CARCEL DE AMOR AND THE COURTLY LOVE TRADITION

by

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Abstract

The first chapter of this thesis is a survey of the diverse criticism of Carcel de amor available today. Gili y Gaya, in his prologue to San Pedro's Obras, presents a comprehensive study and evaluation of San Pedro's work which has been the point of departure for modern critics. Modern criticism of the Carcel encompasses its style and language as well as its sentimental, ethical, political and psychological aspects. Keith Whinnom offers the most complete study of the Carcel in numerous articles, in his prologue to San Pedro's complete works and in his book on San Pedro and his writings. However, San Pedro's peculiar interpretation of the courtly love tradition has not been sufficiently examined.

The second chapter offers an appraisal of the author, his period and his work. During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Spain enjoyed a period of great cultural activity. The refined atmosphere of the court favoured feminism and romantic literature. San Pedro was an experienced soldier at the service of don Juan Téllez Giron, Count of Ureña. He was a courtier and a poet. Most information concerning his life and identity is speculation. We do not know the certain dates of his birth and death and the date of his works. Critics have speculated on his possible Jewish ancestry. A brief survey of San Pedro's works shows his versatility, his concern with pleasing his audience and the essentially courtly nature of his work. His earliest
works were the religious poems the Passión trobada and Las siete angustias de Nuestra Señora. These were followed by several poems in the courtly love tradition. His first sentimental novel, Arnalte y Lucenda is considered a precursor of Cárcel de amor. The Sermón is a code for lovers written within the tradition of the treatises of love popular throughout the Middle Ages. Its precepts are applied in the Cárcel.

The third chapter is the main part of the present work. San Pedro's use of the courtly love tradition is examined here. The antecedents of Cárcel de amor in European literature are considered in order to appreciate the particular treatment of love found in the Cárcel and the unique place this novel occupies in Spanish fiction. Siervo libre de amor by Rodríguez de la Cámara and its imitations can be considered as forerunners of the Cárcel because they contain elements that constitute the basic characteristics of the sentimental novel. The relationship of the Cárcel with other sentimental works such as Boccaccio's Fiammetta is also considered. Cárcel de amor springs from the Arthurian tradition and is concerned primarily with putting into practice the ideas and code of behaviour of the courtly love tradition. An outline of the characteristics, rules, origins and development of this tradition is made. The works of Ovid and Andreas Capellanus are examined and compared in order to establish their differences. The courtly love tradition considers perfect love as an ever-insatiating and ever-increasing desire; it elevates the beloved to a position
of superiority over the lover; it sustains that love is an
ennobling force. These three concepts are the core of Cárcel
de amor. A thorough examination of the courtly elements of
the Cárcel is made. The setting and the protagonists of the
novel are of the highest nobility and both are endowed with
great nobility of soul and virtue. Two characteristics that
set apart Castilian courtly love tradition from the Provençal and Catalan tradition are the preference for maidens
and the concern with honour. The courtly concept of love
traps the lover in a vicious circle whose only escape is
death and Leriano lets himself die thus fulfilling his des­tiny as a perfect lover.

The fourth chapter deals with the style and structure
of Cárcel de amor. Menéndez y Pelayo classified it as a
sentimental novel and some critics have studied its links
with the Latin tractatus, the Ovidian tale, the epistolary novel and the novel of chivalry. San Pedro's use of
allegory is examined as well as the rhetorical units that
form the novel. San Pedro fuses the narratio, epistles,
discourses, planctus, harangue, and argumentatio into a
polished work. Criticism of the Cárcel's style and
language is considered. It may be concluded that the three
vital factors that give unity to the novel are (1) the
theme, (2) the epistolary structure of the novel, and
(3) the role of El Auctor.

The final chapter stresses the importance and influence
of Cárcel de amor in Spanish literature in particular and
European literature in general. It was widely read and started a vogue for sentimental novels throughout Europe. In Spain, Nicolás Nuñez wrote a continuation and Juan de Flores published two courtly novels. However, the work of Flores departs from the courtly love tradition. It was translated into French, English, Italian and German. A. Gian­nini believes that it influenced Baldassare Castiglione in writing Il Cortegiano. Gustave Reynier has studied its influence on the French sentimental novel. Above all, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel considers it the forerunner of La Celestina. Peter G. Earle, after Lida de Malkiel compares the love concepts found in the works of Rojas and San Pedro.

This thesis concludes by stressing the excellence of San Pedro's re-creation of the conventional ideals of courtly love in his novel. His consciousness as a courtly writer inspired him to select the appropriate ideas, form, language, and style in order to produce an excellent example of courtly literature.
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Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the essentially courtly nature of Diego de San Pedro's literary production as reflected in his major work, the Cárcel de amor.

San Pedro's use of the elements of courtly love in the Cárcel will be especially considered. It reflects the author's peculiar ability to interpret poetically the ideas and taste of his milieu.

This thesis studies how the careful style, lyrical quality and romantic content of the Cárcel responded to the need for what Johan Huizinga calls "the dream of heroism and love." (The Waning of the Middle Ages, New York: Doubleday, 1954.)
Chapter One

The critics: "trama tejida con poco arte o novela política"

Diego de san Pedro's writings have long been regarded as works of transition, and for this reason critics have written little of any substance about them. Although generations of scholars have underlined San Pedro's important role in Spanish literature, they have merely commented on his style and language superficially and speculated about his identity. Hence, until the publication of San Pedro's Obras completas in 1950 by Samuel Gili y Gaya, The Carcel de amor (or indeed all of San Pedro's literary production) had not been seriously studied or evaluated.

José Amador de los Ríos, in 1865 praised the "nervio y energía de la frase" found in Carcel de amor, and the use of the epistolary form in order to create a more intimate relationship between the reader, author, and characters, but he only described the content without analyzing it. The first influential criticism came from Menéndez y Pelayo in 1905.

Don Marcelino placed this work within a genre he accurately named "novela sentimental". His definition of this genre has been considered by Keith Whinnom as "una agrupación [de características] un tanto artificial, que puede producir una falsificación de la verdadera historia de la novelita amorosa en castellano", but it, nevertheless, describes appropriately an embryonic literary form whose main characteristic is its concern with emotional conflicts. Don Marcelino calls the Carcel a "tentativa de novela íntima" with a "trama tejida
con poco arte", and fails to appreciate the meaning and the literary value of the novel. His only praise goes to San Pedro's elegant style which he finds superior to that of the earlier Arnalte y Lucenda. He angrily condemns the prologue to the Passión trobada: "llegando en el colmo de la exaltación, a comparar la que llama su pasión con la del Redentor del mundo," and shows disdain for his poetry. Don Marcelino's most disparaging comment goes to the Sermón, which he considers a poor and inept parody, and he shows distaste for the so-called "courtly love" tradition. Menéndez y Pelayo understands too well the banning of the Cárcel by the Inquisition, and he disapproves of the blasphemous nature of Leriano's final discourse in defence of women. Don Marcelino's lack of enthusiasm for San Pedro's work obscured its worth and caused later critics to overlook the many charms that made this work widely read and translated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

We find a good, though brief, study of San Pedro's novel in the introduction to his Obras by Gili y Gaya, who stresses San Pedro's role as a courtly "trobador" in the best tradition of courtly love. Gili y Gaya presents a short summary of the characteristics of courtly love, following Gaston Paris and Myrrha Lot-Borodin, and he underlines those characteristics which San Pedro used in his novels. Gili y Gaya agrees with Menéndez y Pelayo about the sources and antecedents of the Cárcel and points out the "severidad castellana" that makes him reject adultery, which is one of the elements of the European tradition of courtly love (pp.xvii-xviii).
Gili y Gaya's description of San Pedro and his works provides a point of departure for modern critics, Keith Whinnom and Moreno Baez among others. Keith Whinnom is the author of the most extensive study of San Pedro's works. The introduction to his three-volume edition of San Pedro's Obras completas is a comprehensive account of bibliographical and textual problems, and an attempt to remove traditional misconceptions and misinterpretations of San Pedro's writings. Whinnom rejects Gili y Gaya's "petulant" comments on San Pedro's artificiality, his identity as a converso, and his "mundo extraño y lejano de sentimientos, alegorías y esquemas conceptuales" (p.vii).

In the introduction to his edition of the Cárcel de amor Whinnom examines the meaning of the courtly love tradition and its influence on the novel. This work, together with his book on San Pedro for the Twayne's World Authors Series offers the most thorough portrait of the man, his writings, and period. Whinnom enthusiastically emphasizes the "rare talent and unusual sensitivity" of the author, inviting the student of literature to overcome the barriers which have prevented critics from pursuing a proper analysis of San Pedro's works.

Criticism of the Cárcel de amor or its author has been primarily concerned with the novel's style and form. In an important article, Whinnom discusses San Pedro's use of rhetoric. He believes that the author achieved a stylistic reform by applying the new approach to rhetoric introduced by the humanists towards the end of the fifteenth century.
Thus, what Menéndez y Pelayo called elegant style, and what Gili y Gaya thought was San Pedro's growing maturity as a writer, is the application of the new humanist rhetoric of the Renaissance.

Carmelo Samona had already contrasted the different styles of the *Arnalte* and the *Cárcelete* and attempted to explain them in terms of a "maturità che si traduce in influenza e capacità divulgativa." Samona believes that the better style of the *Cárcelete* is the result of "una mutazione del gusto e della tecnica del periodo isabelino," and he elaborates on Gili y Gaya's theory that the "evolución tan notoria en el estilo del autor" is the result of a logical process of literary maturation. Unlike Whinnom, the Italian critic does not see the application of the principles found in the manuals of humanist rhetoric, but the "pulimento de forme, che caratterizza con molto spicco e varietà di motivi le flutuazioni di un periodo di assestamento della lingua, come è quello dei Re Cattolici" and feels that the *Cárcelete* is above all "un eco fedele e sollecita e uno vero e proprio guida" of the period, since "lo scrittore che si uniforma da prima a quel mondo e alle sue inclinazione, finisce poi per indirizzarle e guidarle."

Some critics have briefly considered the *Cárcelete de amor* when studying the development of the epistolary form (Charles E. Kany), the sentimental novel (Barbara Matulka, Dinko Cvitanovic), and the novel in general (Menéndez y Pelayo). They compare *Cárcelete de amor* to diverse narrative forms and often limit its characteristics to those of a particular
genre, such as the French novel of chivalry, the epistolary novel, and the Ovidian tale.

Anna Krause maintains that San Pedro follows the tradition of the mediaeval Latin tractatus and that while his work presents elements that point to other kinds of narrative, it is basically a modernized version of the tractado de amores which is "el producto ecléctico de influencias contemporáneas, el patetismo de la Fiametta, el interiorismo de la novela, innovación asimismo de los maestros italianos, y un idealismo cortesano y caballeresco de nuevo tono y matiz difundido por toda la poesía de cancionero." Krause underlines San Pedro's position as a link between Mediaeval and Renaissance literature, since his works combine both mediaeval topoi and form with Renaissance style.

The love versus honour theme in the Cárcel has been the subject of little study. H.T. Oostendorp mentions this aspect of San Pedro's novels in his doctoral thesis, but he does not analyze it in depth. He is interested only in tracing the history of this conflict, and in explaining its origins. His thesis adds little to previous criticism of the Cárcel de amor. Pamela Waley compares the treatment of the theme by San Pedro and his contemporary, Juan de Flores. She sees Laureola's care for her honour simply as a poetic device that helps to create the action in the novel. Leriano and Laureola are:

... heirs to a poetic, as distinct from a fictional tradition ... and Leriano's death is not so much the realization of a threat or wish so often expressed by the cancionero poets as the solution of a conflict that can only end thus or with the loss of the lady's honour.
Waley considers that San Pedro's "idealized conception of love . . . belongs to the realm of poetry," and she finds Juan de Flores' "investigation of the causes and motives of the behaviour of the characters" a "step away from the indispensable hyperbole of chivalresque fiction and towards the human intelligibility of Calisto and Melibea."

Laureola's preoccupation with public opinion is generally misunderstood as a sign of cruelty by many critics, among them, Pamela Waley, who sees her in the tradition of *La belle dame sans merci*. Bruce Wardropper understands this cruelty as:

> consecuencia del conflicto amor cortesano honor . . . la piedad, sentimiento noble y conveniente choca con las nociones del honor y provoca una sensación de culpa y de castigo. La pasión de Leriano, encendida y mantenida por la crueldad de Laureola, después del paréntesis de piedad, sólo podía tener un desenlace fatal . . . 25

Wardropper excuses Laureola's final rejection of Leriano's love in the name of the inflexible code of honour of the period: "¿Puede ser culpada una mujer por una crueldad inevitable según las normas de los códigos de conducta? Aún cuando fuese innecesaria, queda a salvo de reproches."

Wardropper's article provides us with the most perceptive examination to date of the sentimental world of the *Cárcel de amor*, whereas José Luis Varela's "Revisión de la novela sentimental" only repeats traditional views without opening new avenues of interpretation. Varela, following Maria Rosa Lida de Malkiel, points to the *Cárcel* as an important source for *La Celestina* and describes its mediaeval and neoplatonic elements. Varela considers the *Cárcel* a "moderado punto medio"
between Rodríguez del Padrón (or de la Cámara's) superior treatment of allegory, and Juan de Flores's realism and concern with moral values. Varela finds San Pedro's style an "imposible retórica: la alegoría . . . una concesión enojosa, un ornato superfluo, una hojarasca embarazosa."

Wardropper studies the sentimental element of this novel in relation to mediaeval codes of chivalry, "culto del heroísmo"; honour, "basado en la tradición familiar, en la riqueza y en el patrimonio"; virtue, "como forma perenne de virtud cardinal o como forma específica cristiana-fusión cardinal y teológica."

Wardropper adds that Leriano's tragedy is born from the conflict created by these three codes and the code of courtly love:

Sí, los cuatro códigos se superponen, pero no coinciden. Conflicto entre las apariencias y la realidad. Leriano, vasallo del rey Gaulo, en virtud del código del amor cortesano. Cuando el rey trata a Laureola injustamente, duda: el honor de Laureola o su propio amor por ella ha de ser sacrificado. Y el honor, la apariencia de virtud, se encuentra a menudo en conflicto con la virtud cristiana, la realidad.

La sumisión de Leriano a las diferentes normas éticas determina problemas y armonías en su vida y, en último término, la tragedia inevitable, sentida así, pero no claramente prevista.

After carefully analyzing the role that all four codes play in the novel, Wardropper considers its essentially sentimental nature. Leriano symbolizes the sentimental man who is guided by his feelings rather than by his reason. Therefore, he cannot see the incompatibility of the codes he follows, and succumbs under his own overwhelming sentiments. Leriano's world is a realm beyond reality which is animated by a quintes-
sence of sentiment and is accessible only to the nobility (as Leriano's mother says in her *planto*). But Wardropper does not realize that this is essentially the world of courtly love. The noble feelings and elements of chivalry, honour and virtue, are subordinated to the most strict courtly love tradition. The code of love is not only one element in *Cárcel de amor*, but its inspiration and its *raison d'etre*.

An important aspect of San Pedro's stylistic reform is the role the author plays in the *Cárcel*. Alfonso Reyes pointed out the way in which the author introduces himself into the novel, instead of narrating the story from the outside. In doing so, the writer creates a more complete illusion of life, a "novela perfecta". Bruce Wardropper also underlines the significance of this new stylistic perspective. However, the purpose of his article is to refute the belief of Menéndez y Pelayo and other critics, that the *Cárcel* and the sentimental novel in general is autobiographical. Like Whinnom Wardropper is concerned with correcting traditional opinions about this book, such as the comment that "there is no skill in the construction of the fable" or that it has a "forma algo torpe."

The romantic nature of the *Cárcel* has provoked some bold psychoanalytical comments, like those of S. Serrano Poncela, and Haydée Bermejo and Dinko Cvitanovic. Serrano compares Leriano's "amor de enamoramiento" with that of Werther's, the tragic hero of Goethe's novel. According to Serrano, both represent:
... un particular arquetipo amoroso en cuya actitud, la sociedad de su tiempo encontró reflejadas ciertas tendencias maníaco-eróticas que todos llevamos de contrabando pero que habitualmente circulan inofensivas.37

He supposes in Leriano "curiosos esfuerzos de introspección y autoanálisis," overlooking the author's indebtedness to mediaeval literary tradition and the meaning of Leriano's sacrifice.

Bermejo and Cvitanovic, on the other hand, consider the novel "una aventura en el conocimiento del drama humano del amor y la soledad," and stress Leriano's role as a victim of "la 'desesperación' que anima el pensamiento de Kierkegaard o la 'enfermedad' y el 'escándalo' de Unamuno," concluding that "la 'enfermedad' de Unamuno es un sufrimiento activo que en Leriano es, no obstante, signo de la transitoriedad de la vida y conduce a la muerte que es la verdadera liberación." Bermejo and Cvitanovic also closely examine the emotional drama of the Cárcel, and offer some interesting interpretations which will be discussed in a later chapter.

Fernando Márquez Villanueva has insisted on the political content of the Cárcel de amor. In his opinion, its main purpose is to oppose the idea of a Caesarean ruler precisely at the moment when the Catholic Monarchs came to power. Although the theory about San Pedro's converso origin has not been proved, Márquez Villanueva assumes that he must have witnessed many injustices committed against his people, the Jews, and he finds clear allusions to the Inquisition in Laureola's trial and punishment. Márquez Villanueva sees an obvious reproach to the King's unfair treatment of the
Jews in Leriano's letter to the King of Macedonia:

Si por ventura lo consentiste por verte aque-
xado de la suplicación de sus parientes [los
parientes de Persio], quando les otorgaste la
merced, deuieras acordarte de los servicios
que los míos te hizieron, pues sabes con
quanta costanza de corazón, quantos dellos
en muchas batallas y combates perdieron por
tu servicio las vidas. Nunca hueste iuntas-
te que la tercia parte dellos no fuese. (p. 154)

and in the concept of limpieza de sangre as implied in the
King's answer to the Cardinal:

y a tanto se estendería esta culpa si casti-
gada no fuese, que podría amanzillar la fama
de los pasados y la onra de los presentes y
la sangre de los por venir; que sola vna má-
cula en el linage cunde toda la generación. (p. 167)

However diverse the criticism of CárceI de amor may be,
all scholars agree on its importance in the development of
the novel in particular and in Spanish literature in general.
Rosa María Lida de Malkiel and Castro Guisasola cite it as
an antecedent of La Celestina. Lida believes that the char-
acters of Calisto and Melibea were drawn from Leriano and
Laureola, and Guisasola finds several examples of paraphrase. 40

Peter G. Earle, following María Rosa Lida's comments,
compares love concepts as they appear in the CárceI de amor
and in La Celestina, and regards the former as a model of
the latter: "Like Don Quijote, however, it constitutes the
complete renovation of a type, through elimination of some
elements, parody of others, and regeneration of still more." 41
Earle underlines some similarities and differences between
the two novels to illustrate his point.

