

REPRESENTATION OF THE SELF AS INDIVIDUAL THROUGH MEMORY IN

JORGE MANRIQUE'S *COPLAS A LA MUERTE DE SU PADRE*

by

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(Under the Direction of Dana C. Bultman)

ABSTRACT

In the fifteenth-century Castilian poem on death, *Coplas de Jorge Manrique a la muerte de su padre*, the verses lead the reader on a journey of the self, who, challenged by death's equalizing power, conquers adversity with agency. From the beginning verses, Manrique urges his reader to contemplate his own mortality and to address ontological concerns from older, familiar texts that he uses as a source for memory in writing his poem. However, the representation of the poet's father at death, don Rodrigo, and don Rodrigo's engagement with death show that knowledge and understanding gained from following the guidelines of the institution of chivalry provided the knight with the will to triumph even at death.

This dissertation is an approach to the *Coplas* from theories of memory as representation from antiquity, from Augustine's explanations of the concepts of memory, understanding, and will, and from the medieval use of memory as a source for writing. I argue that the role of memory in writing and Latin medieval practices of contemplative reading, through which readers pondered and remembered, provide a platform for approaching identity in the *Coplas*. While memory, *memoria*, served as an art for

writing, contemplative spiritual reading practices, *lectio spiritualis*, worked for meditating on the self and towards establishing concepts of individuality. I locate the emerging concern for selfhood evidenced in the *Coplas* by reading the verses side by side with two fifteenth-century texts, a well-disseminated spiritual text on death, *Ars moriendi* and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, a fifteenth-century Castilian manual on chivalry. My reading of Manrique's verses follows theories of language developed by Roman Jakobson and Tzvetan Todorov. My interpretation through poetics offers a new approach to the *Coplas* by showing that in the poem, Manrique shapes a narrative of the self that emerges from the subversive power of the *Dance of Death* towards an individual triumph at the threshold of early modernity.

INDEX WORDS: FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CASTILE, MEDIEVAL, THE SELF, INDIVIDUAL, MEMORY, CONTEMPLATION, CASTILIAN KNIGHT, KNIGHTHOOD, CHIVALRY, ARS MORIENDI, COPLAS DE JORGE MANRIQUE A LA MUERTE DE SU PADRE, JORGE MANRIQUE, MEDIEVAL POETRY, LYRIC, DEATH

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2 MEMORY, REPRESENTATION, AND THE SELF IN THE TIME OF MANRIQUE.....	25
Memory from Antiquity to the Medieval Period.....	28
Contemplation for Reading and Memory for Writing.....	43
Transferring Knowledge through Memory .....	50
3 DEATH AND THE SELF IN THE <i>COPLAS</i> .....	76
Meditation: The Spiritual Vision of the Self.....	81
<i>Ubi Sunt</i> : The Historical Context for the Self.....	95
Don Rodrigo: The Knight and the Self at Death.....	102
4 READER’S JOURNEY FROM <i>THE DANCE OF DEATH</i> .....	110
The Self as Individual in the <i>Coplas</i> .....	117
Time and Space in the <i>Coplas</i> .....	122
5 CONCLUSION.....	128
WORKS CITED.....	130

## APPENDICES

A	<i>SPECULŪ ARTIS BENE MORIĒDI</i> .....	135
B	<i>ARS MORIENDI</i> .....	166
C	<i>DOCTRINAL DE LOS CAUALLEROS</i> .....	172

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This dissertation, “Representation of the Self as Individual through Memory in Jorge Manrique’s *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*,” explores the lyric poem about death, *Coplas de Jorge Manrique a la muerte de su padre*, one of the most beloved and important works of Spanish literature. Written during a time of transition between the Medieval and early-Modern era, readers have long cherished questioning issues of life and death through its musical verses. Longfellow immortalized the poem in English through translation and literary critics such as Anna Krause, Pedro Salinas, Alan Deyermond, Frank Domínguez, and Vicente Beltrán have analyzed the fifteenth-century approach to death in the *Coplas*. But despite the great body of scholarship on the *Coplas* a study of Manrique’s use of medieval memory practices in writing a text that moves its reader towards a subjective consciousness of individual agency has yet to be offered. By understanding the concept of memory with which Manrique would have been familiar, I believe we can better understand how readers of his time would have experienced the poem and how it offered an emerging concern for the self as individual.

My analysis of the *Coplas* through medieval memory practices for writing will show how recombining knowledge from older texts led to new understandings; Manrique drew particularly from the *Ars moriendi* (c. 1408), a text intended for all persons as spiritual preparation in the art of dying well and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* (c. 1444), Alfonso de Cartagena’s manual which focused on the knight’s role as a juridical subject

from period temporal expectations. By reading the *Coplas* side by side with these texts, I look at representation through concepts transmitted from poetic language in the lyric poem. Tzvetan Todorov explains this type of approach to literature as poetics complemented by interpretation following Valéry's definition of "poetics" in its etymological sense as, "[. . .] everything that bears on the creation or composition of works having language at once as their substance or instrument" [and Todorov explains that], "It is not the literary work itself that is the object of poetics: what poetics questions are the properties of that particular discourse that is literary discourse. Each work is therefore regarded as the manifestation of an abstract and general structure, of which it is but one of the possible realizations" (7).

The role of writing in transmitting philosophical concepts at the threshold of the early-Modern period sparked my interest in memory and how it was understood to function in the process of composing literature. During the fifteenth century in Castile, writers represented concepts from antiquity and Christian thinkers in their work by drawing upon other texts from memory as a strategy for writing in order to communicate knowledge and express their own ideas. The older texts cited directly or indirectly in the new work recalled concepts in the memory of the writer and familiar to his reader. How well did going from accepted concepts towards new interpretations work? Did it work so well that the emergence of new positions was convincing, yet hardly perceivable as change? As Roger Chartier has shown: "Writing deploys strategies meant to produce effects, dictate a posture, and oblige the reader" (*Forms and Meanings* 1). The medieval strategy of using other texts as memory for writing was a resource useful in implementing



these strategies. Memory for writing was not only a technique, an important tool for instruction, or a way to transmit knowledge, but it was a way to communicate concepts.

According to Chartier, after the twelfth century, writing ceased to be for memorization and conservation and “came to be composed and copied for reading that was understood as intellectual work” (*Forms and Meanings* 16). Frances Yates who traces the art of memory from antiquity through the seventeenth century emphasizes the importance of Aristotle (384 BC) and Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106 BC) for an understanding of memory during the medieval period. Mary Carruthers explains that in rhetoric memory was important for the “philosophical” areas of Invention, Arrangement, and Style, far more important in that regard than as a “part” of rhetoric that is “technical” and applicable to Delivery (*The Book of Memory* 13). Augustine (354 AD) identifies memory as a trinity of memory, understanding, and will which he introduced in his *Confessions* and explains in *On the Trinity*. With his *Confessions*, he also defines contemplative spiritual practices of reading and composing for self-benefit. These practices of contemplative reading in Latin derived from Augustine, called *lectio spiritualis*, were recommended by medieval theologians and were transferred to the vernacular in Iberia and throughout Europe. In fact, the influence of the contemplative approach to reading was quite significant. Brian Stock writes that it is indeed Augustine who “[. . .] is the most prolific and influential writer on reading between antiquity and the Renaissance” (1) and that “On the whole it is *lectio spiritualis* that provides the theological background for reading and writing practices that appear in vernacular literature after the publication of Dante’s *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in 1305” (104).

My study of how a representation of the self as individual emerges in the *Coplas* focuses on how the use of memory for representation was related to a change in subjectivity during the time of transition between the Medieval and the early-Modern period. In this study, I offer a focused analysis of the *Coplas* in relation to the Latin writing practice that transmitted one's knowledge and communicated concerns to others through the use of other texts, *memoria*. I read the text as a journey that the verses provide for the reader, *ductus*. As Carruthers has shown, in medieval rhetoric one is said to travel through a composition, whether of words or other materials, led on by the stylistic qualities of its parts and their formally arranged relationships so that the artistic work "leads someone through itself" (Carruthers, "The Concept of *ductus*" 190). I believe that Manrique's use of other texts and poetic language work within his verses to provide a journey for the reader. The poet seems to win favor for his father with a journey of self interpretation through the reading of the *Coplas*. The poem in its first known appearance, *Dezir de don jorge manriq / por la muerte de su padre* (1482), indicates the use of "dezir" in its title, a term used in "cancioneros" to describe longer than usual poems destined to be read rather than sung (Domínguez 170). The verses lead the reader in a journey of self interpretation at death by recalling spiritual concepts and temporal attributes familiar to the Western reader. It becomes clear how the most circulated fifteenth-century text on death, the *Ars moriendi*, intended for reading in the preparation for death, is recalled in the poem and that Manrique portrays his father, Grand-master of the military Order of Santiago according to the virtues of the knight in *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, an archetypal text on chivalry from fifteenth century Castile. I will analyze how the *Coplas* use the *Ars moriendi* and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* in a medieval

memory strategy for writing and I will also study the journey that the verses of the *Coplas* provide for the reader to contemplate his own death.

In the *Ars moriendi*, *The Art of Dying Well*, *moriens*, the dying person, prepares for death with spiritual reading, likewise, in the *Coplas* the poet asks his reader to contemplate death. Manrique's reader, a juridical subject, anticipates death through his reading of the poem. However, Manrique's father, don Rodrigo Manrique, represented on his deathbed, is also *moriens* whose individual engagement and vigor in his ability to follow institutional guidelines learned during his life as a knight provide him with the talents needed for a good death. The portrait in the poem recalls the qualities of the knight explained in Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. The *Ars moriendi*, a spiritual text used in preparing for death, and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, a historical text for functioning within a political and social institution, provide the literary context from which I study the role of memory in the shaping of the self in Manrique's poem upon the death of his father.

I believe that the form of the *Coplas*, which draws from spiritual contemplative reading practices and a text used in preparing for death, calls Manrique's reader to journey through his verses in the position of the dying person facing death. From the beginning of the poem when he asks his reader to meditate on his own mortality and imminent death, the poet brings forth contemplative practices of reading and composing. I will argue that Manrique recalls contemplative reading practices in his beginning verses with "Recuerde el alma dormida, / abive el seso y despierte / contemplando" (1-3) and that as he asks his reader to meditate, he is also asking him to "compose" his own narrative of the self at death. In his verses, philosophical concepts and historical content

from familiar texts provide a platform for his reader to ponder concerns about the self at death as he reads.

Did the contemplative practices that focused on an individualistic approach to reading work in combination with an increase in literacy to produce an emerging concern for the self during Manrique's time? According to Brian Stock, individualistic notions of self arose during the medieval period due to "internal determinants" such as "changes in religious practices, the transition from auditory to visual memory, and above all the spread of a literate mentality among large numbers of clergy and laypersons" (Stock 59). The *Coplas*, written less than fifty years after Gutenberg invented the printing press worked well with contemplative silent reading practices for pondering ontological and epistemological concerns. Stock explains that although scholarly debate has considered that individualistic notions of self arose in the Renaissance from a revival of the classics or from economic and social influences, "[. . .] scholarly attention in the past generation has been redirected in large part toward the examination of the internal determinants of medieval conceptions of selfhood" (Stock 59). This study follows Stock's interest in these "internal determinants," factors that I believe still contribute to readers' interest in the *Coplas* today.

During Manrique's lifetime, composing by drawing on one's memory of other texts was a practice used to transmit one's knowledge to others. The practices of reading and composing involved the recalling of older texts in one's writing. Using one's memory of previously read texts was a way to express understanding of knowledge and of using it to present one's own thoughts with creativity. I study how the self in the *Coplas* is constructed using concepts from antiquity and Christian thinkers that Manrique

places in his verses and from which he leads his reader to understand the self in an individualistic context. I propose that through his use of memory to transmit knowledge and his refined use of traditional poetic language to provide understanding, the poet emphasizes a concern for the self as an individual with agency.

I believe that Manrique addresses the problematic of mortality for his reader's contemplation by utilizing another text, the *Ars moriendi* and philosophical concepts from spiritual texts. Furthermore, his father, Grand-master of the military order of Santiago and a knight whose life was regulated by the institution of chivalry follows a ritual for death similar to what his reader hopes for his own death. Manrique draws upon other texts to shape a representation of the self at death as he weaves together texts not only in his own memory, but in the collective memory of his fifteenth-century readers. I will argue that in his poem Manrique represents the self through the use of memory for writing and that contemplative silent reading practices shaped his reader's cultural identity as individual. The spiritual qualities in the *Ars moriendi* represent aspects considered essential during the fifteenth century for all dying persons and Manrique's use of the attributes of the knight in the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* distinguishes his father as talented according to the standards of the institution of chivalry in Castile. By recalling a spiritual text used for meditation on ontological issues, the poet represents the self at death from an individualistic spiritual perspective. However, by describing don Rodrigo as a model Castilian knight according to characteristics explained in manuals of chivalry like the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, Manrique also depicts the knight by standards based on his function within the institution that defined his life. Since equality at death was an accepted concept during the fifteenth century, I will show that Manrique's reader relates

to the knight through the representation of don Rodrigo on his deathbed and is empowered by that likeness as he perceives his own individuality. The reader's perception of the self at death is an individual representation from his own memory and his contemplation of the poem. The representation of don Rodrigo's death is also an individual representation that acknowledges the concepts in the verses. Comparing the representation of don Rodrigo and the reader's perception of himself at death will be possible because according to Aristotle and Plotinus, memory defined as representation is "a propositional and, thus conceptual capacity" [where] "perception is a faculty that works with concepts" (King 4).

Manrique uses older texts for a representation of the self in the *Coplas*. He builds his poem upon familiar texts that help to lead his individual reader into the contemplative practice of reading for self benefit and into composing something of his own from the verses of the *Coplas*. He relates the self to death and then represents his father's death as real by giving it a time and a place. Although I will show that the reader's journey through the verses takes him through a contemplative reading like the customary fifteenth-century *Ars moriendi*, I believe that Manrique's reader still identifies with his father's attitude towards death because it represents an empowered individual emerging from medieval concepts of selfhood defined by hierarchical models. His reader travels through his poem led by the verses themselves, their content and form as explained in medieval rhetoric. I find that Manrique's use of the medieval acceptance and understanding of equality of all people at death leads his reader from a spiritual concept towards a new insight about temporality by writing about death as an individual spiritual experience yet grounded in a location. In my reading, I observe that the poet uses lexical,

phonetic, and grammatical devices in his verses to recount death in the form of a narrative with characters and a plot set at a particular place in a specific time. Manrique clearly announces death as an event and calls his reader to it. “Cuando leemos las Coplas, desde la clara campanada de las estrofas iniciales [. . .] sentimos una gradual acumulación de ímpetu, una creciente complejidad de tejido poético” (Gilman, Navarro, and Spitzer 339).

