to convince the King to free Laureola and so Leriano stages a dramatic rescue of her. In order to protect Laureola's honor, Leriano publicly turns her over to the brother of the Queen.

The King and his army retaliate by laying siege to Leriano's defenses. Just in time Leriano's men capture and torture one of the three witnesses who testified falsely against Leriano and Laureola. The confession of a witness proves that Persio and his witnesses had lied in Laureola's case. Leriano ceases further rebellion and the King frees Laureola. Although order is restored to Macedonia, the King exiles Leriano in deference to the dead Persio's relatives. Leriano receives further bad news when Laureola writes a final letter refusing him her love but promising to grant him whatever he may wish of her kingdom when she succeeds her father to the throne.

Leriano, once again subject to lovesickness, languishes on the verge of death, receiving visitors who try to save him. His friend Tefeo recognizes that Leriano's illness is due to passion and tries to remedy it by speaking ill of women, a medically documented cure for lovesickness. Leriano responds with a resounding defense of women by listing the

reasons why men are beholding to the female sex and by providing examples of great women from Classical and Biblical traditions and from the fifteenth century.

Next Leriano's mother, having experienced a series of agüeros, visits him and laments his imminent death. Leriano's last gesture before dying is to tear up Laureola's letters and drink them in a glass of water. Auctor ends the work with his own emotional response to Leriano's death and with his arrival at Peñafiel where San Pedro author serves as servant to Juan Téllez-Girón.

Sources: Oral and Written Traditions

As the plot summary suggests, the sources utilized by Cárcel are a complex mixture of popular and learned, oral and written traditions. The diversity of sources suggests that San Pedro employed a form of memorative composition in combining Arthurian themes and elements, French allegorical tradition, learned medical and philosophical treatises with motifs of the cruel father, the wild man and the "ley de escocia," itself a blend of oral and textual antecedents. We will survey a number of oral and written sources in order to demonstrate the variety of traditions utilized by San Pedro in the composition of Cárcel.

It is clear that San Pedro possessed an extensive knowledge of Arthurian and chivalric literature. References to explicit and implicit Arthurian elements abound in Cárcel: the rescue of Laureola (like Lancelot's rescue of Guinevere); the letter of challenge; judicial combat between Persio and Leriano; and the rebellion and battle between

Leriano's army and that of the King. Other parallels between Arthurian romances and Cárcel de amor are more implicit. For instance, Cárcel de amor and Mort Artu share similar narrative structures and many of the names employed by San Pedro are derived from Arthurian texts (Deyermond "Relaciones" 80-82).

The "ley de escocia" or Law of Scotland appears in various forms in Arthurian and chivalric tales as well as explicitly in Grisel y Mirabella and Cárcel de amor and implicitly in other sentimental romances. As we have discussed previously the "ley de escocia" is a curious product of both oral and textual sources and can be traced back through biblical and legal traditions on one hand and literary traditions, particularly in the Spanish Amadís de Gaula and Arthurian romances, on the other (Matulka 55-69).

The oral and literary traditions discussed so far interact with written sources based on learned traditions. Medieval academic views on love treating it as an irrational force that actually causes physical illness derives most immediately from medieval medical treatises and combine with lyric traditions represented by the language and motifs of courtly love poetry, particularly through the character Leriano as the ideal lover. Religious references that allude to biblical and ars moriendi traditions are clearly textual sources. A specific textual source that has been identified in Cárcel as the origin of Leriano's examples of good women comes from Diego de Valera's Tratado en defensa de virtuosas mugeres (Chorpenning "Rhetoric and Feminism" 1-8; Krause "El

tratado" 249; Waley "Love and Honour" 253-75).

The presence of the above mentioned sources along with those previously discussed in reference to Arnalte (Ovidian and French allegorical traditions) confirm Cárcel's heterogeneity, so typical of sentimental prose fiction. The representative examples of some of the sources and motifs in Cárcel presented here suggest that rather than specific textual sources (where there is no one-to-one verbatim correspondence), San Pedro, like Flores, probably heard or read previous romances and other works from which he gathered material in order to compose his story. The weaving of motifs and episodes suggests the same practices of composition used by oral poets, classical rhetoricians and medieval academicians called "memorative composition" (Carruthers 197). San Pedro participated in the gathering or recollection process of inventio and then dispositio, in the arrangement of diverse material into a creative but structured discourse.

Rhetorical Style and Structure

The highly formulaic rhetorical structure and style of both Arnalte and Cárcel reflects a culture that uses and even depends on textual traditions in order to better "hear" the text for recycling into the predominantly aural-oral environment. The formulaic and memorial techniques of rhetorical composition are the modes in which psychological, emotional, moral and social issues are cast in Cárcel. The following discussion will begin with an overview of the types of rhetorical discourse and how they are employed in

Cárcel. Much of the information sums up previous studies concerning Cárcel's rhetorical structure. We will then turn to a consideration of Cárcel's rhetorical style for an analysis of elements of oral residue.

The style and structure of Cárcel have been thoroughly analyzed and have been shown to be carefully crafted following the ars retorica, ars dictaminis and treatises on various types of rhetorical discourse such as the planctus, exemplum, and praexercitum or textbook exercises.[27] Chorpenning considers the entire work as a structured literary oration containing six rhetorical parts of exordium, narration, proposition, proof, refutation and conclusion.[28] Whinnom has analyzed the part of rhetoric known as elocutio or presentation while also noting the way that each discourse follows the pattern of the oration or letter (Obras II 44-66). In addition to Whinnom's notable treatment of rhetoric in the works of San Pedro, Corfis has most profoundly analyzed San Pedro's use of rhetoric through an analysis of dispositio or arrangement. Her study indicates that San Pedro arranged the varied discourses of letters, direct and indirect speech, narration, laments and debates into carefully crafted patterns that make the most of each discourse for his purposes.[29] In addition she has gone beyond Whinnom's study by providing textual analysis of specific discourses that confirm San Pedro's knowledge and debt to the ars dictaminis and to other rhetorical discourses. Corfis notes that all the letters in Cárcel follow the five part dispositio of the ars dictaminis.[30]

The orations as well follow the rules prescribed for a four part dispositio.[31] Even sections that are narrative subscribe to the divisions of the oratorical dispositio although excluding the exordium (35).

The orations, letters and narrative discourse that make up Cárcel thus adhere to similar structures based on rhetorical practice but are varied by the nature of the convention employed. For instance, the rhetorical convention of the planctus which outlines the expression of grief is illustrated in the speeches of Laureola's and later Leriano's respective mothers. Similarly, in the feminist debate between Tefeo and Leriano the use of exempla, which is a narrative that illustrates a point, or ratiocinatio, a list of reasons to support or refute an argument, are employed to support their respective positions.

The above styles of discourse can be found in rhetorical treatises and exercises called praeexercitamenta or "[E]lementary books of rhetoric in the form of exercises. The manuals present a system of themes and treatise modes which the student practices and the mature writer incorporates into larger discourse" (Corfis "The dispositio" 37). They teach composition of set pieces such as the planctus, exempla, even conversations, that can be arranged and used within larger treatises.

One specific example of a set piece that is first composed and then arranged within a larger composition is San Pedro's composition of the letter of challenge. The challenge to Leriano by Persio could have been composed by

San Pedro as a set piece first and then placed within the larger framework of the work. The letters of challenge found in both Arnalte and Cárcel coincide with examples taken from actual fifteenth and sixteenth-century letters of challenge.[32] While a university student, San Pedro no doubt learned from the rules prescribed in the praeexercimenta manuals in order to formulate letters of challenge and other set pieces and to arrange them according to the circumstances of the larger composition. Rhetorical practices taught at universities must have heavily influenced the creative endeavors of early writers (Minnis; Weiss The Poet's Art 114-17).

Leaving behind the topic of rhetorical structures that are highly formulary in keeping with oral habits of thought and expression, we will consider Cárcel's oral-rhetorical style. It will be demonstrated that despite the loss of acoustical devices that were so prominent in Arnalte, Cárcel is full of dramatic expression due to the use of rhetorical devices of exclamatio and other elements of oral habits of thought and expression. Although the small quantity of epithets found in the work might indicate a change away from oral expression, the numerous physical phrases and proverbial and sententious phrases and coordinative style indicate that Cárcel contains a high degree of oral residualism.

Cárcel contains other examples of elements that are meant to be heard and are identified with rhetoric under the headings of exclamatio and ethopoeia or the direct

representation of a character's violent passion (Corfis 46). As in other sentimental works phrases such as "Mas guay de mi" (107) or "triste de mi" (121) whether contained within the speeches or letters, indicate the same dramatic vocality of the text. A few more examples of the characters' dramatic speech include: Laureola's entreaty to secrecy "por Dios te pido" (122) and Leriano's "¡O enemigo de ti mismo!" (129) or "¡Desdichado yo!" (173).