Dinko Cvitanovic links CárceI de amor with Cervantes'
Novelas ejemplares and Don Quijote (La novela sentimental española, pp. 333-58). Pamela Waley studies it as a precedent to the works of Juan de Flores, and others, like Menéndez y Pelayo, consider it a significant step in the development of the novel.

The immense popularity of the Cárcel, however, remains to be explained. James A. Flightner has seen three main characteristics that contributed to this popularity: (1) the author's awareness of time, (2) the character motivation, and (3) the realistic elements. But, these technical elements do not tell us why thousands of people all over Europe enjoyed the work for over a hundred years.
Footnotes to Chapter One

1 Diego de San Pedro, Obras completas, ed. Samuel Gili y Gaya (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1950). Omits La pasión trobada and one short obscene poem. All quotations from San Pedro's works are taken from this edition. All future references to this edition in the footnotes will appear under Gili y Gaya.


3 Orígenes de la novela (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1946), 1, 473-521. All future references to this work will appear under Orígenes.

4 Diego de San Pedro, Obras completas, ed. Keith Whinnom (Madrid: Castalia, 1972), 49. All future references to this work will appear under Whinnom.

5 Orígenes, p. 473.

6 Ibid., p. 516.

7 "Lancelot du Lac. Le conte de la Charrete," Romania, 12 (1883), 459-534.

8 De l'amour profane à l'amour sacré, Études de psychologie sentimentale au Moyen Age (Paris, n.p., 1961).

9 Earlier editors of the Cárcel (Foulché-Delbosc, 15 Biblioteca Hispánica, Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1904; Rubió Balaguér, Barcelona: Armiño, 1941), have little to add in their prolegomena. Jaime Uyá (Barcelona: Zeus, 1969), and Arturo Souto Albarce (México: Porrúa, 1971) practically plagiarized Gili y Gaya's work. Although E. Moreno Báez (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1974) makes a fine summary of the life and works of San Pedro, he does not add much to Gili y Gaya's words.

10 Whinnom repeats much of this study in Diego de San Pedro. (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974).

11 Ibid., pp. 7-9.


14 Ibid., pp. 273 and 277.
"The Beginnings of the Epistolary Novel in France, Italy and Spain," University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 21(1937), x and 158.

The Novels of Juan de Flores and their European Diffusion (New York: Institute of French Studies, 1931), passim.


"Como se ha notado sus materiales eran esencialmente medievales: temas de la poesía amorosa de cancionero, costumbrismo cortesano, tipos novelísticos convencionales... los cuales, en sus manos, cobran nueva vida. Como estilista, al contrario, pertenece del todo al pre-Renacimiento y su prosa artística constituye un eslabón en la cadena que va de Juan de Mena a Fernando de Rojas," Ibid., p.272.


"Love and honour in the novelas sentimentales of Diego de San Pedro and Juan de Flores," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, 43 (1966), 253-75.

Ibid., p.262.

Ibid., p.275.

"El mundo sentimental de la Cárceel de amor," Revista de Filología Española, 37 (1953), 168-93.

Ibid., pp. 178-79.

"Revisión de la novela sentimental," Revista de Filología Española, 48 (1965), 351-81.

La originalidad artística de "La Celestina" (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria, 1962).


Ibid., p. 376.
"El mundo," p. 171.

Ibid., p. 172.


"Allegory and the role of 'El Autor' in the Cárcel de amor," Philological Quarterly, 31 (1952), 39-44.


S. Serrano Poncela, "Dos'Werther' del renacimiento español," Asomante, 5 (1949), p. 100. Serrano finds the inspiration for this article in Luis Usoz' prologue to his Cancionero de burlas. Also Menéndez y Pelayo finds a similarity between Werther and the Cárcel: "... las tintas lugubres del cuadro y lo frenético y desgraciado de la pasión del héroe y aún el suicidio con que la narración acaba, hace pensar en el Werther y sus imitadores," Orígenes, p. 508.

Dinko Cvitanovic and Haydée Bermejo, "El sentido de la aventura espiritual en la 'Cárcel de amor';" Revista de Filología Española, 49 (1966), 291. H. T. Oostendorp, "El conflicto," p. 104, and Barbara Matulka, The novels of Juan de Flores, p. 326 disregard such comparisons. Oostendorp adds: "Leriano no se suicida en un ramalazo de locura, muere con plena entrega de sí mismo alegando razones que le inducen a despedirse de la vida: su muerte constituye un sacrificio y la última alabanza a la mujer."


María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, La originalidad artística de "La Celestina," pp. 393-455; Castro Guisasola, Observaciones sobre las fuentes literarias de "La Celestina" (Madrid: 1973).

"Love concepts in la Cárcel de amor and La Celestina," Hispania, 39 (1956), 92-96.

Chapter Two
Diego de San Pedro: "el trobador"

The reign of the Catholic Monarchs brought to Spain not only national unity, power and wealth, but also an impressive intellectual activity. Queen Isabella herself fostered education and learning. She supervised a complete reform of the education and morals of the clergy, and fomented the spread of the new humanistic learning from Italy and the Netherlands. Writers at her court were encouraged, and they multiplied under the protection of enthusiastic patrons. It was a time for experimenting with new forms imported from abroad, and a time for polishing those forms native to the homeland. Poetry, prose fiction, and drama flourished and at the same time scholars were applying themselves to the study of the Spanish language. The royal chronicler, Juan de Lucena, describes the atmosphere of the court as follows: "Jugaba el Rey, eran todos tahures; estudia la Reina, somos agora estudiantes."

The contrast with the court of Isabella's brother, Henry IV, was great. The decadence that had begun during the reign of John II in the earlier part of the century, continued to sink Castile into social, political, and economic unrest. The Cortes were divided and weak; the Church was immensely wealthy, powerful, and was made up mainly of uneducated clergymen; the nobles ignored royal authority and finally they deposed Henry in favour of his brother Alphonse. The kingdom was weak and demoralized by famine, drought, the rise in the price of staple foods, debasement
of the coinage, brigandage, violence, and sporadic outbreaks of the plague. Art and letters could not flourish in such a turbulent atmosphere. The vigorous cultural revival begun by Alphonse the Wise in the thirteenth century was dead, despite John II's earlier attempts to rekindle it. Henry and his court accurately represented the sad state of affairs. They were indolent, licentious, and totally unconcerned with the problems of the kingdom. The nobles could no longer tolerate the King's misrule, and his alleged impotence and homosexuality could not allow them to accept the succession of the Queen's daughter Joanna, reputedly fathered by the Queen's favourite, Beltrán de la Cueva.

The accession of Isabella to the throne in 1474, and her marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon was fortunate for the country. Together they reconquered power and wealth for the Castilian crown, and guided the kingdom to that peace and posterity which foments learning and artistic production.

The Queen's personal library contained an extensive variety of volumes on subjects ranging from the works of Aristotle and the classics, to Arthurian romances and novels of chivalry. The refined literary atmosphere of the court favoured feminism, and it revitalized the type of courtly love poetry that had bloomed earlier during the reign of John II. There, Diego de San Pedro found the fervent support of the ladies, together with the encouragement of his patrons, Don Juan Téllez-Girón, Alcaide de los Donceles, and Dona Marina Manuel to whom he dedicated the Cárcel de amor. He was the
courtly poet par excellence. His writings responded to the
taste, fashion, and ideology of his aristocratic milieu,
and they embodied the very subjects that occupied the minds
of his public. San Pedro's style and language reflect his
awareness of the particular literary demands of his audience.

Keith Whinnom comments on this aspect of San Pedro's
talent:

the versatility of Diego de San Pedro is note­
worthy even in the fifteenth century, not only
for the variety of forms and topics which he was
prepared to tackle, but for the chameleon-like
way in which he adapted his style and language
to the matter in hand or the audience to which
it was to be addressed. 5

Who was Diego de San Pedro? We know virtually nothing
about him. Most historians and critics of literature provide
us with little reliable biographical data. None of his works
is dated, and the dates of his birth and death are not re­
corded.

San Pedro reveals a few autobiographic data through his
works. He lived in Peñafiel in the late fifteenth century.
He spent 29 years in the service of don Juan Téllez-Girón,
presumably beginning in 1469 when don Juan became Count of
Ureña. He was a courtier engaged in the duties and pastimes
proper to his station in life. He was an experienced soldier
who fought in the war of Granada and a poet who praised the
beauty of the ladies of the court. Other information concerning
San Pedro's life and identity is mere speculation.

Several well known scholars have confused Diego de San
Pedro with two other men who have the same name. Nicolás
Antonio, the great seventeenth-century bibliographer, believed
him to be a poet of the reign of John II (1406-1454), following José Pellicer's Informe del origen, antigüedad, calidad i sucesión de la excelentísima Casa de Sarmiento de Villamayor y las unidas a ella por casamiento. Menéndez y Pelayo thought that he had "corrected" this error of identification around 1905 by mistaking our San Pedro for a lieutenant of Don Pedro Girón, who lived one generation earlier than the author of the Cárcel de amor. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori also discusses San Pedro's identity extensively, and he draws some totally unacceptable conclusions.

As Whinnom has established in his important works on San Pedro, we know that he was at the service of Juan Téllez-Girón, (the son of Don Pedro Girón), and that he lived in Peñafiel and wrote his works approximately between 1480 and 1506. But everything else we are told about San Pedro remains to be proved certain.

Gili y Gaya was the first to determine a possible chronology of San Pedro's works, based on what the poet declares in some of his writings. In the dedication of his Desprecio de la Fortuna, San Pedro reminds the Count of Ureña that he has served him for twenty-nine years (p.235). He begins this poem by repudiating his frivolous writings ("obras vanas/ y en escripturas livianas") and in particular the Cárcel de amor, and we realize through his own words that this is perhaps his last work, and that he is no longer young.

E pues carga la hedad
donde conosco mi yerro,
afuera la liviandad,
pues que ya mi vanidad
ha cumplido su destierro. (p.236)
The Cárcel de amor (first printed in 1492) was written after 1483, after the war of Granada had begun, because the author refers to the war at the beginning of his work:

Después de hecha la guerra del año pasado, viniendo a tener el inuíerno a mi pobre reposo, pasando por vnos valles hondos y escuros en la Sierra Morena. (pp.115-6)

Gili y Gaya sets the date for Arnalte y Lucenda, printed in 1491 and mentioned in the Cárcel, after 1477, because San Pedro could not have written in praise of Queen Isabella while his master was still an enemy of the Queen. We know that Juan Téllez Girón surrendered to Isabella in 1476.

As Gili y Gaya has pointed out, we have documentary evidence that San Pedro was already a lieutenant of Peñafiel in 1452, and this position could not have been occupied by a man younger than twenty-five years of age. Therefore, when we consider the age at which San Pedro could have become lieutenant, and add to this his twenty-nine years of service to the Count of Ureña, we are able to fix San Pedro's age at around fifty-eight years when he wrote the Desprecio (p.xxxii).

The same feeble data that helped scholars confuse San Pedro with the homonymous senator and poet of John II, and with the bachiller and lieutenant of Pedro Girón, supports the belief that he was a converso. Menéndez y Pelayo founded his suspicions on two questionable anecdotes told by Luis Zapata in his Miscelánea, which refer to "el que trobó la Pasió̂n". Whinnom has rightly objected to Don Marcelino's conclusion. Although San Pedro's Passion trobada was the most
popular of a dozen similar narrative poems on the Passion of Christ, there is insufficient evidence to prove that Zapata is referring to our author. Even Menéndez y Pelayo points out Zapata's tale as "fuente turbia e insegura".

Cotarelo y Mori has tried to prove San Pedro's Jewish origin basing his theory on a series of documents found in the Archivo Nacional de Madrid which concern the lineage of the Fonseca family. The evidence against the family was primarily a sambenito found in the church of Santa María de Peñafiel, dated 1494. The presence of the sambenito condemned Costanza, who was an ancestor of the Fonseca family, and the wife of a merchant from Peñafiel also called Diego de San Pedro, for being an "hereje, apóstata judeizante." Although the conclusion of the investigators and the testimony of the witnesses does not prove that this San Pedro was the author of Cárcel de amor, Cotarelo insists on his theory. As a final reason to believe in San Pedro's Jewishness, Cotarelo states that his name was typical of conversos. It is true that many Spanish Jews who converted to Christianity in the fifteenth century did take names like San Pedro, Santa María, Santa Fe, place names, illustrious names or the name of their baptismal sponsors or godfather. However, in Castile there was an old family of the lesser nobility, originally from Cantabria, who may well have been the author's family.

Stephan Gilman, following Américo Castro, has insisted on the fact that San Pedro was a "mayordomo of Don Pedro Téllez-Girón" and he concludes (without giving any supporting
evidence) that San Pedro had Jewish blood, because this office was the privilege of conversos. He also considers that the tragic ending of the Cárcel expresses the despair and hopelessness of the converso. In his opinion, suicide is the only solution for the alienated converso: "a person that might well have abandoned one faith without gaining another, a potentially lost soul, skeptical of traditional dogma and morality," a man "abandoned by God". This kind of statement may be true about some conversos, but it is certain that they do not apply to San Pedro. Gilman ignores literary tradition and assumes that suicide or dying of love is not a characteristic theme of sentimental literature. The poets of the Cancionero, after the troubadours and the Italian poets of the dolce stil nuovo, conceive death as the logical outcome of the "malady of love".

Petrarch's words, "Che bel fin fa chi ben amando muore" are echoed by Jorge Manrique, who seeks release from his torture of love in this verse:

No tardes muerte, que muero;  
ven, porque viva contigo;  
quiéreme, pues que te quiero,  
que con tu vida espero  
no tener guerra conmigo.(CGII,468)

In the "Estoria de Ardanlier e Liesa" in the Siervo libre de amor by Rodríguez de la Cámara, Ardanlier commits suicide when he finds his beloved Liesa murdered by his father. Numerous popular legends, like the Leyenda de la Peña de los Enamorados, have the lovers willingly taking their lives rather than renouncing their love. In several tales of Boccaccio's Decamerone, especially number IV - "Guiscardo e
Segismunda", the lovers are punished with death or commit suicide. Moreover, the sadness that characterizes Leriano is not what Gilman describes as the hopelessness of the *converso*, but the attitude of a lover in the best courtly love tradition, what Otis Green calls the amor tristeza of Ausias March who exclaims in the first line of his Cants **d’amor**: "Qui no es trist de mos dictats no cur" and causes Santillana to cry in despair "sacatme/ de tan grand pena e sentit mi mal: e si lo denegades, acabatme."

Leriano's death is that of the perfect lover, and his last thought sums up the creed of the courtly love poets: "quien amando es desdichado/ y sin ser querido quiere,/ no vive hasta que muere". There is the resonance of a "consummatum est" in Leriano's words, but such use of sacred subjects in a profane context is also characteristic of the "religion of love", and only too common in the fifteenth century, C. S. Lewis has observed that

*When he [Lancelot] comes before the bed where she [Guinevere] lies he kneels and adores her: as Chrétien explicitly tells us: there is no corseyn in whom he has greater faith. When he leaves her chamber he makes a genuflexion as if he were before a shrine. The irreligion of the religion of love could hardly go further . . ."*

The **Missa de amor** by Suero de Ribera, the **Manual de confesores y penitentes** by Martín de Azpilcueta, **Los diez mandamientos de amor** by Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara (or del Padrón), and Diego de San Pedro's own **Sermón** are good examples of the application of sacred liturgy within the "religion of love". The Inquisition condemned this practice, and called Leriano's "Prueba por enxemplos la bondad de las mugeres" a heresy. If
we view the religion of love against the Christian religion it mimics, as Menéndez y Pelayo and Gili y Gaya did, we must agree that it is heretical. But once we study it only under the light of the literary tradition it represents, it appears as a glorification of love expressed in terms of religion, the loftiest human experience.

Father Alexander J. Denomy observes that although the troubadour's concept of love is at variance with Christian morality and is irreconcilable with the doctrine of the Church:

there is no indication, implied or explicit, that they were conscious of anything shocking, irreverent or disrespectful in invoking divine assistance to further their quest for what in Christianity is immoral. They do not seem to be conscious of the sinfulness and immorality of their concept. 19

Father Denomy declares the religion of love amoral and totally unconcerned ideologically with Religion.

It is idle to pursue further the subject of San Pedro's presumed Jewishness, since, whether or not he was a converso, his work remains that of a courtly poet who sought to please his audience with works that reflect his literary consciousness. San Pedro's writings should not be approached from a religious point of view; they are the creation of a poet familiar with literary tradition, Latin rhetoric, and the contemporary atmosphere. San Pedro was mainly interested in entertaining his readers, in writing what Whinnom accurately calls "best sellers"(p.130).

A brief survey of San Pedro's literary production will help us to appreciate the versatile artistry of the author
of Cárce de amor.

San Pedro's earliest works, La Passión trobada and Las siete angustias de Nuestra Señora have a religious theme that contrasts sharply with his later courtly poems and novels. However, both works respond to religious literary trends which were very popular in the late Middle Ages. La Passión enjoyed extraordinary success. It could still be found among devotional readings in the nineteenth century, despite many mutilations and corrections. In Keith Whinnom's opinion, one of the factors that contributed to its diffusion and popularity was that it was a "very early Spanish response to an emotional need which had been felt in varying intensity throughout Europe for at least two hundred years." Whinnom adds that people aspired to a closer relationship with God, free from the tremendous obstacles that the Church had imposed. San Pedro's La passión trobada, like Thomas à Kempis' Imitation of Christ, urged devotion to Christ, and insisted on the importance of spiritual life and on imitating Christ's example. In other words, it returned man to his original beliefs, the message of the Gospels, which were now corrupted by apocryphal tradition and theology. Las siete angustias is a modest religious poem in the same tone of La passión. It is full of the charming simplicity characteristic of the literary tradition it represents, the singing of the Seven Joys and the parallel Seven Sorrows of the Holy Virgin, a theme first glossed in Spain by Alfonso el Sabio in his Cantigas de Santa María.

Despite the popularity of these two religious poems, San Pedro abandoned the devotional themes entirely in favor of the courtly love tradition. Undoubtedly, the great popularity
of the romances of chivalry and the *Cancionero* poetry dominated the atmosphere of the court and San Pedro's aristocratic audience expected him to compose romantic verse and prose.

San Pedro's love poems are those typical of a courtly poet, inspired as their headings indicate, by incidents of his life as a courtier: "una (poesía) que hizo a una dama de la reyna doña Isabel," "Del mismo porque algunos presumían que sirvió secreto a una dama y él por desfazelles su opinión dice que nos muestra," "Del mismo porque dio una carta de amores en un guante a una dama, y ella de desenbuelta la mostró a unos caballeros que la servían porque burlasen del; y él supolo y embiole estas coplas" (pp. 213-32).

