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Don Juan Manuel, *Libro de los enxiemplos del conde Lucanor et de Patronio* (ca. 1335)

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Introduction

Don Juan Manuel, son of the *infante* Manuel of Castile and Beatrice of Savoy, was born in Escalona in 1282. Although he was a member of the royal family of Castile and nephew to King Alfonso X (r. 1252-1284), he was not part of the line of succession. In his youth, he inherited lands from his father and expanded them through participation in military campaigns and political intrigues, eventually controlling large territories in Castile and Aragon, including Murcia, Alarcón, Elche, and Villena. The extension of his territories on the Iberian Peninsula was rivaled only by those of the kings of Castile and Aragon, as he proudly states in his works. His political life was marked by war, deceit, and betrayal: he broke his oath of fealty to his great-nephew King Alfonso XI (r. 1312-1350), waging war against him with the assistance of the Nasrid king of Granada, the kings of Aragon and Portugal, and members of the Castilian nobility. Juan Manuel and Alfonso XI eventually came to a peace agreement, thanks in large part to the intervention of his mother-in-law Doña Juana Núñez de Lara, and the two men fought as allies in the Battle of Río Salado in 1340. Throughout his life, Juan Manuel had close ties to the Dominican Order, founding the Dominican monastery of San Pablo in Peñafiel, where he was buried upon his death in 1349.

For scholars, Juan Manuel has emerged as one of the most influential Castilian prose writers of the Middle Ages, second only to Alfonso X. Although relatively few manuscripts of his work have survived, since the nineteenth century his writings have become central for the medieval Castilian canon. His collected works serve as a compendium of the different literary genres produced in his time, all of them serving a specific social purpose: chronicles about the history of Spain, hunting treatises, manuals of royal and courtly behavior, didactic literature, poetry and rules of poetic composition, and religious treatises.

His most famous work, the *Libro de los enxiemplos del conde Lucanor et de Patronio*, was completed in 1335 and offers advice to noblemen about how to preserve their honor and social status. The book, divided into five parts, is framed as a conversation between Count Lucanor, a Castilian nobleman, and his faithful counselor Patronio. Part one contains fifty *exempla* (*enxiemplos*), stories used to convey a moralizing lesson; Juan Manuel collected these popular tales from both oral sources and written collections. Parts two through four contain increasingly obscure proverbs, and part five is a treatise on the Catholic faith.

At the beginning of each story in part one, the Count tells Patronio about a problem related to his estate or relations with other members of the court, and asks him for advice on how to resolve it. Patronio then tells the Count an *exemplum* that mirrors his situation and explains how to apply the story to the Count's dilemma. Finally, the Count puts Patronio's advice into practice, and a character named Don Juan closes the story with a rhyming couplet that serves as a *sententia*, an aphorism that sums up the story's meaning. Here you will find an edition of the original texts in medieval Castilian, followed by translations into English.

Juan Manuel's *General Prologue*

The General Prologue (*Prólogo general*) is a short text composed by Juan Manuel to introduce the volume of his collected works, of which only a fifteenth-century copy survives (Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 6376). Written in the first person, it describes Juan Manuel's anxiety about how his works will be transmitted and interpreted, lamenting the carelessness of scribes who will inevitably introduce errors into his text. Juan



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Manuel's prologue is distinctive in its author's assertion of his role as corrector of scribal errors, as well as in his vindication of a text written not in Latin, the scholarly language, but in the vernacular.

To illustrate his critique of scribes, Juan Manuel tells the story of the knight and the shoemaker, setting his version in Perpignan during the reign of King Jaime II of Mallorca (r. 1276-1311). In this retelling, the knight, a renowned songwriter, hears a shoemaker singing a terrible rendition of one of his songs and takes vengeance by destroying the shoes he has crafted. The two men appeal to the king, who bans the shoemaker from singing the song and pays back the cost of his damaged wares. Here, Juan Manuel compares his own writing to the knight's creative talent, relegating the work of scribes and shoemakers to the realm of manual labor. But while the story seems to privilege the author's original text, the king's just decision suggests that the work of scribes should not be undervalued.

The prologue ends with a list of Juan Manuel's works, as well as a declaration of humility that was a common rhetorical strategy in medieval writings such as prologues and letters. In sum, this text sheds light on one fourteenth-century writer's self-reflections as an author at a transitional moment, moving from medieval notions of authorship that implied anonymity and collaboration to more modern associations with individuality and originality.

***Conde Lucanor*, exemplum 11: On what happened to a dean of Santiago with Don Yllán, the great sage of Toledo**

Exemplum 11 of *El conde Lucanor* is often described as one of the foundational texts of Hispanic literature due to its masterful creation of a many-layered fiction that places both the main character and the reader under its spell. While the artistic achievement of this tale is notable, medieval authors and readers expected literature to be didactic and moralizing as well as entertaining, following the advice by Latin poet Horace (65-8 BCE) that a literary work must both teach and delight. *El conde Lucanor* is above all a book intended for the political, social and moral education of Castilian noblemen, and the story's engaging and suspenseful plot serves to warn readers of the dangers that arise when those with lofty social ambitions fail to reward their closest allies and advisors and subsequently lose their loyalty. On a political level, this tale of a failed partnership could also reflect the author's concerns about the ever-changing loyalties at the court of Alfonso XI, with the dean and Don Yllán representing, respectively, the king and the dissatisfied members of his court.

It is not a coincidence that the dean, a low-level clergyman who seeks magical knowledge, is from Santiago de Compostela, the most important Christian pilgrimage site of the Iberian Peninsula and terminus of the Camino de Santiago (Way of Saint James), while Don Yllán, master of the arcane and occult sciences, hails from Toledo, the famed center for translations of Arabic scientific compendia during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The exchange between the dean and Don Yllán thus reflects the processes of cultural exchange and transmission of knowledge across linguistic and religious boundaries that were common in medieval Iberia.

While the basic motifs of the story are likely based on an oral folktale, its prose style, character development, local color, and didactic message are the product of Juan Manuel's creativity as a writer. Moreover, the story provides a window into the cultural, political, and ideological landscape of medieval Castile, and illuminates the process of artistic creation as Juan Manuel envisioned it: as the adaptation of life into a system of signs for the reader to interpret and learn from. Unlike the dean, unaware of the devices Don Yllán uses to create the imaginary world that entraps him, Juan Manuel gives the reader a privileged position from which to witness the transformation of reality into fiction.

Juan Manuel, *Obras*¹: General Prologue

Así commo ha muy grant plazer el que faze alguna buena obra, señaladamente si toma grant trabajo en la fazer, quando sabe que aquella su obra es muy loada et se pagan della mucho las gentes, bien así ha muy grant pesar et grant enojo quando alguno, a sabiendas o aun por yerro, faze o dize alguna cosa por que aquella obra non sea tan preciada o alabada commo devía ser. Et por probar aquesto, porné aquí una cosa que acaeció a un cavallero en Perpinán en tienpo del primero rey don Jaymes de Mallorcias.