The *Coplas* first appeared in *Cancionero* books of collections of poems in the fifteenth century. Critics have hypothesized different dates for the composition of the poem that range from before don Rodrigo’s death in 1476 to just before the poet’s own death in 1479. Beltrán and Serrano de Haro both date the writing of the poem at the summer of 1477 (Beltrán 19). Its first known appearance is as *Dezir de don Jorge Manrique por la muerte de su padre* in manuscript, Zaragoza, 1482. The poem circulated widely in manuscript form and in printed editions. As Fernando Bouza reminds his reader in *Corre manuscrito*, one must not think of the manuscript as non-circulating text nor think of circulation as limited to number of exemplars:

En suma, para obtener una imagen completa de lo que fue la circulación de los textos en la alta Edad Moderna hay que superar el esquematismo que, de un lado, reduce lo tipográfico exclusivamente a difusión, así como sus copias a productos de mercado, y que, de otro, imagina que lo manuscrito es sinónimo de una voluntad no difusionista. (18)

In his study on the textual transmission and edition (1991) of the *Coplas*, Beltrán states that the problematic of a decisive edition is in part due to the poem’s wide circulation in manuscript form which contributed to three vulgate editions in print rather

than the usual unique printed source from which others were made (Beltrán, *Coplas que hizo Jorge Manrique a la muerte de su padre* 9). Beltrán reviews significant variations among manuscripts and presents a critical edition that resulted from his research. He includes a bibliography of manuscripts, printed editions, and single folios of the poem as well as glosses that he used in his study and explains the editions on which he draws for his edition (Beltrán, *Coplas que hizo Jorge Manrique a la muerte de su padre* 11- 16).

The *Coplas* began to appear with the title of “dezir”, which meant poem, and later “coplas” describing its structure. With material from philosophical treatises, rituals, and literature on knighthood, Manrique’s poem on death combines a representation of both the equality of all people in death and praise for individual talent. He asks his reader to journey through his verses contemplating the self at death. The narrative of the self at death begins with Manrique’s reader as the self who confronts the inevitability of his own death and ends with the reader’s arrival at don Rodrigo’s deathbed for the representation of death. The poet shows the philosophical equality of all individuals at death by recalling passages on death. In that context of equality, he portrays his father at death as one who follows the customary rituals for all Christians on their deathbed, yet with the individual agency characteristic of the Castilian knight.

As stated in the verses, his individual talent as a knight was learned from his function within the institution of chivalry. I believe that as his function in society as a knight gives him individual agency, the particular representation of his engagement with death shows a connection between the individual’s talent in life and his ability at death. According to the narrative in the poem, although knowledge and understanding of concepts like goodness are necessary for a good death, the will of the knight is what



defines agency and effects a model outcome, “vuestro coraçon de acero / muestre su esfuerso famoso / en este trago” (400-402). It is evident from these three verses that the figures of thought convey meaning, but the figures of word are likewise important here and throughout Manrique’s poem. For example, I find that the vocalic repetition in “vuestro” and “muestre” form a close correlation between “your” and “show” which can be read as indications of a parallel between individuality and will. Although addressed to the dying knight, the imperative mood is a grammatical device that dramatizes the event of his father’s death as he recounts the event. Manrique seems to place his reader as an empathetic spectator who views the knight’s death as a model for his own death.

Roman Jakobson’s work on poetry explains how the type of reading that I propose for the narrative in the *Coplas* works. He writes that in poetry “[. . .] linguistic values, not bare sounds are the building blocks of verse, and the role that prosodic elements fulfill in a given linguistic system is decisive for verse” (*Selected Writings* 148). In this study, I work with the *Ars moriendi* and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* as memory for the *Coplas* and study the role of the prosodic elements built on poetic language to show the self emerging as individual. I support my research on memory for writing with work from Frances Yates and Mary Carruthers; for memory as conceptual with R. A. H. King’s explanations of Aristotle and Plotinus on memory as representation, on Augustine with work from Brian Stock and Gareth Matthews and with theories of language by Roman Jakobson and Tzvetan Todorov. For the *Coplas*, I cite almost exclusively from Beltrán’s edition in *Poesía* (1993), *Coplas que hizo don Jorge Manrique a la muerte del maestro de Santiago don Rodrigo Manrique su padre*, which follows his 1991 edition, but standardizes details that would make reading the edition

intended for philologists cumbersome for a wider public. I specify when I reference María Morrás' edition. My research draws on the literary criticism of Manrique's poetry, especially from Alan Deyermond, Frank Domínguez, Anna Krause, Tomás Navarro Tomás, Francisco Rico, Pedro Salinas, and Antonio Serrano de Haro.

In the early-Modern period, the numerous editions and glosses of the *Coplas* evidence a significant circulation from 1482 and into the seventeenth century. Sixteenth-century printings include editions in which printers altered the order of its stanzas and glosses in which we find selected verses commented on for didactic purposes or to reflect on another death. Manrique's poem at the death of his father is readily found today in printed editions and on the Internet. Its characteristics of simplicity and clarity of language for tropes of thought, the musicality of its verses due to the predominately trochaic rhythm interlaced with variations in its octosyllabic meter, and a consonantal rhyme combine to express sentiments that convey a profound message about the meaning of death. The poet's writing strategy and use of literary devices still works because the *Coplas*, as a canonical work contains cultural concepts that still appear to be natural aspects of his reader's identity. As Chartier explains, a literary work (the *Coplas*, for example) appeals to the cultural communities shaped to receive it:

It lays a trap, which the reader falls into without even knowing it, because the traps are tailored to the measure of a rebel inventiveness he or she is always presumed to possess. But that inventiveness itself depends on specific skills and cultural habits that characterize all readers, inasmuch as everyone belongs to a community of interpretation. (1)

In medieval Europe, the *Ars moriendi* prepared the dying, and the figures of the *Dance of Death* in the visual arts and in poetry represented the ephemeral character of earthly life and equality in death. In *Cancionero* poetry, lyric verses acknowledged death by naming specific individuals that died and asking *ubi sunt?* or where they are. Elegies on death or about individuals that died approached the inevitable destiny of mankind. In medieval times, death implied both macabre aspects and beliefs in immortality. In the *Dance of Death*, Death personified overpowers each of her victims, yet the *Ars moriendi* empowers *moriens*, and prepares him for eternal life. The *Dance* and the *Ars*, works representative of fifteenth-century approaches to death in Europe transmitted by both text and illustrations, have often been associated with the *Coplas* by scholars. The *Dance of Death* shows that the destiny of all of the living is death. The *Coplas* assert one's inevitable death by questioning where individuals that have died are within the *ubi sunt* section of the poem. In the *Dance* weakened victims from different social strata and occupations equally succumb to the power of death. In Manrique's verses, the knight models the self as an individual with agency for all of the dying who are equal at death. The *Coplas* describe the knight as having agency, yet the *Dance* shows a dramatic resignation of the self. Salinas, who wrote about similarities between the *Ars moriendi* and the *Coplas*, very clearly states that the fifteenth century focused on death in two ways: the macabre, sarcastically portrayed in the *Dance*, and the Christian vision which Manrique elects since he wishes to reach the depths of the soul rather than be limited by the melodramatic macabre aspects of death (207):

Su larga norma es la selección. Su siglo le propone dos tradiciones de la visión de la muerte. A un lado la macabra [. . .] insiste en los aspectos

más efectistas, la agonía, el cadáver, la descomposición de la carne, o los disimula sarcásticamente bajo la siniestra sensualidad de la Danza. No la quiere Manrique por dos razones, probablemente: por fácilmente espectacular, y por superficial. Su designio es llegar al fondo del alma, y no quedarse en estas sacudidas melodramáticas con que escalofría lo macabro. A otro lado estaba la tradición cristiana pura; es la que recoge Manrique. . . (207)

Alan Deyermond states that there is a sharp opposition between the *Dance of Death* and the *Coplas*; the two works function “de signo contrario:”

Ambas tendencias – la que se mueve de una lamentación privada hacia una meditación genérica, y la que va de una apreciación valorativa de la muerte hasta una actitud puramente negativa – se hallan representadas en la *Danza de la Muerte*; idénticas directrices, de signo contrario, empero, las encontramos en uno de los más famosos poemas hispánicos de todos los tiempos, las *Coplas que fizo a la muerte de su padre*, de Jorge Manrique. (Deyermond 341)

In the *Coplas* Manrique focuses on the spiritual aspect of death rather than on its physical consequences so vividly displayed in the *Dance of Death*. The poet portrays his father don Rodrigo within the historical context of Castile by describing him according to attributes that coincide with the talents of the knight described in Cartagena’s *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. These characteristics of the knight are also traits used to describe don Rodrigo by Fernando del Pulgar in *Claros varones de Castilla*. Written a few years after the *Coplas*, in *Claros varones de Castilla* Pulgar depicts historical figures in a work

dedicated to Queen Isabel. He shows don Rodrigo's role as Grand-master of the Military Order of Santiago in the emerging historical paradigm of Castile. By looking at the description of the Christian knight based on qualities described in Cartagena's text on knighthood, it is evident that in the text written to meet the approval of Queen Isabel, Pulgar depicts don Rodrigo Manrique, one of the most prestigious persons of noble birth in Castile, according to chivalric talents in Cartagena's manual on knighthood. Jorge Manrique who would most certainly intended to portray his father don Rodrigo within the political and social favor of the Castilian Queen appears to write about his father's talents as a knight according to those explained in the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. However, I believe that as Manrique describes his father from period expectations for his profession, he also relates the knight to his reader by showing that one who excels at his profession derives agency from the guidelines of a temporal institution, even at death. The characteristics of the knight that establish him as talented seem to enable him to overcome the wrath of death by exercising those talents with the objective of gaining immortality. I will show how Manrique uses figures of thought, especially metonymy and synecdoche, to effect these connections between temporal conditions and spiritual concerns by establishing contiguity in his narrative on death.

The practical life of the Castilian knight and the spiritual ideals in the poem, though they may appear contradictory, complement each other and do not conflict according to fifteenth-century life and philosophy. The opposition between the aristocratic life and clerical beliefs is "a part of the society that produced the poem and flows logically from it" (Domínguez 137-138). Based on philosophy since antiquity, the intelligible aspects that helped the Grand-master conquer his enemies as a knight come

forth at death to give him the spiritual strength needed in the passage from mortal to immortal. In the narrative of his verses, it appears that Manrique combines memory with poetic language to go from the argument of mortality to the time and place for immortality. I argue that the verses of Jorge Manrique define success at death as a triumph of the mind which Augustine did not differentiate from memory. In the last half of *On the Trinity*, *De Trinitate*, Augustine discusses the faculties of the mind as remembering, understanding, and willing with three in one relationships that inform the self (Matthews ix and xvii). In Book 10 of *De Trinitate*, Augustine investigates the nature of the mind as certain of its presence and as coming to know itself through questioning, [ . . . ] for there is nothing more present to itself than itself; just as it thinks that it lives, and remembers, and understands, and wills” (Augustine, *On the Trinity* 57). In Book 11, Augustine explains the effects of memory, understanding, and will by stating that they are analyzed separately in relation to something else, but that “in respect to themselves, they are spoken of together, not in the plural but in the singular” (*On the Trinity* 58). Gareth Matthews writes that in *Confessions* he had already discussed the conscious self where being, knowing and willing are closely related in that, “Where there is no more knowing or willing, the conscious self simply ceases to exist” (*On the Trinity* x). This consciousness, which involves the reader’s will, encourages new understanding by working from shared knowledge and memory.

One should recall that the dialogues of the ancients model an active interchange through texts that persuade by building from the established to the new. Augustine’s writing works from rhetoric and philosophy to introduce a concern for the self from the experience of writer and reader. Before his conversion, Augustine had taught in the great

rhetorical schools in Carthage where they knew the ancient art of memory which has come down to us from the Greeks through Roman treatises. In fact, Augustine writes that he was an avid reader of Cicero, who has been called the great teacher of the art of memory, and that it was his reading of Cicero's works that led him to study God. Augustinian thought on memory, and on reading and writing as forms of contemplative practice influence writing and reading into the Renaissance. Augustine creates a new type of contemplative practice with his *Soliloquies* where he dialogues with Reason and then writes down his reflections rather than committing them to memory so that he can read them later. After Augustine, scholars such as Albertus Magnus (c. 1208-1280), Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274), and Ramon Llull (c.1235-1315) continue to build on the art of memory and on Augustinian thought.

While memory served as an art for writing, contemplative spiritual reading practices in Latin, *lectio spiritualis*, worked for meditating on the self. In late medieval times the devotional practice of *lectio spiritualis* served as a basis for the practice of contemplative silent reading of sacred and secular texts in the vernacular. The reader formed a connection with the text and made it his own. The meditative contemplative practice of reading spiritual literature in Latin aimed at helping a person in his formation by providing an opportunity to ponder epistemological and ontological questions. To contemplate is to consider and to reflect upon. Contemplation enabled readers to have what they read and to use it for their own benefit. Contemplative reading, used widely with spiritual literature, often served as a means to meditate about the self during the late-Medieval to early-Modern era. The texts and images intended for contemplation during the fifteenth century are a source of materials that often led to writing. Writers were

readers that held other texts in their minds and texts that they read not only led them to write, but helped them to form their own text. Writers placed texts from memory in the new context of their writing as they addressed concerns and their reading has often been identified in their writing. Carruthers explains that, “[. . .] the medieval institution of *memoria* by means of which texts of past authors are constantly related in and through present minds [. . .] captures both the positioning and re-speaking of these texts” (*The Book of Memory* 194). Writers committed texts to memory so well that their writing closely followed another and that in referencing other texts, they could purposely be exact, *memoria ad verbum* or paraphrase, *memoria ad res* (Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* 89).

Manrique’s call to contemplation alerts his reader to knowledge that is useful and applicable for reading that was considered for his own benefit. By unveiling philosophical concepts in the literary representation of the self and recognizing contexts, we can better understand how a text relates to its reader. “Augustine’s emphasis on the reflective reader [. . .] offered a new approach to ethical thinking [. . .] He not only asked his readers to consider philosophy as a way of life [. . .] he suggested that the literary or artistic imagination of his readers could play a role in sustaining that way of life” (Stock 3). I believe that when Manrique exhorts his reader to contemplate death, he intends to work from a space in the mind of his reader, the knowledge, understanding, and will of his reader, towards his father’s image as an individual with whom he intends his reader to empathize from the connections that he builds between the self and the knight with figures of thought and word in his verses. Memory and understanding appear to work



together in a narrative in which the verses lead one through a journey that attempts to shape the will of the reader.