Like the *Cancionero* poets, San Pedro had the spontaneity, wit, and linguistic and rhetorical capacity to rephrase old themes and render them into fresh and ingenious poems. Most of these poems are conceived within the courtly love tradition and suggest the romantic atmosphere of the court where groups of aristocratic men and women were mainly concerned with art, love and war. San Pedro writes assuming the role of a courtly lover who suffers hopelessly:

"E sufro este trago fuerte
donde ay dolores tan fuertes,
por ver si podrá mi suerte
despedir con una muerte
la muerte de tantas muertes." (p. 214)

and freely applies the language of the religion of love:

*Quando, señora, entre nos
oy la Passión se dezía,
bién podeys creerme vos*
*que sembrando la de Dios*
*nasció el dolor de la mía." (p. 220)
San Pedro's courtly works were designed to please his group of friends at the court and his master the Count of Ureña. Hence, shortly after Ureña had declared allegiance to Queen Isabella, San Pedro wrote a panegyric in praise of the Queen in order to reiterate his loyalty, and that of his master.

Arnalte y Lucenda is San Pedro's first sentimental novel and together with the Sermón is considered a precursor of the Cárce1. The role of this novel as a "primer esbozo" of Cárce1 de amor will be discussed in a later chapter.

The Sermón ordenado por Diego de San Pedro, porque dixer0 unas señores que le deseaban oir predicar (pp. 99-111), is a code for lovers written within the tradition of the treatises of love popular throughout the Middle Ages and whose most famous exponents were Ovid's Ars Amatoria and Andreas Capellanus' De arte honeste amandi. San Pedro follows the rules of the mediaeval religious learned sermon, though he finds his thema in the Gospel according to San Afición which is designed to advise the ladies and nobles of the court about the appropriate conduct of love.

The author's mastery of rhetoric, and his versatility as a writer, are evident in the skilful development of his Sermón. He practiced the rigid rules of the learned sermon with no difficulty. Thema, prothema, and peroratio or clausio are carefully elaborated in the language and terms of the religion of love. He often exaggerates his examples in order to amuse the ladies of the audience, in the manner of Ovid in the Ars Amatoria and Andreas in the De arte honoste amandi. For instance:
¿Cómo, señoras, no es bien que conozcays la obediente voluntad con que vuestros siervos no quieren ser nada suyos por serlo del todo vuestros? ¡que trasportados en vuestro merescimiento, ni tienen seso para fablar, ni razón para responder, ni sienten por do van, ni saben por do vienen, ni fablan a propósito, ni se mudan por concierto: estando en la yglesia y al cabo del altar, preguntan si es hora de comer. O quantas vezes les acaesce tener el manjar en la mano entre la boca y el plato por gran espacio, no sabiendo de desacordados quien lo ha de comer, ellos o el platel! Quando se van a acostar preguntan si amanesce, e quando se levantan preguntan si ya es de noche.(p.108)

San Pedro applies the precepts of his Sermón in the Cárcel de amor, where the unfortunate Leriano exemplifies the perfect lover in the best Arthurian tradition, though not in the humorous manner described above.

San Pedro was primarily concerned with pleasing his audience. Thus, the form and content of his entire literary production reflect the taste and ideas fashionable among fifteenth-century Spanish courtiers. The same adaptable skill that rendered all his works successful, lead San Pedro to create his perfect courtly romance.
Footnotes to Chapter Two

1 A good account of the historical background can be found in Luis Suárez Hernández, Juan Mata Carriazo and Manuel Fernández Alzárez, La España de los Reyes Católicos (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1969), and in John H. Elliot, Imperial Spain 1469-1716 (London: Arnold, 1963).

2 Juan de Lucena, "Epístola exhortatoria a las letras," in Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI, ed. A. Paz y Melía (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1892), cited by Whinnom, p.32.

3 Jacobo Ornstein, "La misoginia y el profeminismo en la literatura castellana," Revista de Filología Hispánica, 3 (1941), 219-32.

4 Both Doña Marina Manuel and the Alcaide de los Concejos were connected to the Téllez Girón by marriage. Cotarelo wrongly identified Doña Marina Manuel with a certain María Manuel born after 1510. Whinnom rectifies this mistake in his article "The Mysterious Marina Manuel," Studia Iberica: Festschrift für Hans Flasche (Bern: 1973), 689-95.

5 Whinnom, p.130.


7 Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, "Nuevos y curiosos datos biográficos del famosos trovador y novelista Diego de San Pedro," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, 14 (1927), 305-26. Though Cotarelo y Mori's evidence has proved to be inaccurate by Whinnom in "Was Diego de San Pedro a converso?" Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, 34 (1957), 187-200, Gili y Gaya use it as a basis for their own conjectures about the author. Gili y Gaya does not hesitate to declare that "E. Cotarelo reveló indicios suficientes para pensar que hubo entre sus antepasados algunos judíos conversos." pp.xxiv-xxv.

8 Orígenes, p.501.

9 E. Cotarelo y Mori, "Nuevos y curiosos datos," p.312.

10 See K. Whinnom, "Was Diego de San Pedro a converso?" P.189.

11 The Spain of Fernando de Rojas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p.263. Gilman mistakes the name of Juan Téllez Girón for Pedro. He was probably thinking of Don Juan's father.
It was the belief of serious writers that love could cause death. From Ancient times, love was considered an often mortal disease. The troubadours were only giving a poetic interpretation to this well-established theory when they pointed out that death was the healer of the "maladye." See Massimo Ciavolella, "La tradizione della malattia d'amore dal mondo classico alla scriptum super cantilena Guidonis Cavalcantibus di Dino del Garbo," Diss. University of British Columbia, 1973, p. 14.


Pedro Manuel Ximénez de Urrea, Cancionero, p. 388, cited in Otis Green, The Literary Mind, p. 62. Also see Pedro Salinas, Jorge Manrique o tradición y originalidad (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1947), where Salinas studies in depth the tradition of poetry and the torment of the unattainable love of the troubadours.


Both Gili y Gaya and Whinnom believe La passión trobada to be San Pedro's earliest work. The discovery of a manuscript version of the poem in an anthology dated 1480 reinforces their hypothesis. Las siete angustias de Nuestra Señora is thought to have been written at about the same date as the Passiôn, although the earliest printed version of this poem is included in the first edition of the Arnalte y Lucenda (Burgos, 1491).

Whinnom, p. 46.

Whinnom, p. 59.

Whinnom, p. 119.
Chapter Three

The courtly love tradition and the Cárce de amor

Menéndez y Pelayo pointed out that Arnalte y Lucenda was a primer esbozo of the Cárce, and that the antecedents of San Pedro's novel were Boccaccio's Fiammetta, the Historia de duobus amantibus Euralius et Lucretia by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, and the Siervo libre de amor by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón and their imitations. Literary historians have continued to repeat this theory without examining the important differences that exist between these works and the Cárce. The first two novels belong to a different genre than the Cárce, and the Siervo has its origins in the Arthurian romances rather than in the Ovidian tale or the novella. The antecedents of the Cárce de amor are to be found not so much in the Fiammetta and the Historia, but rather in a general trend towards amorous stories rooted in the escuela provenzal, the roman courtois, and the love poetry of Italy known as the dolce stil nouvo.

Boccaccio's novella and Piccolomini's tale reflect the taste for sentimental stories that characterizes the literary atmosphere of the period, and they signify the beginning of a bourgeois novelistic genre which had little repercussion in Castilian literature at the time of Diego de San Pedro. The influence of the novella does not appear in Castile until the publication of the novels of Juan de Flores, around 1495. A brief description of the Spanish sentimental novel before San Pedro together with the novels of
Piccolomini and Boccaccio will show how little they intervened in the elaboration of the **Cárcel de amor**.

The **Siervo libre de amor** of Juan Rodríguez del Padrón is considered to be the first Spanish sentimental novel. It is divided into three allegorical parts. The author explains the meaning of this in the prologue:

> El siguiente tractado es departido en tres partes principales, según tres diversos tiempos que en él contiene, figurados por tres caminos y tres árboles consagrados, que se refieren a tres partes del alma, es a saber, al corazón y al libre albedrío y al entendimiento e a tres varios pensamientos de aquellos. La primera parte prosigue el tiempo que bien amó y fue amado; figurado por el verde arrayan, plantado en la espaciosa vía que dicen de bien amar, por do siguió el corazón en el tiempo que bien amaba. La segunda se refiere al tiempo que bien amó y fue desamado por el árbol del paraíso, plantado en la desciente vía que es la desesperación, por do quisiera seguir el desesperante libre albedrío. La tercera y final trata el tiempo que no amó ni fue amado; figurado por la verde oliva, plantado en la muy agra y angosta senda, que el siervo entendimiento bien quisiera seguir.

Technically speaking, the novel is divided into two parts:

1) the main plot in which the principal character is the author. This section can be considered intimate or sentimental because of its analysis of personal experience; and because it is primarily concerned with love, and

2) an interpolated romantic fiction with the title of **Estoria de los dos amadores Ardanlier y Liesa**.

The **Siervo**, like all sentimental novels, is autobiographical and is written in the form of a letter from the author in answer to a friend's inquiry about an unfortunate love affair. Occasionally there are poems interspersed in the narrative
as at the beginning of the Arnalte. Also like the Arnalte, the Siervo is developed according to elaborate mediaeval rhetoric, with the author using allegory to express the emotional experience.

The Estoria de dos amadores is told in the third person, although the author also uses some letters written by him in the first person, and intervenes with headings such as "Fabla el Auctor", "Fabla el entendimiento", "Lamidoras, y dize", "El autor prosigue la Estoria", or simply giving the name of the speaker. The Estoria contains six poems with varying degrees of relevance to the context of the narrative and the description of an allegorical landscape. The story is based on elements from the story of Doña Inés de Castro and the chivalresque legends of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. The Prince Ardanlier loves Liesa, but his father, the King, is opposed to their relationship. As a result, the two lovers run away from the court and live in several foreign courts where Ardanlier wins great fame through his courage. Later, when they are living in a palace in the forest, the King discovers them and murders Liesa in the absence of Ardanlier. The Prince commits suicide when he finds Liessa dead.

The Siervo has two important imitations in Castile, the Sátira de felice e infelice vida of the Condestable de Portugal (1468), and the Repetición de amores by Luis de Lucena. The first work follows the Siervo closely, but does not have an interpolated story. There is a reference to Ardanlier and a defense of "ilustres mugeres", and the narration is adorned
with a display of classical erudition in the form of glosas. Lucena amplifies one of these glosses on Cupid in his Repetición in order to comment on the copla Maldezir de mugeres by Pere Torrellas. Lucena develops his story of unhappy love in the same fashion as his predecessors, and when he is rejected by the lady, turns to a vituperation of women in general.

Pamela Waley includes the anonymous novel Triste deleytación in her brief review of the sentimental novel before Juan de Flores. The Triste deleytación seems to be of Catalan origin although it is written in Castilian and follows a pattern similar to that of the Sátira and the Repetición.

We also find in Catalonia several novelletes sentimentals unknown to Menéndez y Pelayo. This genre seems to have been more popular among Catalan writers, perhaps due to their earlier contact with Provençal and Italian literature, and although there are important differences among them, they share the same concern with the sentimental. They contain diverse elements common to most sentimental novels, such as the autobiographical framework, the use of allegory, the praise or blame of women, references to visions and dreams, mythological and classical allusions, didactic elements, mixture of verse and prose, Latinized syntax, speeches, letters, etc.

The Siervo libre de amor and its imitations can be considered as forerunners of the CárceI, because they contain elements used by San Pedro in his novel, elements that constitute the basic characteristics of the sentimental novel. The Siervo, like the CárceI, springs from the Arthurian tradition, although
they seem to have been inspired by different sources. The adventures of Ardanlier and Liesaa in the forest are reminiscent of those of Tristan and Iseult. Like Tristan and Iseult the Fair, the lovers portrayed by Rodríguez enjoy their love fully and they do not follow the conventions of courtly love, even though Ardanlier, like Tristan, is an accomplished knight. The romance of Tristan was written sometime in the twelfth century, before courtly love became a common topic in the courts of Poitiers and the subject matter of much poetry and fiction. Therefore, the main difference between the Estoria and the Carcel, is that the former finds inspiration in the story of "l'amant éternel tel qu'il est", and the latter in the convention of "l'amant tel qu'il doit être".  

The titles of the two novels by San Pedro and Rodríguez underline their relationship in terms of their content, and their recourse to allegory and to the courtly love tradition. Rodríguez del Padrón describes his servitude of love in the terms of the courtly code of love. Despite the didactic intention of the Siervo ("para que sientas la gran fallía de los amadores y poca fianza de los amigos"), it was its glorification of love and lovers that gave it fame and accounted for its influence upon Rodríguez' followers. 

The two most influential aspects of the Siervo were the author's profeminist attitude, later developed in his Triunfo de las donas, and his concern for the lady's honour. This is evident in the works of Lucena, of the Condestable de Portugal, in the Triste deleytación and in San Pedro's Cárcel de
amor.

Menéndez y Pelayo and others maintain that "los verdaderos e inmediatos modelos de la novela erótica hay que buscar en Italia", namely in the Fiammetta by Giovanni Boccaccio, which Menéndez considers a "curiosísimo ensayo de psicología femenina". Evidently this work enjoyed a tremendous popularity in Spain. The Marquis of Santillana makes Boccaccio one of the protagonists in his Comedieta de Ponza, and the Catalan Rocaberti includes Pamphilus and Fiammetta in his Comedia de la gloria de amor. But popular as it was, and even though it may have influenced the Spanish erotic novel in general, the Fiammetta has nothing in common with the Cárcel. Its content, characters, and mood are entirely different from those of San Pedro's novel.

Boccaccio's novella tells the story of an adulterous love affair between a married woman and an unscrupulous man. The lofty principles of ideal love and honour defended by troubadour and Cancionero poets are absent from the Fiammetta. The protagonists are involved in a sexual affair, and Fiammetta's passionate complaint of her being abandoned and Pamphilus' cynical attitude are in contradiction with the romantic ideal of courtly love portrayed in the Cárcel. Pamphilus and Fiammetta are bourgeois hero and heroine, victims of a "yerro común" which Pamela Waley considers to be "a step away from the indispensable hyperbole of chivalresque fiction and towards the human intelligibility of Calisto and Melibea."

The Historia de duobus amantibus, like the Fiammetta,
is inspired by Ovidian erotic material, and despite its obscenity (which caused the author great embarrassment when he later became Pope Pius II) it was written with a didactic intention, or as Menéndez y Pelayo puts it, with "interés profundamente histórico y humano." It is clear that San Pedro had Aeneas Silvius' work in mind when he wrote the Arnalte, but in the Cárce de amor he eliminated the Ovidian elements of his first novel and of the Estoria. For this reason Rudolph Schevill does not classify the Cárce or the Servo libre de amor as Ovidian tales. Some of the striking similarities between the Arnalte and the Historia pointed out by Schevill and that set them apart from the Cárce are: the hero falling in love at the funeral of the lady's father, the lover disguising himself as a woman, his confiding his secret to a friend with disastrous results, the lady's yielding to the threat of his absence, and the quoting of Ovidian precepts and maxims.

The only Ovidian features of the Cárce de amor are the use of letters and the intervention of a go-between. The Ovidian sounding echoes we find in the Cárce from the Arnalte are not necessarily Ovidian, and the differences between the two novels of San Pedro are more important than the similarities. In fact, San Pedro was well aware of the correspondence between both works, as he declares in his letter to Don Diego Hernández, Alcayde de los Donzeles:

Podré ser reprehendido si en lo que agora escriuo tornare a dezir algunas razones de las que en otras cosas he dicho; . . . porque como he hecho otra escritura de la calidad de esta, no es de marauillar que la memoria desfallesca;(p.115)
Both novels begin in the same way, with the author wandering in a wilderness and meeting with a disdained lover who, after a meal, tells his story. In Cárcel de amor, the author heightens both the lyricism and the realism of his narration by integrating the allegorical vision with a concrete physical setting, the Sierra Morena after the summer campaign. Arnalte tells his story to the author who passes it onto the ladies of the court, as was Arnalte's desire. Leriano only explains his present condition in order to beg for the help of the Auctor. The Auctor then becomes an active participant in the story, and thus his second narrative becomes a more complete and unified novel in which all elements are harmoniously and realistically combined.

Another important difference between the two novels is the fact that the plot is much more carefully planned in the Cárcel and the characters are more dignified. Leriano and Laureola behave according to their superior social status. When Leriano loses all hope, he simply lets himself die as befits a perfect lover. It is precisely Leriano's character as a perfect lover and knight that sets him apart from Arnalte, and renders the Cárcel a romantic or sentimental novel instead of an Ovidian tale.

Arnalte is conceived according to Ovid's instructions in his Ars amatoria. When Arnalte falls in love with Lucenda he resorts, as Ovid advises, to all the stratagems he can think of in order to win her affection. He does not hesitate to compromise her honour by making public show of his feelings for her, as when he has musicians serenade her from the
street (p.27), sends his page to enter her household fur-
tively (p.20), forces a letter upon her even in the pre-
sence of the Queen (pp.35-36); follows her to her room (p.36),
and lies to her. Also, Ovidian comic elements of the Ar-
nalte (dressing in women's clothes or the servant searching
for a letter in the rubbish) are absent from the Cárcel.

Arnalte's unheroic character is further evident when
he accuses Lucenda of cruelty for having rejected him after
he killed her husband, and he conceitedly adds:

porque a mí perdonando loada tú seas, el pe-
sar con plazer matizé, porque todas tus vir-
tudes eran conocidas y ésta encubierta; el
cual perdón si non fazes, mucho de reprehender
serás."(p.72)

Arnalte's unchivalrous behaviour undermines the con-
cept of a grand passion, and consequently his sufferings and
final self-exile seem unconvincing. However, some traits of
Arnalte y Lucenda are precursors of the ideal lovers of Cár-
cel de amor. Despite his violence and selfishness, Arnalte
suffers from the malady of love. He does not set out in search
of a woman, as Ovid advises, but is instantly struck by Lucenda's
beauty in the manner of a courtly lover. Only a few minutes
after seeing her at her father's funeral, he shows the symp-
toms of enamoramiento: "enmudecido sin más detenerme fuy
la soledad a buscar para que ella e mis pensamientos compa-
ñía me fiziesen"(p.20), an attitude echoed in the Cárcel
when Leriano withdraws to his Prison of Love after meeting
Laureola (p.122).

Lucenda and Laureola, on the other hand, are two repre-
sentatives of the same prototype, for ladies play a passive
role in both Ovidian and courtly love traditions. The only difference between Lucenda and Laureola is their social class. Laureola is a princess, and she is therefore more proud and inflexible than Lucenda. The Auctor has to be very tactful before telling her about Leriano, and when he can finally plead on Leriano's behalf, she is piadosa but inflexible, as befits a lady of the highest rank (p.132).

Arnalte combines the feelings of courtly love with the conduct advised by Ovid, which is in contradiction with the principles of courtly love. San Pedro must have noticed the incongruencies in Arnalte's personality, for when he decided to write a better story of love, he shaped the lover entirely on courtly ideals, eliminating the Ovidian features.