Intensifying devices such as the repetition of words or phrases at the beginning or middle of a sentence also add dramatic tension. Examples include: "Allí comencé a maldezir mi ventura; allí desesperaua de toda esperança; allí...allí..." (89) or the repetition of "quiero" in "Quien yo soy quiero dezirte; de los misterios que vees, quiero informarte; la causa de mi prisión quiero que sepas; que me libres quiero pedirte" (93). Forms of amplification are also utilized as intensifiers:

> dolor le atormenta; pasión le persigue; desesperança le destruye; muerte le amenaza; pena le secuta; pensamiento lo desuela; deseo le atribula; tristeza le condena; fe no le salua. (101-102)

In addition to intensifiers, San Pedro's employment of balanced and proverbial-like phrases or sententia represent forms of oral residual expression in Cárcel. Oddly, one form of expression that typically indicates an economy of language in oral discourse, the descriptive noun qualifier or epithet, is mostly lacking in Cárcel. There are only a few and these are far less than the number found in Arnalte and include: "vn viejo anciano" (92), "triste cárcel" (95),

"el graue Cuydado" (96) "asperezas desiertas" (101). If the presence of epithets represents an example of oral residue as Ong has stated, then Cárcel, although still highly residually oral in other ways, is a step further along the evolutionary process from script to print than the other sentimental fictions presented in this study.

In spite of the dearth of epithets, Cárcel contains other stylistic elements of oral discourse such as coordination and sententious phrases, many in balanced patterns. Corfis has noted the high degree of coordinating conjunctions in Carcel with y used to link bimembered phrases and enumerations and in joining independent clauses with a coordinating conjunction y. The following represents an example of coordination: "y porque...y poco...y en pequeño espacio...y segund...y en su rostro...y en su sentimiento...y estuuo...y otro día...y como...y puesto en poder (Cárcel 223-224n1617).

Balanced phrases, another stylistic feature of oral residual culture, are typical throughout the work. Sentence structure is dominated in a formulaic way by the "más...que" construction: "tenía más causa para temer, que razón para responder" (87) "más obligado a la virtud que a la vida" (88) "más para temer que para notar" (90) or "más por arte diabólica que por condición enamorada" (98). Many balanced patterns are other proverb-like set phrases.

Couching wisdom and kernels of knowledge in formulaic and balanced patterns of thought, so typical of highly oral cultures, is as important to Cárcel as to the other

sentimental romances discussed previously. The use of proverbial expressions, maxims or refrains to express thought is quite evident in Cárcel. For instance, the phrase "si con rudeza yerro con verguença pago" is refrain-like and expresses San Pedro's humility in the prologue directed to Diego Hernández.[33]

Other proverb or formulaic capsules of wisdom and their usage include: "es meior perder haziendo virtud, que ganar dexándola de hazer" (89) "que mayor virtud es redimir los atribulados, que sostener los prósperos" (97), which are used by Leriano to ask for Auctor's help. Moved by Leriano, Auctor responds, "siempre en la peor fortuna socorren los virtuosos" (98). In another example, Auctor's first words in greeting to Laureola also take the form of oral wisdom: "No les está menos bien el perdón a los poderosos quando son deseruidos, que a los pequeños la vengança quando son iniuriados, porque los vnos se emiendan por onrra, y los otros perdonan por virtud" (101) and he adds later "porque no es de menos estima el redemir quel criar" (102). In an attempt to console Leriano Auctor also speaks in sententious phrases: "los fuertes en las grandes fortunas muestran mayor coraçón" and "Cata que con larga vida, todo se alcança" (115).

Exchanges between the characters consist in set phrases that many times are grouped together. For instance, the Cardinal's speech that includes a list of six reasons why kings should rely on good counsel is couched in proverbial-like expressions:

> meior aciertan los onbres en las cosas agenas que en las suyas propias...platicadas las cosas, sienpre quedan en lo cierto...si aciertan los que aconseian, avnque ellos dan el voto, del aconsueiado es la gloria...el buen consejo muchas vezes asegura cosas dudosas...porque no dexa tan ayna caer la mala fortuna y sienpre en las adversidades pone esperança...turbio y ciego conseio puede ninguno dar a ssí mismo siendo ocupado de saña o pasión. (146-47)

He proceeds further in his speech with a group of maxims and sententia of advice for the King:

> las cosas obradas con deliberación y acuerdo procuran provecho y alabança para quien las haze, y las que con saña se hazen, con arrepentimiento se piensan... Propriedad es de los discretos prouar los conseios y por ligera creencia no disponer, y en lo que parece dubdosa, tener la sentencia en peso; porque no es todo verdad lo que tiene semejança de verdad. (147)

The Cardinal's speech, full of oral wisdom, attempts to persuade the King to free Laureola while reminding him that another law in the kingdom requires that its rulers accept counsel from others.

The King counters the Cardinal's arguments with a number of set phrases: "quando el coraçón está enbargado de passión, que están cerrados los oydos al conseio" (149), "que sola vna mácula en el linage cunde toda la generación" (150) and lastly "pues a ssí mismo condena quien al que yerra perdona" (151). Thus set phrases of proverbial wisdom are the authority behind both men's arguments.

Laureola, fighting for her life also resorts to sententious phrases and maxims. Her letter to the King is full of the oral authority implied by the set phrases: "la onestad as prueua de virtud" (155), "no menos deuen temer los inocentes la ventura, que los culpados la ley" (157), "quien crueza haze, su peligro busca" and "quien quiere ser

temido, forçado es que tema" (158), "quien no está seguro, nunca asegura" (158-59). Her dramatic exclamatio "¡O quánto están libres de semeiantes ocasiones los príncipes en cuyo coraçón está la clemencia!" and her very biblical allusion in "malauenturada sea hija que nació para poner en condición la vida de su padre" (159) combine textual traditions with oral expression.

Sententious phrases are one of the most prominent examples of oral residue in Cárcel. One other type of expression, physical phrases, that adds a performative and theatrical element to the characters' speeches, needs to be considered. Physical phrases are frequently used in order to describe a particular character's emotional response or bodily gestures. Although they also appear in Arnalte, the quantity of such physical phrases is higher in Cárcel.

As Morris and Smith found, the phrases are a whole system that "is based on an elaborate and comprehensive use of the symbolic potentialities of the human body for gesture and posture" (133). In the epic, they had been used as a technique of the juglar or oral performer to make the events real for his audience. The phrases made more concrete the abstract notions of emotion and were employed as a prompt for the performer to gesture, as a type of stage direction (134, 178-89). The following examples will indicate that the physical phrases employed in Cárcel are gestural indications and, are, at the same time, metaphorical.

Many of these phrases stress the interplay between sight and sound. Although metaphorical, the following

phrases evoke the image of tears while relating eyes, mouth and heart: "y el otro trae la tribulación, y con ella para que beua, trae el agua del coraçón a los oios y de los oios a la boca" (97) and "con la turbación descargaua con los oios la lengua, más entendía en mirar que en hazer preguntas" (91). One of Auctor's intense emotional reactions is expressed physically yet metaphorically: "que si fuera buscado, por el rastro de mis lágrimas pudieran hallarme" (143). Despite the ornamental qualities of the metaphorical descriptions, they nonetheless make real the emotions being felt by the characters while providing cues to the types of gestures that could be made during a dramatic reading of the speeches. Following, are a few examples of physical phrases that provide cues to the characters' responses.

One physical phrase conveys Laureola's unwillingness to speak about Leriano at her first interview with Auctor: "y porque en detenerme en plática tan fea ofendo mi lengua, no digo más, que para que sepas lo que te cunple, lo dicho basta" (104). Auctor also uses a physical phrase in response to Laureola: "avnque la boca las dezía, el dolor las ordenaua" (110). At another moment, Auctor describes his emotions at bidding Leriano farewell before delivering his letter to Laureola: "satisfaziendo los oios por las palabras con muchas lágrimas, sin poderle hablar, despedíme dél" (120). The presence of the phrases in Cárcel and in other sentimental romances represents an example of the "false revival" of the phrases that took place primarily in juglaresque ballads of the later fifteenth century since the

phrases had mostly died out in the fourteenth century (180). The "revival" of the phrases by San Pedro illustrates the performative quality of Cárcel as it was heard or read aloud.

In summary, oral habits of thought and expression reinforced through textual traditions of rhetoric are manifested in Cárcel through the work's oral-rhetorical and formulaic style and structure as well as through other forms of oral residue such as physical and sententious phrases, and coordinative syntax. Further convergence of orality and textuality will be considered below in a discussion of the use of allegory which serves the purpose of communicating Cárcel's highly abstract vocabulary of love. Words such as dolor, fe, pena, perdón, and tristeza are common forms of expression in Cárcel and are similar to the lexicon of love poetry of the cancioneros. Whinnom notes that the abstract vocabulary "nos llevan, por decirlo así, de la vida al arte" (Whinnom Obras II 65). Additionally, it is worth recalling from the studies on the function of the ars memoria in chapter one, that allegory conceptualized abstractions into strong images which aided memory storage for composition by a writer (Yates 79-81) and, as we will consider in the following discussion, in reception by a listening audience.