Over five hundred years after its writing, Manrique's poem is still one of the most beloved and anthologized poems of Spanish literature. Often identified as an elegy, the *Coplas* has also been described as sermon, ode, or meditation. As Frank Domínguez explains, "the work's immediate sources of inspiration are fifteenth-century Castilian poems" and the poem differs in many ways from the classical (64-65). Critics have divided the content of the *Coplas* into two or three parts, sometimes with sub-units. The two-part division consists of a meditation on death and the representation of the figure of don Rodrigo Manrique. Its division into three parts consists of the exhortation to the reader, the *ubi sunt*, and the representation of the figure of don Rodrigo Manrique. Literary critics have also explained the poem according to its discursive parts. For example, Germán Orduna divided it according to medieval discourse as *Exordium*, *Narratio*, *Argumentatio*, *Peroratio*, and *Epilog* (Domínguez 173). The significant aspects of the inspiration, meaning, and structure of the poem reveal its complexity and coherence which critical studies have shown. Salinas who studied the earlier tradition of dividing the poem into a meditation and a panegyric but also analyzed its sub-units asserts that the key to understanding the *Coplas* is its balance and fusion:

No se podrán entender a fondo las *Coplas*, mientras se vea en ellas como dos elementos separados lo genérico humano y lo humano individual, 'nuestras vidas' y la del Maestro. El equilibrio con que los lleva adelante por toda la elegía el poeta, su fusión, triunfo último del poema, son su clave. (199)

The octosyllabic meter form of troubadour poetry with a tetra-syllabic verse ending each tercet survives as the “copla de Jorge Manrique” also known as “estrofa manriqueña”. Changes in pronunciation have not affected the meter except in a few cases writes Tomás Navarro Tomás (169). The stanzas of Manrique’s verses are traditionally divided two different ways. They can be divided into forty stanzas of twelve verses composed of two semi-stanzas of six verses with every third verse a “pie quebrado” or half verse. The stanzas can also be described according to the traditional “sextilla”, the six verse stanza from troubadour poetry with eighty stanzas of six verses and the “pie quebrado” for every third verse. The meter is octosyllabic in the first two verses of each tercet and tetra-syllabic or penta-syllabic in the “pie quebrado” verse. The third verse is half the length of the other two, thus the name “pie quebrado” describing the broken measure. The consonantal rhyme of the six verses is ABc, ABc with the rhyme of the “pie quebrado” indicated by lower case. The division shown by the rhyme is also evident in syntactic and semantic links that divide the double-stanza making eighty distinct stanzas of six verses as they appear in some editions (Navarro 170). The proportion of trochaic, dactyl, and mixed verses with parallel, alternate, inverse and uniform forms of these historic types of rhyme corresponds to the meaning and character of the verses providing tension, movement, or uniformity to convey specific tones and emotion (Navarro 171-174). Perceptible and attractive euphonic effects such as the predominant consonantal rhyme with stress on the penultimate syllable, the distinct verses with stress on the last syllable, the combinations and contrasts in phonological quality and the vocalic combinations give the poem a serene quality (Navarro 176-178). The versification and meter of the poem contribute to its meaning by separating the

stanzas and the overwhelmingly constant pattern provides contiguity. Although it is difficult to find the poet's motives or intentions for all of the verses, there are numerous cases in which there is a correspondence with the meaning (Navarro 171). Tomás Navarro Tomás whose study on the meter of the *Coplas* shows a correspondence between form and function with historical implications for poetics writes that, "el poeta [. . .] acertó a encontrar en las palabras y en los versos su pleno sentido y su escondida virtud musical" (179).

Manrique builds and connects a dynamic narrative of death upon poetic language through its lexical, phonic, and grammatical aspects. "Rhyme is not conceived as a mere matter of sound: sound similarity necessarily draws attention to grammatical and semantic similarities or dissimilarities" (Jakobson, *Selected Writings* 148). The metrics provide a journey through the verses, "El octasílabo aparece en esta poesía como un dúctil instrumento utilizado en toda la variedad de sus recursos, con plenitud no alcanzada en obras anteriores" (Gilman, Navarro and Spitzer 342). There are often possessives expressed as relative phrases like "con la fe tan entera / *que tenemos*" and "la sus claras hazañas / *que hizieron*", dynamic structures that are emphatic and emotional (Gilman, Navarro, and Spitzer 343). Manrique applied traditional poetic devices for images of thought and word with creativity:

En la composición de las *Coplas*, movida por la emoción de un íntimo suceso familiar, debieron concurrir circunstancias especiales de sensibilidad e inspiración, merced a las cuales, el poeta, más que en otras ocasiones, acertó a encontrar en las palabras y en los versos su pleno sentido y su escondida virtud musical. (Navarro 179)

Navarro writes that the *Coplas* exemplifies the most significant linguistic aspects of Castilian:

[ . . . ] en su sosegado compás y en su moderada entonación, las estrofas de este poema muestran esencial concordancia con los rasgos más significativos de acento castellano. Sobre este fondo, las *Coplas* mantienen su no envejecido estilo y su clara imagen sonora. (179)

My approach to the *Coplas* acknowledges the three parts that literary critics traditionally accept for its division, the influence of other works, and its coherence in content and form. Poetic language provides a journey through the narrative in the verses that lays out aspects of meaning, structure, and contiguity. Period textual materials of wide circulation in the fifteenth century used as memory in the writing of the poem provide a literary context of philosophical concepts from a fifteenth-century spiritual and temporal vision. In the chapters that follow, I will show how, as Manrique's reader journeys through the verses, its artistic form leads him towards a shifting consciousness of self and individuality. The representation of the self at death through philosophical concepts in the first part of the poem, the historical contextualization in the second part, the *ubi sunt*, and the individual triumph of don Rodrigo Manrique at death in the third part are coherent in content and in form. By looking at relationships in the poem that establish a framework of reference and provide fusion, one can explain how memory works for the representation of the self as individual in a similar way in the three parts of the poem and how memory and artistic form provide contiguity as Manrique connects representation, the self, and individuality with poetic language.

Continuing the great body of scholarship on the *Coplas*, my dissertation studies Manrique's poem in relation to memory practices for writing about ontological concerns and through relationships between Latin practices of contemplative reading and the composition of the poem. With an analysis from interpretation and a philosophical perspective, this project seeks to explore the representation of the self through memory and from the Augustinian approach which links reading and writing as forms of contemplative practice. I believe that the three divisions of the *Coplas* into meditation, *ubi sunt*, and panegyric work well for an analysis of a representation of the self as individual through the study of content and form. The first part of the poem, described as a meditation, is followed by a call to the realization of impending death by relating to his reader with a literary device used in period *Cancionero* literature, the *ubi sunt*, questions asking what became of individuals that have died. For the panegyric, Manrique appears to draw from the fifteenth-century vision of knighthood in the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* and from the *Ars moriendi*. At don Rodrigo's death, the poet continues to persuade his reader to ponder metaphysical questions with the representation of his father in life as a knight and as a Christian who follows the ritual of death in the *Ars moriendi* on the art of dying well. In the sixteenth century glosses of the *Coplas* offered a rewrite of selected verses intended for self-interpretation or to honor the deceased. The glossers of the poem who intended their writing for spiritual meditation gloss selected verses of the *Coplas*; they did not gloss verses that focus exclusively on the Grand-master's temporal abilities. This omission seems to further indicate that though the *Coplas* functioned as spiritual literature because of its content and form, the poem also contains a significant number of verses that "speak" from a context not identifiable with the spiritual framework.

In Chapter Two, I explain representation from theories of memory, memory practices for writing, and contemplative practices for reading and composing. I also describe two versions of the spiritual text for the art of dying well, the *Ars moriendi*. Its longer version is a commendation of death that circulated mostly in manuscript form in Europe during Manrique's period and which I believe served as memory for the *Coplas*. Its shorter version is usually known for images and a didactic melodramatic approach that seems to contradict the very focus of what I propose about the self and individual agency from my reading of Manrique's poem. I also introduce aspects from the fifteenth-century manual on knighthood, Alfonso de Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los caballeros* and I show similarities between the talents associated with don Rodrigo Manrique in his portrayal in *Claros varones de Castilla* by Fernando del Pulgar and the qualities of the knight in Cartagena's manual on knighthood. The use of characteristics of the knight in Manrique's portrayal of his father and Pulgar's later literary portrait of the Grand-master in a work that he dedicated to Queen Isabel of Castile shows the importance of chivalric talents during this period of intense political struggle. In Chapter Three, I study Manrique's verses focusing on the spiritual vision of the self at death, the historical context for the self, and the aspects of the knight and the self at death. In Chapter Four, I analyze narrative elements of the poem that provide a material context for the representation of the self as individual and a journey for its reader.

## CHAPTER 2

### MEMORY, REPRESENTATION, AND THE SELF IN THE TIME OF MANRIQUE

Before delving into a close reading of how Manrique uses memory for the representation of the self as individual in the *Coplas*, it will be necessary to define representation, to explain how it works from memory, and to describe the process of contemplative reading during Manrique's time. Jorge Manrique would have been familiar with the concept of memory in treatises by Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Cicero, Augustine, and Lull, works that circulated in fifteenth century Castile. I believe that these writers' treatises on memory help to explain how memory works as representation in the *Coplas*. Manrique would have also used memory for writing, *memoria*, an art that transmitted knowledge and provided new understandings of older concepts. I will briefly describe the Christian spiritual practice of reading and composing, *lectio spiritualis*, and its relationship to concepts of individuality for the self as an internal determinant for identity. In the last part of the chapter, I offer a literary context for the *Coplas* by citing other fifteenth-century texts on death, on chivalry, and on Jorge Manrique's father, aspects of the poem essential for my interpretation. I explain the importance of the *Ars moriendi*, the text on the art of dying, and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, the manual on knighthood, for my reading of the *Coplas*. It is my contention that the *Coplas*, a text written during the transition into the early-Modern era, provides a textual bridge from the wisdom of spiritual texts towards a secular approach to individual agency from the context of equality at death, a well accepted concept during the medieval period.

In the dialogues and treatises of the philosophers of antiquity, we find persistent discourse on the use of memory and on the nature of memory. My analysis of the representation of the self works with the role of memory for composing from a poetics of philosophical concepts according to Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Cicero, Augustine, and Lull. I work from the value of memory for learning principles according to Plato and with the significance of memory as representation according to Aristotle and Plotinus, for, defined as representation memory implies change. In his work on memory, Aristotle also formulates the laws of association through similarity, dissimilarity and contiguity, aspects of language that I will use in my close reading. Cicero's explanations of memory and Augustine's discussion of memory as remembering, understanding, and willing illustrated by Lull in his work on memory will help to show how the representation of the self is shaped by philosophical concepts that regenerate in new forms with the use of memory for writing.

The nature of memory enabled it to function as an art that provided writers a way to work from established paradigms of reference and shape their writing with knowledge. One of the ways that writers used memory was to incorporate texts that they held in their memory into their compositions. They formed their own texts by incorporating older content, exact or paraphrased, into their new work. The substance of the older texts shaped the new text by providing a foundation for it. Latin writers not only shaped their own texts with material from their reading which they had made their own, but they connected to readers through content often familiar to potential readers. The use of memory for writing implicated the form and the substance of the new text. When writers addressed issues of life and death by placing texts from memory in the new context of



their writing, they were reconsidering epistemological and ontological concerns from previous knowledge.

Writers were readers that held other texts in their minds. When writers brought forth knowledge from earlier texts, their reading could often be readily identified in their writing. The texts that they read not only led them to write, but helped them to form their own text. As a reader, the relationship with a text was not to understand another mind but to receive the text and study it in order to profit from it; *lectio*, study, was followed by *meditatio*, making the reading profitable for oneself (Carruthers *The Book of Memory* 162). With contemplative reading practices in Latin which developed from Augustine's work, the reader held text in his mind, reflected on it, and made it his own by remembering and understanding the text with the intention of using it for self benefit. In this manner a reader understood concepts from the past in a present reading that would provide benefit for the future. Readers continued to read in the vernacular Romance languages in the way that they read Latin spiritual literature, by contemplating the text which often led to writing. Contemplation enabled the reader to compose from the text that he read by pondering it and remembering. As writers addressed concerns in Romance, the process of contemplative reading and writing with another text in mind to shape new writing continued and flourished. Brian Stock states that,

On the whole, it is *lectio spiritualis* that provides the theological background for the reading and writing practices that appear in vernacular literature after the publication of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in 1305. As a consequence, it is possible to argue that it was not only the presence of the Latin language that shaped European

cultural identity in the centuries after Augustine, but a particular way of reading that language in spiritual writings during that period in which the Romance languages became an important vehicle for expressing a concern with identity through literature. (104)

By looking at the Latin *Ars moriendi* one can observe that this text which circulated to readers of Latin and in translation in the vernacular was intended as a code of behavior for the art of dying well. The numerous manuscripts, printed, and xylographic versions in Latin and vernacular languages of the fifteenth-century text on how to die provide a testimony to the dissemination of concerns for preparation for a good death. The *Ars moriendi* is a vehicle for studying spiritual period Christian expectations for a desired state of mind for the dying and about dying. To study codes of behavior for living, Alfonso de Cartagena's vision of chivalry in *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, an anthology of the laws of Castile in respect to chivalry which describes the virtues of the knight, was an essential guide for the life of a knight during the time of don Rodrigo Manrique. For his work, Cartagena draws heavily on Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* and the *Fuero Real* as well as on Alfonso XI's *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* (Fallows 4).

### **Memory from Antiquity to the Medieval Period**

From antiquity, thinkers have addressed concern for memory with theories about its definitions and functions. Plato values the use of memory in discourse and its role in learning. He differentiates between the use of memory and reminiscence. Plato believes that learning is conveyed through "the true way of writing" which uses memory and dialectics. He states that the use of memory for discourse works for learning principles and he illustrates the learning of principles through instruction that uses memory. The

use of memory in instruction causes it to regenerate principles according to Plato. When learned, another owns the principles and these are recreated. Plato carefully specifies that “the true way of writing” is principles “graven in the soul.” He distinguishes the use of memory for principles of justice, goodness and nobility from memory as writing that is a reminiscence of knowledge. He states in the dialogue between Socrates and Phaedrus that,

[. . .] even the best of writings are but a reminiscence of what we know, and that only in principles of justice and goodness and nobility taught and communicated orally for the sake of instruction and graven in the soul, which is the true way of writing, is there clearness and perfection and seriousness, and that such principles are a man's own and his legitimate offspring; (*Phaedrus*)

Because Plato focuses on the value of the use of memory, it is “[. . .] a theory of what recollection does or can be used to do, namely, learn ideas, that is, recover cognition of ideas that dates from before our birth. What is usually called learning is thus really recollection, and takes place largely through dialectic” (King 14). The innate ideas provide potential for learning when they are retrieved. Plato writes that the use of memory affords “Clearness, perfection and seriousness,” in bringing forth justice, goodness and nobility in another. “Graven in the soul”, the concepts regenerate as “legitimate offspring” when they are owned by the learner.

In *De memoria et remininscentia (On memory and Recollection)*, an appendix to *De anima (On the Soul)*, Aristotle explains memory or remembering as a representation. His theory of memory is that it is a function of sense perception. For Aristotle, memory is

a presentation related as a likeness of a presentation through a function of sense perception. He writes that,

As regards the question, therefore, what memory or remembering is, it has now been shown that it is the state of a presentation, related as a *likeness* to that of which it is a presentation; and as to the question of which of the faculties within us memory is a function, (it has been shown) that it is a function of the primary faculty of sense-perception, i.e. of that faculty whereby we perceive time. (E2v).

Aristotle associates memory to a presentation of a likeness of a presentation and to a function of sense perception. He believes that representation and a function of sense perception are closely linked as memory.