The Cárcel de amor signifies a departure from the Ovidian tradition of Arnalte and Estoria de duobus amantibus in content and style. In the Cárcel, these two aspects are provided for by the Sermón which San Pedro wrote between his two novels. The theory of love preached by San Pedro in his Sermón was inspired by the Provençal and Breton love literatures rather than by the psychological and sensual novella of the Italian Renaissance, which was closer to Ovid than to the idealistic teachings of courtly love; but before examining the code of behaviour that San Pedro put into practice in the Cárcel, it will be useful to outline the characteristics of the courtly love tradition, its rules, and development.

We do not know exactly how or where the courtly love tradition originated. Some scholars, among them Gaston Paris (who introduced the term courtly love in 1883), Ernst R.
Curtius, C. S. Lewis and Samuel Gili y Gaya believe that the idea of courtly love was introduced sometime during the eleventh or twelfth centuries by the French troubadours:

"Courtly love . . . appears quite suddenly at the end of the eleventh century in Languedoc . . . French poets discovered, or invented, or were the first to express, that romantic species of passion." 21

John Jay Perry, among others, traces back to Ovid the origins of courtly love; Father Alexander Denomy traces it to Avicenna; Ramon Menéndez Pidal suggests a possible link between the erotic literature of Muslim Spain; and Peter Dronke claims that all aspects of courtly love are universal and can be found in Egypt, Bizantium, Georgia, the Islamic world, Mozarabic Spain, France, Germany, Iceland, Greece and Italy. But as far as the purpose of the present work goes, we do not need to pursue the origins of courtly love any further. However, it is necessary to indicate the way in which the diverse elements of courtly love seem to have developed into the code of love expounded in Andreas Capellanus' treatise, *De arte honeste amandi*.

In the Middle Ages, the most influential works dealing with the subject of love were those of the poet Ovid written during the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus. They were the *Ars amatoria*, a parody, which was often taken seriously, of the technical treatises of Ovid's day, teaching the art and techniques of love; a supplement of the *Ars* called *Amores* which recounts some of Ovid's amorous experiences; and the *Remedia Amoris* which teaches how to end a love affair. For Ovid, love was a
purely sensual experience as it was traditionally conceived in ancient literature, and his intention in writing his erotic poems was to amuse his audience with a supposedly serious treatise on the art of seduction.

Some of the concepts contained in Ovid's poems are the basis of what later writers would develop into a system of love, and use as examples in works of prose and poetry. Examples of these theories are: (1) love only exists in an extramarital relationship, (2) the best partner in a love affair is a married woman, (3) the affair needs to be kept secret because secrecy makes the affair more enjoyable and (4) the man should undergo all kinds of hardships in order to prove his love for his lady, never oppose her slightest wish, watch all night before her doors, perform all kinds of absurd actions, and become pale, thin and sleepless for the love of her.

Ovid's poems were extremely popular during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were circulated both in Latin and in the vernaculars, and were often rewritten to adapt their content to mediaeval society. They were cited or assimilated in vernacular works in France, England, and Spain. Ovidian material combined with other elements in the south of France and gave birth to a new erotic sensitivity. The principles and conduct ironically recommended by Ovid became seriously pursued in mediaeval society and were integrated into the so-called Religion of Love.

The spirit behind the courtly love of the troubadour
poetry and the roman courtois is entirely different from that of Ovid's work. The Ovidian concept that love is a kind of warfare, where every lover is a soldier with Cupid as a general is also the creed of courtly love, but in courtly love, the lady becomes the feudal suzerain of the lover. This superior status of the lady, together with the concept of perfect love as unfulfilled desire, is the main difference between the Ovidian and the courtly traditions.

In the tradition of courtly love, the lover addresses the lady humbly and pays service to her, or to Cupid through her, in what has been called the "feudalization" of love. The lover calls the lady midons meaning "my lord" and he owes her blind obedience and silent acquiescence in her rebukes, however unjust. The lover's love is represented as a despairing and tragic emotion, and his attitude and that of his lady are a solemn amatory ritual. The very sophisticated and gentle nature of the lovers' relationship makes this relation possible only among the high born. Only the noble and courteous can love, and their loving increases their courtesy.

This idealization of the erotic experience into the category of noble servitude of love and into the Religion of Love has not been satisfactory explained. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Alfred Jeanroy and Alexander Denomy, among others, have attributed the change that the Ovidian erotic attitude underwent to the influence exerted by the culture of Muslim Spain. After the fall of the Caliphate of Cordova (1031), Moorish Spain was divided into twenty small but prosperous kingdoms or taifas. The atmosphere in these taifas was one
of luxury and culture, where literature was encouraged.

Poets wandered from court to court singing their poems in exchange for shelter, food and wine, and many found patrons among the many poetry lovers found in the taifas, very much like the troubadours of southern France would do a century later. The Arabs had two different attitudes towards love: one sensual in the manner of Ovid (and perhaps influenced by him) and another very spiritual tradition which is apparently based upon the work of Plato and best exemplified in The Dove's Neck Ring by the Andalusian poet Ibn Hazm in 1022. Ibn Hazm defines love as a reunion of parts of the soul in search for beauty because "the soul is beautiful and passionately desires anything beautiful, and inclines towards perfect images."

According to him, true love makes the lover better:

How many a stingy man becomes generous, and a gloomy becomes bright faced, and a coward becomes brave, and a grouchy-dispositioned one becomes gay, and an ignoramus becomes clever, and a slovenly one in his personal appearance 'dolled up', and an ill shaped one becomes handsome. 26

Only the noble can experience love: "Among the praiseworthy natural gifts and noble character and excellent characteristics in love and elsewhere is faithfulness." Regardless of the beloved's rank, the lover is always humble before her.

"The surprising thing which happens in love is the subservience of the lover to his beloved," and though Ibn Hazm not condemn the physical aspect of love, he considers "the union of souls a thousand times finer in its effects than that of the bodies."
Despite the many similarities between the new romantic attitude of Languedoc to the Arabic tradition of Platonic love, we have no concrete evidence that there was a contact between the troubadours and the Arabic world, although John Jay Parry assures us that William of Aquitaine introduced the Arabic elements in the court of Ebles II of Ventadorn.

Another important influence upon the erotic ideology of Provence seems to have been Catharism. In his important study of this theory, Denis de Rougemont underlines some characteristics of Catharism that seem to point towards some of the concepts of the courtly love tradition. The Catharist heresy appeared in southern France simultaneously with courtly poetry and was a revival of the Manicheism of India and Persia, combined with surviving Celtic beliefs.

The Manicheans wanted a mystical union with God and hated to be human. They rejected the carnal aspect of their beings and considered the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation a scandal. They believe that:

"God is love. But the world He created is evil . . . Man is a fallen angel, imprisoned in matter, and on that account subject to the laws of the body in particular the most oppressive of these, the law of procreation." 31

They taught those who were perfect should not touch women, including their wives if they were married. Only the common believers were allowed to consummate their marriages and concern themselves with worldly affairs. The perfect believers sought to reunite themselves with God through death and by intercession of the Virgin Mary, whom they considered to be the Third person of the Trinity. Therefore, we find in
Manichean writings constant expressions of their longing for death, which is said to have been awakened by a woman in the same way that the suffering courtly lover seeks to release himself, through death, from the torments caused by his beloved. This heresy was also called the Church of Love and according to some critics it had a secret code of signs and symbols which also appears in the troubadour poetry, and which figure prominently in the first courtly romance, \textit{Tristan and Iseult}.

According to De Rougemont, Manicheism synthesized many of the beliefs of the pre-Christian cults of Europe, particularly the Celtic. The predominant surviving myth of the Celts featured a woman as the most prominent figure. She stirred up the belief in immortality and can be considered as the symbol of eternal desire. Consequently, she is also "the dark lady, one whose dwelling is in darkness and whose charm is fatal." Iseult, Tristan's beloved and the first literary example of the lady suzerain, is believed to symbolize this woman.

Whether the troubadour concept of love and women had its origins in Manicheism alone, in Arabic culture, in a change in human feeling as C. S. Lewis proposes (though he hurries to add that "some of the mystery remains inviolate"), or in a basic universal feeling common to all pagan cultures, remains to be proved. The fact is that we find elements of all these possible sources of the courtly-erotic attitude in the poetry of Provence and in the \textit{matière de Bretagne}. The change of attitude from Ovidian sensuality to the glorification of women and chaste love did take place sometime to-
wards the end of the eleventh century and was perhaps due to a combination of all the above mentioned factors.

There are some indications that the actual fusion of the various elements took place at the court of Viscount Ebles II of Ventadorn, a friend of William of Aquitaine, the first troubadour of whom we have record. The most famous poet of Ebles, Bernart de Ventadorn, was responsible for introducing the new erotic ideas into the north of France when Duke William's granddaughter, Eleanor of Aquitaine, became queen. Both Eleanor and Bernart cultivated the new philosophy of love, first in Paris against considerable opposition on the part of her first husband Louis of France, and later in London with the support of her second husband Henry II of England.

Eleanor's sons and daughters were patrons of literature. Prince Richard wrote poetry of his own and Countess Marie made Troyes, her husband's capital, into a literary center. The most famous figure of Marie's court, Chrétien (whose full name is not known), was responsible for incorporating the doctrine of courtly love in one of the most famous of Arthurian romances, Lancelot du Lac or Le conte de la Charrette.

Probably around the same time that Chrétien de Troyes was writing the Lancelot, Andreas, the Chaplain of Marie's royal court, wrote his De arte honeste amandi. Andreas' book, like Ovid's poems, was an ironically didactic work on the art of love written at the direction of the countess. Andreas gathered the main elements of troubadour poetry and of romans
like Lancelot, and organized them into a treatise that, despite the obviously humorous nature of its first two books, was taken seriously by many. In Spain it was used as a textbook for the courts of love established in Barcelona by King John of Aragon (1350-1496) and his wife Violant de Bar. However, Andreas' book also portrayed the conditions of the courts of Poitiers and Troyes, where courtly love was practised in literature and in real life.

The De arte honeste amandi is divided into three books which correspond roughly to the three Ovidian poems from which Andreas took some of his inspiration. In Book Two we find the rules of love as they were supposedly given to a British knight at King Arthur's court by Cupid, the King of Love. The thirty-one rules of love summarize what Andreas has already said in Book One and they can be narrowed down to a few basic principles:

a) Love cannot exist in marriage though a lover should prefer to love a married woman.

b) Although mixed love (physically fulfilled desire) is permissible, perfect love (physically unfulfilled desire) is to be preferred.

c) Secrecy is essential in a love affair, for a secret love is much pleasanter.

d) A true lover considers as good nothing except what he thinks pleases his beloved, and each of his acts should end in the thought of her. He also ought to sleep and eat little and undergo all kinds of vicissitudes for his beloved's sake.

Book Three, unlike Remedia amoris, offers advice to avoid falling in love and stresses the author's didactic intention:

Read my art of love, not as one seeking to take up the life of a lover, but that invigorated by the theory and trained to excite the minds of
women to love, one may, by refraining from so
doing, win an eternal recompense and thereby
deserve reward from God. 41

Andreas points out the evil effects of love on soul and body,
and he attacks women in a long antifeminist diatribe.

The De arte honeste amandi sums up the ideas of courtly
love, showing the procedures that should be followed by
lovers in diverse aristocratic levels, such as between a man
of the lesser nobility and a lady of the higher nobility or
vice versa. Andreas' concept of love does not at first seem
very different from Ovid's. It appears essentially as lust:

A certain inborn suffering from the sight of
and excessive meditation upon the beauty of
the opposite sex which causes each one to
wish each other's embraces and by common de­sire to carry out all of love's precepts in
the other's embrace.43

The allegorical concept of Love as a king or general who
recruits men to serve him, is common to both Ovidian and court­ly tradition. The symptoms and effects of love are the same
as well as the emphasis on the extramarital nature of love.
Some of the ways in which the lover ought to prove his love
for his lady (to become pale, thin and sleepless, to watch
all night before her doors and undergo all sort of hardship
for her sake) are also the same. But what for Ovid is a game
of mutual deceit in which, as in warfare, all stratagems to
win the beloved are permitted, for Andreas is a complex social
convention in which the lover is to win the lady's love through
his virtue, prowess and intelligent arguments. Furthermore,
while for Ovid the basic reason for loving is to satisfy one's
lust for a person of the opposite sex, for Andreas and his
world the aim of loving is the experience of loving itself
and consequently, unsatisfied desire is considered as perfect love.

Andreas even approves and encourages all that fans and provokes desire, for desire is the means towards the final end of courtly love, the ennobling of the lover. Capellanus condemns impure love that is founded on sensuality for sensuality's sake and finds true love mixed with pure sensuality permissible, though less desirable than pure love. In other words, for courtly lovers, true love means a powerful desire to be one in body and soul with the beloved, not for the sake of sexual gratification, but for the sake of enjoying the state of being in love which at the same time, ennobles the lover. The reward of courtly love is to awaken in the beloved the same desire for the lover. We may conclude then, that the main characteristics that set courtly love apart from Ovidian eroticism are:

a) The concept of perfect love as an ever-insatiating and ever-increasing desire.

b) The elevation of the beloved to a position of superiority over the lover.

c) The ennobling force of love.

These three concepts inspired Diego de San Pedro when he decided to create in Cárcel de amor a better love story than Arnalte y Lucenda. For the closer the lovers conform to these ideals, the more perfect their love is and the more exemplary they are as lovers.

The courtly tradition reached Spain at a later date. We know it was practiced in Catalonia during the reign of John of Aragon (1350-1396) and later in Castile during the
The courts of love established by King John and his wife in Catalonia had a different spirit from those conducted by Queen Eleanor and Countess Marie. Most of the affairs consisted of lengthy discussions of problem of love-casuistry, and had very strict rules. However, courtly love poetry flourished in Catalonia and indeed contributed to some extent to the Provençal troubadour poetry. According to José Amador de los Ríos, it is possible that the active literary life of the Aragonese Kingdom influenced the Castilian court; but Castile must have known the Galician-Portuguese Cantigas de amigo inspired by Provençal poetry. Imitations of Provençal poetry began to be written in Galician in the second half of the twelfth century, since Provençal poetry was carried to Galicia through the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela. At least two of the most outstanding poets of the court of Juan II, Macías el Enamorado and Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, were Galicians and were probably well acquainted with Galician love poetry.

The court of Juan II "Erudita por excelencia ... y sustancialmente palaciega" was suitable for cultivating the courtly poetry of Provençal:

Amoldábase pues más que otra alguna la escuela provenzal, fiel a su primitiva índole y naturaleza a la situación verdaderamente anómala y peregrina de Castilla ... Aparece la poesía como única fiadora de la lealtad de los magnates y caballeros ... Se fingen sin tre­gua ni recato la pura adhesión y el devoto rendimiento a la pasión amorosa. 47

A large number of poets cultivated the newly imported escue­la provenzal, including the King himself:
Cuantos ingenios toman parte en las justas y solaces poéticos de la corte, -don Juan II y su omnipotente favorito, don Alvaro de Luna, don Alonso de Cartagena y Fernan Pérez de Guzmán, el docto marqués de Santillana y el famoso Juan de Menas; cuantos cantan en ella las bellezas de sus damas, -don Juan y don Enrique Enríquez, el magnífico don Juan de Silva, don Lope de Estúñiga y don Juan Pimentel, el gallardo Suero de Quiñones y su hermano Pedro, Macías el Enamorado, y otros muchos y muy esclarecidos caballeros, cuyos nombres no han sonado hasta ahora en la historia de las letras, todos se dejan llevar de la común e irresistible corriente; y ora se pierden en el laberinto de las cuestiones (preguntas y requerías) teológicas, históricas o morales que reconociendo su origen en el espíritu escolástico de la edad media y en el parnaso provenzal (tensos), habían tomado plaza en el castellano, al declinar el siglo XIV; ora truecan el sencillo y tierno lenguaje del amor por el rebuscado, artificioso y superficial de la galantería, presentándose en sus repetidísimas canciones cual víctimas inconsolables de una pasión no comprendida y duramente desdénada. 48

The cultural splendor of the court of John II declined after his death in 1454, but was reestablished by Isabella the Catholic, whose court was also "Erudita por excelencia . . . y sustancialmente palaciega," and therefore fit for the "justas y solaces poéticos" of the escuela provenzal.

The theory of love presented in the Sermón is a reflection of the Provencal Religion of Love, but San Pedro, like most Spanish courtly poets, rejects one basic characteristic of the courtly love of Provence, the adulterous nature of love, and emphasizes the importance of protecting the lady's honour to the extent that secrecy in love becomes the basic rule of his code.

The Sermón itself is a manifestation of the Religion of Love, for its form and style imitated those of the ecclesiastical sermon. Its theme "En vuestra paciencia sostened
vuestrros dolores" (p.100), which advises lovers to bear the 
torments of love as a penance, has reminiscences of Christian 
teachings. San Pedro's code of love contains the following 
principles:

1) Love should be founded on the basis of the outer-
mast secrecy and prudence: "todo amador debe antes perder la vida que escurecer la fama de la que siruiere, auiendo por mejor recibir la muer-
te callando su pena, que merecerla trayendo su cuyldado a publicación." (p.101)

2) The lover should be, above all, virtuos: "en tal manera que la bondad rija el esfuerço, acompanhe la franskeça; e la frankeça adorne la tenplança; e la tenplança afeyte la cònversàci6n; e la còn-
ersàci6n afeite la buena criança." (p.103)

3) The lover must never stop loving: "E avnque las lâgrimas vos cerquen, e angustias vos congoxon e sospechas vos lastimen, nunca, señores, vos aparteys de seguir e seruir e querer . . . E si no hallardes piedad en quien la buscays, ni esperança de quien la queyreys, esperad en vuestra Fe y confiad en vuestra firmeza." (p.105)

4) The lover's duty is to obey his beloved's wishes: "¿Qué más beneficio quieres que querer lo que ella quiere?" (p.106)

Consequently, the theme of the Sermón becomes clear: 
the pains of love should be endured patiently, willingly and 
ever hopefully for "esto como las feridas que los cavalleros 
reciben con honrra, avnque las sienten en las personas con 
dolor, las tienen en la fama por gloria" (p.105); desiring 
the union with the beloved, is the essence of love, and the 
greater the pains, the more perfect the love. Therefore, the 
greatest pain of all, death (and indeed damnation!) should 
be undergone gracefully:

O amador! si tu amiga quisiere que penes, pena; e si quisiere que mueras, muere; e si quisiere
condenarte, vete al infierno en cuerpo y en ánima . . . Que todo lo que de su parte te viniere es galardón para ti. (pp.105-106)

Thus, the main characteristic of courtly love reaches its highest degree of sublimation when the lover lays down his life for his love as Leriano does. Cárcel de amor develops the principles of courtly love around the theme of the Sermón conceived within the framework of what would become one of the principal subjects of the Golden Age drama, the concern with honour.

According to Andreas, love can only exist among the noble. In fact, the higher the social status, the more suited the person for loving, and as Capellanus underlines in the dialogues, social rank determines the nobility of the soul and the pattern of behaviour to follow when courting. Thus, the setting and the protagonists of Cárcel de amor are of the highest nobility.