Así acaeció que aquel cavallero era muy grant trovador et fazié muy buenas cantigas a marabilla, et fizo una muy buena además et avía muy buen son; et atanto se pagavan las gentes de aquella cantiga, que desde grant tienpo non querían cantar otra cantiga sinon aquella; et el cavallero que la fiziera avía ende muy grant plazer. Et yendo por la calle un día, oyó que un çapatero estava diziendo aquella cantiga, et dezía tan mal erradamente tan bien las palabras commo el son, que todo omne que la oyesse, si ante non la oyié, ternía que era muy mala cantiga et muy mal fecha. Quando el cavallero que la fiziera oyó cómmo aquel çapatero confundía aquella tan buena obra commo él fiziera, ovo ende muy grant pesar et grant enojo, et descendió de la bestia et asentóse cerca dél. Et el çapatero, que non se guardava de aquello, no dexó su cantar, et cuanto más dezía, más confundía la cantiga que el cavallero fiziera. Et desque el cavallero vio su buena obra tan mal confundida por la torpedat de aquel çapatero, tomó muy passo unas tiseras et tajó quantos çapatos el çapatero tenía fechos; et esto fecho, cavalgó et fuesse. Et el çapatero paró mientes en sus çapatos, et desque los vido así tajados et entendió que avía

When someone writes a good work, especially one that requires a lot of effort, he will take great pleasure in knowing that his work is highly praised and many people like it; in the same way, he will be very annoyed and angered when someone, knowingly or by accident, does or says something to make that work less appreciated or praised than it ought to be. And to demonstrate this, I will recount here what happened to a knight in Perpignan in the time of the king Don Jaime I of Mallorca.²

It so happened that this knight was a great troubadour, and he wrote many marvelous songs and one in particular that had a very good tune, and people were so taken with the song that for a long time it was the only one anyone would sing, and this pleased the knight who had composed it very much. And as he was going down the street one day, he heard a shoemaker singing the words and tune of his song so poorly that anyone who had not heard it before would have thought it was a bad song, and badly written too. When the knight who had written the song heard the shoemaker ruining the good work he had written, he felt very hurt and angry, and he came down from his horse and sat down near him. The shoemaker did not notice this and kept singing, and the more he sang, the worse he mangled the song the knight had composed. And when the knight saw his good work so ruined by the incompetence of that shoemaker, he quietly took a pair of scissors and cut up all the shoes the shoemaker had made, and having done this he took off on his horse. When the shoemaker noticed his shoes all cut up and realized that he had lost all his

¹ Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 6376. This transcription respects the syntax and orthography of medieval Castilian, but scribal errors have been corrected, and punctuation and accents reflect norms of modern Spanish. The manuscript can be consulted as part of the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica project of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (<http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000012961>).

² The story of the knight and the shoemaker is set in the second half of the thirteenth century, when Perpignan was the second most important city in the Crown of Mallorca and capital of the county of Rosselló. Although the text gives “Jaime I,” the author refers not to Jaime I the Conqueror (r. 1213-76), the king of Aragon who conquered Mallorca, but rather to his son, Jaime II of Mallorca.

perdido todo su trabajo, ovo grant pesar et fue dando voces en pos aquel cavallero que aquello le fiziera.

Et el cavallero díxole:

–Amigo, el rey nuestro señor es aquí, et vós sabedes que es muy buen rey et muy justiciero; et vayamos antél et librello commo fallare por derecho.

Anbos se acordaron a esto; et desque legaron antel rey, dixo el çapatero cómo le tajara todos sus çapatos et le fiziera grant daño. El rey fue desto sañado et preguntó al cavallero si era aquello verdat; et el cavallero díxole que sí, mas que quisiesse saber por qué lo fiziera. Et mandó el rey que lo dixiesse; et el cavallero dixo que bien sabía el rey que él fiziera tal cantiga que era muy buena et abía buen son, et que aquel çapatero gela avía confundida, et que gela mandasse dezir. Et el rey mandógela dezir et vio que era así. Estonçe dixo el cavallero que, pues el çapatero confundiera tan buena obra commo él fiziera et en que avía tomado grant dapno et afán, que así confundiera él la obra del çapatero. El rey et cuantos lo oyeron tomaron desto grant plazer et rieron ende mucho, et el rey mandó al çapatero que nunca dixiesse aquella cantiga nin confundiesse la buena obra del cavallero, et pechó el rey el daño al çapatero et mandó al cavallero que non fiziesse más enojo al çapatero.

Et recelando yo, don Johán, que por razón que non se podrá escusar que los libros que yo he fechos non se ayan de trasladar muchas vezes, et porque yo he visto que en el trasladar acaeçe muchas vezes, lo uno, por desentendimiento del escrivano, o porque las letras semejan unas a otras, et que en trasladando el libro porná una razón por otra, en guisa que muda toda la entención et toda la sentençia, et será tráydo el que la fizo, non aviendo y culpa. Et por guardar esto quanto yo pudiere, fizi fazer este volumen en que están scriptos todos los libros que yo fasta aquí he fechos, et son doze. El primero tracta de la razón por que fueron dadas al infante don Manuel, mío padre, estas armas, que son alas et leones; et porque yo et mío fijo, legítimo heredero, et los herederos del mi linage podemos fazer cavalleros, non lo seyendo nós; et de la fabla que fizo conmigo el rey don Sancho en Madrit ante de su muerte; et el otro *De castigos et de consejos* que dó a mi fijo don Ferrando, et son todas cosas que

work, he was very annoyed and went yelling after the knight who had done it.

And the knight said to him:

–My friend, our king is here, and you know he is a very good and just king, so let’s go to him and have him decide what is right.

They both agreed to this, and when they came before the king, the shoemaker told him how the knight had cut up all his shoes and done him great harm. The king was angered by this and asked the knight if this was true; the knight answered that it was, but that surely the king would like to know why he had done it. The king ordered him to explain, and the knight said that the king knew very well that he had written such a good song with a good melody, but the shoemaker had ruined it, and the king should have the shoemaker sing it for him. And the king had him sing it, and saw that it was true. Then the knight said that since the shoemaker had ruined his good work that had cost him such great effort, he had likewise ruined the shoemaker’s work. The king and all those who were listening took great pleasure from this and laughed about it a great deal, and the king ordered the shoemaker not to sing that song or mangle the knight’s good work anymore, paid the shoemaker for his damages and ordered the knight not to bother the shoemaker again.