By explaining memory from representation rather than images, R. A. H. King works with Aristotle's *On Memory and Recollection* and Plotinus' *On Perception and Memory*. King defines representation as "a propositional and, thus conceptual capacity" [where] "perception is a faculty that works with concepts" and where representation does not involve only images but "[. . .] in some sense "pictures", presents or represents the things to us" (King 4-7). Representation is propositional and has conceptual capacity that involves the perception of concepts. Memory as representation works to regenerate philosophical concepts as they pass from one reader to another. According to Aristotle, memory is "the state of a presentation, related as a *likeness* to that of which it is a presentation." When memory is defined as representation, "representation is a change from actual perception" and "change is a reality (actuality) with causal efficacy: the efficacy of change means that it can propagate itself under the right conditions and pass

change on” (King 47- 48). Memory works as representation with “conceptual capacity,” and it is subject to change as it is passed on and propagated. Representation can transmit change because it is a function of perception and perception is conceptual according to Aristotle. Memory, as a function of perception with conceptual capacity works as a representation that effects change under the right conditions. In fact, Aristotle explained representation as “being a change remaining from actual perception” (King 23).

Besides memory as representation that derives from perception, has conceptual capacity, and transmits change, its individuality is important “because of what the subject of memory is” (King 20). The individuality of memory renders representation unique. At the same time, the individuality of representation lends itself to comparison and contrast with other representations. Discourse through the laws of association reveals similarities, dissimilarities, and contiguity between representations. Comparisons using memory for representation involve perception since, according to Aristotle, memory is a function of perception. Aristotle describes perception as an affection, but not an emotion. For him, perception does not involve passion. He does not explain perception like anger which he describes as the boiling of the blood around the heart, nor as hope, a leaping of the heart. Rather, he explains that perception is conceptual and without material cause, that is without material explanation. It depends on the body but is described as an affection or modification and is in part a change (King 21-22). He describes perception as a function of the body and of the perceptive part of the soul. He considers it a non-emotive and non-passionate affection of the body and a function of the soul.

Following Aristotle, memory is not perception, but rather a function of sense perception that works like the faculty with which we perceive time. For humans,

memory is evident from cognition of the one that remembers. Memory relates to past perceptions or to past conceptions (opinions, knowledge, and prudence) so that for memory to occur the perception or conception is from a previous time. Representation is a function of possessing or modifying a perception or a conception: “Perceptions and conceptions are possessed, and they are altered in the course of being used to remember with. That is to say, they are not affected merely by the passage of time; they are affected by being made part of an act of memory” (King 36). In *De anima*, Aristotle states that “[representation] is a change which arises from actual perception” (*De anima* III in King 46). Representation is a function that signifies a change that comes from a perception or a conception. It is not the actual perception or conception but arises from it.

Representation is a change. The power of change lies precisely in that it continues:

As long as the change is occurring it has not reached its end. Being for change is, in Aristotle’s view, essentially connected to its end. Yet the change is only as long as it has not reached its end: on reaching the end it is no longer. Hence change is, as such, incomplete. (King 48)

In his work on memory, Aristotle develops the laws of association for contrast and comparison which work from memory. He writes that by association, “Beginning from ‘something similar, or contrary, or closely connected’ with what we are seeking we shall come upon it” (Yates 34).

Plato writes about the use of memory in regenerating principles and Aristotle’s theory explains that representation is a change. Later, Plotinus’ explanations on the nature of the soul provide material for his theory of memory which involves both ideas and perceptions. He believes that the soul has memory of things and describes the soul as

having an active capacity derived from representation through active perception and the expression of ideas (King 111). Each human soul is individual but each human has two souls that remain united in life and are separated at death. The practical soul that functions for the worldly aspects of life forms the other soul, the intellectual and higher soul, which enters the body when it is formed by the practical soul. Although each human is primarily the intelligible soul and opinion and perception depend on it, “The practical soul also has intellectual aspects, and, conversely, the intellectual soul has practical, sensible aspects, when leaving embodied life” (King 107). Plotinus defines the self as the rational soul that thinks but also perceives; the body belongs to the self rather than being identified with the self and though generally following Plato, “[. . .] his version is peculiar in that the soul returns to its proper place in intellect by thinking” (King 109). Perceptions are judgments by the soul, intelligible representations, made by the soul from sensations through sense-perception, a lower form of intellection, and from the higher intellect, but “The immaterial, for example the soul, cannot be affected for it then ceases to exist” (King 108-109). Plotinus thinks that perception consists of the soul being active, “namely saying something”, based on intelligible judgments derived by the soul going outside of itself for relating to things (112-113). Plotinus’ theory of memory is based on a concept of the soul as working with innate ideas and relating to perceptions through impressions outside of the soul. The soul deals with impressions from outside over which it has power and thinks by working with the innate ideas: memory is the retrieving of these ideas and calling forth of perceptions of things from outside the soul by approaching them again (King 114-118). The soul recalls again and again in a

continuing process of retrieval, thinking and calling forth perceptions from representations.

The value in the use of memory which Plato had emphasized and its nature as described by Aristotle and Plotinus are evidenced in memory techniques from ancient times. In the *Art of Memory*, Frances Yates explains how discourse has applied the memory tradition since antiquity. Memory techniques relate thoughts to people and places by organizing and associating in order to aid in remembering and consequently in writing. In addressing memory systems, Yates traces influences from the emotionally striking and stimulating images of the places for memory of the classical memory systems of the *Ad Herennium*. The art of memory serves as a tool that helps one to remember the important in order to later reproduce it by using mnemonic devices that may for example be visual, numeric or alphabetical. By associating facts with visual places or objects and engraving them there as if on wax tablets to be later recalled, the writer or the orator can later reproduce the material as if written. ‘For the places are very much like wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and the disposition of the images like the script, and the delivery is like the reading’ (Yates 6-7 from *Ad Herennium*).

In the *Tusculan Disputations* Cicero asks “For what is memory of words and circumstances?” (XXVI). He writes about the soul as active and possessing memory with which it recollects by stating that,

Nor does the soul clearly discover its ideas at its first resort to this abode to which it is so unaccustomed, and which is in so disturbed a state; but after having refreshed and recollected itself, it then by its memory



recovers them; and, therefore, to learn implies nothing more than to recollect. But I am in a particular manner surprised at memory. For what is that faculty by which we remember? What is its force? What its nature?  
(Cicero XXIV)

Yates connects Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* to Plato's *Phaedrus* and explains that, "In this work, Cicero probably has in mind the perfect orator; as defined by his master Plato in the *Phaedrus*, the orator who knows the truth and knows the nature of the soul, and so is able to persuade souls of the truth" (45).

Augustine interprets memory as both memory and mind. Gareth Matthews explains that, "what we might otherwise have thought of as "faculties" of the mind, Augustine understands to be the mind as remembering, as understanding and as willing."(ix and xvii). He approaches memory in ways that he learned from Cicero's works:

[. . .] there are obvious affinities between Augustine on memory and Cicero on memory in the *Tusculan Disputations* and Augustine himself writes in the *Confessions* that Cicero's lost work the *Hortensius*, named after his friend who excelled in memory, was that 'which altered my affections, and turned my prayers to Thyself, O Lord. (Yates 48 and *Confessions*, III, 4)

In Book 10 of *De Trinitate*, Augustine investigates the nature of the mind as certain of its presence and as coming to know itself through questioning: "[. . .] for there is nothing more present to itself than itself; just as it thinks that it lives, and remembers, and understands, and wills" (57). He presents the power of the mind as three-fold processes

which he calls trinities with memory and vision united by will, and he explains the effects of memory, understanding, and will by stating that they are analyzed separately in relation to something else, but that,

[. . .] in respect to themselves, they are spoken of together, not in the plural but in the singular [. . .] and when these trinities are drawn together [*coguntur*] into unity, then from that combination [*coactu*] itself, they are called thought [*cogitatio*]. (Augustine, *On the Trinity* 58, 66-67)

Augustine illustrates the difference between two visions, perception and thought, with two trinities, “one when the vision of perception is formed by the body, the other when the vision of perception is formed by the memory” (*On the Trinity* 79). He explains the relationship between perception and thought by writing that, “But in order that this vision of thought may be brought about, something similar to it is wrought for this purpose in the memory from the vision of perception” (Augustine, *On the Trinity* 79). Augustine associates the art of memory, *memoria*, with the mind and the conscious being with knowing and willing. He affirms that,

For though the trinity, which we are now seeking is brought into the mind from without, yet it is completed within, and nothing in it lies outside the nature of the mind itself [. . .] we can conclude that the will to remember proceeds indeed from those things which are contained in the memory, in addition to those things which, by the act of seeing, are copied from it through recollection; that is, it proceeds from the combination of something that we have remembered and the vision which took place from

it, when we remembered, in the gaze of thought. (Augustine, *On the Trinity* 74)

Augustine gives the will great importance for he writes that it combines memory and vision in the mind. Through the directives of the will, the mind chooses from many available possibilities which it can arrange and rearrange in many different ways. He illustrates the role of the will:

Yet if we only remember what we have perceived, and only conceive what we have remembered, why do we so often conceive false things, since we certainly do not remember falsely those things which we have perceived, unless it be that that will – I have taken pains to show, insofar as I could, that it unifies and separates things of this kind – directs the gaze of the thought that is to be formed. . . (Augustine, *On the Trinity* 79)

By awakening and perceiving the outside world, one can begin to gain insight with which to study ontological questions:

[. . .] Augustine's point of departure is the senses, above all, the senses of sight and hearing, through which narratives, as sequences of meaningful words, are understood. This is to say that, in Augustine, as in poets and prose writers who follow him down to Dante, it is aspects of the perception of the earthly world [. . .] that are the starting point for understanding reality. (Stock 49)

His theory of the mind as memory, understanding, and will from his philosophical treatise *De Trinitate* serves as an important reference point in studying changes in self-awareness that he had addressed in *Confessions*. Stock affirms that:

It was through his theory of memory that Augustine was able to transform a philosophical problem in neoplatonism into a literary problem for the West. The psychological awareness of alienation became the literary expression of alienation. A problem in the soul became a problem in narrative representation, and with it the inwardness of the mind became identified with the inner discourse of the text. (50)

Then, as the “inner discourse of the text” unveils philosophical problems, it serves as a way through which to contemplate metaphysical questions in the interpretation of the text. Augustine distinguishes between wisdom, *sapientia*, which edifies and knowledge, *scientia*, which enables us to function well and brings honor. Wisdom involves the eternal and knowledge the temporal:

For without knowledge we cannot even possess the very virtues by which we live rightly and by which this miserable life is so regulated that it may arrive at that eternal life which is truly blessed. But there is a difference between the contemplation of eternal things and the action by which we use temporal things well; the former is called wisdom, (*sapientia*), the latter knowledge (*scientia*). (Augustine, *On the Trinity* 98)

The search for wisdom is Augustine’s concern in the expression of self in his *Confessions* and in his writing on memory which serves as a way of going from *scientia* to *sapientia*, from temporal knowledge to wisdom which edifies. In the Christian tradition life and death are linked because the temporal earthly life leads to the eternal life. Then, ultimately temporal knowledge that enables us to function well should lead us to wisdom which edifies and is eternal. When Augustine links eternal life to the temporal

within memory, he shows how memory functions with language in writing as well as with reading and the contemplative practice that he valued. The interpretation of signs in language through reading and contemplation led him to wisdom.

Augustine's philosophy associates language with the interpretation of signs and with the practice of reading and contemplation. He especially influenced the relationship between reading and writing through self-representation and contemplation. His inquiry into self-knowledge and his thinking on self-analysis in the *Confessions* showed a connection between narrative, memory, and time (Stock 55-58). He dialogues with reason and then writes down his reflections so that he can read them later rather than committing them to memory. In this way, his writing for reading his own thoughts silently models the contemplative practice of meditation, writing, and the later reading of one's written response as an aid in the making of personal decisions. In *Confessions* he brings together concepts of reading and writing as he has a conversation with God. Synthesizing "the rhetorical and philosophical positions on approaches to self-knowledge," he shows that "self-knowledge and self-representation" cannot be separated and he identifies "the reflective self with the reader," thus effecting changes in both contemplation and narrative (Stock 13).

As Augustine brought together his study of philosophy and Christianity, ethical concerns expressed in narrative form since antiquity opened the door to narratives of Christian ethics in literature. For example, hagiography represented consciousness in narratives. It showed how exceptional actions in the lives of the saints resulted in miraculous events that showed their closeness to God. "Augustine's philosophical goal, insofar as it related to the self, was not to construct a system but to give the individual

some guidance in reorienting himself or herself in relation to others. Philosophy in this sense was a way of knowing and living, not an abstract body of knowledge” (Stock 36). This relationship between reading and writing continued to develop gradually and a significant rethinking of the self in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that is evidenced in literary representation can be studied from changes in religious practices, a transition to visual memory from the auditory, and the spread of a “literate mentality” (Stock 58-59).

Augustine’s work inspired medieval admirers of memory like Hugh of St. Victor, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and Ramon Llull. However, in writings on memory and the mind, it is necessary to note that, “Neither Aristotle nor Augustine nor Thomas Aquinas had a conception of ‘mind’ or ‘mental activity’ like ours. ‘Soul’ is not always the same thing as ‘mind,’ as most moderns who are not philosophers are inclined to think [. . .] *Soul* is the whole complex of organization and function of a human being; *mind* is invoked to explain that aspect of its function relating to its ability to understand and to acquire wisdom” (Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* 49).