Leriano, the son of a Duke, is endowed with uncommon virtue, as his mother points out in her planto: "Tú temeroso de Dios, tú amador de la virtud, tú enemigo del vicio" (p.209). He corresponds to the portrait of the noble lover drawn by Fernando de la Torre:

Discreto galán polido
valiente, diestro y osado
virtuoso, bien medido
de los onbres más amado,
por todas mucho loado
en público e escondido.

Leriano, like Lancelot, is an excellent knight and therefore is suited to be a perfect lover, since the practice of chivalry transforms and sublimates man into a spiritually su-
perior being. Therefore, Leriano's superior soul cannot help experiencing love of the highest degree, that is, the perfect love bound to destroy the lover, for it knows no reward.

Leriano was well aware of his fatal destiny when he fell in love, as he allegorically explains to the Auctor: when Amor decided to imprison him, his Entendimiento agreed willingly with Amor and his Razón understood that, considering the superior qualities of "por quien ha de sofrir", he was bound to die. The "handmaids" of Entendimiento and Razón, Memoria and Voluntad, simply follow the example of their "masters" and ally themselves with Amor to torture Leriano. Contrary to what Wardropper supposes, Leriano's love is not irrational. Leriano's Razón understands well the worth of Laureola and accepts the Prison of Love, knowing that, because of Laureola's great virtue and the unfulfilled nature of perfect love, it is sentencing Leriano to death.

Leriano has the opportunity to prove his prowess as a knight in his duel with Persio and during the battles with the King when he is saving Laureola from her prison. Through his chivalrous prowess, Leriano's virtue is proved to the world and only confirms our knowledge of his great spiritual nobility.

Leriano's nobility of soul and social class determine his behaviour. He suffers the torments of Love patiently, as San Pedro advises in his Sermón. He exhibits the resignation and fortitude of a martyr who bears his punishment well aware of "el bien de la causa." And, as it befits a perfect lover like him, he never vacillates in his loving,
but finds strength in his suffering, for as the Sermón establishes, the wounds of love are "como las feridas que los caualleros reciben con honrrra" (p.105), or as the anonymous author of *Questi6n de amor* expresses it:

La llaga es muy grande
más es tan ufana
que quanto es más pena
mi gloria es mayor. 53

Leriano proceeds to seek his beloved's *bons semblans* or indication that she accepts—although not necessarily returns—his love. This *be1 accueil* that welcomes the dreamer of the *Roman de la Rose* is the only reward Leriano can accept and actually wants from Laureola. To the perfect lover, the only *galardón* is to know that his lady may know of his service and sufferings for her, as Juan Fernández de Heredia says:

y porque mejor sepays
qués la fe de mi cuydado,
no quiero que me hagays
más merced que conozcays
que bivo por vos penado. 54

Leriano's letters to Laureola conform to Andreas' advice that the lover should incline his lady's disposition towards him through fluent speech: "... for an elaborate line of talk on the part of the lover usually sets love's arrow a-flying and creates a presumption in favour of the excellency of the speaker's character."

Leriano seeks the help of a go-between, as both Ovid and Andreas recommend. The *Auctor* proves through his prudent behaviour when encountering *Deseo*, in the tower and in the court of Macedonia, that he was a worthy confidant, the perfect go-between recommended by Andreas and much sought after by
lovers.

Also, the author conveys the worth of El Auctor as a confidant and intermediary through his perceptive comments on the events he is supposed to have witnessed:

Quando besé las manos a Laureola pasaron cosas mucho de notar, en especial para mí, que sabía lo que entre ellos estaua: al uno le sobraua turbación, al otro le faltaua color; ni él sabie que dezir ni ella que responder; que tanta fuerça tienen las pasiones enamoradas, que siempre traen el seso y discreción debaxo de su vandera, lo que allí ví por clara experiencia. (p.147)

and also when he is planning to free Laureola from her father's prison:

yo llegare de tu parte a Galio, hermano de la reyna, que en parte desea tanto la libertad de la presa como tú mismo, y le diré lo que tienes acordado, y le suplicaré, porque sea salua del cargo y de la vida, que esté para el día que fueres con alguna gente, para que si fuere tal tu ventana que la puedas sacar, en sacándola la pongas en su poder a vista de todo el mundo, en testimonio de su bondad y tu linpieza; y que recibida, entretanto que el rey sabe lo vno y provee en lo otro, la ponga en Dala, fortaleza suya donde podrá venir el hecho a buen fin. (p.158)

The Auctor, then, is also a prototype of what a go-between should be like; an ideal character seldom encountered in real life as Juan Ruiz cynically states in his Libro de buen amor, and as the down-to-earth Celestina shows in the Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea.

Laureola is a perfect beloved, in the most limpid tradition of courtly love. Perhaps due to what Gili y Gaya labels as "mayor severidad de la aristocracia castellana" (p.xviii). Laureola, like all the heroines of Spanish courtly li-
terature, is a maiden. The preference of Castilian courtly poets for unmarried women as their heroines is a characteristic that sets Castilian courtly love tradition apart from the Provençal and Catalan traditions, for as Martín de Riquer points out, neither the Provençal nor the Catalan troubadours could conceive of the donzella or dona soltera as their midons or meu senyor:

... la dama, en canvi, la domina, mujer del senyor, dominus, es troba situada, en una cort o en un castell, al lloc preeminent i més venerat. Hom li deu fidelitat i respecte que, en traslladar-se els conceptes feudals als poet·tics, es converteixen en amor. Per aquesta raó la dama a la qual el trobador dedica les seves poesies i de qui es confessa servidor i vassall, és sempre una dona casada, esposa, molt sovint, del mateix senyor feudal del poeta. Amb això arribem a l'essència de l'amor cortès, o sigui l'amor característic de les corts feudals.57

Furthermore, Laureola, unlike Liesa, Oriana, Mirabella or Melibea, does not yield to Leriano's love. She behaves according to her high position as a princess and as a lady of ideal virtue. It is precisely her evident virtue reflected in her matchless beauty which causes Leriano's enamoramiento, and which, consequently, allows no hope to the lover: "tu hermosura causó el afición, y el afición el deseo, y el deseo la pena"(p.133). Leriano's words seem to echo Villasandino's cantiga:

La tu fermosura
me puso en prisión;
por la cual ventura
del mi corazón
non parte tristura
en toda sazón:
porén tu figura
me entristece assí.58
Laureola's virtue leaves no room for the illicit expectations of the cancionero poets. Leriano, as the perfect lover, would not dream of hoping for anything beyond her pity. Laureola's spiritual superiority causes her to be deeply moved by Leriano's condition, though she fears the consequences of her feelings: "Quanto mejor me estouiera ser afeada por cruel que amanzillada por piadosa"(p.144), for as Andreas indicates, a noble lady should always be compassionate.

However, when Laureola's honour becomes seriously compromised, she has to reject Leriano's service entirely. She still feels pity for him but cannot risk her good name, and she begs him to overcome his passion: "No pongas en peligro tu vida y en disputa mi onrra, pues tanto la desees, que se dirá muriendo tú que galardono los seruicios quitando las vidas."(p.188)

Laureola's concern with her honour is the main obstacle to Leriano's love. When she learns of Leriano's feelings for her, her sole concern is for her fama:

Por Dios te pido que engueulas mi carta en tu fe, porque no se te pierda ni de nadie pueda ser vista; que quien viese lo que te escriuo pensarfa que te amo, y creerfa que mis razones antes eran dichas por disimulación de la verdad que por la verdad.(p.145)

It is significant that honour should be chosen by San Pedro as a primary obstruction between the lover and the beloved, and as the lady's vital concern. Her constant worry about her fama is not only fear of "l'aspra legge de Scozia" that condemns Mirabella and almost ends Laureola's life.
Perhaps the same "austeridad castellana" that caused Spanish courtly poets to reject adultery in their poetry had raised woman's chastity to the level of a moral axiom. However, many cancionero poets seemed to have enjoyed the fact that their love had an illicit quality, and they seemed unconcerned about the lady's fame. Because courtly love considered love incompatible with the married state, love could only be experienced outside the marital ties, as Juan Álvarez Gato notes in his canción "Porque le dijo una señora que servía, que se casase con ella":

Dezís: "Casemos los dos porque deste mal no muera."
Señora, no plega a Dios, siendo mi señora vos, cos haga mi compañera,

Que, pues amor verdadero no quiere premio ni fuerça
aunque me veré que muero, nunca querré, mi quiero que por mi parte se tuerça.

Amarnos amos a dos con una fe muy entera,
queramos esto los dos: más no le plega a Dios, siendo mi señora vos, cos haga mi compañera. 59

Yet, San Pedro appears to be using an actual moral consideration of Castilian society as a resource to move the plot to a conflict in which Leriano will have the opportunity to prove his abilities as a knight, first by his performance in the duel with Persio, and later in combat. On both occasions, Leriano acts in defense of Laureola's honour, and she, by protecting her honour decides Leriano's death. Because the lady's good name was a significant issue in the Castilian court,
San Pedro warns lovers in the Sermon: "que todo amador deue antes perder la vida que escurecer la fama de la que siruiere" (p.101), and for that reason, perfect love as conceived by San Pedro, has to be based "sobre cimiento del secreto" (100). So, while for Ovid, Andreas, troubadours, and cancionero poets, secrecy was merely a means to enjoy loving better, secrecy became for San Pedro and his world a moral principle of capital importance.

Consequently, the lover should exercise "en las palabras mesura, y en el meneo honestidad, y en los actos cordura, y en los ojos auido, y en las muestras soffrimento, y en los desseos tenplanca, y en las platicas dissimulacion, y en los mouimientos mansedunbre" (p.101). And this is Leriano's attitude throughout the entire narrative.

Most critics, perhaps judging the world of the Carcel through modern eyes, have unjustly accused Laureola of cruelty because of her final rejection of Leriano. Whereas in effect, she simply behaves in the only possible way open for a courtly lady of her stature. After having been condemned to death for the false accusation of Persio, she could only reassure her people of her virtue by avoiding anything that could compromise her honour again. Her pity for Leriano and her desire to persuade him against his folly are evident in her last letter:

Mucho te ruego que te esfuerces como fuerte y te remedies como discreto ... Ternás en el reyno toda la parte que quisieres, creceré tu onrra, doblaré tu renta, sobirá tu estado, ninguna cosa ordenarás que reuocada te sea; asf que biiendo causarás que me iuzguen agradecida, y muriendo que
me tengan por mal acondicionada . . . No quiero
más dezirte porque no digas que me pides espe-
rança y te do conseio. Pluguiera a Dios que fue-
ra tu demanda iusta porque vieras que como te
aconseio en lo vno te satisfiziera en lo otro.(p.188)

The ideal characters of Leriano and Laureola decide the
plot of the novel. The false accusation of Persio, the duel,
the imprisonment of Laureola, and the battle, are all secon-
dary incidents that prove the virtue of the protagonists and
justify the tragic end.

There is an element of fatality in San Pedro's concept
of love. Love is born from virtue and thus is perfect. Perfect
love ennobles and increases the lover's virtue and therefore
it intensifies itself at the same time. Consequently, the
perfect lover is trapped in a vicious circle whose only exit
is death, for love, being forever unfulfilled and forever
increasing, is an unbearable torture leading to death. Leria-
no's Razón is well aware of this fatal destiny, when it
agrees with the enamoramiento:

Yo no solamente do consentimiento en la pri-
sión, mas ordeno que mueran, que mejor le estará
la dichosa muerte que la desesperada vida, se-
gund por quien ha de sofrir.(p.123)

Although cancionero poets often express the desire for
death to escape the pain of loving, and though Arnalte re-
peats constantly that "muere porque no muere"(p.32); "en
ella [la muerte] está la vida"(p.27); "Pues quien quiera que
amare, que tal nueva supiere, de la muerte le ruega que se
socorra"(p.75); only Leriano fulfills this wish by actually
letting himself die.

San Pedro finds no better way to represent the quintes-
sential kind of love exemplified in the Carcel, than by using the symbolism of the Religion of Love. The sublimation of the three most important characteristics of courtly love led to the creation of a Religion of Love, which stressed the superiority of the beloved and identified the love of her as worship. The Religion of Love recognized a moral principle in every action or thought of love and raised the ennobling power of love to the concept of love as a source and stimulus of all virtues, capable of improving all the spiritual characteristics of the lover, as Leriano points out in his defense of women:

Because it identified love with worship, the Religion of Love found its means of expression in the concepts and language of the Religion of Christ, and was even integrated with Christianity by Dante Alighieri, first in the Vita Nuova and later more thoroughly in the Divina Commedia.

It would be an error to think of the Religion of Love as a mere "colouring of human passions by religious emotion," or as an irreverent practice, since nowhere do we find evidence that the poets were willingly disrespectful of Christianity or even conscious of the immorality of their con-
cept of love. For the poet, the Religion of Love was a metaphor which expressed the blissful experience of love, in a personal heaven with a god, saints, commandments, and liturgy.

San Pedro depicts Leriano's love as religious worship in the opening allegory:

"Lleuaua en la mano yzquierda vn escudo de azero muy fuerte, y en la derecha vna ymagen femenil entallada en vna piedra muy clara, la qual era de tan estrema hermosura que me turbaua la vista. Salian della diversos rayos de fuego que leuaua encendido el cuerpo de vn onbre que el cauallero forciblemente leuaua tras sí. El qual con vn lastimado gemido, de rato en rato dezía: "En mi fe, se sufre todo." (p.116)

Later, we witness Leriano's noble resignation to his sufferings, not unlike those of Christ. In fact, Leriano's passion is represented in the terms of the Passion of Christ, as the author stresses with the allegorical description of the lover's torments, such as having him crowned with "vna corona de unas puntas de hierro . . . que le traspasauan todo el celebro"(p.120), an image that seems to have been a favourite with courtly poets.

However, Leriano's passion is not a mystical experience as Haydée Bermejo and Dinko Cvitanovic propose. Leriano's awareness of his beloved's worth and of the hopelessness of his passion as well as his very experience of loving, are not a manifestation of Platonic love. Leriano does not love Laureola beyond herself, nowhere in his acts or thoughts do we find evidence that Leriano seeks God through Laureola or that his love has an aim other than loving for love's sake. Leriano's abandonment to his passion is not "an aven-
tura espiritual" achieved through suffering, but a lyrical expression of the courtly convention of love.

Leriano's description of the ennobling power of love in terms of the Religion of Love in his long pro-feminist speech, does not conform to his actual experience. He stresses the fact that through the love of women, man acquires the theological and cardinal virtues, but as we read his razones, we realize that he is not talking in Platonic terms, but in the language of the Religion of Love. He is illustrating the ennobling force of love in the loftiest terms he knows. For example, it is important to seek the virtue of prudence, which increases through love, because it makes lovers more discretos and sotyles in loving:

"porque si de la enamorada pasión se catyuan, tanto estudian su libertad, que abiuando con el dolor el saber, dizn razones tan dulces y tan concertadas, que alguna vez de compasión que les an se libran della;" (p.195)

Similarly, women's love cultivate justicia:

de la virtud de la justicia tan bien nos hacen suficientes, que los penados de amor, avñque desyugual tormento reciben, hanlo por descanso justificándose porque iustamente padecen; (p.196)

Tenplança makes lovers worthy of the beloved because "por no selles aborrecibles para venir a ser desamados"(p.196).

Fortaleza makes lovers "fuertes para sofrir, causan osadía para cometer, ponen corazón para esperar."(p.196).

Women kindle Faith in men who thus are able to praise God's name and thank Him "porque pudo hazer a aquella que de tanta ecelencia y hermosura les parece"(p.197). Also, women cultivate Esperança in their lovers: "que puesto que los
sugetos a esta ley de amores mucho penan, siempre esperan" (p.197), and finally, women awaken love in men, which is Caridad (p. 197)

The other reasons Leriano gives to explain "por qué los hombres son obligados a las mugeres"(p.195) are in a similar vein: love makes men contrite, and they consequently confess their love and beg forgiveness for their faults as lovers, doing whatever penance the lady may impose on them. Love renders stingy men generous, fools intelligent, and so on.

Leriano's pro-feminist speech in the terms of the Religion of Love signified a momentary victory over the misogynists, who until the end of the fifteenth century, were an insignificant number in Spain. However, the speech's apparent irreverence was the cause of a tremendous anti-feminist reaction, particularly by Luis de Lucena. In the same way that San Pedro's defense of women signifies the culmination of Spanish pro-feminism, Lucena's Sátiras represent the culmination of Spanish misogyny.

Lucena uses his humanistic knowledge to attack women's vices and in particular the "desenfrenado eroticismo femenil", which was a favourite subject among the anti-feminists:

Son otros las mugeres así como animales que, sin ninguna discreción, sirven así al apetito de la luxuria ... Item, no sólo la luxuria es pasión de mugeres, mas aún la yra y continuuo litigio. 65

Thus it is evident that the same aspect of femininity that San Pedro and his many feminist predecesors considered to be women's greatest virtue (their awakening of men's desire) was
thought to be women's worst vice by the misogynist, and this alone made her the object of the most brutal epithets:

Es otrosí la muger principio de pecado, arma del diablo . . . notorio mal . . . mal de todos desseado, pelea que nunca cessa, daño continuo . . . desvío de castidad, puerta de la muerte, sendero herrado, llaga de escorpión, camino para el fuego . . . enfermedad incurable . . . muerte suave . . . delicada destrucción, rosa que hiede, lisonja crescida, pestilencia que manzilla el ánima . . . 66

Lucena's perverse delight in describing the vices of women is as extreme as San Pedro's idealization of their virtues, but whereas the cruel misogyny of the former had little place in the enlightened world of the Renaissance, San Pedro's feminism contributed strongly to the Renaissance ideal of the perfect courtier.

Nowhere is the Religion of Love more evident than in Leriano's character. The whole attitude of the perfect lover is reminiscent of Christ's personality. The exemplary patience, meekness, resignation, selflessness, and submission demanded from a perfect lover in the Sermon have no better personification than those of Christ. Also there is a clear identification between Christ's death and Leriano's suicide.

We know he is bound to die for "una buena causa", and from the moment he falls in love, Leriano begins to fulfill his destiny as a perfect lover. In his final words, "Acabados son mis males," he renders the "Consummatum est" of Christ.

San Pedro's use of the courtly love tradition at its loftiest in Carcel de amor is the best example of this
trobador's great esthetic sensitivity and craftsmanship. As a courtly poet he was not content with simply writing a good story of love. He had to search for the ultimate expression of the mediaeval theory of love and apply it to his novel. As a result, he produced the finest Spanish courtly romance, in which poetic content, language and form combine artfully as a testimony of San Pedro's surprisingly adaptable skill.
Footnotes to Chapter Three

1. *Orígenes*, p.408.


4. By Menéndez y Pelayo, Valbuena Prat, José Luis Varela, Dinko Cvitanovic and Ángel del Río among others in the works previously cited.


8. Apparently Menéndez y Pelayo did not know this work or he would have included it in his survey of *novelas sentimentales*. The only copy of this novel is an unpublished manuscript found in the Biblioteca de Cataluña and is described by Martín de Riquer in *Revista de Filología Española*, 40 (1956), 33-65.