And I, Don Juan, fear that the books I have written will inevitably be copied many times, because I have seen it happen often in copying that one word is put in place of another, either due to the ignorance of the scribe, or because the letters resemble one another; in this way the whole intention and meaning is changed, and the one who wrote the work will be betrayed without having any blame. And to guard against this as much as I can, I had this volume made in which are copied all the books I have written up until now, and there are twelve in all. The first deals with the reason why our coat of arms, with wings and lions, was given to the *infante* Don Manuel, my father; and why I and my son and legitimate heir and the heirs of my family line can bestow knighthood on others without being knights

yo prové; et el otro libro es *De los estados*; et el otro es el *Libro del cavallero et del escudero*; et el otro, *Libro de la cavallería*; et el otro, *De la crónica abreviada*; et el otro, la *Crónica complida*; et el otro, el *Libro de los engennos*; et el otro, el *Libro de la caça*; et el otro, el *Libro de las cantigas* que yo fiz; et el otro, *De las reglas cómo se deve trobar*.

Et ruego a todos los que leyeren qualquier de los libros que yo fiz que si fallaren alguna razón mal dicha, que non pongan a mí la culpa fasta que bean este volumen que yo mesmo concerté. Et desque lo vieren, lo que fallaren que es y menguado non pongan culpa a la mi entención, ca Dios sabe buena la ove, mas pónganla a la mengua del mi entendimiento, que erró en dos cosas: la una, en el yerro que y fallaren; et la otra, porque fue atrevido a me entremeter en fablar en tales materias, entendiendo la mengua del mio entendimiento et sabiendo tan poco de las scripturas commo aquel que, yo juro a Dios verdat, que non sabría hoy gobernar un proverbio de tercera persona.

Et pues es fecho este prólogo et esta protestación, de aquí adelante començaré a fablar la materia de los libros.

ourselves; and the speech King Sancho³ made to me in Madrid before his death. And another is of lessons and advice I give to my son Don Fernando, all based on things I experienced; and another is about the estates;⁴ and another is the *Book of the Knight and the Squire*; and another, the *Book of Chivalry*; and another, the *Abbreviated Chronicle*; and another, the *Complete Chronicle*; and another, the *Book of Siege Engines*;⁵ and another, the *Book of the Hunt*; and another, the *Book of Songs* that I wrote; and another, *On the Rules for Composing Songs*.

And I ask all those who may read any of the books I wrote, if they should find anything poorly said, not to blame me until they see this volume that I checked myself. And once they see it, let them not blame my intentions for whatever they find lacking there, for God knows they were good, but let them blame my lack of wisdom, which has led me astray in two things: first, in whatever mistakes they may find; and second, for daring to speak about such subjects while being fully aware of my lack of wisdom and knowing so little about scripture⁶ that, honest to God, I wouldn't know today how to conjugate a proverb in the third person.⁷

And now that this prologue and protestation is done, from here on I will begin to talk about the subject matter of the books.

³ Sancho IV, king of Castile and León (r. 1284-95) and cousin to Juan Manuel.

⁴ In medieval Christian societies, the term *estate* refers both to a person's specific social condition and to their social category, divided into three groups: those who pray, those who fight, and those who work. At the head of this social body were kings or emperors, who represented earthly power, and the Pope, who represented divine authority.

⁵ Siege engines are a type of war machine used in combat. Although the *Book of Siege Engines* is no longer extant, Juan Manuel was probably inspired by classical models of military treatises such as the *Epitome of Military Science* by the fifth-century author Vegetius, whom he mentions in the *Book of the Knight and the Squire*. In addition to military strategy and organization, these treatises typically explain the workings of war "engines": defensive equipment, weapons, and various war machines, such as siege towers and battering rams.

⁶ In the original text, *scripturas* suggests the sacred languages in which the Bible and texts from classical, patristic and medieval philosophy circulated in the Middle Ages. Juan Manuel is thus professing his ignorance of Latin, although such expressions of modesty are common tropes of medieval prologues and should not necessarily be taken at face value.

⁷ The author refers to a common grammatical exercise for intermediate students of Latin in the fourteenth century, which required translating a simple sentence with a nominative subject, often a proverb, from Romance to Latin.

Juan Manuel, *Libro de los enxiemplos del conde Lucanor et de Patronio*

Exemplo XI. De lo que contesció a un dean de Sanctiago con don Yllán, el grand maestro de Toledo

Otro día fablava el conde Lucanor con Patronio et contával su fazienda en esta guisa:

–Patronio, un omne vino a me rogar quel ayudasse en un fecho que avía mester mi ayuda et prometióme que faría por mí todas las cosas que fuessen mi pro et mi onra. Et yo començél a ayudar quanto pude en aquel fecho. Et ante quel pleito fuesse acabado, teniendo él que ya el su pleito era librado, acaesçió una cosa en que cunplía que la fiziesse por mí; et roguél que la fiziesse et él púsome escusa. Et después acaesçió otra cosa que pudiera fazer por mí, et púsome escusa commo a la otra; et esto me fizo en todo lo quel rogué quel fiziesse por mí. Et aquel fecho por que él me rogó non es aún librado, nin se librárá si yo non quisiere. Et por la fiuza que yo he en vós et en el vuestro entendimiento, ruégovos que me consejedes lo que faga en esto.

–Señor conde –dixo Patronio–, para que vós fagades en esto lo que vos devedes, mucho querría que sopiésedes lo que contesció a un deán de Sanctiago con don Yllán, el grand maestro que morava en Toledo.

Exemplum 11. On what happened to a dean of Santiago with Don Yllán, the great sage of Toledo⁸

On another day Count Lucanor was talking to Patronio and told him of his affairs in this way:

–Patronio, a man came to seek my assistance in a matter that required my help, and promised me that in return he would do all kinds of things for my honor and benefit. And so I began to help him as best I could in that matter. But before the business was resolved, he thought his matter was settled, and then when something came up that I needed him to do for me, I asked him to do it, but he gave me an excuse. Then another occasion arose in which I needed his help, but he gave me another excuse, the same as before, and he did this for everything I asked of him. Now, the matter for which he sought my help still hasn't been resolved, and it won't be resolved unless I cooperate. And because I have so much faith in you and in your wisdom, I ask that you advise me about what to do in this situation.

–My lord count –said Patronio–, in order to do what you ought to, you should know what happened to a dean of Santiago⁹ with Don Yllán, the great sage who lived in Toledo.¹⁰

And the count asked him how the story went.

⁸ This is the most celebrated story of *El conde Lucanor* and has inspired numerous rewritings from the Golden Age to the present day. The best one is perhaps the retelling by Jorge Luis Borges, “The Wizard That Was Made to Wait,” in *A Universal History of Infamy* (1935).