Allegory as Memorable Device and Monument

We have observed that Cárcel relies on a variety of oral and written, popular and learned traditions that confirm the heterogeneity of the sentimental romance genre. Cárcel is a veritable polyphony of discursive structures

including epistles, narrative, treatise genres and allegory (Corfis "The dispositio" 47). Early writers of creative fiction have found that the tradition of allegorical structures and figural personifications, devices of the imagination, also assist the expression and analysis of psychological states and concepts that they cannot as yet convey through writing due to a lack of sufficient vocabulary, unsophisticated narrative techniques and other means that developed as written discourse evolved. Allegory provides a means by which early writers could transcend problems of creative expression in order to convey abstract analysis of emotions in types of "spoken pictures" (Whinnom Obras II 51). We can therefore consider the presence of allegory and the personification of abstract concepts as exemplifying the convergence of orality and textuality. We will first examine the use of allegorical structures in Cárcel and then compare Leriano's prison of love with Arnalte's "triste morada" in Arnalte. Another form of allegorical tradition, that of figural personifications, will be addressed next. As will be emphasized, both uses of allegory represent the convergence of strong textual traditions with oral habits of thought that personify even inner forces and place them in adversarial roles.

In Cárcel, allegorical structures are an intrinsic feature of the work and direct us to the French allegorical tradition represented by Jeun de Meun's Castle de amour. Barbara Kurtz suggests that the prison allegory of San Pedro is not a mere imitation of French allegory but owes more to

biblical traditions:

> The psychological, the moral, and the laudatory- probably do much to explain the continuing appeal of the image to writers such as San Pedro who employed it in the exposition of the multi-faceted experience of love. The time-honored psychological and moral connotations of the soul's architectural allegorization were obviously pertinent to secular allegories of love. (136)

A tradition of allegorical edifices thus was a means for visualizing and placing in concrete terms abstract relationships. First, it happened in response to theology and philosophy, and then later was secularized in order to explain love and its psychological, moral and emotional effects. Whinnom explains the important function of allegory for grasping abstractions:

> La alegoría, en general, ofrece una interpretación plástica de ideas abstractas, igual que un gráfico en papel cuadriculado nos facilita hoy día la comprensión inmediata de datos matemáticos. Desde luego este cuadro hablado que es la alegoría, hay que convertirlo en una imagen visual. (Obras II 51)

Inadvertently, Whinnom also is expressing the necessary function of allegory in an residually oral society. Although founded upon written tradition, allegory is the "graph paper" or "spoken picture" that makes abstractions understandable. San Pedro utilizes allegorical edifices as a means of making comprehensible the abstractions associated with psychological states of passion.

As mentioned previously, another function of building imagery is mnenomic. As Yates suggests, the use of memoria as a part of rhetoric might have influenced imaginative literature as well, and writers looking for creative expression would use the techniques taught them in school

(81-95). Given San Pedro's control of rhetorical style and structures it is fairly certain that he mastered the ars memoria as well. Although Cárcel's prison of love has been discussed mostly as an example of pure allegory and its possible functions and significance to the tale of Leriano and Laureola, we can also include Arnalte's "triste morada" as an example of allegorical edifice that performs a memorial as well as artistic function in the tale of Arnalte.[34] A brief comparison of the two structures will illustrate a similar mnemonic function for the edifices in both works.

Both the prison and dwelling structures are identified and described in detail by the narrators of the two works. Both structures are subsequently clarified by the lovers Arnalte and Leriano respectively. Arnalte's "morada" is explicitly present throughout the story and is more lifelike and contains emblems of poetry that can be termed according to the ars memoria as "memory for words" or the placing of the words or phrase on the image, while Leriano's prison with its personifications of abstractions and more complex color symbolism and architectural elements is present implicitly throughout the tone of the narrative but not explicitly as a true-to-life scene of action. Leriano is freed from the prison by Auctor, while Arnalte's edifice is self-imposed as a means not so much of penitence for his errors, as is normally the case when a lover exiles himself to the wilderness, but for those sins of Lucenda. As he says, the house is built on the wrongs that Lucenda has done

him and not on his faith as a lover.

The use of the semi-allegorical structure in Arnalte 3serves another important function for the making of the written narrative, for it affords Auctor a way of remembering the tale. In fact, Arnalte makes frequent allusions to memorial devices and the importance of discovering practices for remembering events and even characters' words. For example, at one moment in Arnalte's narration to Auctor, Arnalte explains to him that he consciously made the effort to remember Lucenda's words so that they would be engraved on his mind. His remembrance is authorized by the reference to memory. Even Leriano's prison of love presents a mental blueprint for Auctor in Cárcel. This allegorical prison remains implicitly present throughout the narrative and is made real at least in part by Auctor's extra-textual reference to Peñafiel at the end of the narrative. Auctor ends the work by saying that he has arrived at Peñafiel, a historical edifice ultimately juxtaposed with Leriano's prison of love.

Both edifices serve also to provide images that can be carried in the minds of the listening or reading audience throughout the performance of the works. By imagining the whole structure and assigning meaning to the parts through the characters' explanations and actions, Cárcel's prison of love and Arnalte's "triste morada" become memorial devices that aid in comprehension and correlation of the diverse parts of the narrative since there would be no opportunity for a listening audience to turn back the pages. Allegorical

structures therefore served both to conceptualize abstractions and as mnemonic devices for audiences.

Besides the presence of the allegorical edifice as a sort of "mental map" to guide author and audience through the text, the figural personifications that inhabit Leriano's prison perform a memorial function as strong images that help audiences remember and understand the complexities of the psychology of love. More importantly, it will be demonstrated in the following paragraphs that personified figures illustrate the convergence of oral habits of thought with textual traditions derived from the works of Thomas Aquinas.

Figural Personifications and Reason

San Pedro's depiction of the psychological state of the lover Leriano presents one of the most intriguing examples of how figural personifications of abstract concepts is employed in San Pedro's Cárcel. We should remember the tendency of oral habits of thought to regard oral polemic among personified abstractions as a way to represent psychological conflict. Leriano is literally taken prisoner when his inner forces personified, Entendimiento, Razón, Memoria and Voluntad, the four powers of the soul, capitulate to the advances of Love (94-95).

The inner conflict does not take place in silence but is represented as an oral exchange. Each potency is given a voice in which to explain the reasons for its surrender to the forces of Love. The figures are surrounded by conflict and Leriano's relationship to them is adversarial. It is

they who condemn him before Love.

The reasons for Leriano's condemnation by his inner forces has much to do with scholastic ideas on passion and its effects on man's ability to reason as the ensuing discussion will seek to demonstrate. Love or passion is described as a battle within that is fought between man's rational and irrational forces. Interestingly, Leriano is not condemned for his passionate impulses as he tells Auctor: "pero como los primeros mouimientos no se pueden en los onbres escusar" (93) or as Whinnom paraphrases "los impulsos irracionales de la mente no se pueden evitar" (Obras II 89n48). The noted scholar was the first to align Leriano's words with the teachings of Thomas Aquinas. Whinnom indicates, "Es buena doctrina: cf. Santo Tomás Aquino, Summa theologica, 1-2, q. 74, art. 3; tal motus primus sensualitatis es inevitable y no constituye en sí un pecado" (Whinnom Obras II 89n48). Although the first impulses cannot be avoided, the ensuing struggle within the self leads to either control of reason or surrender to passion and irrationality.

The inner battle is all the more interesting in that it is conceived of as a verbal exchange in which San Pedro emulates the ideas expounded by Thomas Aquinas with the scholastic philosopher's emphasis on reason. It will be helpful to explain Aquinas's views on reason and the struggle against passion in order to see how closely they apply to Leriano's struggle against love.

According to Aquinas, the lover does have control over

himself through his powers of reason, but he must battle and use his will to overcome passion. The primary danger in passion is the loss of reason. Aquinas indicates that even in passion man can fight to control his rational self if he has the will. Aquinas states that concupiscence is voluntary contrary to the emotion of fear:

> Concupiscence does not cause involuntariness, but, on the contrary, makes something to be voluntary. For a thing is said to be voluntary from the fact that the will is moved to it. Now concupiscence inclines the will to desire the object of concupiscence. Therefore the effect of concupiscence is to make something to be voluntary rather than involuntary. (Q.6. Art.7. 492)

In his reply to the first objection Aquinas explains that fear is closer to evil because it goes against the Will while concupiscence is regarded as good since it is in harmony with the Will. This is perhaps why Leriano can legitimately die for love of Laureola since it is justified through the Will. Aquinas compares fear to concupiscence and posits the former as the more dangerous since it runs counter to man's Will:

> Accordingly that which is done out of fear is involuntary, to a certain extent, but that which is done from concupiscence is in no way involuntary. For the man who yields to concupiscence acts counter to that which he purposed at first, but not counter to that which he desires now; whereas the timid man acts counter to that which in itself he desires now. (Q.6. At.7. Obj.2. 492)

The lover Leriano never shows fear and instead stoically accepts his fate: faithfully to love Laureola. By following the inclinations of his Will Leriano's act is thus not viewed as a grave sin. The role of the Will and the inclination to follow it voluntarily does not lead to sin as

much as it sets up conflict between one's Reason and Will. Reason must be sacrificed if Will is victorious. According to the teachings of Aquinas, Leriano's willingness to die, although morally uneasy, is not enough to condemn him since as lover Leriano follows his will through concupiscence rather than acting out of fear.

As we have sought to explain, medieval medical treatises on love and scholastic texts on the problems of passion and its threat to rationality are important textual traditions that interact with oral aspects in Cárcel. The interaction of oral habits of thought and expression with textual traditions portrays Leriano's psychological conflict through an oral polemical tone where allegorical figures argue among themselves and with the protagonist. San Pedro has Leriano's inner forces personified interact with scholastic ideas of love and reason in order to describe the lover's mental and emotional condition. As will be demonstrated in the following portion of this chapter, thematic concerns of love and justice cast in oral expression also rely heavily on textuality through ideas that may have been inspired by the writings of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.