9. The verses entitled *Maldezir de mugeres* by the Catalan Pere Torrellas won him the hatred of all Spanish feminists. His is the most misogynistic work written in the Iberian peninsula. Still in the late XVI century, Cristóbal de Castillejos cites the name of Torrellas as one of the most formidable detractors of women: "Tanto mal/No se puede en especial/Relatar en poco espacio;/Remítolo a Juan Boccaccio,Torrellas y Juvenal." See Jacobo Ornstein,"La misoginia y el profeminismo en la literatura castellana," *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 3 (1941), 222. Juan de Flores also includes Torrellas in his *Grisel y Mirabella* as a participant in a debate on the vices and virtues of women. When Torrellas wins the debate between him and the profeminist Braçayda, the ladies of the court murder him as a punishment for his defamations.


16. It was precisely the immoral quality of the Fiammetta that inspired Juan de Flores to write his *Grimalte y Gradissa*, a didactic work on conjugal fidelity in which he shows Pamphilus to be repentant of his adulterous association, and having attempted to dissuade Fiammetta from resuming their relationship, he inflicts on himself an extreme penance.


They were so popular that Ludwig Traube used to call this period *aetas ovidiana*. See Edward Kennard Rand, *Ovid and His Influence* (New York: Longmans, 1928), pp.12-23.

In fourteenth century Spain, Juan Ruiz parodies much of the Ovidian material in his *Libro de buen amor*.


*Ibid.*, p.92. Despite the many similarities between the system of love depicted by Ibn Hazm and that of the troubadours, Jeanroy states that "there is no trace, for example, in Ibn Hazm of the ennobling power of love, nor of the amorous vassalage, nor of the superiority of the lady over her lover, that is to say, of the courtly theories." *op. cit.* 2, 367.

The Art of Courtly Love, p.12.


Some of the examples of the language of the Catharist Church of Love pointed out by Denis de Rougemont could be easily applied to the Christian tradition, such as a poem where Guiraut de Bornheil prays to true Light:

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0 high and glorious King,
0 Light and Brightness true!
0 God of Power, Lord,
Suppose it pleases you,
Make my comrade welcome,
And grant him all your aid,
For him I have not seen,
Since fell the night's dark shade,
And soon will come the dawn.
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De Rougemont interprets this poem according to Catharist-Manichean symbolism, but it could very well be about the Christian soul in search of God. *Love in the Western World*, p.87.
De Rougemont offers an interesting interpretation of this myth in *op. cit.*, pp.20-95.

Ibid., p.38.

The Allegory of Love, p.12. On p.11 Lewis writes: "Real changes in human sentiment are very rare - there are perhaps three or four on record - but I believe that they occur, and that this is one of them." Lewis does not mention which are the changes on record, nor does he provide us with evidence to prove that the changes in human sentiment actually take place, rather than changes in attitude or ideology which may eventually alter the concept we have of the sentiment. Of all the theories explaining the origins of courtly love, this seems the least plausible.


Alexander Denomy (*The Heresy of Courtly Love*, pp. 50-51) believes that Chretien wrote this book only to please his mistress. Chretien tells us plainly that the countess furnishes him both the subject matter (matiere) and the manner of treatment (sens) and that he is simply trying to carry out her desire and intention. Father Denomy even supposes that this is a note of apology for writing on a theme he detested and for this reason he did not finish the poem, writing instead *Perceval* where he celebrates the things of God under the guise of allegory.

J.J. Parry, *op. cit.*, see the bibliography for details of the printed editions and translations of Andreas' book. The Courts of Love were a common practice among European nobles, but although they existed in Catalonia they did not become popular in Castile. See William Allan Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love* (New York: Russel & Russel, 1967).

J. J. Parry, pp.177-186.

Ibid., p.187. Alexander Denomy believes that Andreas, like Chretien, did not approve of courtly love and although Capellanus wrote the first two books of the treatise to please Marie de Champagne, he has to assert the antinomy between courtly love and Christianity. Father Denomy examines Andreas' attitude in both parts of the treatise and provides convincing evidence that Andreas was sincere in rejecting courtly love. However, Andreas' vicious misogyny seems
The lady's superior rank in love did not mean that she actually occupied a superior social rank in real life. According to Andreas, a noble can woo a woman of a lower middle class, since love has an ennobling power.

The Art of Courtly Love, p.28.

Amador de los Rios, Historia critica, 6, 59.

Ibid., p.60.


Amador de los Rios, Historia critica, 6, 60.

Ibid., 6, 60-61.

Cancionero de Fernando Torres, cited in Otis Green, The Literary Mind, p.49.

See Myrrha Lot-Borodin, De l'amour profane, p.18: "Lancelot est en vérité le parfait amant, parce qu'il est le meilleur chevalier du monde, et inversement, la gloire qui brille sur son front n'est que le reflect de sa vertu la plus haute;"


In "El mundo sentimental," pp.183-87, Wardropper stresses the fact that San Pedro's theory of courtly love is not inspired by the troubadour tradition but by the novel of chivalry. In fact, San Pedro's theory of love blends elements from both sources in the manner of the Lancelot du Lac, but Cárcel de amor cannot possibly be considered as a novel of chivalry.

Otis Green, The Literary Mind, p.59.

Obras (Valencia, 1913), p.100.


It is also worthy of notice that cancionero poets often dedicate their love songs to their wives. For example, Jorge Manrique: "Vaya la vida passada/que por amores sufrí,/ pues me pagaste con sí/ señora bien empleada." Cancionero general, p.100.

M. de Riquer, Historia de la literatura catalana, p.34.

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Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, 1 (Madrid, 1912), 229.

60

For instance, Gili y Gaya assumes that Leriano's intention was to marry Laureola, and that she rejected him out of sheer cruelty: "y el desdichado amante se encierra otra vez en la cárcel alegórica donde acaba su vida, mientras la despiadada princesa se parapeta en la defensa de su honra." p.xx.

61

The Religion of Love may have begun as a parody of Christianity as the anonymous Concilium in Monte Romarici (cited in Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, pp.18-21) leads us to believe, but later it became something far more serious than parody: a noble fusion of sexual and religious experience as the *Divina Commedia* shows.

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Genre

Although Menéndez y Pelayo classified Cárcel de amor as a sentimental novel, it is not a novel properly speaking, since the novel was a literary form unknown to mediaeval rhetoric and even to the new Aristotelian literary theory of the sixteenth century. Anna Krause identifies it with the tractatus latino.

According to the classical rhetoric upon which mediaeval rhetoric is based, the narratio itself is a part of discourse and a digression within it; what Andrew's Lexicon described as a homily or epistle, a tractatus. However, the term did not describe a literary genre but a rhetorical technique based on precepts formulated by the classical writers and adopted by the Fathers of the Church in the exegesis of Christian and classical texts. Later, this technique became very popular among vernacular writers, who underlined the cultivated nature of their works by stressing their classical form. "Gonzalo fue so nomne que fizo este tractado" wrote Gonzalo de Berceo in the thirteenth century, and later, Juan Ruiz and Juan Manuel also called their works tractados. The verb trattare became the common term among Italian humanists to describe their craft: "ma per trattar del ben ch'io trovai" (Divina Commedia [Inf. I, 8]), and their followers among the courtly writers of John II popularized the term in fifteenth cen-
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tury Spain.

However, not all mediaeval prose can be included in either the definition of a *tractatus*, or in any other rhetorical form such as the novel of chivalry. In effect, most prose writers applied the term *tractatus* in a very broad sense. It could mean a narrative (*La crónica de Pedro Niño*), a discourse meant to prove a theory (*Como al omne es necesario amar*), or a dissertation condemning or defending something (*Reprobación del amor mundano* by Martínez de Toledo or *Tractado en defensa de las virtuosas mujeres* by Mosén Diego de Valera).

The fictional nature of *Cárcel de amor*, its prose form, and its inclusion of chivalresque elements and epistles detach it from the traditional *tractatus*, and place it among a unique literary genre not found in mediaeval rhetoric; a kind of work that resembles what was later called a "novel", and one which developed from the *narratio* or *tractatus*. It is also a forerunner of the epistolary novel as Charles E. Kany has pointed out, but it cannot yet be considered an epistolary novel because the action is not carried out entirely by letters, but depends also on direct narration from the author. Kany simply describes the *Cárcel* as a "prose story in which letters have come to assume a significant position in the role." The sentimental content of this story and the relationship of its form to the *narratio*, the epistolary novel, and the novel in general, should be sufficient to allow us to accept Menéndez y Pe-
layo's approximate term for it: "novela sentimental".

The use of the letter in the sentimental novel is significant. It incorporates into fictional narrative a verisimilar means to express the emotional life of the characters. The love letter was a popular form of telling about a love affair or about a love story. Ovid had adapted the personal and subjective style of the elegy into a new kind of narrative poetry in the fifth book of Tristia. He applied the technique of addressing an individual on the most emotionally disturbing fact known to man in an erotic context. Love substitutes death as the ultimate human experience, and the beloved becomes the poem's cause and object. Henceforth, the love letter was established as the ideal form of narrating or exposing an amorous relationship.

Allegory

*Cárce de amor* begins with the allegory of the prison of love. San Pedro offers a plastic representation of the story he is about to convey. Adopting an autobiographical style, he tells us about his encounter with a savage called Deseo, who is armed as a knight and is holding the image of a woman with his right hand: "de tan estrema hermosura que me turbaua la vista."(p.116) The savage knight is dragging behind him a man who burns with the fire emanating from the woman's image. The man justifies his torture in the name of his "faith" and begs the author's help. Together, they arrive at the prison of love, a strange tower on the
height of a mountain. The author gives a detailed description of the place and the tower. The foundation of the tower is a strong and clear rock which supports four tall pillars of purple marble. The tower has three corners, each with a human image made of metal—"la una de leonado, la otra de negro y la otra de pardillo" (p. 117)—holding a chain with its hands. On the top of the tower there is an eagle which irradiates fire through its beak and wings. He can hear the two guards of the tower, Desdicha and Desamor, who are watching constantly. The author climbs the dark stairway that leads to the entrance, and there the doorman asks him to leave his arms before entering (though they are not the arms of travellers but those of the heart): "Descanso, Esperança, y Contentamiento". Later, another guard makes the same request and finally, the author enters the chamber on top of the tower where he sees the prisoner of the savage knight sitting on a chair of fire. Leriano is tied with the chains held by the three images on the corners of the tower. Two dueñas in mourning who are weeping incessantly, place a crown with iron thorns on his head. A Negro dressed in yellow comes to beat him regularly with a shield that comes from out of his head. Three servants feed him gravely while an old man sits besides him in deep thought. Leriano then notices the author staring at him in amazement, and to thank him for having come to his aid, he tells him the story of his Prison of Love.

This is a perfect allegory according to mediaeval rhet-
oric, that is to say, it does not identify any aspect of the vision except for Deseo and Amor at the beginning. It is left to the imagination of the reader to discern what everything stands for, and while the modern reader may not be able to recognize the symbols, they were familiar to the mediaeval reader. The allegory was a favourite form among poets in the Middle Ages. It represented an esthetic interpretation of abstract ideas which man had not yet learned to examine subjectively. The idea of the Prison of Love was not original. Visions, Hells, Purgatories, Castles, and Prisons of Love abound throughout mediaeval literature. San Pedro only applied the familiar symbols of erotic suffering to represent in plastic form the story of Leriano's unrequited love for Laureola. This helps him to explain the theory of love that ruled the sentimental life of his milieu.

However, the details we find within the prison do not entirely belong to traditional allegory. The setting of the vision in a wilderness is a commonplace, best known through Dante's Commedia and the "caballero salvaje". Deseo generally stands either for a man like Amadís (whose passion and suffering dehumanize him and forces him to leave society and hide in nature), or for desire in general. The black prison, fiery chair, dark stairway, and mourning maidens and guards can be found in other popular fifteenth century allegories, especially in Badouin's Prison d'amour, the matière de Bretagne, and scattered throughout many
Spanish works. But the courtly language of Deseo, the symbolic use of heraldic colours in an erotic sense, the tortures inflicted on Leriano, and the eagle on the tower are all San Pedro's original contribution to the allegory of love in Castilian fiction.

The author transforms Deseo into the symbol of a "certain inborn suffering from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex" which Andreas describes in the First Book of De Arte honeste amandi. Deseo is the cause and constant nourishment of courtly love. His wildness represents the unrestrained nature of desire, but his manners and speech betray its courtly essence:

Caminante, segund mi natural condición, ninguna respuesta quisiera darte, porque mi oficio más es para secutar mal que para responder bien; pero como siempre me crié entre hombres de buena crianza, vsare contigo de la gentileza que aprendí y no de la braueza de mi natural. (p.117)

Deseo is courtly love itself; an artificial and conventional concept of love which is practised only by "hombres de buena crianza".

The meaning of the three images on the corners of the tower is based in their colours: "leonado ... negro ... pardillo". In mediaeval heraldry, these colours represent sadness, anguish, and labour. The eagle at the top of the tower signifies the unmatched intensity of Leriano's feeling of imprisonment. The use of these noble symbols stresses the aristocratic character of courtly love. The author
wishes to make it clear that the lofty pains of ideal love are reserved for the highborn, as Coleria's cry corroborates later: "bienaventurados los baxos de condición y rudos de engenio, que no pueden sentir las cosas sino en el grado que las entienden". (p. 209)

The tortures inflicted upon Leriano are conceived in terms of the "Religion of Love". The perfect lover is regularly whipped and is crowned with iron thorns. He burns without ever being consumed by the flames and he bears his pains with a martyr's resignation. San Pedro's apparent irreverence was a common literary resource among courtly writers. Ever since the author of *Concilium in Monte Romarici* decided to take over Ovid's concept of an erotic religion and proceeded to elaborate it in terms of Christianity, poets had been imitating the Liturgy and Scriptures in an erotic sense; some consciously in the spirit of parody, and some, like Chrétien de Troyes and San Pedro, to represent better the strongest of worldly emotions. Leriano is in the same tradition as Lancelot, as they both serve the god Amor and venerate the image of the beloved. Lancelot worships the fountain, meadow, and comb touched by Guinevere as if they were relics. Leriano worships the image of Laureola held by Deseo, and his pains are depicted as those of Christ. San Pedro, like Chrétien, could not find a more eloquent way to express the perfect lover's passion than by portraying it in sacred terms.

San Pedro's version of the theory of courtly love is
beautifully represented in the structures of the prison of love. The foundation of the tower is faith: "una piedra tan fuerte de su condición y tan clara de su natural cual nunca otra tal jamás había visto" (p. 118). On the rock of faith rest the pillars that support Leriano's love: Entendimiento, Razón, Memoria, Voluntad. According to Andreas, desire leads to love, and this cannot exist unless the lover is able to hope for the fulfillment of his desire. In this way, faith becomes the basic sustaining force of love. In order for this phenomenon to take place, the rational elements of man must become subordinate to the impulse of desire. San Pedro's poetic rendering of this incident is as follows:

Los quatro pilares que asientan sobre ella [the rock of his faith] son mi entendimiento y mi razón y mi memoria y mi voluntad, los quales mandó Amor parescer en su presencia antes que me sentenciasen, y por hacer de mi iusta justicia preguntó por sí a cada uno si consensúa que me prendiesen, porque si alguno no consintiese me absoluería de la pena. A lo cual respondieron todos en esta manera:

Dixo el Entendimiento: "Yo consiento al mal de la pena por el bien de la causa, de cuya razón es mi voto que se prenda".

Dixo la Razón: "Yo no solamente do consensoimiento en la prisión, mas ordeno que muera, que mejor le estará la dichosa muerte que la desesperada vida, segund por quien ha de sofrir".

Dixo la Memoria: "Pues el Entendimiento y la Razón consienten por que sin morir no pueda ser libre, yo prometo de nunca olvidar".

Dixo la Voluntad: "Pues que así es, yo quiero ser llaue de su prisión y determino de siempre querer". (pp. 122-3)

Understanding capitulates and Reason foresees the inevitable destiny of Leriano, since the cause of his desire is a lady most worthy of eternal love. Andreas had clearly
established that perfect love is the pure, never satisfied desire. Laureola's great virtue leaves no room to expect retribution, and Leriano knows that from the moment he falls in love with her. That is why he is imprisoned awaiting death. His Reason realizes the pointlessness of his Faith, but can do nothing to prevent it, so great is the cause for Desire. The decisions of Memoria and Voluntad are the just consequence of what Entendimiento and Razón have agreed upon. Together, they will support Amor's resolution to take Leriano prisoner.

We are told in the following section what every element of the vision signifies, and a link between the vision and the remaining action of the story is maintained: El Auctor has seen the vision, not dreamed of it like Berceo in the Milagros de Nuestra Señora, and he returns to it later after his meeting with Laureola in the court of Macedonia. He refers repeatedly to the Prison, thus investing it with a very physical and realistic presence. The transition between the allegoric and the real world is subtle and contributes to the creation of a dream-like atmosphere that renders the novel more romantic. We are in the realm of ideal love and lovers, where the author is a witness by virtue of his poetic sensitivity. San Pedro leads us from one world to the other by means of imperfect allegories, such as that of the wild knight Deseo, and later, Conten­tamiento, Esperança, Descanso, Alegría, Holgança, and Plazer. That is to say, he uses allegorical characters identified by their names and symbolic values, and in this
manner he transports us halfway between the two worlds described. Cárcel de amor develops the dream of the Roman de la Rose by Guillaume de Lorris into a true story.

The abstract people and places representing actual life in the Roman become concrete characters, circumstances, and settings in the Cárcel. The allegorical representations in the latter are only a lyrical element meant to define poetically the emotional aspect of San Pedro's novel. Guillaume de Lorris gives us an account of imaginative passion as it was believed to exist. In the Roman the hero and heroine are removed from the tale. We look at the narrator's dream through the eyes of the lover, and the lady's character is distributed among personifications. We encounter her as Courtesy, Pride, Fear, Shame, Kindness, Pity and Modesty, as the dreamer discovers new aspects of her personality. In Cárcel de amor, El Auctor conveys to the reader the lady's emotional reactions to the circumstances he is narrating as he perceives them in her demeanor. Leriano's feelings are depicted allegorically because they are the overwhelming result of the malady of love, although his personality like Laureola's, is described as the author perceives it. The difference between the Roman and the Cárcel is partly the difference between poetry and fiction. While the former deals with the psychological in an obviously subjective manner (through the lover's eyes) for a lyrical purpose, the latter adopts a narrative perspective that justifies the author's reasons for writing, and
his opinions and feelings towards his narration.

Style

The novel is formed by several rhetorical units all carefully modelled on treatises. San Pedro fuses the narratio, epistles, discourses, planctus, harangue, and argumentatio into a coherent and polished work whose entertaining quality was reflected in its tremendous success. Like all cultivated mediaeval writers, San Pedro was concerned with propriety and decorum in the content of his narrative and in the way he was to convey it.