Born some ten years after St. Thomas Aquinas, Ramon Llull of Mallorca bases his medieval art of memory on the philosophical tradition of Augustine after an experience on Mount Randa. He works within the cultural paradigm of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity which he sought to unite. The names of God in his work which describe the divine attributes appear to form a Trinity that is very much like the mind as remembering, understanding and willing from Augustine’s *De Trinitate*. Ramon Llull developed his art of memory from philosophical traditions that incorporated mnemonic devices. Yates writes that,

In one of its aspects, the Lullian Art is an art of memory. The divine attributes which are its foundation form themselves into a Trinitarian structure through which it became, in Lull's eyes, a reflection of the Trinity [. . .] As *intellectus*, it was an art of knowing or finding out truth; as *voluntas* it was an art of training the will towards loving truth; as *memoria*, it was an art of memory for remembering truth. (Yates 173-175)

And it should not be assumed that the effects and representations of memory, understanding and will in literature must be studied separately. In his *Book of Contemplation*, Ramon Llull personifies these three powers of the soul as beautiful damsels on a mountaintop that work together:

The first remembers that which the second understands and the third wills;  
the second understands that which the first remembers and the third wills;  
the third wills that which the first remembers and the second understands.  
(Llull in Yates 183)

In Llull's process of ascending and descending, the soul discovers its powers of memory, understanding and will that demonstrate the Christian Trinity. His interest in reconciling Judaism and Islam with Christianity inspired him to develop a geometric system of combinatory wheels based on the structure of nature that operated with Names of God acceptable to all three religions. He drew from the *Zohar*, a main text of the Jewish Cabala, and from Sufism, Islam in its mystical form (Yates 175-176). The number one hundred, for the Names of God, for example, respects Muslim practices. Thus, Llull's systems worked so that they used neither Scripture nor articles of faith that would not be accepted by Muslims and Jews. In summary:

The point was to display the basic structure of reality, which begins with the attributes of God, goodness, greatness, eternity, and so forth, which are not static but unfold into three correlatives of action. Thus *bonitas* (goodness), unfolds into an agent (*bonificativum*) and a patient (*bonificabile*), and the act joining them (*bonificare*). Their necessary activity *ad intra* produces the Trinity and their contingent activity *ad extra* the act of creation. Moreover, this triad of action is then reproduced at every level of creation, so that, for instance, man's intellect is composed of *intellectivum*, *intelligibile*, and *intelligere*, and fire of *ignificativum*, *ignificabile*, and *ignificare*." (Bonner and Badía 513)

Ramon Llull explains in his *Libro del ascenso y descenso del entendimiento* that, "Ultimamente *asciende* el entendimiento a la memoria [. . .] En tanto que el entendimiento así considera y adquiere conocimiento de las cosas [. . .] para poder estar más cierto de ellas *desciende* a lo sensible, como es a la vista y demás sentidos . . . " (102). He specifies the relationship between memory, understanding, and will:

Cuando el entendimiento propone a la voluntad los objetos, la voluntad tiene libertad de elegir el que le parece, y así su libertad es universal [. . .] También la memoria tiene libertad general, con la cual libremente recibe las especies, las conserva y las vuelve al entendimiento y voluntad; y de que sea libre tenemos experiencia, pues muchas veces el entendimiento y la voluntad quieren que la memoria les represente una especie y ella no les representa aquella, sino otras; y en otras ocasiones no solicitando ellas que



les represente especie alguna (por apetecer la quietud y descanso), la memoria les representa una o muchas . . . (Llull 104-105)

The marked influence of Llull in Spain is evidenced in the dissemination of his writings and in the study of his works. “Cisneros en carta a los muy nobles jurados de la ciudad y reino de Mallorca dada en Alcalá en 8 de octubre de 1513, confiesa tener gran afición a todas las obras de Raimundo Lulio, y promete trabajar para que se publiquen y lean en todas las escuelas” (Ovejero LXIX).

### **Contemplation for Reading and Memory for Writing**

The use of *memoria* as an art of memory in writing worked well with the process that the reader used in relating to a text by studying it, *lectio*, and applying it to oneself through *meditatio*. Carruthers explains that writers committed texts to memory so well that their writing closely followed these models and that in referencing other texts, they could purposely be exact or paraphrase. For example,

[. . .] Gregory the Great and other writers might be said to write ‘in Augustine’ [. . .] The ‘inaccuracy’ we find so frequently in medieval citation is often, I believe, the result of a deliberate choice on the author’s part, either at the stage of initial memorizing or (and I think more frequently) at that of composing. Medieval scholars’ respect for accuracy in copying texts has been repeatedly demonstrated [. . .] Yet the same people who honored the exact copying of even non-Christian texts quote these same works erratically, at times precisely, at times so paraphrased and adapted as to alter them almost beyond recognition. The one

sort of activity is a form of *memoria ad verbum*, the other *memoria ad res*. (Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* 89)

Carruthers further explains the use of memory in her definition of *textus*. She reminds her reader that *textus* means “to weave” so that as social institutions weave a story, it becomes text, but also that,

*Textus* also means ‘texture,’ the layers of meaning that attach as a text is woven into and through the historical and institutional fabric of a society. Such ‘socializing’ of literature is the work of *memoria*, and this is as true of a literate as of an oral society [. . .] The medieval institution of *memoria* by means of which texts of past authors are constantly related in and through present minds [. . .] captures both the positioning and re-speaking of these texts. (Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* 12, 194)

In the medieval period, the literary experience began to be characterized by intentionality.

The major period of change was the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, which saw the emergence of the modern view that human thinking is chiefly characterized by intentionality [. . .] this was the first period since antiquity when a wide range of relations between self and literary experience were significantly rethought [. . .] The theme of ‘inner’ and ‘outer,’ a development out of Paul and Augustine, attracts an increasing amount of attention; reflections on the self are largely devoted to explaining the relations between them, whether these are conceived in historical, theological, or psychological terms. (Stock 58-60)

In the late medieval period the devotional contemplative practice of *lectio spiritualis*, meditation from reading, and the often subsequent writing of a text evidenced a great revival and it inspired the contemplative practice of silent reading of both sacred and secular texts in the vernacular. The contemplation focused on the subject's awareness of his thoughts and emotions about the text often resulting in a written text by the reader whose interpretation focused particularly on internal images and words, the function in the mind of the words and images of the text (Stock 102-108).

While the art of memory worked to convey philosophical thought in the writings of medieval scholars and continued to influence the expression of ideas in the Renaissance, the silent reading and contemplation of texts in the vernacular flourished. By looking at memory as an art, it is evident that the use of memory in composing brings both knowledge and new understandings. The use of memory for writing worked well with the structure of the Latin language. For example, its system of declensions and rather flexible word order for composing provided a framework for the use of memory in writing and also seemed to facilitate pondering the thoughts in the sentence by close reading. It seems that the nature of the reading process itself gave the reader time to ponder the significance of each sentence. The reader would transfer images and concepts in the text into his own thoughts by contemplating it. He used the text for his own experience rather than trying to determine the writer's intention. The meditative practice which involved composing that often led to writing resulted in the production of texts that show a concern for the self as individual. Reading and composing as forms of contemplative practice demonstrate the close relationship at that time between the

awareness of the reader's internal conception of the self and the representation of that conception of himself in writing.

Spiritual literature often guided the reader to that relationship through an interpretation of the self. Silent reading and contemplation was one of the ways that fostered the direct relationship of the soul with God during moments of solitude. During the Renaissance, writes Renato Barilli, the humanists try to synthesize the concern with the reasons of the heart and formal dignity, propriety and vigor in the language so that "[. . .] in fact the level of religiosity increases [. . .] humanism launches the idea of a direct relationship of the soul with God, following Augustine's model" (53). An example of spiritual literature consisting of verses and glosses during the sixteenth century when the *Coplas* were widely read and glossed is the *Third Spiritual Alphabet* by Francisco de Osuna who was influenced by the humanistic environment of Lullian studies at the University of Alcalá. He uses the alphabetical system of memory that had been used since antiquity to organize the knowledge that he transmits to his reader. Carruthers writes about ways in which memory was used and states that, "Evidence that alphabets were commonly used as a mnemonic ordering device is scattered but persistent in both ancient and early medieval books" (*The Book of Memory* 109).

The *Third Spiritual Alphabet*, *Tercera parte del libro llamado Abecedario espiritual* (1527) is the third of six books in Osuna's spiritual alphabet. The Franciscan wrote these alphabets to teach how to dispose oneself to God's presence through the method of quiet prayer and retreat called "recogimiento." The twenty three treatises of Osuna's *Third Spiritual Alphabet* organized through the letters of the alphabet with verses that indicate how to prepare for contemplation recall the techniques of ascending

and descending of the soul in Llull. The titles of the treatises are composed of verses, “dísticos” that present the important points to be developed in the paragraphs of the glosses in prose that follow. They are organized in alphabetical order with the last letter being the tilde. Melquiades Andrés Martín writes that in the Franciscan’s alphabetical organization,

Es claro que aquí existe un todo orgánico [. . .] El *Tercer Abecedario* es una obra cargada de intención en su planteamiento general, e incluso en muchas de sus frases [. . .] El planteamiento por abecedario acaso fuese el único que podía llevar la obra a buen puerto y dar libertad a su autor para decir todo lo que quería en todos los planos y desde todos los puntos de vista, de modo expreso o velado. (38)

The prose content in the twenty-three treatises of Osuna’s *Third Spiritual Alphabet* address aspects of readiness for contemplation in the treatises which are glosses of the “dísticos” arranged alphabetically like titles. The two verses served an organizational tool for Osuna as writer and facilitated remembering for his potential reader who would have more easily recalled the preparation of “recogimiento” from the alphabetical order and the poetic devices of the verses. His glosses of the verses in prose explain the concepts in the verses and give specific examples. Below are the “dísticos” that Osuna used in his *Third Spiritual Alphabet* to help one prepare for quiet prayer.

1. *Anden siempre juntamente – la persona y el espíritu.*
2. *Bendiciones muy fervientes – frecuente en todas tus obras.*
3. *Ciego, y sordo, y mudo debes ser -, y manso siempre.*
4. *Desebaraza el corazón – y vacía todo lo criado.*
5. *Examina y hazte experto – y afina tus obras todas.*
6. *Frecuenta el recogimiento – por ensayarte en su uso.*
7. *Guerra dan los pensamientos – tú, con no, cierra la puerta.*
8. *Harás maestros a todos – y amándolos huye a uno.*

9. *Jamás pase sin castigo – la salida sin provecho.*
10. *Lágrimas sean tus armas – por la gloria peleando.*
11. *Memoria ten de continuo – y llama a Dios con sospiros.*
12. *No entiendo, más gustando, - pienses alcanzar reposo.*
13. *Oración antes del sueño ten – y después torna presto.*
14. *Por amor y sin enojo – corrige siempre tu alma.*
15. *Quitar debes todo estorbo – hincando en tierra los ojos.*
16. *Referir y sacar debes – de toda cosa el amor.*
17. *Siga tu cuerpo a Jesús – y su divinidad tu ánima.*
18. *Torna mucho sobre ti – en silencio y esperanza.*
19. *Humildad crezca contigo – para bien aprovechar.*
20. *Xapores son tentaciones, - de la gracia mensajeros.*
21. *Yntimamente assossiega – e acalla tu entendimiento.*
22. *Zela y guarda tu persona – y mezclarás en todo a Dios.*
23. *Por la tilde ten temor – de dexar lo comenzado.* (Andrés Martín 37)

In his spiritual writing, Osuna uses memory practices to organize his text and to transfer knowledge on his method of preparing for quiet prayer and meditation. He draws on older texts and applies the laws of association.

The strategy of association was first formulated by Aristotle who wrote that “Beginning from ‘something similar, or contrary, or closely connected’ with what we are seeking we shall come upon it” (Yates 34). The use of the laws of association in writing establishes frames of reference and connections. Roman Jakobson has expanded the meaning of association in language by explaining in *Fundamentals of Language* that metaphor signifies similarity and metonymy shows contiguity. He specifies that metaphor relates to paradigms and frameworks of reference and that metonymy signifies connections and contiguity. Jakobson writes that metaphor and metonymy work within the narrative in a text, from paradigmatic (metaphoric) or contingent (metonymic) relationships:

The development of discourse may take place along two different semantic lines: one topic may lead to another either through their

similarity or through their contiguity. The metaphoric way would be the most appropriate term for the first case and the metonymic way for the second, since they find their most condensed expression in metaphor and metonymy respectively. (*Fundamentals of Language* 90)

He writes about these relationships in narrative:

Following the path of contiguous relationships, the realist author metonymically digresses from the plot to the atmosphere and from the characters to the setting in space and time. He is fond of synecdochic details. (Jakobson, *Fundamentals of Language* 92)

Furthermore, in poetry metonymy is important for the narrative aspects. “Either of the two gravitational poles may prevail. In Russian lyrical songs, for example, metaphoric constructions predominate, while in the heroic epics the metonymic way is preponderant” (Jakobson 91).

Todorov also explains association for writing by stating that although literature is not primarily a symbolic system like painting, but uses the system of language, there is still a difference in a text between the relationships among elements within the text and the relationships of elements in the text to elements outside of it. He distinguishes between the relationships among elements co-present in the text, *in praesentia*, and those that refer to elements outside of the text, *in absentia*, and states that this is a difference at its minimum in lyric and sapiential literature and maximum in fiction (13-14).

To what does it correspond in our experience as readers? The relations *in absentia* are relations of meaning and of symbolization. A certain signifier signifies a certain signified, a certain phenomenon evokes

another; a certain episode symbolizes an idea. The relations *in praesentia* are relations of configuration, of construction. Here, it is by the power of a causality (not an evocation) that the phenomena are linked to each other.  
.. (14)

For my project, I will use the relations *in absentia* to analyze how Manrique uses meanings and symbolization from outside of the *Coplas* and I will work with relationships among elements co-present within the text, *in praesentia*, to show how the reader develops his own narrative on death by linking elements within the *Coplas*.

### **Transferring Knowledge through Memory**

The use of memory in composition by bringing forth older texts in one's writing transferred knowledge. Since in my close reading of the *Coplas* in the next chapters I will show the manifestation of an understanding about the self as individual from the use of memory in the writing of the poem, it will be necessary to describe the two fifteenth-century texts that I will use for my analysis, the *Ars moriendi* and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. First, I will describe the *Ars moriendi*, the text that surfaced after the Council of Constance (1444-1448), and then the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, the manual on chivalry by Alfonso de Cartagena (c. 1444). I will also show how the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* served as memory for Fernando del Pulgar in the writing of don Rodrigo Manrique's portrait in the *Claros varones de Castilla* which he wrote for Queen Isabel of Castile.

I believe that Jorge Manrique would have had access to the text on dying recommended during his time as a preparation for death and that he incorporated much of the knowledge in that text, the *Ars moriendi*, into the *Coplas*. For the purposes of my



study on the *Coplas* in Chapter Three, I now introduce the *Ars moriendi* and then explain marked differences between existing versions of this work. It is very important to note that versions of this well disseminated European text have significant differences, yet all versions are known by the uniform title of *Ars moriendi*. I will show some marked differences between two principal versions because the frequent assumption that all versions of the *Ars moriendi* are melodramatic, like the version written to accompany images, seems to have obscured the text's association with the *Coplas*. I do not believe that the art of dying that Manrique used as memory for the *Coplas* is the melodramatic didactic version of the *Ars moriendi* usually translated into the vernacular languages, but rather the longer Latin commendation of death that portrayed the dying person as resilient.

In her book, *The Art of Dying Well*, Sister Mary Catharine O'Connor emphasizes that there were two principal versions that are very different in method and dramatic effect, a longer commendation of dying and a shorter melodramatic one usually accompanied by images (O'Connor 7). I will show differences in style and content between these two main versions of the *Ars moriendi* by looking at representative texts of each version, the modern edition of the commendation of death in Frances M. M. Comper's *The Book of the Craft of Dying and Other Early English Tracts Concerning Death* and the *Arte de bien morir y breve confesionario*, an anonymous translation of the Latin melodramatic conduct book, transcribed by Christopher McDonald and E. Michael Gerli.

The *Ars moriendi*, the fifteenth-century versions of texts of spiritual guidelines on the art of dying well, prepared one for death with philosophical concepts from Christian

belief and from the writings of philosophers of antiquity. The *Ars* was used in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries with or without images. The dissemination of Latin versions of the *Ars moriendi* and subsequent translations into European languages with manuscript, xylographic, and movable type editions underlines the importance attributed to texts and visual images on death and a growing interest on the art of dying. All versions of the text incorporated much knowledge from the *Opusculum tripartitum*, a catechism of Christian doctrine by Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363-1429), chancellor of the University of Paris, a prolific writer and a zealous reformer of the Western Christian Church. However, the *Ars moriendi* also contains other knowledge not found in Gerson's catechism, but from the Church Fathers, the liturgy, writers of patristic thought, and ecclesiastical writers of the later medieval period (O'Connor 24).