Themes: Love, Politics and Justice

Cárcel complicates the theme of love by involving love with questions of justice and politics. In Cárcel as in Grisel y Mirabella, love is the pretext for political motives that lead to questions of justice. As will be addressed, the concept of justice is influenced by oral

habits of thought and expression and textual traditions. After giving examples of oral forms of justice that are utilized in Cárcel, examples of written and codified justice will be provided. We will then turn to the principal question of justice in Cárcel, a justice which centers on the actions of a King who defies natural law by imprisoning his only daughter, an act which leads to Leriano's rebellion. A consideration of textual traditions that San Pedro might have used when constructing his story will show that the King miscarries justice since according to Aquinas's teachings on reason and natural law, the King acts unreasonably and therefore unnaturally. It will also be demonstrated that Leriano's rebellion was justified in light of textual traditions concerned with the rights of subjects to rebel against unjust monarchs. Before we discuss the textual traditions which underlie the issues of justice and rebellion of subjects, we will turn to aspects of oral justice in the work.

Oral justice appears in a number of ways in Cárcel: through judicial combat as an act of judicium dei, in the violence done to Laureola in prison, and the use of torture as an acceptable and legitimate means of extracting confession in the case of the false witness. Furthermore, the importance of dialogue as a means of making judicial decisions is illustrated by the Cardinal's appeal to the King when he stresses the need for counsel: "porque platicadas las cosas quedan en lo cierto" (146).

Oral proclamation or publicity is an important factor

in the judgement and punishment of wrongs. Leriano echoes the importance of the publication of crimes when he pleads his cause against Persio before the King: "¿cómo sonará en los otros lo que es passado si queda sin castigo público?" (134). The same call for public display of Persio's guilt and punishment is the justification for the King's treatment of Laureola. He makes of her a public example. Similarly, publicity or lack of it is Laureola's motivation in the preservation of her honor and reputation.

Oral law confronts written law which is expressly treated through the "ley de escocia" and the various codified procedures outlined for the treatment of accusations. In Cárcel three witnesses are necessary in order to validate the complaint and there are three witnesses who accuse Laureola and Leriano of violating the "ley de escocia." When Persio accuses Leriano of relations with Laureola and challenges him to a duel, the steps for issuing a challenge had also been written into the legal code in Cárcel: "se acostunbran hazer por carteles y no en presencia del rey" (127). The detail that the challenges are to be written rather than oral is carefully outlined.

Both oral and written laws abound in Cárcel even if they contradict one another. Oral justice through acts of judicium dei and torture prove the innocence of Laureola and Leriano while written justice is manipulated by the King through his anger, and by Persio in his jealousy and political motives, in order to condemn the lovers. Later in the chapter we will focus on the negative connotations

implied by written discourse.

The guilt of the King as an unjust monarch in the handling of his daughter and the right of Leriano to rebel against him in order to save Laureola's life and defend himself are two issues in Cárcel that are strongly linked to textuality although expressed through the characters' oral rhetorical speeches. We will first remark on textual authorities which lie behind the justification for Leriano's rebellion and which demonstrate that the King is acting unjustly in the case of Laureola.

The King is deemed unjust and a tyrant because he acts contrary to reason. There are numerous statements by other characters that the King's actions were due to anger. The King himself even admits that he is angry. In one instance, the Cardinal chides him that he cannot make proper decisions in anger, and the King rejoins that he may be irate but he is still rational. This is a sign that the King in his intense emotional state still does not realize the irrationality of his actions. Since he does not have control of his reason due to anger, it follows that he cannot act reasonably in order to dispense justice. We can turn to Aquinas to see how San Pedro might have followed the theologian's writings regarding the importance of reason in dispensing laws. Aquinas, in his Summa theologica explains the role of reason in human laws which must of necessity participate in natural law:

> Hence the force of the law depends on the extent of its justice. Now in human affairs a thing is said to be just from being right, according to the rule of reason.

> But the rule of reason is the law of nature.... Consequently, every human law has just so much of the nature of law as it is derived from the law of nature. But if in any point it departs from the law of nature it is a perversion. (Q.95. Art.2. 649)

Thus law must follow the rule of reason or it is unnatural, a perversion. The King, as the romance text states, is ruled by anger and controlled by Persio's family as shown by his capitulation to their demands. The law he represents in reality is perverse since it departs from the law of nature because it goes against the rule of reason. Aquinas expressly states the guidance that rulers should have regarding law:

> These words of the Jurist [in that not all human laws derive from natural law] are to be understood as referring to the decisions of rulers in determining particular points of natural law; and to these determinations the judgement of expert and prudent men is related to its principles, in so far, namely, as they see at once what is the best thing to decide. Hence the Philosopher [Aristotle] says that in such matters, 'we ought to pay as much attention to the undemonstrated sayings and opinions of persons who surpass us in experience, age and prudence, as to their demonstrations.' (Q.95. Art.2. Reply Obj.4. 650)

Similarly in Cárcel, one of the laws of Macedonia stipulates that the King must listen to the advice of his counselors. The King violates the natural law by not listening to the advice of prudent men in the case of deciding the human law which is represented by the "ley de escocia." In sum, he behaves as a tyrant.

San Pedro also might have turned to Aristotle's writings for justification of Leriano's rebellious actions. According to Aristotle, subjects have the right to rebel against a tyrant if all reasonable measures are followed

first and no satisfaction is achieved. Specifically, Aristotle's Politics addresses the right of a people to rebel against a tyrant (iii.5). Laureola echoes Aristotle when she says to her father: "los súbditos de tales más desean la rebuelta del tienpo, que la conseruación de su estado" (158). Since the King has proven himself a tyrant, Leriano has justification to rebel. As we will briefly outline in the following paragraph, Leriano seeks all available means before resorting to force. Therefore, he is not guilty of treason, nor does San Pedro ever say that he is accused of treason anywhere in the work.

Leriano does not take up arms without trying by peaceful means to help free Laureola. The work carefully records that Leriano took every available avenue to right the wrong done to Laureola, first by answering Persio's challenge and almost winning the combat before the King unjustly ended it, and then by using all reasonable measures: the appeals of the Cardinal, the Queen, Laureola and even appeals of Auctor and Leriano. Only then did Leriano storm the prison and place Laureola into the hands of her uncle. Leriano was even attacked as he retreated, having made no deliberately aggressive action against the person of the King.

In conclusion, textual traditions are especially helpful in understanding problems of justice and politics corresponding to the King's unjust decisions and Leriano's right to take up arms although aspects of oral justice are present through the inclusion of jousts to settle disputes,

and torture as a means of extracting confession. In spite of the textuality of the issues of justice and politics as outlined through a comparison of the actions of the King and Leriano in Cárcel with the writings of Aristotle and Aquinas, the speeches are filled with dramatic dialogue and oral expression.

Textual traditions from academic circles are an important component of the thematic concerns in Cárcel as the following discussion which treats the negative aspects of writing will confirm. Ambiguity and misinterpretations as well as the close connection between death and textuality are two inherent thematic concerns of Cárcel that illustrate the darker side of textuality.

Death and Textuality

In San Pedro's Cárcel de amor, death and the written word are intrinsically bound. Before examining the association between the negativity imposed on the written word and its subsequent correspondence with death, a few words of a general nature on the relation of the written word to death will be necessary.

Studies by Walter Ong and Jesse Gellrich on orality, literacy and the late medieval crisis resulting from the clash between speech and writing are helpful in illustrating the essentially negative connotations of the written word. The notion is that the written word is inferior to the highly lyrical, positive connotations of the spoken word. Ong aligns the written word with death, because of the "pastness" or "preterite sense" by nature part of narrative

and reinforced with the written word. He proposes that writing "carries with it an aura of accomplished death" (Interfaces 233). In writing:

> The words that 'live' are inert, as no real words can ever be....In this sense, writing lives vicariously.... the words are read off, are made to enter always into an historical situation other than that in which they were first 'set down.' (234)

Thus written words can be recreated outside their original contexts. The element of death, according to Ong is inherent in written texts:

> Because writing carries within it always an element of death, the tragic literary work- or simply the serious written work in general...often turns out to be in some way about itself...a work about death often modulates readily, if eerily, into a work about literature. For death inhabits texts. (238)

Because of the very nature of texts as sepulchers of words, they have the ability to absorb death which makes death less threatening, since the text also paradoxically has a life after death in its ability to be resuscitated by a reader.

A main portion of Cárcel's plot is concerned with the exchange of letters between the lovesick courtier, Leriano, as he attempts to persuade the belle dame sans merci Laureola to accept him as her courtly lover. The letters themselves fail to convince Laureola to give up honor and life for Leriano and it is only through the verbal manipulations of Leriano's mediary, Auctor, that Laureola is finally persuaded to read the letters. In a verbal tour de force on the part of Auctor, she is swayed to write to Leriano. Since letters carry no guarantee that they will be

read, they can be thrown away or ignored (as Lucenda showed us in the case of Arnalte's letters), it is the function of the oral word to convince Laureola to read and respond to Leriano.