⁹ In the Catholic Church, a dean is a cleric with authority over a diocese, second to the bishop. Santiago de Compostela, a city in the north of Spain, is located in what is now the autonomous community of Galicia. According to tradition, the apostle James the Great (Santiago el Mayor) is buried there, giving the city its name. From the Middle Ages to the present day, Santiago has been an important destination for religious pilgrims (along with Rome and Jerusalem) and a symbol of Christianity on the Iberian Peninsula.

¹⁰ Toledo was the focal point of intercultural exchange among the Christian, Jewish and Muslim peoples of the Iberian Peninsula in the later Middle Ages. Under Islamic rule until 1085, when it was conquered by Christians, Toledo gathered diverse communities of intellectuals dedicated to translating religious, political, scientific and philosophical works from Arabic and Hebrew into Latin and Castilian. Among the works on natural sciences translated during the thirteenth century are treatises on astronomy, astrology, alchemy, and magic, contributing to Toledo's reputation as a center for the study of magic and other arcane sciences.

Et el conde le preguntó cómo fuera aquello.

—Señor conde —dixo Patronio—, en Santiago avía un deán que avía muy grant talante de saber el arte de la nigromancia. Et oyó dezir que don Yllán de Toledo sabía ende más que ninguno que fuesse en aquella sazón, et por ende vínose para Toledo para aprender de aquella ciencia. Et el día que llegó a Toledo adereçó luego a casa de don Yllán et fallólo que estava leyendo en una cámara muy apartada; et luego que legó a él, reçibiólo muy bien et díxol que non quería quel dixiesse ninguna cosa de lo por que venía fasta que oviesse comido. Et pensó muy bien dél et fizol dar muy buenas posadas et todo lo que ovo mester, et diol a entender quel plazía mucho con su venida.

Et después que ovieron comido, apartóse con él et contól la razón por que allí viniera, et rogól muy affincadamente quel mostrasse aquella ciencia, que él avía muy grant talante de la aprender. Et don Yllán díxol que él era deán et omne de grand guisa et que podía llegar a grand estado. Et los omnes que grant estado tienen, de que todo lo suyo han librado a su voluntad, olvidan mucho ayna lo que otríe ha fecho por ellos. Et él, que se reçelava que de que él oviesse aprendido dél aquello que él quería saber, que non le faría tanto bien como él le prometía. Et el deán le prometió et le asseguró que de qualquier vien que él oviesse, que nunca faría sinon lo que él mandasse.

Et en estas fablas estudieron desde ovieron yantado fasta que fue ora de çena. De que su pleito fue bien assossegado entre ellos, dixo don Yllán al deán que aquella ciencia non se podía aprender sinon en lugar mucho apartado et que luego, essa noche, le quería amostrar dó avían de estar fasta que oviesse aprendido aquello que él quería saber. Et tomól por la mano et levól a una cámara. Et en apartándose de la otra gente, llamó a una mançeba de su casa et díxol que toviesse perdizes para que çenassen essa noche, mas que non las pudiesen a assar fasta que él gelo mandasse.

—My lord count —said Patronio—, in Santiago there lived a dean who had a great desire to learn the art of necromancy. He heard that Don Yllán of Toledo knew more about it than anyone else at that time, so he went to Toledo to study that science. And the day he arrived in Toledo, he went straight to the house of Don Yllán and found him reading in a secluded room; and when they met, Don Yllán received him warmly and said he didn't wish to speak of the reason for the man's visit until after he had eaten. He took excellent care of him and gave him very nice accommodations and everything he needed, and made it clear that he was very pleased with his visit.

After they had eaten, the dean took Don Yllán aside and told him the reason why he had come, and asked very insistently if he would teach him the science he so desired to learn. Don Yllán responded that the dean was a man of high standing who could one day rise to a very high estate,¹¹ and men of high estate who have gotten their way forget very quickly what others have done for them. And thus Don Yllán feared that once the dean had learned everything he wanted to know, he wouldn't treat him as well as he promised. The dean promised and assured him that whatever benefit came to him, he would always use it exactly how Don Yllán told him to.

They continued conversing on the subject from the time they finished lunch to when it was time for dinner. Once the matter was quite settled between them, Don Yllán told the dean that this science could not be learned except in the utmost privacy, and that later that night he would show him where they would stay until he had learned everything he wanted to know. And he took him by the hand and led him to a chamber. As they were leaving, he called one of his servants and told her to prepare partridges for dinner that night, but not to put them in the oven until he gave the order.

¹¹ See note 4 on *estates*.

Et desque esto ovo dicho, llamó al deán et entraron entramos por una escalera de piedra muy bien labrada et fueron descendiendo por ella muy grand pieça, en guisa que paresçia que estavan tan vaxos que passaba el río de Tajo por çima dellos. Et desque fueron en cabo del escalera, fallaron una possada muy buena et una cámara mucho apuesta que ý avía, ó estavan los libros et el estudio en que avían de leer. De que se assentaron, estavan parando mientes en quáles libros avían de començar. Et estando ellos en esto, entraron dos omnes por la puerta et diéronle una carta quel enviava el arçobispo, su tío, en quel fazía saber que estava muy mal doliente et quel enviava rogar, que sil quería veer vivo, que se fuesse luego para él. Al deán pesó mucho con estas nuebas; lo uno, por la dolencia de su tío, et lo ál, porque reçeló que avía de dexar su estudio que avía començado. Pero puso en su corazón de non dexar aquel estudio tan aýna, et fizo sus cartas de repuesta et enviólas al arçobispo, su tío.

Et dende a tres o quatro días, llegaron otros omnes a pie que traýan otras cartas al deán en quel fazían saber que el arçobispo era finado, et que estavan todos los de la iglesia en su eslecçión et que fiavan, por la merçed de Dios, que eslerían a él. Et por esta razón, que non se quexasse de yr a la iglesia; ca mejor era para él en quel eslecýessen seyendo en otra parte que non estando en la iglesia.

Et dende, a cabo de siete o de ocho días, vinieron dos escuderos muy bien vestidos et muy bien aparejados, et quando llegaron a él, vesáronle la mano et mostráronle las cartas en cómmo le avían esleýdo por arçobispo. Quando don Yllán esto oyó, fue al electo et díxol cómmo gradesçia mucho a Dios porque estas buenas nuebas le llegaran a su casa; et pues Dios tanto bien le fiziera, quel pedía por merçed que el deanadgo que fincava vagado que lo diesse a un su fijo. Et el electo díxol quel rogava quel quisiesse consentir que aquel deanadgo que lo oviesse un su hermano; mas que él le faría bien,

Having said this, he called the dean over and together they went down an elaborately carved stone staircase, and they continued to descend for quite a long time until they were so far underground that it seemed the Tagus River flowed above them.¹² When they reached the bottom of the staircase, they found some very nice living quarters with a finely decorated chamber with books and a place to read. As they sat down and pondered where to begin, two men came through the door and handed the dean a letter from the archbishop, his uncle, which informed him that the archbishop was on his deathbed and if he wanted to see him alive, he should go to him immediately. The dean was very troubled by the news, both for the suffering of his uncle and because he feared he would have to abandon the studies he had only just begun. But he made up his mind not to give up his studies so soon, and wrote a letter of response and sent it to the archbishop, his uncle.