The *Ars moriendi* transmits material on death that would have already been familiar to the dying person through other texts, sermons, iconography, and oral tradition. Its author states that it is written "Forasmuch as the passage of death, of the wretchedness of the exile of this world, for uncunning [ignorance] of dying – not only to lewd men [laymen] but also to religious and devout persons" (*The Book of the Craft of Dying* 3). O'Connor has found that the earliest manuscripts of the *Ars moriendi* from the first or second decade of the fifteenth century all contain the longer commendation of death version and that the incunabula without images for the most part also contain that version (O'Connor 113, 17). The commendation of death version, the longer version of the *Ars moriendi* also known as *Tractatus artis bene moriendi* or *Speculum artis bene moriendi* is called the *Crafte of Dyeng* in English; and O'Connor warns that generally those who refer to the work of *Ars moriendi* by the uniform title are referring to the shorter version with

images (O'Connor 7). O'Connor establishes the *terminus quo* date of 1408 for the *Ars moriendi* because of its source, the tract *De arte moriendi* in Gerson's catechism, a text with similar content and style (O'Connor 23-24). She speculates that Gerson must have brought the tract on dying in his catechism, *De arte moriendi*, to the Council of Constance (1414-18) and that the text of the *Ars moriendi*, which draws from material on death and dying discussed at the Ecclesiastical Council of Constance was authored at the Council location by a member of the Order of Preachers (the Dominicans) whose priory in that locality was known as a center of culture (50-56).

The *Ars moriendi*, the commendation of death version is divided into six parts whose descriptions and explanations I will cite from Comper's edition of *The Book of the Craft of Dying*:

The first part is of commendation of death; and cunning [knowing how] to die well.

The second containeth the temptations of men that die.

The third containeth the interrogations that should be asked of them that be in their death bed, while they may [can] speak and understand.

The fourth containeth an information, with certain obsecrations to them that shall die.

The fifth containeth an instruction to them that shall die.

The sixth containeth prayers that should be said to them that be a-dying, of some men that be about them. (3-4)

The first chapter of the *Book of the Craft of Dying* offers a discourse on death from classical and ecclesiastical sources. It begins by citing Aristotle in the third book of

*Ethics* on death as the most dreadful of all fearful things, but spiritual death of the soul as much more horrible “as the soul is more worthy and precious than the body” (5). Then the author quotes the Psalms of David stating that the death of a sinful man is “worst of all deaths,” yet the death of a good man is “ever precious in the sight of God”; he cites from other books of the Bible and Christian sources; and he concludes that “To die well is to die gladly and willfully” how, when, and where God wills the death, supporting his argument with Seneca’s advice to not blame nor try to escape from death (6-9).

The second chapter focuses on five principal temptations encountered by the dying person, namely of faith, desperation, impatience, complacency, and attachment to temporal things. The argument is always in support of the dying person and with reassurances that he can overcome the temptations of the devil. With the explanation of the first temptation, there is reassurance that,

[ . . . ] the devil may not noy thee, nor prevail against no man, in no wise, as long as he hath use of his free will, and of reason well disposed [ . . . ] And therefore no Christian man ought not to dread any of his illusions, or his false threatenings [persuasions] or his feigned fearings. (11)

After presenting all of the temptations, the conclusion in the text reaffirms that one has control over the devil and his temptations:

But it is to be noted well that the devil in all these temptations abovesaid may compel no man, nor in no manner of wise prevail against him for to consent to him – as long as a man hath the use of reason with him. . . (20-21)

In chapter three, the text on dying presents a section on faith, brief interrogations that elicit affirmative responses from the dying person that demonstrate his faith in God followed by optional more lengthy questions according to the noble Clerk the Chancellor of Paris [Gerson]. The brief interrogations provide the suggested affirmative answer, and further suggestions for reminding the dying person of his faith. For example,

Believest thou fully that Our Lord Jesu Christ, God's son, died for thee?

He sayeth: Yea. [...] Then thank Him thereof ever, while thy soul is in thy body. . . (22-23)

The more lengthy suggestions for the interrogation that the text advises according to Gerson expand the same questions with the same reply of "Yea" by the sick person.

The fourth chapter contains an instruction for the dying person to follow the example of Christ's death on the cross, to do as Christ did. The fifth chapter warns of false hopes of health by the sick person or from encouragement by others and of the importance of acknowledging spiritual preparation for death so that "he diligently provide and ordain for the spiritual remedy and medicine of his soul" (32). If the steps outlined cannot be followed, the suggestion is prayers directed to "our Saviour" (37). The text here indicates that the dying person should not be reminded of family members, friends, and temporal goods nor should they be brought forth to him except as would benefit. I do not agree that this part of the text disallows family members at one's deathbed, but that it merely encourages detachment since it says:

When man is in point of death, and hasteth fast to his end, then should no carnal friends, nor wife, nor children, nor riches, nor no temporal goods, be reduced [brought back] unto his mind, neither be communed of before

him only as much as spiritual health and profit of the sick man asketh and requireth. (37)

The sixth chapter has prayers that should be said by those with the dying person stipulating that it is not necessary to say them for salvation, but that it would profit those around the person:

But nevertheless this ought not to be done of necessity, as though he might not be saved but if it were done; but for the profit and devotion of the sick. . . (39)

The chapter concludes with some suggested prayers for “the profit of them [the dying person] and others that be about them ask and require, and as the time will suffice” (40).

By describing and citing from the *Ars moriendi* in its English version, *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, I have shown that the text does not instill fear, but rather seeks to encourage the dying person and reassure him of his resilience, especially by recalling the importance of his use of reason and will power at the time of death. There are choices introduced, for example, optional prayers and optional questions or suggestions for possible situations labeled by “if” and assertions preceded by “nevertheless” that follow observations.

I will now show that there are obvious differences between the longer commendation of death version of the *Ars moriendi* that I have just described and a shorter version, known today mostly from block books, in which its author states that the text is intended to accompany images. The images of deathbed scenes depict an angel coming to aid the dying person who faces horrible temptations. It seems that the popularity of the *Ars moriendi* block books and their beautiful woodcuts has probably led

to the nearly exclusive association of the *Ars moriendi* uniform title to images and to the melodramatic version that accompanies them. It should be noted that, “Of nearly three hundred extant copies of block books sixty-one are of the *Ars moriendi* (O’Connor 115). The editions of block books with illustrations contain the terse melodramatic version except in three extant printings (O’Connor 17). Translations of the *Ars moriendi* from Latin to the vernacular languages are usually of the version intended by its author to accompany illustrations. I believe that O’Connor succinctly states the differences between the version of the *Ars moriendi* mostly disseminated in manuscript form from which I have cited from Comper’s edition, *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, and the shorter version known mostly from block books. O’Connor warns her reader about the content and style of the melodramatic version of the *Ars moriendi*: “It is as if he [the author] saw, as the zealous CP [longer commendation of death version] author did not, the whole art of dying bound up in the struggle between the good and the evil impulses of a human heart” (12-13). She observes that the differences are in the shorter version’s strategy as “a conduct book terse and dramatic enough to impress all Christians [lettered and unlettered] with the gravity of the battle [between good and evil] and at the same time to instruct them in the proper tactics to win it” (O’Connor 13). In her “Note on *The Book of the Craft of Dying*” in her edition of the longer commendation of death, Comper summarizes the content of the melodramatic version, the version that she does not include in her book since the block books “need really a volume to themselves”:

The block-books of the *Ars moriendi* are very numerous and interesting  
[. . .]They seem to have been most popular in England, Germany, and  
France, though we find copies in almost every European language. They

generally contain eleven illustrations depicting the five great temptations which beset the soul at death. These temptations are embodied in the forms of hideous demons, which are repelled by angels and saints, and by Our Lady, who is the great interceder and last resource of the Dying Creature. (50)

In order to show these marked differences, I will cite from the version of the *Ars moriendi* in the Castilian translation, *Arte de bien morir y breve confessorio*, a text written for Christians who did not read Latin according to its author. This text, intended to accompany images, begins with a warning against not following its guidelines and focuses on the temptations by the devil at the time of death. It is written like a conduct book of prescriptive measures that stress compliance with its guidelines through the dramatic effect of temptations and warnings on specific ways of combating the devil's evil temptations. Many of the illustrations show the conflict between good and evil by depicting the tormented dying person being tempted by a devil and helped by an angel. The *Arte de bien morir y breve confessorio* dated from between 1480 and 1484 can be accessed on Internet with a transcription by Christopher McDonald and E. Michael Gerli. All of my citations from the *Arte de bien morir* come from the transcription by McDonald and Gerli of the original which is at the library of El Escorial.

This text, *Arte de bien morir*, contains the purpose of the translation at the beginning (1r), an introduction on the importance of using this text (1r-3r), chapters on the five temptations which consist of the temptation by the devil followed by the angel's response and encouragement (3v-19r), and one short chapter on doctrine and counsel (19r-21v). The *Arte de bien morir* guided and encouraged, however, the dying person is



faced with horrible temptations that he quickly overcomes, not alone but with the help of an angel. Its didactic approach focuses on a good death, but uses the melodramatic effect of the horrible temptations and the help of the angel in overcoming the temptations, a literary device that is transferred to effective visual images in the illustrations that stress the importance of saving one's soul. Most of the text is dedicated to the temptations, chapters that consist of one by the devil followed by a type of rebuttal in the form of counsel by the angel.

The translator begins by specifying the need for such a work in Castilian, that those who do not read Latin should not be excluded from such necessary instruction on death:

comiença el tratado llamado arte de bien morir conel breue confessorario  
sacado de latin en romance para instruccion e doctrina delas personas  
crescientes de letras latinas. las qua les non es razon que sean exclusas de  
tanto fructo e tan necessrio como es e se segue del presente compendio  
enesta forma siguiente. (1r)

The translator of the Latin to Castilian refers to the *Arte de bien morir* as providing a mirror (from the Latin *speculum* used in spiritual literature) to the dying person “para que puedan como en un espejo mirar e especular las cosas para la salud de sus animas pertenecientes” (3r). The *anima* defined as soul or conscience must not be lost because it defines immortality. Covarrubias in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* defines soul through functional terms, “Anima, Vide alma” and “Anima, por conciencia” (18). The *Diccionario medieval español*, also explains “anima” in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as “El alma informando el cuerpo del hombre” (Alonso 311).

The conduct book *Ars moriendi* text predisposes the mind for a good death by citing from Aristotle, Augustine, St. Bernard, and St. Gregory. Its author clearly admonishes that the loss of one's soul signifies failure and he exhorts the life of the soul by warning against the devastating loss of one's *anima* [soul] which he compares as greater than the loss of one thousand bodies by referring to Augustine:

la mas espantable delas cosas terribles sea la muerte. empero en ninguna manera se puede comparar ala muerte dela anima. Esto confirma sant augustin. que dize que mayor daño es la perdicion de vna anima. que de mill cuerpos. (prohemio 1r)

The second part includes the temptations dealing with doubt, despair, impatience, pride, and avarice. After each temptation is described in the third person, there are statements from the devil directly addressed to the dying person followed by counsel from the angel designated to help the dying person which serves as a rebuttal. For example, in the temptation of despair, “Capitulo .iiij. dela temptacion del diablo cerca dela desesperacion” (6v), one of the devil's statements to the dying person is that,

Por quanto yo uve fambre e non me distes a comer. sed uve. et no me distes a beuer ec. E por ende dize santiago. juyzio sin misericordia sera fecho a aquel que fue sin misericordia sobre la tierra. [. . .] Pues claramente aty que has seydo en toda tu vida pecador non se queda alguna esperança de saluacion. slauo que merescas dignmente de ser condepnado. (7v)

This negative tirade by the devil tempting the dying person by showing him that there is no hope for him is followed by “Capitulo .iiij. dela buena inspiracion del angel contra la

desesperacion” (8r) with the angel’s direct statements to the dying person. The hope by the angel is as dramatic as the devil’s tirade:

[C]Ontra la segunda temptacion del diablo da el angel buena inspracion. diziendo. o ombre por que desesperas. avn que tantos robos et furtos e homicidios uviesses cometido. quantas arenas e gotas ay en la mar. e avn que tu solo uviesses cometido todos los pecados del mundo todo. e non uviesses fecho dellos penitencia ni confession. ni uviesses agora facultad e espacio para confessar los ni por eso deues desesperar. por que en tal caso la contricion solo de dentro sin alguna vocal confession vasta. (8r-8v)

The angel supports his consolatory words by citing from the Psalms of David, the prophet Ezechiel, St. Bernard, and St. Augustine:

segund que esto se pureuaa por el psalmista. El coraçon contrito e humiliado tu dios non menospreciaras. E dize ezechiel. En qua`l se quier hora que el pecador gemiere. sera saluo. donde dize bernardo. mayor es la piedad de dios que qual quier maldad et pecado. E assi dize sant augustin. mas puede dios perdonar. que el ombre pecar. (8v-9r)

In the temptation of avarice, the fifth one, the devil tries to disengage the dying person from spiritual thought by tempting him with thoughts of his possessions, his wife, children and friends. The devil says:

O mezquino de ombre. Tu ya desamparas todos los bies temporales. que por muy grandes trabajos e cuydados has adquirido e ayntado. e tan bien dexas atu muger e fijos. parinets e amigos muy amados. e todas las otras cosas deltables e deseadas. . . (17r)

The angel gives the dying person good counsel, “el sancto angel da buena inspiracion e consejo” (17v) with advice on his possessions, family, and friends. Like the other version of the *Ars moriendi*, the text dictates detachment from possessions, family, and friends, but does not prohibit their presence at his bedside. The angel advises,

E ante todas cosas oluida e pospone todos los bienes e cosas temporales del todo. cuya memoria por cierto ninguna cosa de salud te puede causar e dar. mas antes muy grand impedimento e estoruo de tu salud spiritual [. . .]  
E deues te acordar delas palabras del redemptor nuestro señor ihesu cristo. que dize assi. alos que se alegan alas cosas mundans, si alguno non renunicare a todas las cosas que possee non puede ser mi discipulo. (17v-18v)

The brief section of the *Ars moriendi* that follows the temptations contains doctrine and advice “para el que sta enel punto dela muerte (19r). The suggestions focus on praying if the person is able to speak and reason. The text advises having a close friend that is devout to accompany one at the time of death:

que cada uno deue con grnd diligencia e cuytado poueer de algund amigo/ o compañero deuoto. ydoneo e fiel. el qual le sea e este presente en su fin e muerte. para que le conseje e conforte enla constancia dela fe e lo incite e pouoque a aver paciencia e deuocion. (19r)

The *Arte de bien morir* adds a warning that some will surround the dying person pretending to love him in order to acquire his possessions and furthermore that these persons will not let devout ones enter because they may confront them, “e lo que peor es avn non dexan entrar a personas deuotas que los confortarian. por recelo que les fagan

mudar el testamento” (21r). Then the text concludes with advice that each one should study his life to have a good death, “por que cada vno procure en estudiar en su vida para que bien pueda morir e aver gracia e en la patria gloria. Amen. Aqui se acaba el tratado del arte de, bien morir. Deo gracias” (21r).