In her reply, Laureola addresses the inherent ambiguity of the written word. She fears that her letter will be misinterpreted, and will reveal that she is moved by love rather than by compassion:

> que quien viese lo que te escriuo pensaría que te amo, y creería que mis razones antes eran dichas por disimulación de la verdad que por la verdad. Lo cual es al reués, que por cierto más las digo --como ya he dicho-- con intención piadosa, que con voluntad enamorada. (122)

Leriano also is aware of the fragility of the written word in that one must not write too much, as Auctor explains:

> no escriuió más largamente, porque, para hazer saber a Laureola su mal, bastaua lo dicho; que quando las cartas deuen alargarse es quando se cree que ay tal voluntad para leellas quien las recibe, como para escriuillas quien las enbía. (109)

The written text is not the only medium through which messages may be read and interpreted. Auctor is heartened by his own "reading" of Laureola as being in love:

> miraua en ella algunas cosas, en que se conosce el coraçón enamorado: quando estaua sola veyala pensativa; quando estaua aconpañada, no muy alegre; érale la conpañía aborrecible y la soledad agradable. (106)

The list of signs are the classic symptoms of lovesickness as codified in the cancioneros. Auctor allows himself to decode a message of love since that is how he would like it to be, ignoring Laureola's protestations of honor. Auctor does not realize that because he is not in love himself he

can never read her correctly just as he could not decipher the allegorical prison without Leriano's help. Leriano understands this as he tells Auctor, who has confessed his puzzlement at Laureola's seemingly ambiguous reactions and his inability to read in her signs of love: "Las cosas que con ella pasaste, pues tú que tienes libre el iuyzio, no las entiendes" (116) and so Leriano explains that the news he has brought him from Laureola did not make him sad as Auctor thought, but increased his faith. Auctor cannot interpret the emotions or actions of lovers because he is not in love.

Other misreadings occur from jealousy. Persio, Leriano's rival "reads" in Laureola's face love for Leriano, not because it is there but because he wants it to be. His interpretation of Leriano and Laureola's actions is influenced by jealousy rather than by love:

> y como las sospechas celosas escudriñan las cosas secretas, tanto miró de allí adelante las hablas y señales dél, que dio crédito a lo que sospechaua, y no solamente dio fe a lo que veya--que no era nada--mas a lo que ymaginaua, que era el todo. (126)

The King, moreover, misinterprets justice itself as we have seen earlier in the discussion treating thematic concerns. He is blind and deaf to Laureola's claims of innocence. Her honor, equivalent to her life, is represented by the judicial discourse embodied in the ley de escocia, in which a woman, if accused of sexual indiscretion, shall be executed. She is imprisoned and condemned to death by her father. By this action, the King transgresses God's "natural law" which obligates him to protect his children, adhering instead to written, human law. Laureola is spared only when

Leriano, takes up the chivalric banner to rescue her from prison.

In order to prevent any further attacks on her life and honor, Laureola refuses to communicate with Leriano and he languishes on the verge of death, once more a prisoner of the courtly love code. His last act is highly symbolic of the close relationship between the written word and death. He tears up Laureola's letters and drinks them in a glass of water, before dying. Since all hope of communicating with Laureola is gone, her words no longer can give him life, they are meaningless, dead. As the ideal courtly lover he literally ingests the only part of his beloved left to him. The religious allusions have been duly noted in previous studies, and it is not out of the question that as a martyr of love, Leriano performs his own last supper, or as Gerli has indicated, has followed in courtly love fashion, the dictates of the medieval ars moriendi tradition.

The ingestion of the written word has a long history in medieval textual tradition. Gellrich describes a fourteenth-century illumination of Apocalypse 10.9 in which a visionary is told, "Take this book and eat it" (21). In the Middle Ages, he explains:

> Eating the book... was an act of reconstructing the life of Christ through the proper understanding of the Old and New Testaments; and the illuminator of Apocalypse 10 makes a connection...as he represents the scene in the familiar gesture of taking the Eucharist, through which the "Word made flesh" becomes "bread" by the words of the priest. (The Idea 22)

Gellrich further asserts:

> When a theological idea is represented so literally in

> visible things, as in this painting, word and thing are interchangeable; nature and Scripture constitute a transparent Text whose digestion is simultaneously a reconstruction. (22)

In Cárcel it is in a sense, the inversion, a deconstruction of courtly love. He ingests the words of Laureola, literally choking on their bitter taste which do not give him the solace expected from courtly love discourse.

As Weissberger has shown, Laureola's rejection of Leriano represents a far greater liberation from the oppression of courtly love, a male empowered discourse than do the traditional feminist debates. Laureola's experience in the real physical prison due to the question of her honor, is more horrifying than being called cold and cruel for not yielding to Leriano. She clearly has indicated her choice: "me plaze más la prisión sin yerro, que la libertad con él" (143).

The negative aspects of writing outlined in Cárcel reflect tensions as the growth of literacy brought on increasing uses of writing and reading that slowly replaced functions normally assigned to speech. The ambiguity of the written word as well as misinterpretations caused by decontextualizing the word from its historical context had to be compensated for somehow. As the following discussion will demonstrate, one such way was through the use of self-conscious narrators.

Narrator as Go-Between

In Cárcel, the narrative act is foregrounded by a self-conscious narrator who mediates between reality and fantasy

in place of the traditional oral performer. It is important to recall that many writers of sentimental fiction fabricate an illusion of historicity for the events their fictional narrators claim to have witnessed. As in Arnalte, the pretense of having witnessed the events or heard them told and then preserving them for future listeners and readers creates an illusion of reality for the real audience. The extradiegetic audience can then more fully enter into the fiction by pretending it really happened to the (fictional) narrator due to the encouragement of the real author. San Pedro the real author of Arnalte and Cárcel is behind the narrator or narrators, who serve as witness(es) to the events or their telling, and this gives the narrator the authority of experience so that listeners/readers will more easily accept the world San Pedro has created.

The voice of the real author loses its directness as the act of writing replaces the oral telling and the authorial voice is filtered through a narrative voice or voices into the fictional world of the text:

> The normative concept of the book as fiction is shattered in Cárcel de amor as the action of the romance is made to coincide with the triple reality of El Auctor, his patron, Diego de San Pedro, and us, his readers. (Gerli "Metafiction" 58)

The character Auctor thus mediates between the fictional and real worlds. As mediator he reflects the tensions in his various roles as oral messenger and bearer of written messages besides that of fictional composer of the story. Having reviewed the important function of self-conscious narrators behind the real author, we will consider how

Auctor in Cárcel must resolve tensions between his role as character and oral go-between and that of narrator and fictional author of Leriano's story.

San Pedro grants the narrator of Cárcel a greater opportunity to influence the story than that accorded Auctor in Arnalte, who listens and records the already preterite events of Arnalte and Lucenda. Arnalte's Auctor cannot change or control the events themselves but only react to them. When Arnalte's Auctor sits down to write to the "damas" Lucenda has already entered the convent and Arnalte will spend his last days in his gloomy lodgings. Auctor can only fulfill Arnalte's request to publicize the tale to the ladies of the court. As narrator he has no power to change things. On the other hand, Cárcel's Auctor becomes an active participant in the story and his initial quest is not to publicize an already preterite tale but to participate in the events in order to bring them to a happy conclusion: the union of Leriano with Laureola.

The narrative tension emerges as Auctor as character, with only limited perceptions of the unfolding events and of partial access to the intentions of the other characters, confronts his role as Auctor as narrator, filling in the gaps in his perceptions with a retrospective analysis of the activities. As narrator he is endowed with a certain right of omniscience. He apprehends that right by spending a good portion of the narrative describing the emotional reactions, his own and those of other characters, and then analyzing these emotions. In this way he maintains control over the

narrative when he cannot control the events that transpire. As narrator, Auctor finds he can supersede the limitations imposed on himself as character with descriptions and analysis of the emotional responses of himself and the other characters by means of the authority granted to him as narrator.

Auctor as narrator obtains his authority from two sources, the subject of his own experience as character and his right to retrospectivity as narrator. We see that although his speeches to the characters are heard directly, he reminds us that they are written down: "E como acabé de responder a Leriano en la manera que es escrita" (99). After Leriano's response to Persio's challenge, Auctor again reminds us that it is written: "después que respondió al cartel de Persio como es escrito" (130). The reminder that what has been read is now in writing also reminds us of the power and authority of Auctor as narrator. The reminder that what is being read is now written appeals to the authority of the text as well.

Auctor, even as character in his role as oral intermediary, uses his power as narrator to suppress communication between characters. One such instance of Auctor as character concerns his purposeful delay in giving Laureola's letter to Leriano for fear of the effect it would have on the lovesick courtier. Similarly, Auctor as narrator suppresses information and he sometimes hesitates about describing certain details or elements when retrospectively telling us the story. One example is his description of

Laureola's reactions after she has heard the three witnesses testify against her:

> No quiero dezir lo que Laureola en todo esto sentía porque la passión no turbe el sentido para acabar lo començado, porque no tengo agora menos nueuo su dolor, que cuando estaua presente. (132)

At another moment he chooses not to disclose the content of her speech but rather the form it took: "no escriuo la dulceza y honestidad que ouo en su razonamiento. Quienquiera que la oyera pudiera conocer que aquel estudio auía usado poco" (121). As character Auctor controls communication in order to prevent or elicit certain effects in the characters and as narrator he performs the same function for the external audience. Auctor's principal function as character and narrator is one of control and of creating subjective reactions to those events he cannot control.