After three or four days, some other men arrived on foot bearing a letter for the dean letting him know that the archbishop had died and all the churchmen were electing a new archbishop, and the men trusted that, God willing, they would elect the dean. And for that reason he shouldn't rush to the church, for it was better that they elect him while he was away.

Then seven or eight days later there arrived two very handsome and well-dressed squires who approached the dean, kissed his hand, and showed him the letters informing him that he had been elected archbishop. When Don Yllán heard this, he approached the new archbishop and told him that he thanked God this good news had come to him in his home; and since God had shown him such good fortune, he asked him to give the vacant deanship to one of his sons. And the new archbishop asked him instead for permission to offer the deanship to one of his own brothers; but assured Don Yllán that he would soon do right by him, and asked him to come

¹² Toledo, a city famous for its caves, is located on a hill near the banks of the Tagus River. The characters' descent below the river contributes to their isolation and provides an atmosphere of mystery.

en guisa que él fuesse pagado, et que rogava que fuesse con él para Sanctiago et que levasse aquel su fijo. Don Yllán dixo que lo faría et fuéronse para Sanctiago.

Quando y llegaron, fueron muy bien reęebidos et mucho onradamente. Et desque moraron y un tienpo, un día llegaron al aręobispo mandaderos del Papa con sus cartas en cómol dava el obispado de Tolosa et quel dava gracia que pudiesse dar el aręobispado a qui quisiesse. Quando don Yllán oyó esto, retrayéndol mucho affincadamente lo que con él avía passado, pidiól meręed quel diesse a su fijo; et el aręobispo le rogó que consentiesse que lo oviesse un su tío, hermano de su padre. Et don Yllán dixo que bien entendí quel fazía grand tuerto, pero que esto que lo consintía en tal que fuesse seguro que gelo emendaría adelante. Et el obispo le prometió en toda guisa que lo faría assí et rogól que fuessen con él a Tolosa et que levasse su fijo.

Et desque llegaron a Tolosa, fueron muy bien reęebidos de condes et de quantos omnes buenos avía en la tierra. Et desque ovieron y morado fasta dos años, llegaron los mandaderos del Papa con sus cartas en cómmo le fazía el Papa cardenal et quel fazía gracia que diesse el obispado de Tolosa a qui quisiesse. Entonęe fue a él don Yllán et díxol que pues tantas vezes le avía fallestido de lo que con él pusiera, que ya aquí non avía logar del poner escusa ninguna que non diesse algunas de aquellas dignidades a su fijo. Et el cardenal rogól quel consentiesse que oviesse aquel obispado un su tío, hermano de su madre, que era omne bueno anęiano; mas que, pues él cardenal era, que se fuese con él para la corte, que asaz avía en qué le fazer bien. Et don Yllán quexósse ende mucho, pero consintió en lo que el cardenal quiso et fuesse con él para la corte.

Et desque y llegaron, fueron bien reęebidos de los cardenales et de quantos en la corte eran, et moraron y muy grand tienpo. Et don Yllán

with him to Santiago and bring his son. Don Yllán agreed and they left for Santiago.

When they arrived, they were received well and with great honor. And after they had stayed there a while, one day the Pope's messengers arrived with letters giving him the bishopric of Toulouse,¹³ along with permission to give the archbishopric to whomever he wanted. When Don Yllán heard this, he sharply reminded the archbishop of what had happened before, asking him to give the seat to his son; but the archbishop asked for permission to give it to an uncle of his on his father's side. And Don Yllán replied that although he understood he was being greatly wronged, he would consent as long as he could be certain it would be remedied later. The bishop promised wholeheartedly to do so, and asked him to go with him to Toulouse and bring his son.

When they arrived in Toulouse, the counts and all the nobles in the land received them warmly. After two years, the Pope's messengers arrived with letters that the Pope had appointed him cardinal and given him permission to give the bishopric to whomever he wanted. Again Don Yllán approached him and said that since he had let him down so many times before, now there could no longer be any excuse not to bestow that dignity upon his son. The cardinal, however, asked his permission to give the bishopric to an uncle on his mother's side who was quite an old man, but assured him that, since he was now a cardinal, he would take Don Yllán with him to the papal court,¹⁴ where there would be plenty of opportunities to honor him. And Don Yllán protested a great deal, but he finally gave in to the cardinal's requests and accompanied him to court.

And when they arrived, the cardinals and the other members of the court gave them a warm reception, and they stayed there a long time. And every day

¹³ Toulouse was the capital of the county of Languedoc, in the present-day region of Occitania (southern France).

¹⁴ The papal court was located in Rome during most of the Middle Ages but was moved to the French city of Avignon from 1309 to 1376, the period in which *El conde Lucanor* was composed.

affincando cada día al cardenal quel fiziesse alguna gracia a su fijo, et él poníal sus excusas.

Et estando assí en la corte, finó el Papa; et todos los cardenales esleyeron aquel cardenal por Papa. Estonce fue a él don Yllán et díxol que ya non podía poner excusa de non conplir lo quel avía prometido. El Papa le dixo que non lo affincasse tanto, que siempre avría lugar en quel fiziesse merçed segund fuesse razón. Et don Yllán se començó a quexar mucho, retrayéndol quantas cosas le prometiera et que nunca le avía conplido ninguna, et diziéndol que aquello reçelava en la primera vegada que con él fablara, et pues aquel estado era legado et nol cumplía lo quel prometiera, que ya non le fíncava logar en que antendiesse dél bien ninguno. Deste aquexamiento se quexó mucho el Papa et començól a maltraer, diziéndol que si más le affincasse, quél faría echar en una cárçel, que era ereje et encantador, que bien sabía que non avía otra vida nin otro offiçio en Toledo, do él moraba, sinon bivir por aquella arte de nigromañia.

Desde don Yllán vio cuánto mal le gualardonava el Papa lo que por él avía fecho, espedióse dél, et solamente nol quiso dar el Papa qué comiese por el camino. Estonce don Yllán dixo al Papa que pues ál non tenía de comer, que se avría de tornar a las perdizes que mandara assar aquella noche, et llamó a la muger et díxol que assasse las perdizes.

Quando esto dixo don Yllán, fallósse el Papa en Toledo, deán de Sanctiago, commo lo era quando ý bino; et tan grand fue la vergüença que ovo, que non sopo quel dezir. Et don Yllán díxol que fuesse en buenaventura et que assaz avía provado lo que tenía en él, et que ternía por muy mal enpleado si comiesse su parte de las perdizes.