The idea of originality in style did not enter into the mind of the mediaeval writer. Manuals showed him the correct way of writing through the study of the best available literary models. His purpose was to instruct while delighting, and he considered himself a craftsman carefully applying the rules of his craft. Each of the rhetorical units found in the Cárcel is meticulously developed according to established rules. The manner in which San Pedro develops the epistolary form is especially noteworthy.

The letter was supposed to begin with a salutatio; usually a very brief greeting, or mentioning of the names of the person addressed. San Pedro limits the salutatio to an indication of the name of the recipient; Laureola, Leriano, Padre, Persio, etc.. Then came the exordium which appealed for the reader's interest, often through a convention called captatio benevolentiae. This was the means
to attract the reader's attention or curiosity by praising him, requesting his mercy, stressing his state of mind, etc. We can see, for instance, how Leriano seeks Laureola's pity:

Si touiera tal razón para escreuirte como para quererte, sin miedo lo osara hazer; mas en saber que escriuo para ti se turba el seso y se pierde el sentido, y desta causa antes que lo comencase toue conmigo grand confusión: mi fe dezía que osase, tu grandeza que temiese; en lo vno hallaua esperança y por lo otro desesperaua, y en el cabo acordé esto. Mas, guay de mí, que comencé tenprano a dolerme y tarde a quezar-me, porque a tal tiempo soy vinido, que si alguna merced te meresciese, no ay en mí cosa biua para sentilla, sino sola mi fe. El corazón está sin fuerca y el alma sin poder y el iuyzio sin memoria.(pp.132-3)

Following the exordium was the expositio or narratio, the main body of the letter which explains what it is about. Leriano wants Laureola to know about his love for her and to acknowledge his torments by showing mercy towards him:

Podrás dezir que cómo pensé escreuirte: no te marauilles, que tu hermosura causó el aficion, y el aficion el deseo, y el deseo la pena, y la pena el atreimiento; y si porque lo hize te pareciere que merezco muerte, mándamelá dar, que muy mejor es morir por tu causa que beuir sin tú [sic] esperança. Y hablándote verdad, la muerte, sin que tú me la dieses yo mismo me la daría, por hallar en ella la libertad que en la vida busco, si tú no ouieses de quedar infamada por matadora; pues mal auenturado fuese el remedio que a mí librase de pena y a ti te causase culpa.(p.133)

The expositio was followed by a petitio, the reason for writing the letter and usually the petition of a favour:
Por quitar tales inconueniencias, te suplico que hagas tu carta galardón de mis males, que aunque no me mate por lo que a ti toca, no podré beuir por lo que yo sufro, y todavía quedará condenada. (pp. 133-4)

The letter ended with a **conclusio** that could be either a recapitulation of the matter previously expounded, or a final attempt to gain sympathy. Leriano's **conclusio** is brief:

> Si algund bien quisieres hazermne, no lo rtrasdes, si no podrás ser que tengas tiempo de arepentirte y no lugar de remediarme. (p. 134)

All other rhetorical units - the "cartel de desafío", Leriano's answer, the harangue to the **caualleros**, the "llanto de la madre de Leriano", the "discursos razonados" by the Cardinal, the King, and Leriano's on defense of women - present the same application of rhetorical rules. If the discourses are examined as the epistle was, the same careful development of the existing theories on the subject would be found.

We find treatises in fifteenth century Spain dealing with duel laws. Keith Whinnom finds a surprising resemblance between Persio's letter and a letter of 1480 in which Don Diego López de Haro, challenged Don Pedro Fajardo to a duel. The harangue to the troops also closely follows the formulae expounded in the **artes aregandi**. It consisted mainly of praises of the soldiers' courage and strength, appeals to the fame of their ancestors, explanation of the reasons for the battle, attempts to convince the troops of their right to exterminate the enemy and of
The glory involved in either victory or death for the cause:

como sea más estimada la virtud que la muchedun-bre, vista la vuestra, antes temo necesidad de ventura que de caualleros, y con esta consideración en solos vosotros tengo esperanza . . . Agora se nos ofrece causa para dexar la bondad que eredamos a los que nos han de eredar . . . Grandes aparecios tenemos por osar: la bondad nos obliga, la justicia nos esfuerça, la necesidad nos apremia. No ay cosa por que deuamos temer y ay mill para que deuamos morir.(pp.180-1)

The "llanto de su madre de Leriano" is a planctus. Its rules are found in the artes poeticae and it is derived from the classical apostrophe. Its most characteristic elements are the exclamatio and the interrogatio, and it may include a great number of themes such as apostrophes to famous historical figures, objects, countries, or illustrious living personages. The planto or endecha was a very widely practised form in fifteenth-century Spain and excelled in the famous Coplas of Jorge Manrique.

The duchess Coleria explains to Leriano the ill omens that made her come to his side when she saw his helpless situation, and she bursts into tears lamenting her son's fate. She addresses Leriano, though he cannot hear her: "¡O alegre descanso de mi vegez, o dulce hartura de mi voluntad!", "O muerte cruel enemiga . . . ! Tan traidora eres. . ."(p.210) and painfully realizes her future life, lonely without her only son and awaiting her own end - "¿Qué será de mi vegez contemplando en el fin de tu juventud?"(p.210) "con dolor será mi beuir y mi comer y mi pensar y mi dormir, hasta que su fuerça y mi deseo me lieuen a tu sepoltura"(p.211).
Stephan Gilman has compared Coleria's *planto* to that of Pleberio in *La Celestina*, but although they may be technically comparable, they are quite different in mood. The despair and desolation of Pleberio when he calls love, "a mysterious and terrible goddess whose evil influence poisons and corrupts human life", and sensing the "chaotic impersonality of the universe" are not at all the legitimate grief of Leriano's mother. She does not blame love for causing the death of her son. She realizes the power of the passion that is killing him, but she accepts the fact that he, like all high-born men, cannot help loving as he does. Coleria's "pluguiera a Dios que fueras tú de los torpes en el sentir, que meior me estuuiera ser llamada con tu vida madre del rudo" (p. 210), sounds at once sincere and self-complacent. Leriano's imminent death fills her with sadness, but she blames his death on his superior soul, "sotil juizio". The *llanto* crowns the highly emotional tone of the novel; it gathers together and explains the events of the tragedy: "Tan poderoso fué tu mal que no tuuiste para con él ningund remedio" (pp. 210-11).

Keith Whinnom has studied closely the language and style of *Cárcel de amor* and *Arnalte y Lucenda*, following the observation made by Gili y Gaya and later developed by Carmelo Samonà, that the style of the *Cárcel* is superior to that of the *Arnalte* and constitutes a considerable improvement or "pulimento". Whinnom finds that the main characteristics of what he calls "San Pedro's Stylistic reform" are:
a) the abandonment of syntactical latinisms such as the postponement of the verb and the use of the Latin subjunctive,

b) the reduction of the use of "acoustic conceits" or "figures of sound" like the *annominatio* and *paranomeon*, and

c) the employment of the techniques of *abbrevatio* in narrative style.

Both Whinnom and Samonà feel that the changes in San Pedro's style are due mainly to a change in the literary taste of the period, a changing intellectual climate, and as Whinnom insists, to the advent of Humanism. Preceptists like Nebrija were censoring the imitation of Latin syntax in Spanish and the use of rhyme in prose: "la barbaría, por todas partes de España tan ancha y luengamente derramada". Also, Juan de la Encina advised strongly against these uses and against ornamental excesses: "el guisado con mucha miel no es bueno." Nebrija and his followers went back to the newly discovered late classical grammarians. They imposed a new rhetoric which was eagerly learned and assimilated by the ladies of the court, who consequently preferred the simple unadorned style of the *Sermón* to that of *Arnalte y Lucenda*: because "a Doña Marina Manuel le parecía el estilo menos malo que el que puse en otro tratado que vido mío."(p.114). Whinnom believes (as was stated in Chapter I) that San Pedro's reform represents not only a slow evolution of technique, but also a conscious effort to adapt himself
to the demands of his enlightened audience.

Whinnom thinks that San Pedro's reform starts in the Sermón, although here his intention was merely to use the sermo simplex form for his parody, and he was not consciously trying to simplify the rhetorically ornamented manner of his first novel. San Pedro became aware of the need to modify his prose on hearing the comments of Doña Marina Manuel, and realized that his public preferred a more direct and unpretentious style. This realization led him to study the new rhetoric and to apply it in his new novel.

The use of syntactical latinisms such as the postponement of the verb and the use of the Latin subjunctive, were very popular among fifteenth-century rhetoricians, and San Pedro employs them generously in the Arnalte. Any passage chosen at random may serve as an example of his first conspicuous use of latinisms:

Pues como la hora del dormir la fiesta presente en tregua puso, cada vno a su posada a reposar se reparte. y como yo más para trabajo que para reposo apercibido estouiesse, quando Lucenda de la Reyna que despedita, con dissimuladas razones por ver la sentencia de mi carta tras ella quie, y non solamente fasta su posada la acompanne, más fasta su cámara la seguí. Pero en todo este tiempo ningund papel en la mano tomô. y así sin más certenidad aquella noche estuue. (p.35)

In the Arnalte Whinnom finds that the verb of the principal clause is postponed in about half of the cases, while the verb in the subordinate clause is postponed in about three-quarters of the cases. Neither in the Sermón nor in the Cárce do we find an example of verbs which have been artificially postponed, and fewer than three per cent of
postponed verbs are in subordinate clauses.

The use of *como* followed by the past subjunctive (corresponding to the Latin *cum* plus the imperfect subjunctive) is repeated insistently in the *Arnalte*. In one paragraph alone we find as many as six examples of this latinism:

> Pues *como* Thebas mi naturaleza *fuese*, y *como* el Rey lo más del tiempo en ella *gastasse*, . . . *y como* hombre de mucha autoridad y honra *fuese*, . . . *E como* en medio del templo el cuerpo se *pusiese*, . . . *y como* la ruuiura dellos tan grande *fuese* e las muchas lágrimas del rostro más le *encendiesen* y aclarassen, . . . *y como* el llanto presente de su publicación *fuese* causa de verla tal . . .(p.19)

This latinism is rare in the *Cárce1* though it still occurs at times: "y como la escuridad y la poca sabiduría de la tierra me *fuesen* contrarias"(p.118). Whinnom finds thirteen of these cases in the opening chapter of *Arnalte*, but only two in the corresponding chapter of the *Cárce1*.

Whinnom also notices a considerable reduction of rhetorical colours. He bases his definitions and examples on the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and finds that the acoustic conceits most used by San Pedro in the *Arnalte* are 35 *annominatio* and *paranomeon*. The first is the repetition of the same word, adjective, or noun in different cases of its declension: "Nunca haze desconcierto, en todo y por todo acierta,/ sigue a Dios, que es lo más cierto,/ y desconcierta el concierto/ que lo contrario concierta"(p.15). This device is used only sparingly throughout the *Cárce1* and is limited to two similar elements in one sentence; also, when this device appears in the *Cárce1* it is not as a meaningless play on words, but in a significant context:
"yguales en cerimonia avnque desiguales en fama"(152).
The second acoustic conceit, alliteration or paranomeon, is almost totally absent from the Cárcele although it abounds in the Arnalte: "E non de dicha me quexara siguando la mano en el papel puse, la gouernadora della peresciera: pues de libre, catiua quise ser, dándote prenda sin nada deberte" (p.54).

San Pedro also eliminates the use of rhymed prose from the Cárcele. Whinnom suggests that he may have previously been inspired by the Goliardic rhythm of Walter Chatillon which was adopted by Thomas à Kempis in his Imitatio Christi where we find an exact Latin analogue to San Pedro's style in Arnalte: "pero más con temor de su no, que con esperança de su sí, no con menos dolor que acatamiento allegué, y con desigualados sospiros y con turbación conocida, que quisiese comigo dançar le supliqué" (p.32).

The final most outstanding stylistic reform introduced by San Pedro consists in the employment of the techniques of abbreviatio. Whinnom counts twenty-three cases of the brevititas technique frequently used to terminate a speech or a letter: "si el alargar no fuese enoioso"(p.206), "Y porque en detenerme en plática tan fea ofendo mi lengua, no digo más"(p.130). The purpose of this technique is to avoid rhetorical ornaments or pointless amplificatio, and is typical of the humanist rhetoricians. The Arnalte contains only seven examples of brevititas, whereas we find many variations of this technique in the Cárcele.

It is evident that San Pedro's writing was largely
determined by the tastes and expectations of his audience. The versatility of his talent, and his remarkable sensitivity to the contemporary atmosphere allowed him to grasp the ideas and attitudes of his courtly public and interpret them skillfully. In Carcel de amor he responded to the desire of the Alcaide de los Donceles that he write a love story, and to Doña Marina Manuel's wish that he improve his style. By reviewing his rhetoric in order to overcome the faults of the Arnalte, he was able to appreciate the incongruities of the hero's character which prevented him from being a perfect romantic hero for a more carefully planned love story which combined harmoniously rhetorical devices, language, and content. The relative simplicity of the new rhetoric, the careful application of the diverse topoi, and the choice of the epistolary form to convey a sentimental mood, were a key to the success of the Carcel. San Pedro succeeded in his efforts because of his readiness to please and to ingratiate himself with his public.

Unity and Structure

San Pedro's artistry has been underestimated by the critics who, on the one hand, praise his style, on the other, condemn the apparent lack of unity in the Carcel. Menéndez y Pelayo, for instance, refers to "elementos que entran en la fábula . . . confusamente hacinados y yuxtapuestos;" Bruce Wardropper has pointed out that it is difficult to understand such disunity of purpose and tone in a writer who attends so consciously to minute details of style.
The Cárcel de amor is a story about the servitude of love and torture suffered by a lover. It develops the allegory already suggested in the title into a story. From beginning to end, the novel appears as a carefully planned exposition of a courtly theory of love, and its thematic unity can hardly be questioned. All secondary incidents - duels, Laureola's imprisonment, appeals to the King, etc. - are subordinated to the love story.

The three vital factors that give the Cárcel unity are (1) the theme - courtly love (the prison of love already studied in Chapter 3 of this work), (2) the epistolary structure of the novel, and (3) the role of El Auctor.

It has been noted that the novel is conceived as a letter to "vuestra merced", Don Diego Hernández de Córdoba, and that it developed in accordance with the rhetorical rules in vogue at the time. It opens with a salutatio, "Muy virtuoso señor" and proceeds to narrate the story after the pertinent exordium is presented as a prologue. By using the epistolary form, San Pedro feigns an historical reality that renders the tale verisimilar. This realistic appearance is further supported by the active role played by the author in the events narrated.

San Pedro pretends to be one of the protagonists of his novel and thus justifies his first-hand perspective as narrator. He pretends to be telling us his experience, describing the events he witnessed, reporting what the characters told him or wrote in the letters he delivered, the reactions he
noticed in people and his own reactions to the events and characters. All of this strengthens the illusion of historicity. Perhaps, the fact that each of these aspects of the tale have been studied separately is what has confused the critics. They are not "hacinados" or "maladroitement associés", but carefully selected elements within a structure they help create and on which they depend.

San Pedro is reinterpreting his supposed experience through the sadness caused by Leriano's death. By recalling his reactions to the events he is narrating he justifies his letter to "vuestra merced". He not only witnessed the tragedy, but was part of it; he became Leriano's confident and friend, and he was the 'go-between' twixt him and Laureola and knew of their joys and sorrows. The constant recalling of his feelings and reflexions on the incidents revealed, keeps the individual elements closely united. This explains the zealous descriptions of incidents and characters, for example:

Y con este acuerdo boluí otro día a palacio para ver que rostro hallarfa en Laureola, la qual, como me vido tratéme de la primera manera, sin que ninguna mudanca hiziese: de cuya seguridad tomé grandes sospechas. Pensaua si lo hazía por no esquiuarme, no auiendo por mal que tornase a la razón comenzada. Creía que disimulaua por tornar al propósito para tomar emiendae mi atreuimiento, de manera que no sabía a qual de mis pensamientos diese fe.(pp.130-1)

or

Tanta confusión me ponían las cosas de Laureola, que quando pensaua que más la entendía menos sabía de su voluntad. Quando tenía más esperança me daua mayor desuífío; quando estaua seguro, me ponían mayores miedos sus desatinos,
cegauan mi conocimiento. En el recibir la carta me satisfizo; en el fin de su habla me desespero. No sabía qué camino siguiese en que esperanza hallase, y como onbre sin conseio.(p.137)

Because San Pedro is not primarily concerned with describing or reproducing dialogues such as his entire conversations with Laureola, he alludes to them briefly by means of the brevitas topos: "Concluyendo, porque me alargo, el rey mandó apartar el conbate con pérdida de mucha parte de sus caualleros, en especial de los mancebos cortesanos, que siempre buscan el peligro por gloria"(p.180).

Bruce Wardropper thinks that El Auctor and Leriano embody two sides of San Pedro's character, the sentimental and the rational, but it might be argued that the sentimental and rational aspects of San Pedro are represented in El Auctor and the author respectively, though the aspects overlap. The author is rationalizing the events and presenting us with his supposed emotional reactions to them. El Auctor is portrayed acting out his emotion:

Por cierto no he avido menos plazer de oyrte que dolor de uerte, porque en tu persona se muestra tu pena, y en tus razones se conosce tu bondad. Siempre en la peior fortuna socorren los virtuosos, como tu agora a mi heziste; ... Tanta afición te tengo, y tanto me ha obligado amarte tu nobleza, que avría tu remedio por ga- lardón de mis trabaías.(pp.125 and 126)

The author gathers all the ingredients of the story and uses them in an autobiographic fiction:

Después de hecha la guerra del año pasado, viniendo a tener el inuierno a mi pobre reposo, pasando vna mañana, quando ya el sol quería esclarecer la tierra, por vnos valles hondos y escuros en la Sierra Morena, vi ... (pp.115-6)
The pseudo-autobiographic nature of the novel made Menéndez y Pelayo and later critics assume that San Pedro was in fact disguising in literary form a love affair in which he had been involved. Thus, they identify the author with Leriano and the allegorical Prison of Love with the castle of Peñafiel of which he was alcaide. In his edition of the Cárcel, Moreno Báez takes for granted that "hay aquí el reflejo de una vivencia del autor. ¿Quién no recuerda a la monja de la que según el prefacio de su Pasión estuvo enamorado?" These critics fail to appreciate the novel's unquestionable indebtedness to the courtly love tradition, its purpose of delighting its aristocratic audience by giving life to the convention of noble love, and its poetic essence rendered real by means of carefully selected form, style, and language.

In his important study of the picaresque novel, Francisco Rico has clearly underlined the significance of the epistolary form in the development of the novel:

En el Renacimiento, la obra de arte... se entiende como un segmento del universo según lo observa una persona determinada, desde un determinado punto de vista, en un momento determinado...