Auctor as narrator is very conscious of style: "por no detenerme en esto que parece cuento de ystorias vieias" (131). The frequent references in Cárcel to the inability to adequately convey intense emotional moments through words are typical of Auctor. The other characters also demonstrate concern for inadequacy of expression: "que pude sentilla meior que contalla" (109). Even more frequently, the characters are conscious of the need for economy of expression, that expounding upon a subject for too long is unnecessary and may even prove harmful to one's position: "Por hazerte creer esto, querría estenderme, y por no ponerte otra sospecha acabo" (122-23) and illustrated in the King's refusal to his advisors to spare his daughter: "No

respondo a todos los apuntamientos de vuestra habla por no hazer largo processo" (152). Auctor frequently comments on the gracia de hablar of other characters and the effectiveness of their words to move, persuade or be dramatic.

Metalinguistic signs such as pointing, showing, displaying, and acting of drama are carried out within Cárcel by Auctor as narrative persona. This is precisely a part of Auctor's oral-performative narrative function in Cárcel. For instance, Auctor is careful to describe Laureola's gestures and facial expressions since we cannot see her reactions as she reads Leriano's letter. In the exchange of letters, it is Auctor's accounting of the letters to us, as witness that allows us to see what they contain, so that he is the "voice dynamic" behind them.

In sum, by creating self-conscious narrators and placing them in autobiographical and dramatic roles like the auctores in Arnalte and Cárcel, San Pedro endeavors to bridge the gap that writing creates between author and audience. The presence of the fictionalized oral narrator ensures that the audience enters into the illusion of his tale. As Ong has stated, writing fictionalizes authors and audiences. The first types to be fictionalized were oral narrators and listening audiences. Since oral habits of thought and expression continued past the first use of print, writers such as San Pedro adapted their works to help their listeners and readers adjust to the absent author by creating the illusion of reality in their works and creating

narrators who had close ties to the extradiegetic world. References to contemporary extradiegetic places and persons as well as shared memory helped dissolve the borders between fiction and reality for the audience. As we shall see, direct address to patrons and listeners/readers outside the text also aided in the illusion.

Modes of Reception: Influence of Printing

Unlike Arnalte which is expressly addressed to a female courtly audience, Cárcel begins: "El siguiente tractado fue hecho a pedimento del señor Hernándes, Alcayde de los Donzeles y de otros caballeros cortesanos" (85). Similar to what was discussed earlier in the chapter concerning San Pedro's obedience to the literary requests of his patrons, he stresses in the following quote that he is writing out of duty "Verdad es que en la obra presente no tengo tanto cargo, pues me puse en ella más por necessidad de obedescer, que con voluntad de escreuir" (85). He also permits his intended reader to influence the work, that again shows his sensitivity to the tastes of his public:

> de vuestra merced me fue dicho que deuía hazer alguna obra de estilo de vna oración que enbié a la señora doña Marina Manuel, por que le parescía menos malo que el que puse en otro tractado que vido mío. (85-86)

San Pedro goes so far here not only to ask for Diego Fernandez's patronage but that he emend the work: "y tanbién acordé de endereçarla a vuestra merced porque la fauoresca como señor y la emiende como discreto" (85). Like Flores's amiga, the Alcayde is also empowered if he wishes to edit the text.

As in Arnalte, Cárcel was read aloud and may have been read in dramatic readings in small groups, given the use of exclamatio and physical phrases that would have served as cues to specific gestures and expressions. From the references to hearing read in this work and San Pedro's other works, it is evident that oral transmission was a common form of diffusion. We also support the idea that Cárcel may have been silently read as well. There are enough changes in the density of its style and complexity of structure that lead Gilman to suggest that it may have been written for the printing press (Gilman 327-28n125).

Although Whinnom posits that the lack of acoustical devices in Cárcel compared to Arnalte was due to changes in rhetorical practice as humanism influenced rhetoric in Spain, it is also plausible that as Gilman suggests San Pedro was influenced by the printing press and composed Cárcel to accommodate the new technology. With the apparent success of Arnalte, San Pedro set upon the composition of Cárcel with the printing press in mind. Weissberger adds that Cárcel's denser and abbreviated style is better suited to providing more information faster to readers than Arnalte's style ("Authors" 63-64). Given the linguistic and syntactical changes imposed by editors in later printed editions of Arnalte and Cárcel towards a more complex system of punctuation and less latinate and more natural syntactical phrasing as well as the increased abreviatio, in my opinion the printing press was a determining influence on the changes noted between the two works. However, I should

add that despite the direct or indirect influence of the printing press on Cárcel and other early printed texts, elements of oral habits of thought and expression remained a part of written and printed works for a long time.

As a means of concluding this chapter, we can end by drawing a number of parallels between Arnalte and Cárcel. To begin with, the function of allegory and memory figure prominently in both texts although the individual motifs differ in essential ways. The Auctor in both works becomes lost in a wilderness landscape reminiscent of Dante's Divine Comedy and are guided toward allegorical structures, although the degree of allegory is different in each work. The prison in Cárcel represents a true allegory and Arnalte's dwelling is the scene of the action of the work. Nevertheless, the true significance of both structures needs to be explained by Leriano and Arnalte for the benefit of the Auctor and audience in both works. The edifices aid both writers in composition and listeners/readers in transmission and reception to comprehend and visualize the abstractions.

Secondly, the differences in the way orality and textuality converge in San Pedro's works lead to distinct patterns of style, themes and treatment of narrative tensions in the two texts. The highly acoustical style of Arnalte contrasts with the less aural rhetorical features and greater emphasis placed on abreviatio in Cárcel. Although there are noticeably less epithet-noun combinations in Cárcel, the large quantity of proverbial or sententious

expressions and the use of coordinating conjunctions indicate Cárcel's oral style. If somewhat more print-oriented in density, Cárcel still is a product of its residually oral culture.

Thirdly, as in other sentimental romances, love is a unifying theme in Arnalte and Cárcel that combines with other thematic concerns from both oral and textual traditions. For instance, Love as uncontrollable passion threatening man's reason is symbolized in both works through the hombre salvaje or wild man figure. Arnalte represents a courtly wild man living in luxury in his "triste morada" while Deseo, the wild man whom Auctor meets in the wilds, represents the inherent tension found in courtly love (Deyermond "El hombre salvaje").

Love also complicates social and political situations. Arnalte stresses the social relations between the sexes through the importance of keeping secret the love affair violated by Arnalte and revered by Leriano. The "leyes enamoradas" are followed as a social code in both works with the difference that they are transgressed by Arnalte and obeyed to the letter by Leriano. Additionally, in Arnalte the suffering brought on by passion is rhetorically profitable for Arnalte the lover but harmful to Lucenda since publication threatens a woman's reputation while in Cárcel Leriano is at a rhetorical dead end when Laureola definitively ends her communication with him. The negativity of the written word is powerful when he literally ingests her letters in a glass of water. Without the lyrical power

of oral discourse, the letters are nothing but remnants of dead words on a page. They cannot bring solace since they no longer represent hope for a future relationship with Laureola. In both romances letters carry no guarantee of being read or heeded and an oral intermediary must intercede for the male lovers.

Lastly, the narrative tensions differ somewhat in the two works. Auctor in Arnalte must balance his own rewriting of Arnalte's oral tale and Auctor in Cárcel must struggle with his involvement as character and his privilege as narrator. The sometimes comical tone of Arnalte resembles that of Ovid's Ars amatoria while Cárcel is in the tradition of the Heroides and Alfonso X's translation found in the General estoria (Corfis Arnalte 5-6). As mentioned previously, the disparity between the comical lover Arnalte and the serious style of Arnalte might be due to the tension between Arnalte's interested oral tale and Auctor's written version of it.

Like other sentimental works examined in this study, San Pedro's two prose romances exhibit a complex interplay of oral and textual dynamics functioning within a written framework. The enigmatic quality of the sentimental romances exemplified in the works of Diego de San Pedro rests with those aspects of composition, transmission and reception effected as oral formulaic thinking with its reliance on memory devices gave way to more complex syntactic and narrative structures due to writing. In the wake of adjustments from oral to written narrative, writers sought

ways to remain close to their audiences, no longer physically present in the act of composition. In order to close the distance created by writing, authors would maintain the illusion of presence by creating fictional narrators and audiences that could be apprehended by external listeners and readers. The illusion of presence allowed the audience to more easily blend fictional and real worlds in order to give authority to the fictional story. The Auctors in Arnalte and Cárcel functioning as narrators and characters, seem to belong to both worlds as they address all types of characters: intended and unintended listeners/readers inside and outside the text. The written product is a true memorial to what was first posited as having been said and done.

Notes

1. All textual citations from Arnalte y Lucenda and Cárcel de amor are from the critical editions prepared by Ivy Corfis unless otherwise noted.

2. Several scholars have remarked on San Pedro's thorough preparation and familiarity with medieval rhetorical tradition (Corfis "The Dispositio" 34; Crane 166-70; Whinnom Obras II 53-66).