Et vós, señor conde Lucanor, pues veedes que tanto fazedes por aquel omne que vos demanda ayuda et non vos da ende mejores gracias, tengo que non avedes por qué trabajar nin aventurarvos mucho por llegarlo a logar que vos dé tal galardón commo el deán dio a don Yllán.

El conde tovo esto por buen consejo, et fizolo assí et fallósse ende bien.

Don Yllán insisted that the cardinal bestow some honor on his son, and was met with the same excuses.

During their time there, the Pope died, and all the other cardinals elected that cardinal to be Pope. Then Don Yllán approached him and said that now there was absolutely no way he could make excuses for not doing what he had promised. The Pope told him not to bother him so much, for there would always be a chance to bestow some appropriate honor. And Don Yllán began to protest a great deal, reminding him of all the things he had promised and how he had never fulfilled a single one, and how he had suspected this the first time they had spoken, and since he had made it to such great heights and never kept his word, Don Yllán had given up all hope of ever receiving any compensation. The Pope complained about this diatribe and began to insult Don Yllán, saying that if he kept insisting he would have him thrown in jail, and calling him a heretic and a sorcerer, since he knew full well that he didn't have any other profession or livelihood in his hometown of Toledo aside from the art of necromancy.

When Don Yllán saw how badly the Pope was repaying all he had done, he took his leave, and the Pope refused even to supply him with provisions for his journey. So Don Yllán told the Pope that since he had nothing else to eat, he would have to resort to the partridges he had ordered to be roasted that night, and he called his servant and told her to roast them.

As soon as Don Yllán said this, the Pope found himself in Toledo, dean of Santiago, as he had been when he arrived, and his shame was so great that he didn't know what to say. And Don Yllán told him to go in peace since he had sufficiently proven what he was made of, and that he would consider it a waste to give him his share of the partridges.

And since you, my lord count, can see that you have done so much for this man who asked for your help but refuses to show you the proper gratitude, I reckon you have no reason to work hard or take any risks, only to have him give you the same reward the dean gave to Don Yllán.

The count thought this was good advice, and he acted accordingly and profited from it.

Et porque entendió don Johán que era este muy buen exienplo, fizolo poner en este libro et fizo estos viessos que dizen assí:

*Al que mucho ayudares et non te lo conosçiere,
menos ayuda abrás dél desque en grand onra subiere.*

Et la estoria deste exienplo es ésta que se sigue:

And because Don Juan understood this to be a very good story, he had it copied into this book and composed the following verses:

*If you help someone who doesn't recognize your efforts,
you'll have even less help when he rises to higher honors.*

And the miniature of this story is as follows:¹⁵

¹⁵ These miniatures (*estorias*) were illustrations of the tales that were likely present in an earlier manuscript of Juan Manuel's works, which is now lost. The most complete extant manuscript, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 6376, has a blank space after each story where a specialized artist known as an illuminator would have added the images to the finished text (fig. 2). Readers also occasionally added their own marginalia, such as doodles of human and animal figures (fig. 3).