El mínimo común denominador de la técnica narrativa consiste en someter todos los ingredientes del relato a un punto de vista singular; en las ficciones autobiográficas... al convertirse el protagonista en escritor... se justifica la perspectiva del narrador, se noveliza el punto de vista. 41

Therefore, the epistolary form, as well as being the best literary form for confessions or rendering confidential information, also justifies the writer's perspective
and reinforces the illusion of reality: "La carta concilia la tradición retórica con una modesta historicidad". San Pedro's intention of translating his theory of courtly love as first expressed in the Sermón into a convincing story, found shape in the style of the letter and the contemporary rhetoric of the Isabelleine court. San Pedro, like the author of Lazarillo, intuitively recognized the need for a realistic novelization of the author's point of view, and this was later to become the primary aim of the modern novel.
Footnotes to Chapter Four

1. See Whinnom, 2, 47.


5. Juan Manuel, *Tractado en que se prueba por razón que la Virgen María está en cuerpo y alma en el Paraíso*; Juan Ruiz refers constantly to his Libro de buen amor as a *tractado*: Martínez de Toledo also refers to it as: "El exenplo antigo el que puso el Arcipreste en su tractado." Cited by A. Krause in "El 'tractado' novelístico," p.247. Even though Juan Manuel writes in prose and Juan Ruiz in verse, the latter was using primarily the *mester de clèreçia*, form which was considered a polished prose.


7. Whinnom calls it mediaeval fiction in Diego de San Pedro, *Obras completas*, 2, 47, although this term could also be applied to the popular ballad which is in verse form.


We find heraldic colours used symbolically in an erotic sense in some Catalan sentimental works. For some examples of erotic allegory see Arseni Pacheco, Novel·letes sentimentals dels segles XIV i XV (Barcelona: Antologia Catalana, 1970), esp. Prosa feta per Romeo Llull intitulada lo despropiament de amor (pp.65-71), Somni de Francesc Ale-gre recitant lo procés de una questió enamorada (pp.89-104).

A. D. Deyermond, "El hombre salvaje;" p.266.

Labour refers in this context, to all the deeds and pains the lover has to undergo before deserving the lady's reward.

Lewis, Allegory of Love, p.20.

Ibid., pp. 1-43.


I cannot agree with Keith Whinnom when he says that "la mente moderna preferiría que se pudiera aislar un mundo del otro, preferiría que se pudiera decir donde está Leria-no, allí está su prisión emocional" (Obras, 2, 52). The subtle link between both worlds corresponds to the ethereal essence of the sentimental and ideal nature of the novel.

See C. S. Lewis, Allegory of Love for an interpretation of the Roman de la Rose.

See Whinnom's examples of these rhetorical units in his edition to San Pedro's Obras, 2, 54-4.

E.g. Mosén Diego de Valera, Tratado de los Rieptos y desafíos que entre los cavalleros y hijos dalgo se acos-tumbran hazer, según las costumbres de España, Francia y Inglaterra; and Alfonso de Cartagena o Guía de Santa María Doctrina y instrucción de la arte de cavallería, cited by Whinnom in Obras, 2, p.56.

See Erasmo Buceta, "Cartel de desafío enviado por D. Diego López de Haro al Adelantado de Murcia, Pedro Fajardo, 1480," Revue Hispanique, 81 (1933), 1-23, cited by K. Whinnom, Obras, 2, p.56.

Whinnom describes the rules of the planto in his edition of San Pedro's Obras, 2, 58.


30 "Dall'Arnalte e Lucenda alla 'Cárcel de amor'," p. 273.

31 "Diego de San Pedro's Stylistic Reform," p. 13. Whinnom uses the terms "acoustic conceit" and "figure of sound" in his analysis of San Pedro's style.


33 Ibid., p. 14

34 Ibid., pp. 14-15

35 Ibid., p. 4

36 Judging by the Arnalte's popularity its faults were not all that evident to the contemporary public. See the "Noticia bibliográfica" in Whinnom, 2, 71-5.

37 Orígenes, p. 512


39 It is not a miniature chivalry novel as Wardropper says in "El mundo sentimental," because the description of warfare is more in the manner of a chronicle than in the fantastic accounts of battles found in the Amadis and similar novels. Moreover, the battle occupies a secondary place in the Cárcel. Also Márquez Villanueva (op. cit. p. 185) calls San Pedro's novel a novela política because of the many non-romantic events that take place. Neither view is justified. See the discussion of Márquez's views in Chapter 1 of this work.

40 Cárcel de amor (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1974), p. 24. Moreno Báez, however, does appreciate San Pedro's work as a whole and poetically compares it to a Gothic cathedral:

Buscando la clave de la estructura de la Cárcel de amor en su goticismo, recordemos que la ojiva nace de dos líneas que se cortan tras dibujar dos segmentos de arco, . . . También se nota en ellas la intención de subrayar, acusándolas al exterior, cada una de sus partes: primero, la portada, flanqueada de torres . . . y
cuyas esculturas, agrupadas alegóricamente, ofrecen una síntesis anticipada de las enseñanzas de la catedral; luego la nave, acompañada de dos o cuatro naves laterales . . . más allá el crucero, también con sus naves laterales, que nos detiene al ampliar el espacio y multiplicar las perspectivas; finalmente lo que los franceses llaman el coro y los españoles la capilla mayor . . . Todo ello movido por un anhelo de absoluto, que se proyecta hacia el vacío en el que se recortan los arbotantes y los contrafuertes, las gárgolas y los pináculos, pero por un anhelo propio de quienes están acostumbrados a acercarse discursivamente al misterio aunque sabiendo que al fondo de él solo se llega con la intuición, fortalecida por la gracia de Dios.(p.19)

Moreno Báez does not believe that San Pedro meant to transpose Gothic architecture into literary terms, but he feels that the philosophy, science, art and literature of each period are conditioned by the same mental habits:

Así como un poeta como Dante se inclina tanto a las divisiones y subdivisiones como los filósofos de su tiempo, es muy natural que los problemas estructurales de una narración se resolvieran de la misma manera que los de los edificios, es decir, subrayando sus partes y armonizando las, sin que ni siquiera haya que suponer que el autor se diera cuenta de ellos.(p.29)

41 La novela picaresca y el punto de vista (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1970), p.35.
42 Ibid., p.16
43 Ibid., pp.140-41
Chapter Five
Influence of the Cárce de amor

The Cárce de amor achieved an extraordinary European success. It has been perhaps one of the most widely read and cherished Spanish novels ever written, and was greatly influential in many ways. For instance: it started a vogue for "sentimental novels" in France, Italy, Germany, and England; it established new concepts of love and honour; it introduced the conception of the perfect courtier; it was important in the development of the epistolary novel, rhetoric, and the feminist battle against the anti-feminists.

Nicolás Núñez wrote a continuation of the Cárce. He supposes that Laureola was also deeply in love with Leriano, and that she suffered bitterly on learning of his death. Leriano's ghost appears to her in the night, and she reproaches him for his lack of patience. Despite the songs and villancicos included in this work, it did not enjoy public favour. San Pedro had no true successor.

Juan de Flores, a contemporary of San Pedro, published two successful courtly novels, presumably written after the Cárce. Juan de Flores is often thought to be San Pedro's successor; but though this may be true in the sense that both writers achieved a similar popularity, this theory loses ground when one compares the content of their works. Grisel y Mirabella and Grimalte y Gradissa are different from San Pedro's novel. Grisel is a sentimental novel that
has more in common with the *Estoria de Ardanlier e Liessa* than with the *Cárcel*. *Grimalte y Gradissa* is inspired by Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*, and its moralistic nature sets it apart from the novels of San Pedro, and even from the *Grisel*. The heroines of Flores seem to be closer to the down-to-earth Melibea than to the conventional Laureola, as has often been pointed out. The novels of Juan de Flores, particularly *Grimalte y Gradissa*, represent a departure from the theory of courtly love, and whereas San Pedro was essentially a courtly poet, Flores appears as an observer of life more concerned with actual human emotions than with poetic ideals.

Many critics have stressed, after Menéndez y Pelayo, that, besides the two *incunabula* editions of the *Cárcel*, there were twenty-five editions in the sixteenth century and twenty translations into French, English, Italian and German, but evidently there were many more. Simón Díaz registers also nine bilingual (Spanish-French) editions and eight more translations. However, both Simón Díaz and Menéndez y Pelayo only take into account the editions found in the great libraries (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, The British Museum, the Hispanic Society of America), and those mentioned by bibliographers. Keith Whinnom has seen other editions in smaller libraries (such as that of the Baron of Rothschild), and has himself one bilingual edition, not registered by bibliographers, given to him by professor E. M. Wilson. Also, Julio Cejador y Frauca mentions numerous editions in his *Historia*
de la lengua y literatura castellana, although no other critic includes them in his list.

San Pedro himself tells us about the success of his work in the Desprecio de la Fortuna: "y como la obra tal no tuuo en leerse calma" (p. 237). Many important catalogues of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Spain included it in their collections, among others, those of Queen Isabella and Fernando de Rojas. The novel was a great favorite of the English and Italian courts, and it played an important role in the development of rhetoric.

A. Giannini believes that the Cárcel de amor strongly influenced Baldassare Castiglione in writing Il Cortegiano, and Menéndez y Pelayo had already pointed out that some parts of Castiglione's work were clearly inspired by the atmosphere of the Spanish court and the customs of the Spanish nobility. We know that the Cárcel de amor, translated into Italian by Lelio de Manfredi in 1506, was very popular in Italy, and it is virtually certain that Castiglione must have known this work. By comparing the debate between Julian de Medici, the Magnificent, and Gaspar Pallavicino (Il Cortegiano, Book III), to Leriano's speech in defense of women, we realize that Castiglione's conception of the perfect courtier is modelled on Leriano's attitudes and ideas. Gianinni feels that Castiglione developed Leriano's views according to Renaissance rhetoric and scholastic philosophy, particularly when trying to prove the equality of men and women as members of the same species. For that reason, he
finds Castiglione's arguments superior to Leriano's, overlooking the fact that San Pedro was primarily a poet and his work a novel. Leriano's judgement on those who discriminate against women, "blasfema de las obras del mismo Dios"(p.192), needs no further scientific proof and serves well the literary purpose of the author. Giannini, like most critics of the Cárcel de amor, fails to appreciate this fact:

... se desarrolla con la sequedad y la rigidez de un arte primitivo, y, hacinando elementos diversos, el autor tienta a hermosearla inútilmente con el oropel de una retórica falsa e hinchada, particularmente en las arengas y cartas.8

Gustave Reynier has studied the influence of the Cárcel de amor on the French sentimental novel. It was this work and the Arnalte which gave the French novelettes their essential characteristics:

Notre roman sentimental doit beaucoup plus à l'Espagne qu'on ne serait tenté de le croire. Elle nous a familiarisés avec ce genre de fictions en nous les présentant sous la forme qui répondait le mieux aux conventions traditionnelles, c'est-à-dire enveloppés d'allégories ou enfermées dans un cadre chevaleresque. On peut dire que ces romans espagnols qui tout d'un coup pénètrent en France de 1526 à 1539, en compagnie de l'immortelle Célestine, ont été chez nous une transition nécessaire. 9

Although Reynier underestimates the literary value of the Cárcel de amor, describing it as "exagérée", he underlines its original treatment of the love theme, its vital role in giving life to the conventions of courtly love poetry, and "tout en conservant les caractères essentiels de l'amour courtois avec un peu de réalité", its incorporating the
lyrical erotic ideals of the troubadours into real life: "l'amour n'est plus seulement un thème lyrique, il commence à avoir une histoire: il peut être raconté en prose".

Reynier points out, without sufficient analysis, the direct influence of San Pedro's work on *Les angoisses dou­loureuses* by Helisenne de Crenne, *Les contes amoureux* by Mme Jeane Flore, and particularly Théodose Valentinian's *L'Amant resuscité de la mort d'amour*. This last novel has been carefully studied by Margaret A. Harris. She finds that Valentinian "borrowed the bare framework" of San Pedro's work to exploit it for a different purpose than that of the Spanish writer. He used it "as a medium for conveying a religious lesson, illustrating the working of God's grace and the dangers of trusting 'votre propre sens' and 'votre propre volonté' in matters so important as love and marriage".

James A. Flightner has tried to analyse the use San Pedro makes of time, Laureola's situation, and the realistic attention to the presentation of detail in order to explain the appeal of the *Cárcel*, but perhaps Menéndez y Pelayo's reason for its popularity is more accurate:

El interés romántico de esta sencilla y patética historia . . . explica el éxito que tuvo, no sólo en España, sino en Italia, Francia y en Inglaterra. No eran frecuentes todavía narraciones tan tiernas y humanas, conducidas y desenla­zadas por medios tan sencillos y en que una pa­sión verdadera y finamente observada era el alma de todo."

The fact is, that although San Pedro did not have a true successor, the theme of his novel, its characters and
rhetoric echo in later Spanish literature, and also in other European literature, as we have seen.

Menéndez y Pelayo had already noticed a similarity between the "llanto de su madre de Leriano" and that of Pleberio: "el llanto de la madre, que es uno de los trozos más patéticos del libro, y que manifiestamente fue imitado por el autor de la **Celestina** en el que puso en boca de los Padres de Melibea", but Rosa María Lida de Malkiel was the first critic to study the influence of the **Cárcel de amor** on the **Tragicomedia**: "No cabe duda que los autores de **La Celestina** conocieron de este género novellístico (sentimental novel) por lo menos las obras de Diego de San Pedro: la **Cárcel de amor** figura entre los libros en romance que Rojas legó a su mujer".

To Lida de Malkiel, the most important similarity between the two works is the personality of the main characters: "inactivos para lograr su amor y dedicados a gastar su vida no sólo en amar sino en mirarse amar". She finds Calisto a realistic representation of the fifteenth-century nobleman who translated into actions the romantic sensibility of the lyric and dramatic literature of the period. Calisto's similarity to Leriano is the most outstanding, because: "gracias a la representación realista que ha adoptado la **Tragicomedia**, su inercia, su ensimismamiento, su exaltación amorosa contrastan eficazmente con el ir y venir interesado y activo de los demás personajes y con el sugerido escenario de la ciudad". This is because, in **La Celestina** we are
no longer in the ideal world of nobility, but in the every-day world that comprises all social classes and all human types: "En efecto, el esquematismo de Arnalte y Leriano frente a la concreción vital de Calisto se explica primaria mente por la radical divergencia de posición artística entre el realismo verosímil de la Tragicomedia y la estilización alegórica de Diego de San Pedro, sobre todo en su segunda y más célebre novela."

Melibea coincides in character and ideas with Laureola and Lucenda: they all believe in the moral responsibility of the noble maiden, but whereas San Pedro's poetic heroines remain enclosed in the conventions of the courtly love tradition, Melibea yields to her human passion. As Lida de Malkiel points out: "Lucenda y Laureola enuncian y amplifican aquellos conceptos en sus pulidas epístolas, Melibea las esgrime como última valla a la pasión de Calisto. En unas es escarceo palaciego; en Melibea es expresión completa de su personalidad en los momentos más decisivos de su vida."

Peter G. Earle studies Rosa María Lida de Malkiel's observations and compares the love concepts found in the works of Rojas and San Pedro: He feels that:

At least in a general sense, it is perhaps not an oversimplification to say that La Celestina is to the sentimental novel as Don Quijote is to the chivalric novel. 21 Earle finds the following basic similarities between the two works:

a) Instant passion of the hero, strongly rejected
by the heroine.

b) Intervention of a go-between.

c) Go-between inspires "piedad" in the heroine by referring to the lover's "enfermedad".

d) Death of a twenty-year-old hero (CárceI) lamented by a sixty-year-old mother. Death of a twenty-year-old heroine (Celestina) lamented by a sixty-year-old father.

Earle finds these basic differences:

a) Leriano's love is unrequited, Calisto's love is corresponded.

b) The intervention of Persio and his calumny constitute the tragic impetus of the CárceI, but in the Celestina the passion itself is the cause of the final outcome.

c) Leriano's relationship to Laureola is strictly determined within the rules of chivalry and courtly love. Calisto's relationship to Melibea is unfettered by convention once Celestina has achieved the liaison.

d) Allegory is used in the CárceI, but not in the Celestina.

Earle illustrates these aspects of both works with pertinent examples. Although he does not develop extensively his theory, he establishes that the Tragicomedia, an essentially sentimental work, humanizes the poetic concepts of love, integrating comic and tragic elements and substituting realism for idealism.
Carcel de amor is both the best and the latest example of the Spanish courtly romance. Despite the great popularity it enjoyed, the ideals portrayed belonged to a fading world, and they were bound to be rejected in favour of the new concepts which arrived with the dawning of the Renaissance. However, because San Pedro's novel portrays the tenets of courtly love in their most idealized version, it often served as a model of precisely that which the Renaissance writer, be it Valentinian, or Rojas, wished to reject. Nonetheless, the charming lyrical quality of the Carcel de amor and the importance of its role in the development of the novel, have given this work a place of honour in Spanish literature.
Footnotes to Chapter Five


2 For instance by Pamela Waley in "Love and Honour," p.275.


4 Whinnom, 2, 67.

5 Historia de la lengua y literatura castellanas (Madrid, 1915), 2, 67.


7 "La Cárcel de amor y Il Cortegiano de Baldesar de Castiglione," *Revue Hispanique*, 46 (1919), 547-68.

8 Ibid., p.551.


10 Ibid., p.64.


12 Ibid., p.94.


14 Orígenes, p.507.

15 Ibid., p.512.

17  Ibid., 393.
18  Ibid., 394.
19  Ibid., 394.
20  Ibid., 393.
21  "Love concepts," p.92.
Conclusion

It has been seen that San Pedro's art was determined by the taste and ideas of his audience, and that he was a courtly poet who wrote to satisfy the demands of his public; but that he was also an excellent craftsman who attended consciously to minute details of style and language. Above all, San Pedro had a remarkable poetic sensitivity that prevented him from producing the lifeless, stereotyped writings of other courtly poets. His sensitivity, combined with his artistry, led him to create works that not only answered to the demands of his audience, but which became literary models of immense popularity.

San Pedro's adaptable art found its best means of expression in the Cárcel de amor. When he was asked to write the best love story he could produce and in a better style than that of his Arnalte y Lucenda, he decided to develop the elements of the love tradition that were in fashion at the time. He gave life to the courtly ideal of love by means of his skilful use of the literary forms available to him, and to the new Renaissance rhetoric.

San Pedro's use of the new humanistic rhetoric and the autobiographical form led him to create an effective illusion of reality in his tale, which made Cárcel de amor a forerunner of the modern novel.

The excellence of San Pedro's re-creation of the conventional ideals of courtly love made his Cárcel de amor and its perfect lovers into models worthy of imitation in
real life. However, the extremely idealized nature of these models did not correspond to the actual nature of human beings. Thus, Renaissance writers like Rojas were prone to prove the falseness of the courtly romantic ideals.

San Pedro's work closes an era where the individualism of the Renaissance was still unknown; an era where the actual experience of life and the artistic rendering of it could not be the same.

San Pedro's art is the product of the mediaeval approach to literature and its excellence is the result of the author's experience as a courtly writer. It was precisely his consciousness as a courtly writer that inspired San Pedro to select the appropriate ideas, form, language and style in order to produce an excellent example of courtly literature.
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_. See also: Flores, Juan de.


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. See also Cummins, J. S.