3. See Whinnom's introduction for a resume of the search for Diego de San Pedro (Obras I 9-17). Two San Pedros were identified with the Girón family who acquired the title of Dukes of Osuna. One was the writer and the other "el bachiller Diego de San Pedro que era alcaide de la fortaleza y teniente de don Pedro Girón" (10) Confusion arose among researchers due to the fact that Diego de San Pedro, "teniente" of Peñafiel also resided in Peñafiel. It has been shown by Whinnom that he belonged to the prior generation since along with other evidence, he is not mentioned in documents after 1472.

4. His bravery became legendary and is recorded through the romances that were sung in his and his brother's honor (Whinnom Obras I 25).

5. See Whinnom, for a lengthy discussion of both Juan Tellez-Girón and Marina Manuel (Obras I 22-34; "The Mysterious Marina").

6. Whinnom discusses the various arguments and proofs of earlier research as to San Pedro's converso background (Obras I 17-21).

7. It appears that San Pedro's literary works were very popular throughout the XVIth century and his Pasión trobada was phenomenally successful through the XIXth century despite condemnation from intellectuals. For the popularity of San Pedro's corpus see Whinnom (Obras I, III).

8. See Corfis's critical edition for a catalogue of the various editions of Arnalte, (7-16) and a stemma describing the relationships between the texts (17-25).

9. Whinnom concurs that the manuscript has provenance in the Eastern part of the peninsula: "El tomo era con toda probabilidad de origen barcelonés....pero todo nos lleva a pensar que el volumen era de procedencia oriental: la predominancia de autores aragoneses, el paradero de los manuscritos antes de que se trasladasen a Oxford, los aragonesismos y catalanismos ortográficos, fonológicos y hasta morfológicos del copista...La cubierta pues, documento

redactado el 23 de diciembre de uno de los años 1541-49, nos indica que esta encuadernación de los manuscritos se hizo, ya caducado el interés del documento, possiblemente hacia finales del siglo XVI, y, lo que es más importante, que se hizo con toda probabilidad en Barcelona" (Dos opúsculos ix, x-xi).

10. Corfis explains, "There are as well, many instances of the Milan manuscript agreeing with B (Burgos 1522) against A (Burgos 1491) and Ms (MS 22021); an almost equal number of cases agreeing with Ms against A and B; and a lesser, but still considerable, number of examples of the Milan text agreeing with A over B and Ms" (37).

11. She states, "Thus, although the Milan witness does not unequivocally align itself with A, B, or Ms, it does have considerable affinity with the B text, with which it shares both the highest percentage of common variants and the structural feature of suppressing the Siete Angustias" (Corfis "Tratacdo" 38).

12. Other sections that have been bracketed by a reader, possibly the scribe are noted here and referred to by the folio and line numbers of the ms.: "y bien sabes tu que el descanso de los tristes es quando su pena es comunicada" (170v.10-12), "se daña por que el secreto es de Amador corona" (174r.1-2), "tu podeszer por dirte y para si el (??) amistad en la necesidad se conosze en las obras se conforma" (176r.12-14), "cata que la fortuna da en las cosas variables fynes" (178v.6-8), "que mucho alargar y poco hazer en la persona rogada esta mal" (184r.6-7), "por que quando fallezen las obras las palabras deuen por dudosas tenerse" (184v.6-8), "Cata que dar pena do no ay culpa es delante las gentes cosa muy vergoñosa" (187v.11-13), "que es regla por general tenida que todas las cosas quando hauer no se pueden son estimadas" (188v.3-5), "por que no es graue el dolor que ligeremente peresze" (189r.7-8), "quien de ningun bien puede ser causa de ningun mal puede ser ocaxion (190v.9-11), "y por que la costunbre de la dilacion es alargar el dolor yncontinente" (196r.8-10), "acuerdate que sana el secreto quanto el descubrir adolesze" (200v.8-10), "y como las condiciones de los mas honbres en las amistades mucha firmeza no guardan" (202v.8-11), "como en lo blanco mas lo negro se conosze asy en tu linpio linaje mas tu yerro se paresze" (207r.6-8), "Cata quel arrepentimiento quando el remedio es ydo suele uenir" (216v.1-3).

13. Whinnom explains the relationship between the two early printed editions: "De Arnalte y Lucenda existen, como ya he señalado en la Introducción, dos tempranas ediciones, la de 1491 (A) y la de 1522 (B), independientes la una de la otra. Ambas son defectuosas, pero en diferentes maneras. La más temprana...carece de puntuación y está llena de un sinfín de menudos errores tipográficos...La edición de 1522,

aunque es una impresión hermosa y cuidada, en la que apenas se encuentra el sencillo desliz por parte del cajista que tanto afea a A, se basaba en otra edición, ya desaparecida, que debió estar gravemente estragada" (Obras I 79).

14. Kurtz indicates that San Pedro did not merely imitate French allegory for his allegorical prison as "a careful comparison of San Pedro's work with the alleged French prototypes reveals that they actually possess little in common beyond the metaphorical titles and a general preoccupation with matters of love" (132-33).

15. "That Arnalte, having fallen in love with Lucenda, should resort to all the tricks and stratagems he can think of in order to approach her and win her affections, would have seemed to Ovid perfectly natural and right" (Whinnom Diego 81). Also, see Schevill (Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain, 117-18). Arnalte, for example, follows Ovid's advice in Book I of the Ars Amatoria, on dressing as a woman. Corfis notes that Arnalte succeeds in two of the three steps outlined in the Ars (Arnalte 4).

16. Other examples of sententious phrases include "donde sobra conocer, no mengua rrazón" (60) and "porque el secreto es del amador corona" (88). The importance of the secret is also expressed in a set phrase: "que sana el secreto quanto el descobrir adolesce" (123).

17. "Es especialmente frecuente la antítesis de palabras y conceptos y las parejas recurrentes: servicio-galardón, pena-gloria, amores-remedio, honra-deshonra, fama-infamada, semejan arabescos en una tapicería oriental" (Krause "El 'tratado'" 273).

18. "Abusa de la annominatio y traductio...del paromoion o paranomeon ('el mal tan pressuroso ha sido, que aunque el espacio de padescerlo pequeño te paresca'), del similiter cadens, similiter desinens, y homoioteleuton ('e si no te valiere, a la razón requiere', 'las bozes della dormir su dormir de Lucenda recordar pudieron; pero gritos de mis angustias nunca su galardón vieron'), de la prosa rítmica, prosaica modulatio ('era fuerça que los ojos deseándola cegasen') (61). Whinnom's article "Diego de San Pedro's Stylistic Reform" contains numerous examples of acoustical devices in San Pedro's works.

19. "Rithmus attempts to introduce into certain kinds of prose some of the compositional principles usually employed in writing verse" (Murphy 161). Cursus, or system of rhythmical clausulae was employed solely for letter writing (Murphy 158-61, 248-53). See Whinnom's thorough treatment of San Pedro's use of rhythmic prose ("Diego de San Pedro's Stylistic Reform").

20. Whinnom notes that printed notations in the margins of the edition guided the teaching of rhetoric. The work is called The Pretie and Wittie Historie of Arnalte and Lucenda, Trans., Claudius Hollyband. (London: Thomas Purfoote, 1575) (Obras II, 54n83).

21. "Although no manuscript is extant, it is probable that the romance was a popular success from the time of its composition and that, like other texts of the period, it began its bibliographical history in manuscript form, passed from hand to hand among the courtiers; however, we have no evidence for or against the supposition in the case of Cárcel" (Corfis Cárcel 16).

22. Corfis records for the fifteenth-century two Spanish and one Catalan edition, for the sixteenth century twenty-six Spanish, fourteen bilingual Spanish/French and various Italian, French and English translations (Cárcel 51).

23. See Corfis's "Catalogue of Editions" for a description of the numerous Carcel editions and translations throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth century (Cárcel 16-50).

24. Corfis affirms, "Clearly, the punctuation mark does not represent a syntactical usage, but rather reflects pauses in speech" (Cárcel 71).

25. "All are section-initial variants, and five remove the verb from post- to pre-position in order to establish a less artificial, less Latinate syntax" (Corfis Cárcel 4).

26. "Thus, the tendency to embellish the text with bimembration holds true in the variants as in the archetype" (8).

27. Whinnom's Introduction to his edition of Cárcel de amor contains an excellent overview of rhetorical practices (Obras II 52-60).

28. According to Chorpenning Cárcel's prologue is the exordium, Section 2-5 is "narration" and is Auctor's meeting Leriano and journey to the court, Sections 6-18 is the "proposition" consisting in Auctor's efforts to convince Laureola to write to Leriano, Sections 19-43, "proof" represents the events after Laureola's letter through her final rejection of Leriano, and Section 44-46 "refutation," is Leriano's defense of women before Tefeo's attacks. Sections 47-49 is "conclusion" and consists in Leriano's mother's lament, Leriano's death and Auctor's arrival at Peñafiel ("Rhetoric and Feminism").

29. "Overall, the narrator gives cohesion to the work as the third person testimonial voice is found throughout the text, explaining and uniting the individual sections. The letters, as a rhetorical form, also extend throughout the entire romance, and, except for two of the ten epistles in the libro, all the letters come in paired responses linked by brief narrative sections; thus the letters balance the wide variety of discourse systems incorporated in the text. The letters and the narrator, then, are constant unifying features of the Cárcel de amor structure" ("The dispositio" 33).