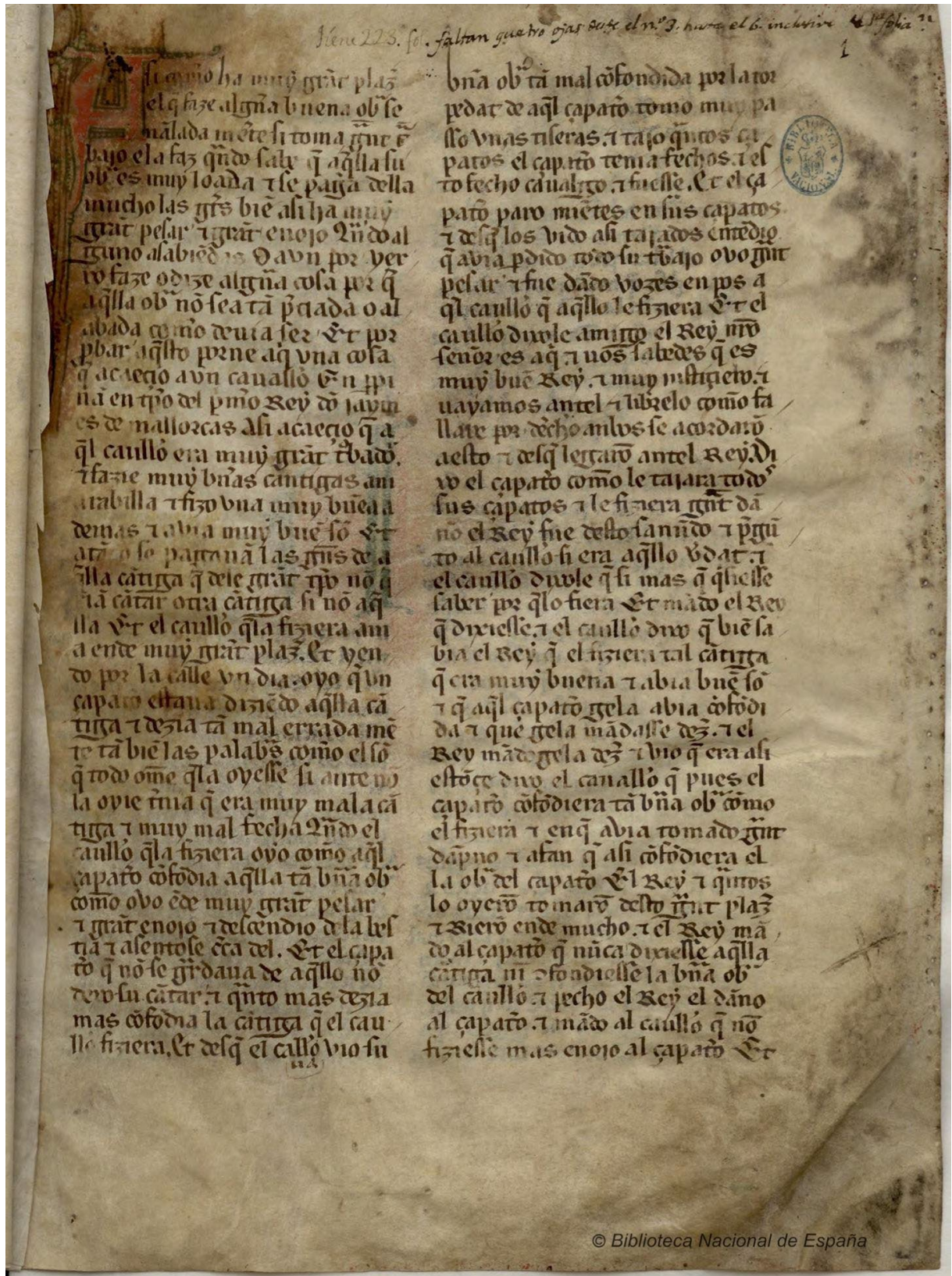
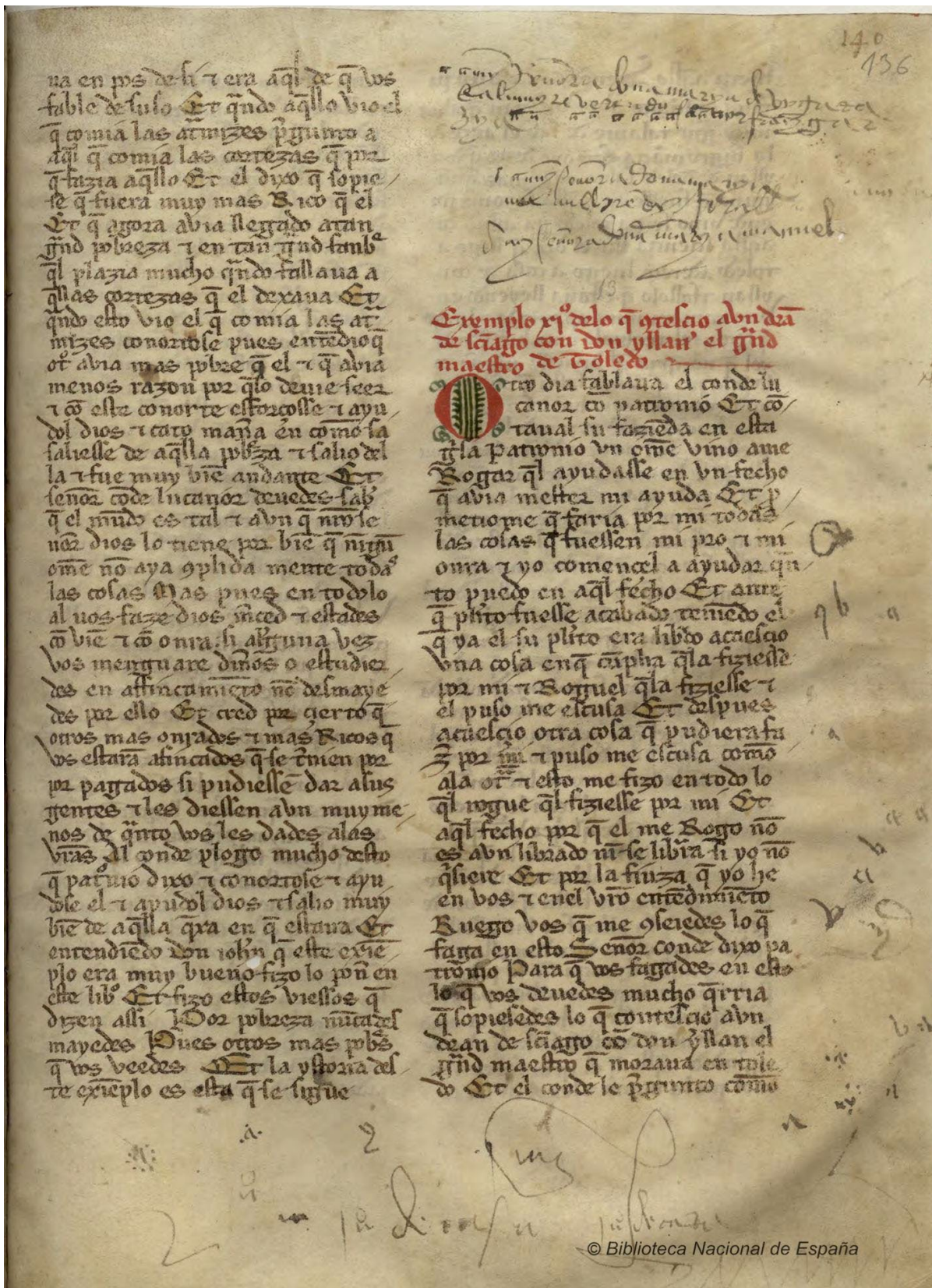


Fig. 1: Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 6376, fol. 1r



na en pos de si e era aq̄l de q̄ los
 fable de sulo Et q̄ndo aq̄llo vio el
 q̄ comia las arnizes p̄guntó a
 aq̄l q̄ comia las coxrezas q̄ p̄z
 q̄ fazia aq̄llo Et el dixo q̄ lo p̄e
 se q̄ fuera muy mas Rico q̄ el
 Et q̄ agora avia llegado aq̄n
 q̄nd p̄breza e en tan q̄nd f̄mb
 q̄l plaza mucho q̄nd fallava a
 q̄llas coxrezas q̄ el dexava Et
 q̄ndo esto vio el q̄ comia las ar
 nizes conortible pues ent̄d̄o q̄
 ot avia mas p̄bre q̄ el e q̄ avia
 menos razon p̄z q̄lo de me seer
 e o estz conorte estorcolle e ayu
 dol dios e caro mapa en como la
 fallielle de aq̄lla p̄bza e salio del
 la e fue muy vie andante Et
 senoz conde Lucanor deuedes sab
 q̄ el mudo es tal e avn q̄ nro se
 noz dios lo tiene p̄z vie q̄ nro
 ome no aya q̄phoa mente toda
 las cosas Mas pues en todo lo
 al uos faze dios m̄ced e estades
 o vie e o om̄a si alguna vez
 vos menguare dinos o estudies
 des en affn̄c̄m̄to no desm̄ye
 des p̄z ello Et cred p̄z q̄erto q̄
 otros mas onyados e mas Ricos q̄
 vos estara atinados q̄ se t̄nien p̄z
 p̄z pagados si p̄dielle dar alus
 gentes e les diellen avn muy me
 nos de q̄nto vos les dades alas
 vias Al conde p̄logo mucho esto
 q̄ paruo dixo e conortole e ayu
 die el e ayudol dios e salio muy
 vie de aq̄lla q̄ra en q̄ estava Et
 entendido don ioh̄n q̄ este exie
 plo era muy bueno fizo lo p̄n en
 este lib̄ Et fizo estos versos q̄
 dizen alli Por p̄breza n̄n̄ca
 mayedes Pues otros mas p̄bs
 q̄ vos veedes Et la ystoria del
 te exieplo es esta q̄ se sigue

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 136
 Exemplo xi
 de Santiago con don yllan el q̄nd
 maestro de Toledo
 En un dia fablava el conde lu
 canor con patronio Et co
 raval su fazienda en esta
 q̄la patronio un ome vino ame
 Rogar q̄l ayudasse en un fecho
 q̄ avia metter su ayuda Et p̄
 metome q̄ faria p̄z mi todas
 las cosas q̄ fuellen mi pro e mi
 om̄a e yo comencel a ayudar q̄n
 to p̄ced en aq̄l fecho Et ante
 q̄ p̄lto fuelle acabado temedo el
 q̄ va el su p̄lto era lib̄o acuelao
 vna cosa enq̄ c̄p̄ha q̄la fiziesse
 p̄z mi e Roguel q̄la fiziesse e
 el pulo me excusa Et despues
 acuelao otra cosa q̄ p̄diera fa
 e p̄z mi e pulo me excusa como
 ala ot e esto me fizo en todo lo
 q̄l rogue q̄l fiziesse p̄z mi Et
 aq̄l fecho p̄z q̄ el me Rogo no
 es avn lib̄ado ni se libra si yo no
 q̄hiere Et p̄z la fuzza q̄ yo he
 en vos e nel v̄o ent̄d̄m̄to
 Buengo vos q̄ me oferedes lo q̄
 faga en esto Senoz conde dixo pa
 tronio Para q̄ vos fagades en esto
 lo q̄ vos deuedes mucho q̄ria
 q̄ sopiesedes lo q̄ contelao avn
 dean de Santiago con don yllan el
 q̄nd maestro q̄ morava en tole
 do Et el conde le p̄guntó como

**Exemplo xi de lo q̄ gresao avn da
 de Santiago con don yllan el q̄nd
 maestro de Toledo**

Otro dia fablava el conde lu
 canor con patronio Et co
 raval su fazienda en esta
 q̄la patronio un ome vino ame
 Rogar q̄l ayudasse en un fecho
 q̄ avia metter su ayuda Et p̄
 metome q̄ faria p̄z mi todas
 las cosas q̄ fuellen mi pro e mi
 om̄a e yo comencel a ayudar q̄n
 to p̄ced en aq̄l fecho Et ante
 q̄ p̄lto fuelle acabado temedo el
 q̄ va el su p̄lto era lib̄o acuelao
 vna cosa enq̄ c̄p̄ha q̄la fiziesse
 p̄z mi e Roguel q̄la fiziesse e
 el pulo me excusa Et despues
 acuelao otra cosa q̄ p̄diera fa
 e p̄z mi e pulo me excusa como
 ala ot e esto me fizo en todo lo
 q̄l rogue q̄l fiziesse p̄z mi Et
 aq̄l fecho p̄z q̄ el me Rogo no
 es avn lib̄ado ni se libra si yo no
 q̄hiere Et p̄z la fuzza q̄ yo he
 en vos e nel v̄o ent̄d̄m̄to
 Buengo vos q̄ me oferedes lo q̄
 faga en esto Senoz conde dixo pa
 tronio Para q̄ vos fagades en esto
 lo q̄ vos deuedes mucho q̄ria
 q̄ sopiesedes lo q̄ contelao avn
 dean de Santiago con don yllan el
 q̄nd maestro q̄ morava en tole
 do Et el conde le p̄guntó como

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Fig. 2: Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 6376, fol. 136r

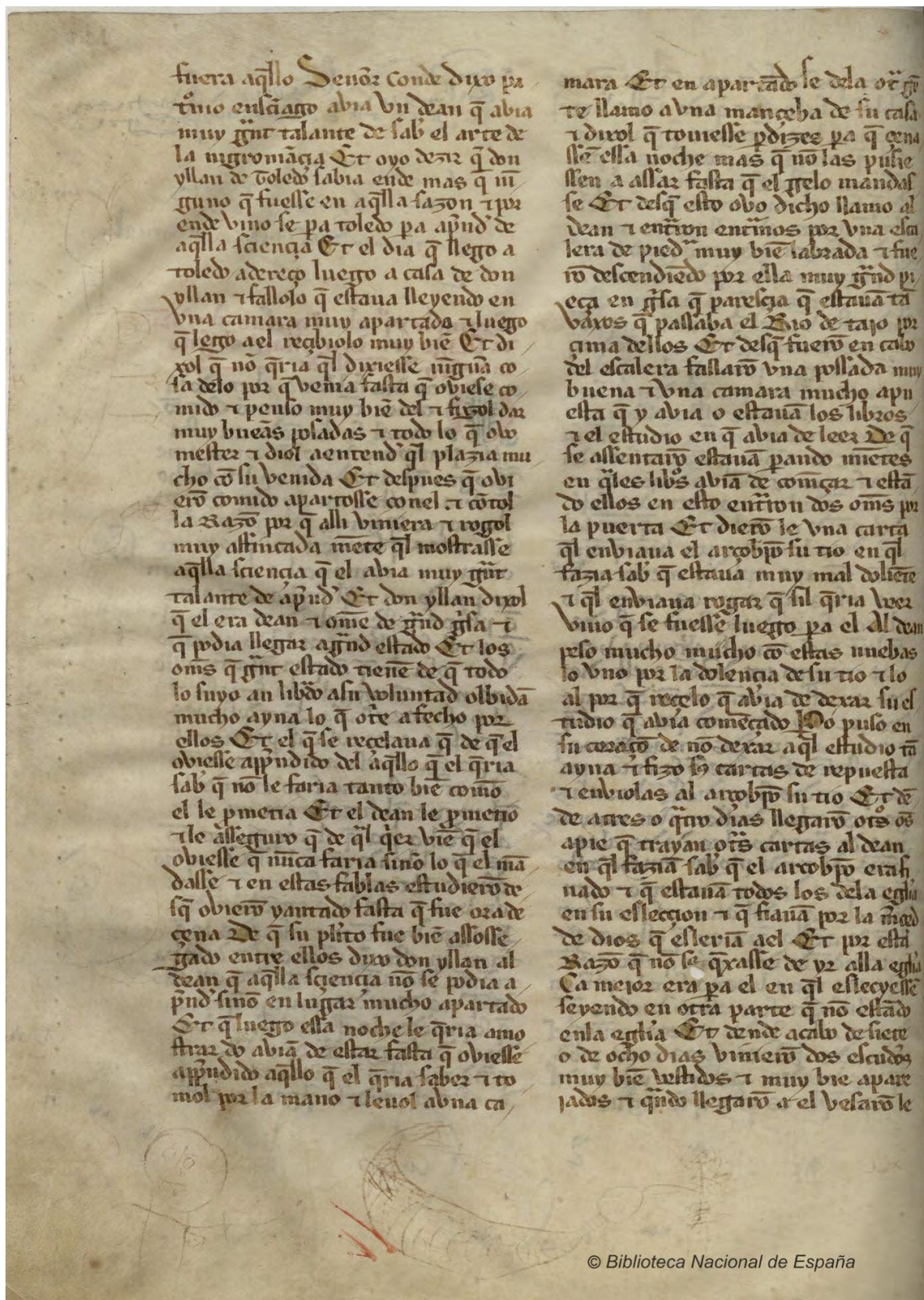


Fig. 3: Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 6376, fol.

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