30. The five parts are: salutatio or expression of greeting; benevolentiae captatio (or exordium) captures the goodwill of the recipient; narratio gives an account of the matter; petitio asks for something;and peroratio concludes the letter (Corfis "The dispositio 33-34).

31. The four part dispositio consists of the exordium or introduction and is designed to prepare the hearer's mind; narratio or statement of facts, presents the events; argumentatio or argumentation may contain other subdivisions: the divisio or definition of the matters to be contested and what points will be presented, the confirmatio or proofs, the confutatio or refutation of the adversaries arguments; and the peroratio or conclusion.

32. Corfis compares Leriano's challenge and López de Haro's authentic letter of challenge. Manuals of knighthood such as Alfonso de Cartagena's Doctrina y instrución de la arte de cauallería also detailed the writing of challenges ("The dispositio" 38-39).

33. Among the proverbs, sententia or maxims used are: "como palabras sean ymagen del coraçón" (112), "se conoce que donde falta la dicha, no aprouecha la diligencia" (113), "quando el amor prende, haze el coraçón constante; y quando lo dexa libre, mudable" (114), "como las sospechas celosas escudriñan las cosas secretas" (126), "Pues procede de las virtuosas obras la loable fama, iusto es que la maldad se castigue porque la virtud se sostenga; y con tanta diligencia deue ser la bondad anparada, que los enemigos della si por voluntad no la obraren, por miedo la vsen" (127), "¡malauenturados aquellos como tú que no saben escoger muerte onesta!" (127), "quando la intención no peca, saluo está el que se iuzga" (129), "cata que guardando las leyes, se conseruan los naturales" (133), "porque no dispusiese con alteración para que se arrepintiese con pesar" (136), "cata que los ombres obran y la ventura iuzga; si a bien salen las cosas, son alabadas por buenas, y si a mal, auidas por desuariadas" (137), "porque los firmes enamorados lo más dudoso y contrario creen más ayna, y lo que más desean tienen por menos cierto" (140), "eran más obligados los buenos a temer la vergüença, que el peligro"

(162), "como en los peligros más la bondad se acrecienta por fuerça de armas" (164), "que muy mayores son los galardones de las vitorias que las ocasiones de los peligros" (168), "tan conuenible es la mudança en las cosas dañosas, como la firmeza en las onestas" (177), "la mala ventura se acaba con la muerte y se acrecienta con la vida" (178), "según el obrador han de ser las obras" (182), "no ay lugar donde la hazienda esté más segura, que en la voluntad de las gentes" (190), "como tratamos a cada uno como merece, cada vno nos da lo que merecemos" (190).

34. Chorpenning first suggested the use of allegory in Cárcel as forming a tradition of the castle as visual memory system ("Rhetoric and Feminism").

CONCLUSION

This study of orality and textuality in the Spanish sentimental romance has examined a wide range of issues in order to demonstrate the convergence of oral and textual aspects influencing the works' composition, transmission and reception. In the course of this dissertation each work has been treated individually regarding the impact of orality and textuality on the formation of the authors, the extant manuscripts and early printed editions, the interplay of oral and textual sources, the formulaic and oral-rhetorical style and structure, thematic concerns, narrative techniques and modes of reception. A few concluding remarks will summarize some of the ways that orality and textuality interact within the works.

The method of evaluation has been based on oral/textual criteria outlined in chapter one. Historical and internal evidence included an examination of the earliest extant versions of the romances. The Spanish sentimental romances illustrate the convergence of spoken and written discourse and the story line consists of dialogue and inscribed speech (in letters) organized within a textual framework based on academic and rhetorical models.

An examination of the extant manuscripts and early printed editions helps to understand the texts as products of acoustical interference and textuality. The works are tied to the world of sound in two ways: one, through

punctuation designed for guiding oral recitations of the texts and two, by acoustical interference of the author, scribe or editor's own dialect or language. For instance, Flores's works appear to have had a wider diffusion in the eastern portion of the Spanish peninsula judging by the presence of Aragonisms in some of the printed editions.

The physical appearance of the surviving manuscripts has also been helpful in estimating how the works were transmitted. Plainer manuscripts with fewer illustrations or illuminations might have been used as performance texts meant for reading aloud in small groups rather than for perusal by a silent reader. The manuscripts examined in this study were found to be relatively plain although some are embellished with a few colored rubrics. Other physical aspects such as marginal notations in the form of pointing fingers, bracketed sections and marginal phrases which have also been found in the manuscripts signify the responses of scribes or readers to the works. The majority of the marginal notations in the manuscripts of the sentimental romances highlights proverb-like or sententious phrases of oral wisdom. Such expressions were quite popular and although they were based on oral habits of thought and expression originating or transmitted in oral tradition, they were collected in written works called florilegia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

As we have seen in this study, the sentimental romances are an intriguing mixture of popular and learned elements based on oral or written modes of discourse. The works

contain speeches, letters, dialogue, narration as well as various mixes of prose and poetry. In addition, scholars since Menéndez y Pelayo have emphasized the Classical and Italian influences of Ovid, Boccaccio and Piccolomini on the Spanish sentimental romance. There is also evidence of French influence through the French allegorical tradition and the Erotic autobiography. The heterogeneity of sentimental prose fiction is further extended to learned sources due to the sentimental writers' incorporation of themes and topics tied to academic and theological schools of thought.

As has been demonstrated, rhetoric and dialectics have played a major role in the composition and reception of the works and serve to underscore the aural-oral nature of the texts. The presence of rhetorical traditions in the texts raises orality to a state of art, only possible with written manuals of the ars retorica that illustrated ways of effective composition and reception designed for speaking persuasively to a listening public.

In addition to the stylistic and structural importance of rhetoric and dialectic in preserving oral expression in the works, the ars memoria is a particularly significant, but one of the least studied aspects of rhetoric. Memory techniques influenced compositional practices of the sentimental writers who would have been academically trained in these techniques at universities. Like other academic skills, memoria was a branch of the arts of rhetoric and dialectic and fostered practices of composition and delivery

analogically similar to the formulaic composition of oral epic singers as described by Lord. The writers of sentimental fiction probably employed a form of memorial or rhapsodic composition. Making the works memorable through techniques developed from the ars memoria as well as through shared or communal memory would help the listeners and even readers to remember important aspects of the text.

Besides the rhetorical tradition, we have found that there are other forms of oral expression that vary in accordance with each individual romance. Epithets are abundant in Siervo libre de amor but are relatively scarce in Cárcel de amor, perhaps reflecting the evolution towards the printed word. Sententious phrases, another aspect based on oral habits of thought, are present in all the works but appear to be slightly more numerous in the less rhetorical works of Juan de Flores although a remarkably high quantity are found in Cárcel de amor reflecting San Pedro's proximity to his residually oral culture. Other types of formulaic phrases, most notably physical phrases that are verbal indications of gestures, are found in all the romances and represent an important performative aspect of the works. These phrases might have represented a guide for visualizing the characters' body gestures and physical movements or might have served as cues for dramatic readings of the works. Lastly, another feature of orality in all the romances studied in the previous chapters is their oral polemical tone. The polemical character of the works is manifested in interesting ways. In Grisel y Mirabella, the

whole work is made up of a series of debates between characters indicating its dialectical structure. The oral polemical tone in the other romances is often expressed by personified emotional or mental conflicts within a character, such as the struggle between Passion and Will in Siervo libre de amor. Such personified abstract conceptions are a reminder that thought in oral cultures is conceived of as a constant dialogue and in many cases takes place within an oral polemical exchange.

On the level of narrative, tensions between the oral and the written word are exploited in various ways. Many of these tensions within the romances are derived from the oral mindset of writers adjusting to the written and printed word through the use of self-conscious narrators or participatory audiences. The distance created by writing which separates performer (author) from public (listeners and readers) led sentimental writers to create a performative context within the works. The narrators are in fact like storytellers who relate their tales orally and from a retrospective distance, and at times they involve themselves as characters in the action which they then consciously record. This in turn invites participation from the external listeners/readers.

A consideration of audience participation might resolve one issue that has been especially problematic with regard to the sentimental romances: the ambiguous and often contradictory nature of the authorial intent. The aspect of not being able to know the real author's intention or to arrive at a clear resolution of conflicts or ambiguities may

be disquieting to some modern readers. As I have suggested, final resolution of the works' meaning may lie outside the texts, in the debates and discussions the groups of listeners took part in after the text was read aloud, or in the margins of manuscripts where readers have annotated their reactions.

In conclusion, this wide-ranging study of orality and textuality in the Spanish sentimental romances has underscored the need for putting aside our print-centered bias in order to be aware of the acoustical dimensions of medieval and renaissance cultures. The works remain close to the oral ambience of fifteenth-century Spain but yet reflect the progression towards the internalization of writing influenced by the written and printed word. Other early creative works such as the libros de caballerías or the sui genesis Flores y Blancaflor share many of the same traditions as the fifteenth-century sentimental romances and would benefit from a re-examination according to oral/textual criteria. The significance of the convergence of orality and textuality in Renaissance and Golden Age fiction, such as the picaresque and pastoral novels and Don Quijote is yet to be studied. An understanding of how the creative process operated amidst the interplay of oral and written modes of expression will increase our appreciation of Spanish medieval and renaissance literature.

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