I believe that the different versions known by the uniform title of *Ars moriendi* were probably intended for persons with different levels of literacy preparation. The *Book of the Craft of Dying* version that O’Connor speculates was prepared at the time of the Council of Constance is not “terse” (as O’Connor states) like the one that accompanies images and does not have the dramatic effect of the devil/angel chapters which comprise most of the *Ars moriendi* known for its images. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that a text like the *Ars moriendi* was considered so important that it was disseminated in different versions so that all persons could have access to it.

Another text of great importance in the fifteenth century is the manual on chivalry by Alfonso de Cartagena, *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. Unlike the *Ars moriendi*, this text dealt with knighthood in Castile and was not intended for all subjects. However, it would have been very familiar and important to Castilians like Jorge Manrique and I believe that Manrique depicts his father in the *Coplas* according to the virtues described in the manual on knighthood. The fact that Fernando del Pulgar’s portrayal of don Rodrigo Manrique in *Claros varones de Castilla*, a text dedicated to Queen Isabel, also appears to describe don Rodrigo according to virtues found in a treatise on knighthood indicates that chivalric talents were an important aspect of selfhood during a period of intense political struggle in Castile. I will describe Cartagena’s manual on chivalry and briefly explain content from that text on the virtues of the knight. I will then show how in *Claros varones de*

*Castilla*, a text written only a few years after the *Coplas*, Fernando del Pulgar portrays don Rodrigo Manrique according to the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*.

Alfonso de Cartagena's fifteenth-century Castilian vision of chivalry in his *Doctrinal de los caballeros* (c. 1444) presents a description of the knight according to virtues. All of my citations of Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* and from Alfonso de Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los caballeros* are from Noel Fallows' edition of Cartagena's text in his *The Chivalric Vision of Alfonso de Cartagena: Study and Edition of the Doctrinal de los caualleros*. In the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, the power of the will is evidenced in the work of the knight. Cartagena writes that, "Ca la obra aduze al omne a acabamiento de lo que entiende, e es asi como espejo en que muestra la su voluntad e el su poder qual es" (Fallows 93). I believe that the power of the will manifested in the deeds of knighthood supports the emerging concern for the self as individual that developed during the time when contemplative reading practices were characterized by individuality. Cartagena specifies that the virtues in Latin mean goodness, good ways of proceeding. Every good man should will to possess these qualities, but especially the defenders should possess them. The first three sections on the goodness, "bondades" or virtues of the knights seem to recall the Augustinian explanations of the mind in terms of memory, understanding, and will also explained by Llull.

In his *Segunda Partida*, King Alfonso X named four principal virtues for the knight, "Como los caualleros deuen auer en si quatro virtudes principales" (Fallows 91). Cartagena explains that the knights must know how to proceed, how to stay firm in their tasks, how to do what they need to do and no more, and how to do their tasks rightly:

Bondades son llamadas las buenas costumbres que los omnes han naturalmente en si, a que llaman en latin virtudes, e entre todas son quatro las mayores, asi como cordura e fortaleza e mesura e justiçia. E comoquier que todo omne que aya voluntad de ser bueno deua trauajarse de auerlas, tan bien los oradores que deximos como los otros que han de gouernar las tierras por sus lauores e por sus trauajos, con todo aquesto non ay ningunos a quien mas conuenga que a los defensores, porque ellos han a defender la yglesia e a los rreys e a todos los otros. Ca la cordura les fara que lo sepan fazer a su pro e sin su daño. E la fortaleza, que esten firmes en lo que fizieren e non sean cambiadizos. E la mesura, que obren de las cosas como deuen e non pasen amas. E la justiçia, que la fagan derechamente. (91)

Cartagena explains the section in Alfonso's *Segunda Partida* on how the knights must also be men of understanding so that they know what to do, "Quales caualleros deuen seer entendidos" (Fallows 92). Besides knowing, the knight should have other aspects of goodness, namely understanding, "entendimiento", which separates him from other creatures:

Aun ay otras bondades sin las que diximos en la ley ante desta que deuen auer en si los caualleros; esto es, que sean entendidos. Ca entendimiento es la cosa que mas enderesça al omne para ser cumplido en sus fechos nin que mas lo extrema de las otras criaturas. E por ende, los caualleros que han a defender a si e a los otros, segund que dicho auemos, deuen ser entendidos. Ca si lo non fuesen errarian en las cosas que ouiesen a

defender, porque el desentendimiento les faria que non mostrasen su poder contra aquellos que ouiesen de mostrar. (92)

The knights should also be able to apply themselves. Knowledge and understanding would not be worthwhile if the knights did not know how to work from their understanding. Their work is a mirror of their will. In the *Segunda Partida*, Alfonso X stipulates that “Quales caualleros deuen saber obrar de su entendimiento” (Fallows 93).

Cartagena explains this part of the *Segunda Partida* with:

Entendidos seyendo los caualleros, asi como diximos en la ley ante desta, comoquier que valdrian mas por ello, con todo eso non les ternia pro si non lo sopiesen meter en obra [. . .] Ca la obra aduze al omne a acabamiento de lo que entiende, e es asi como espejo en que muestra la su voluntad e el su poder qual es. (93)

The fourth section on virtues of the knights emphasizes how they should behave towards their enemies and towards their friends. In the *Segunda Partida* it is, “Que los caualleros deuen seer bien acostumbrados” (Fallows 93). Cartagena explains that the knights should be able to be strong towards their enemies and please their friends:

Pasando los fijosdalgo de las cosas contrarias les fazen que lleguen por ellas a acabamiento de buenas costumbres, e esto es que de vna parte sean fuertes e brauos, e de la otra parte mansos e humildes. Ca asi como les esta bien de auer palabras fuertes e brauas para espantar a los enemigos e arredrarlos de si quando fueren entre ellos, bien de aquella manera las deuen auer en cosas humildes e para afalagar e alegrar a aquellos que con



ellos fueren, e serles de buen gasajado en las sus palabras e en sus fechos.

(93)

The writing of the *Coplas* by Jorge Manrique on the death of his father dates from 1477. A significant literary resource for a portrait of don Rodrigo Manrique, *Claros varones de Castilla* by Fernando del Pulgar, offers a text in prose about the knight written in the mid 1480's, only a few years after his death. It is one of several representations in the work that Pulgar writes with the intention of pleasing the Queen and showing the deeds of key figures within the political consciousness of early-Modern Spain. I have used Robert Tate's 1971 edition of Pulgar's *Claros varones de Castilla*, a critical edition from the incunabula 1486 printing and from sixteenth century manuscripts and printings, for all of my citations from *Claros varones de Castilla*. In the prologue of the book which he dedicates to Queen Isabel of Castile, Pulgar states his intent to please the Queen with:

Yo, muy excelente Reina y señora, criado desde mi menor edad en la corte del rey vuestro padre y del rey don Enrique vuestro hermano, movido con aquel amor de mi tierra [. . .] me dispuse a escrevir de algunos claros varones, perlado y caualleros naturales de los vuestros reinos [. . .] cuyas fazañas y notables fechos [. . .] así en ciencia como en armas, no fueron menos excelentes que auellos griegos y romanos y franceses que tanto son loados en sus escripturas. (Pulgar 4)

The composition of Pulgar's treatise dates from the mid 1480's based on its choice of portraits, historical content similar to his *Crónica de los reyes católicos*, and the narratives of accomplishment supporting Isabel's Castilian politics (Tate xxii). It is printed by Juan Vasques in 1486 with the title, *Libro de los claros varones de Castilla*

*dirigido a la Reina Nuestra Señora*. Its title, like Fernán Pérez de Guzmán's poem *Loores de los claros varones de España*, is indicative of the nature of its content and the prose follows a similar style to Guzman's portraits in *Generaciones y semblanzas* of the 1450's. However, rather than using candor like Pérez de Guzmán, he uses diplomacy and irony (Deyermond 275). Fernando del Pulgar, a very well accomplished writer and diplomat, develops a text intended to meet the expectations of the Queen.

In the prologue of *Claros varones*, which he dedicated to Queen Isabel, Pulgar states that he writes a treatise like those that have been written by the Romans and others to preserve the memory of worthy accomplishments. He assures his reader that he will not exaggerate to show his eloquence or to exalt the persons or their deeds, but will write of their lineages, talents, and some worthy deeds: "escreviré los linajes y condiciones de cada uno y algunos notables fechos que fizieron" (4). The portraits consist of a physical description, a declaration of lineage, talents and a depiction based on accomplishments with an emphasis on talents. The entries which vary in length are organized as he states and include the categories significant to a knight as defined in texts on chivalry. In his treatise, Pulgar identifies illustrious achievements of interest to the Queen Isabel, the military orders, and the noble families. Like Guzmán, he first names the heritage and the physical description of the person, but instead of relating the moral qualities to the political climate with candid commentary and also naming the non-virtuous aspects, Pulgar's portrayals depict illustrious lives. His work is similar to Guzman's in some ways, but his portraits emphasize deeds. The achievements equal or challenge the merits of other nations or cultures in a style reminiscent of Valerius Maximus' *Dicta et facta* which had great influence during this period (Tate xxxi). The treatise "reflects to a great

extent the desire for tact and moderation, rather than repression, which the Catholic Kings were obliged to exercise in dealing with individual noble families” (Tate lii).

I believe that Pulgar illustrates the deeds of don Rodrigo Manrique, the Grand-Master of the Order of Santiago, in accordance to Alfonso de Cartagena’s fifteenth century discourse on Castilian knighthood, *Doctrinal de los caballeros* (c. 1444). The section on don Rodrigo Manrique in Pulgar’s *Claros varones de Castilla*, “El Maestre Don Rodrigo Manrique, Conde de Paredes,” (48-52) begins by identifying the knight by his titles, his father, and the place of his ancestry. This is followed by a physical description of a well-proportioned person of medium height with red hair, and a slightly long nose that was of noble Castilian lineage:

Don Rodrigo Manrique, conde de Paredes y maestre de Santiago, fijo segundo de Pedro Manrique, adelantado mayor del reino de León, fue ome de mediana estatura, bien proporcionado en la conpostura de sus miembros. Los cabellos tenía roxos y la naris un poco larga. Era de linaje noble castellano. (Pulgar 48)

The second paragraph in Pulgar’s text gives a brief history of the knight’s early career assuring his reader not only of the knight’s talents, but of the high esteem of others for his accomplishments. Pulgar begins by stating the knight’s talent for chivalry since his early years and his decision to join and live by the guidelines of the military order of Santiago, “tomó ábito y orden de Santiago” (48). For his great achievements in venturing from the city where he was stationed into the land of the Moors where he acquired great fame, his father granted him the city of Paredes and King Juan gave him title of Count of that city.

[. . .] fue comendador de Segura, que es cercana a la tierra de los moros.

Y estando por frontero en aquella su encomienda, fizo muchas entradas en la tierra de los moros, donde ovo fama de tan buen cavallero que el adelantado su padre, por la estimación grande en que este su fijo era tenido, aportó de su mayorasgo la villa de Paredes. . . (Pulgar 48)

Pulgar portrays don Rodrigo as a knight who possesses the talents “virtudes” of that profession. He relates his success to two virtues in his nature, prudence and strength.

Pulgar uses the four principal “virtues,” known as “bondades” or “buenas costumbres” that Cartagena describes in his *Doctrinal de los caballeros* for his portrait of don Rodrigo. As Cartagena had explained, virtues are good ways of proceeding and this fact is evident in the virtues that Pulgar describes and relates to don Rodrigo:

Este varón gozó de dos singulares virtudes: de la prudencia, conociendo los tiempos, los logares, las personas y las otras cosas que en la guerra conviene que sepa el buen capitán. Fue asimismo dotado de la virtud de la fortaleza [. . .] asentó tan perfectamente en su ánimo el ábito de la fortaleza, que se deleitaba quando le ocurría lugar en que la deviese exercitar. (Pulgar 48)

Pulgar’s portrait of don Rodrigo Manrique centers on his character as a knight by associating his endeavors to the prudence and strength of his nature. He writes that as a knight don Rodrigo admired talent in chivalry, successfully won battles, and evidenced great ability in recounting the events of war. Moreover, he was not greedy and had high ideals. Pulgar’s depiction of the knight identifies him through qualities for chivalry as defined in Castile.

Pulgar writes that don Rodrigo valued great military skill; there was so much display of talent among his men that even if someone did not have adequate skills, he learned from others:

Preciávase mucho que sus criados fuesen dispuestos para las armas. Su plática con ellos era la manera del defender y del ofender el enemigo, y ni se dezía ni fazía en su casa acto ninguno de molleza, enemiga del oficio de las armas [. . .] Y si alguno venía a ella que no fuese dispuesto para el uso de las armas, el grand exercicio que avía y veía en los otros le fazía ábile y diestro en ellas. (Pulgar 49)

Pulgar leaves no doubt of don Rodrigo's skill at speaking with his men and being understood, because none went astray. The knight's men understand what he tells them and they all become accomplished, an important aspect of a knight in Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. Immediately after describing the virtues, Cartagena had explained Alfonso X's "Quales caualleros deuen seer entendidos" (*Segunda Partida*, XXI),

Aun ay otras bondades sin las que diximos en la ley ante desta que deuen auer en si los caualleros; esto es, que sean entendidos. Ca entendimiento es la cosa que mas enderesça al omne para ser complido en sus fechos nin que mas lo extrema de las otras criaturas. (92)

Pulgar also describes the knight's proven outstanding abilities with another aspect of his leadership. He was first at the front in combat, "mostrando gran esfuerzo a los suyos" and because of his great knowledge of this field, he never put his people in a

situation of having to retreat. Cartagena explains, “Quales caualleros deuen saber obrar de su entendimiento” (*Segunda Partida*, XXI):

Entendidos seyendo los caualleros, asi como diximos en la ley ante desta, comoquier que valdrian mas por ello, con todo eso non les ternia pro si non lo sopiesen meter en obra. Ca maguer el entendimiento les mostrase que deuián fazer para defender, si sabiduria non ouiese para lo saber fazer, non les valdria nada. (93)

Pulgar explains the knight’s role in selected encounters significant to Castile, to the military order of Santiago, and to the Manrique family. He describes the action with details that show the talents that he had previously described. In Huesca:

[. . .] pospuesta la vida y propuesta la gloria, subieron el muro peleando y no fallecieron de sus fuerzas defendiéndolo, aunque veían los unos derramar su sangre, los otros caer de la cerca. E en esta manera, matando de los moros y muriendo de los suyos, este capitán, ferido en el brazo de una saeta, peleando entró la cibdad e retroxo los moros fasta que los cercó en la fortaleza. (Pulgar 50)

Pulgar names don Rodrigo’s victories at Alcaraz and at Uclés, two important accomplishments significant for the Crown and for the military order of Santiago:

Cercó asimismo este cavallero la fortaleza de Alcaraz, por la reducir a la corona real: cercó la fortaleza de Uclés, por la reduzir a la su orden de Santiago [. . .] Ovo asimismo este cavallero otras batallas y fechos de armas con christianos y con moros, que requerían grand estoria si de cada una por estenso se oviese de fazer minción. (Pulgar 51)

Pulgar insists that his speaking ability about war and his doings are very important aspects of the knight: “Fablava muy bien y deleitábase en recontar los casos que le acescían en las guerras [. . .] Era varón de altos pensamientos, y inclinado a cometer grandes y peligrosas fazañas. . .” (51). In *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, Cartagena explains the importance of the knight’s words and his actions, “Que cosas deuen fazer los caualleros en dichos e en fechos” from Alfonso X’s work (*Segunda Partida*, XXI). Pulgar completes the portrait of the knight with the love and appreciation of other knights for him that led to his election as Grand-master at the death of the powerful Juan Pacheco and concludes with notification of his death without details:

Era amado por los cavalleros de la orden de Santiago [. . .] le eligieron  
maestre en la provincia de Castilla por fin del maestre don Juan Pacheco  
[. . .] Murió con honrra en hedad de setenta años. (Pulgar 52)

The honor that Pulgar ascribed to don Rodrigo in his portrait appears to have followed the way to honor a knight in the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. Cartagena’s interpretation of Alfonso X’s section on why knights should be honored, “En que manera deuen seronrrados los caualleros” (*Segunda Partida* XXI) which is as follows:

Onrrados deuen ser mucho los caualleros, por tres rrazones: la vna, por  
rrazon de la nobleza de su linaje; la otra, por su bondad; la terçera, por el  
pro que dello viene. (105)

In conclusion, in this chapter, I have described the concept of memory as representation explained by the philosophers of antiquity. I have summarized the use of memory practices for writing by citing from older texts to bring forth and organize knowledge in a new text. I have proposed that my study will work from “internal

determinants” such as an increase in literacy and the religious practices of contemplative reading which helped to shape identity during the medieval period and that I will argue that these “internal determinants” lead to an “individualistic” concept of the self through the use of memory, other texts, for representation in the *Coplas*. My aim is to show that Manrique’s poem, written during the time of transition between the Medieval and early-Modern era, uses the “individualistic” concept of the self to shape the identity of his father by drawing on the *Ars moriendi* and chivalric talents. In Chapter Four, I will show how virtues of knighthood explained in Cartagena’s text that served as memory for Pulgar in his portrait of Rodrigo Manrique also worked as memory for the writing of the *Coplas*. I believe that in his poem Jorge Manrique represents the figure of his father by innovating the concept of the self, and in this way his poem is an early example of a process of self-representation that becomes evident and widespread in the sixteenth century.

In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, Stephen Greenblatt writes that “Perhaps the simplest observation we can make is that in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable artful process . . . ” (3). He specifies that,

Literature functions within this system in three interlocking ways: a manifestation of the concrete behavior of its particular author, as itself the expression of the codes by which behavior is shaped, and as a reflection upon those codes. (Greenblatt 4)

In the close reading that follows in Chapters Three and Four, I show how the verses of the *Coplas* are a manifestation of the work of Jorge Manrique in fashioning the



identity of his father by transmitting knowledge through the use of memory in verses that lead his reader through contemplation on death towards the representation of his father as an individual at death. By looking at the *Ars moriendi* and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* as memory for the writing of the *Coplas* and Manrique's call to his reader to contemplate his own individual death, I study how the poem expresses codes of behavior already practiced during his time. And I will propose that since the poem is a reflection upon the fifteenth-century codes of behavior for the self from which Manrique drew for the forging of identity, the *Coplas* evidences an emerging concern for the self as individual by demonstrating an understanding of identity from a subjective consciousness already evident during his period.

## CHAPTER 3

### DEATH AND THE SELF IN THE *COPLAS*

Jorge Manrique weaves a new text from the threads of tradition with poetic language that gives his reader the tools to contemplate death from a spiritual perspective that overcomes the sarcasm of the *Dance of Death* and to relate to his father, don Rodrigo Manrique Grand-master of the Order of Santiago, from the concept of equality at death. By associating philosophical concepts with sensations and emotions, the poet engages his reader. He uses figures of thought such as metaphor and metonymy combined with figures of word like rhythm, meter, rhyme, vocalic quality, and syntax to convey a vision of the self at death that focuses on his reader's contemplation of his inevitable death and Manrique's father at death. I believe that this poem became a key text in the Spanish literary canon because it offered the reader a way to contemplate death from texts and images already accepted in fifteenth-century Castile. I also believe that the poem showed its reader an approach to death for the self that focused on individuality and agency of the self modeled on the representation of don Rodrigo Manrique at death. My reading will show that Manrique presents a new understanding of the art of dying well by acknowledging philosophical concepts and codes of behavior at death that followed religious ritual, yet by also identifying the skills needed at death and comparing them with talents useful in life.

In this chapter, I will show that the codes of behavior from which Manrique drew were already expressed in spiritual and temporal texts. Not only traditional literature in

general, but specific texts addressed issues of conduct in the fifteenth century. The *Ars moriendi* longer Latin version, reading material for contemplation, was intended for the reader to compose a vision of death for himself. The *Doctrinal de los caballeros* was a manual written to guide the knight in his endeavors. In the *Coplas*, the reader contemplates mortality and can take an empowered attitude towards it by composing a spiritual vision for himself at death similar to that encouraged by the *Ars moriendi*. However, I believe that as the reader contemplates don Rodrigo's empowered attitude toward death, he finds that the knight approaches death not only by acknowledging the redemptive power of Christ as explained in the *Ars moriendi*, but also by approaching death with agency derived from chivalric virtues, talents intended for the function of a juridical subject within an institution.

The shift in the *Coplas* from a strictly spiritual approach to death to what I find is an individualistic positive attitude towards death stands in marked contrast to the *Dance of Death* tradition and differs from the images of the tormented dying person that needs the help of an angel in the shorter version of the *Ars moriendi*. The attitude towards death exemplified by don Rodrigo in the *Coplas*, however, is similar to the active engagement required of the knight in defending and claiming a territory. I believe that after presenting concepts on death in the meditation and relating death to a historical context with the *ubi sunt*, the poet associates his reader's meditation on death with the knight's engagement with death by the representation of his father's death in the last part of the poem. My reading will also show that the poet urges his reader to compose a narrative of his own death and provides the positive representation of his father at death as a model. If the poet associates the representation of his father's death with the positive

attitude of his reader towards his own death, he also engraves a positive memory of his father in the soul of his reader.

Manrique uses traditional texts as memory for writing his poem and refines fifteenth-century poetic strategies in his use of lexical, phonetic and grammatical aspects of poetic language to identify the self at death. He relates to his reader from concepts about death in older texts and from significant “real” connections that he establishes in his verses. In his poem about the self at the time of death, Manrique emphasizes place in relation to death from the beginning of the poem. He identifies death, the time at the end of our lives as a place, the sea, and lives as rivers that flow into the sea, a common *topos* that comes from the Bible. This common image is drawn from Ecclesiastes 1.7 in the Bible in which rivers go to the sea, but the sea does not fill. The image is also found in other literature, for example, in Augustine’s work, in Petrarch’s *De remediis*, and in fifteenth-century poetry (Beltrán, *Poesía* 150). Manuel Mantero points out that in these often cited verses of the poem, Manrique uses allegory, a continuing metaphor, that is part of meta-logical poetic language and differs from didactic allegory:

Nuestras vidas son los ríos  
que van a dar en el mar  
que es el morir:  
allí van los señoríos  
derechos a se acabar  
y consumir;  
allí los ríos caudales,  
allí los otros, medianos,

y más chicos;  
allegados, son iguales,  
los que biven por sus manos  
y los ricos. (25-36)

Along with allegory, Manrique uses anaphora, a trope that repeats the same word or idea. He repeats “que” twice at the beginning of two consecutive verses (26, 27). He also repeats the adverb “allí” three times. Followed by a verb in the first part of the stanza, the adverb and verb sequence, “allí van” (28), designates place before movement and the adverb indicating place is repeated twice followed by plural nouns that name the subjects associated with place and movement, “allí los ríos” (31) and “allí los otros” (32).

Figures of word like cadence and rhyme in these verses further transmit the concept of the equality of all individuals in death. The poem’s predominately trochaic rhythm in its verses of octosyllabic meter is evident here. The trochaic cadence of the “pie quebrado,” seventy-five percent tetra-syllabic and twenty-five percent penta-syllabic shorter verses in the entire poem, prolongs the effects of the tercet (Navarro 170). In “allegados son iguales / los que biven por sus manos / y los ricos,” the serenity of the trochaic cadence of the two octosyllabic verses continues into the “pie quebrado” tetra-syllabic verse which extends the effect of the two preceding verses (Navarro 172). Manrique’s emphasis on “y los ricos” is a significant choice. He combines two traditional strata, the nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie, in one social division, a novelty for dividing royal subjects with different social and juridical realities in the fifteenth century (Beltrán 150). The consonantal rhyme with an accented penultimate syllable in seventy-five percent of the verses contributes to the poem’s serene quality and

the accented final syllable is reserved especially for a grave philosophical tone and the emotional final stanzas (Navarro 176). In “caudales” and “iguales” as well as in “medianos” and “sus manos” we find the consonantal rhyme and accented penultimate syllable that provides serenity. The verses with a stressed final syllable provide added emphasis and, in this way, the serene quality is contrasted with the serious philosophical tone provided by a final accented syllable in “consumir” and “morir.” Manrique also uses vocalic quality and vowel sequences like the repetition of the stressed “a” in “que van a dar en el mar” (Navarro 177). The vowel quality and its sequential placement provide a sensation that contributes to the meaning of the verses about all of the rivers flowing to the sea. The adjectives “caudales”, “iguales”, and “medianos” convey meaning and emotion by extending the image of the rivers that flow to the sea. The adverb “allí” follows the two verbs indicating finality, “morir” and “consumir.” The parallel active indicative mood for the verbs and their placement at the end of the verse not only distinguishes them by the accented final syllable, but gives a tone of finality to the action and its location, “allí.”

In the *Coplas*, Manrique establishes a foundation context of the equality of all individuals by describing death as a common place, and lives as rivers that all flow to this sea. Manrique uses *memoria*, the medieval craft of weaving texts together, and prepares his reader for the particular manifestation of his father’s death by bringing forth material from other texts of his period on death and fifteenth-century expectations. But while he associates the concept of death to a time and a place by writing about death from concepts in spiritual literature, he also describes the knight according to Castilian chivalric standards. Manrique uses concepts from older texts in his poem to bring forth an

emerging consciousness of the representation of the self that he asks his reader to compose as he journeys through his poem, but he uses medieval texts and familiar poetic language to move his reader towards the early-Modern representation of the self as individual.

### **Meditation: The Spiritual Vision of the Self**

The knight's death represents philosophical concepts also accepted by Manrique's Western reader who recalls them as he contemplates death at the beginning of the poem. The longer version of the *Ars moriendi* provides a framework of expectations about dying from which to study the *Coplas*. The *Ars moriendi*, a book of preparation intended for the dying contains much of the same material about death that Manrique includes in his poem. The longer version counsels the dying, *moriens*, to follow guidelines that are much like a ritual, but its shorter version with many translations in the vernacular languages has a dramatic didactic approach and is accompanied by terrifying illustrations. Manrique does not choose the dramatic conduct book approach of the shorter version of the *Ars moriendi* like the translation into Castilian that circulated in Spain. He does, however, choose to work with a focus similar to that of the longer version of the *Ars moriendi* that circulated throughout Europe in Latin after the Ecclesiastical Council of Constance, 1414-1418. He follows a framework similar to the longer *Ars moriendi* to present thoughts on death and to show his father's deathbed scene in accordance with that ritual.

The purpose of the *Ars moriendi* was to help the dying person gain immortality by following its ritualistic approach. It was intended to help the dying person forge a connection between faith and an anticipated condition, death. By looking at both texts,

the *Ars* and the *Coplas*, it is evident that Manrique uses the formula of the *Ars moriendi* to immortalize his father in the mind and memory of his reader by shaping a connection between his reader and his father.

Using philosophical material from *memoria*, Manrique establishes frameworks with these concepts in his poem from relationships outside the text and as he weaves them into his verses, he also uses them to provide contiguity within the verses. Todorov explains that in sapiential literature and lyric there is less of a difference between the relationships among elements inside and outside of the text and the relationships among elements exclusively within the text. The concepts that Manrique brings into his poem from outside of the text also form relationships with each other from within the text. Many of the texts in the *Coplas* can be found in the longer version of the *Ars moriendi*, perhaps for some of the same reasons that Manrique used them, to frame a good death according to period expectations, Christian belief, and the history of Western ideas. In his 1947 book on Manrique's poetry, *Jorge Manrique o tradición y originalidad*, Salinas related the knight's exemplary death to the *Ars moriendi*, manuals that circulated in the fifteenth-century that taught how to die,

Y en los cuatrocientos corren por Europa unos tratados para enseñar a bien morir con ese título de *Ars moriendi*, verdaderos manuales en donde nada falta, ni las ideas generales sobre la muerte, ni las prevenciones sobre los peligros espirituales que cercan al hombre a la hora de su tránsito, ni las instrucciones detalladas sobre el mejor modo de contrarrestarlos y vencerlos. ¡Qué admirable arte de morir va levándose, poco a poco, a modo de delicada esencia, de entre los versos de las *Coplas*, y llega la



final del poema, en la escena de la muerte del Maestre, a soberbia  
evidencia representativa! (178)

Recently, however, authors have disagreed with Salinas. In a study exclusively on the shorter version of the *Ars moriendi* in Latin, Castilian and Catalan, *Ars moriendi* (Ediciones Clásicas, 2008), the authors question the relationship by citing Salinas and writing that Manrique would not have had a Castilian translation of the *Ars moriendi* due to the fact that translations are dated after his death, and that it would have been improbable for Manrique to have a Latin *Ars moriendi*, an assumption that the authors do not support with research (González Rolán, Suárez-Somonte, Caerols Pérez 57). Moreover, Vicente Beltrán also denies the connection. He writes that the dying person in the text of the *Ars moriendi*, as well as in its illustrations, is tormented by the devil, counseled by an angel, and is not at peace like Manrique's father at death:

Quiero resaltar, sin embargo, que en el *Arte de bien morir* el moribundo está lejos de ser considerado como un alma en paz consigo misma y con el más allá, dispuesta para el tránsito, y tanto en la misma estructura del texto como en cada una de las ilustraciones se le presenta en medio de feroz controversia entre los consejos del demonio, que busca confundirlo y condenarlo, y el ángel, que lo aconseja rectamente para su salvación.  
(Beltrán, *Poesía* 227)

It is important to note that in the Latin version of the *Ars moriendi* that circulated during Manrique's time, the dying person is at peace. Only the shorter version, written to accompany illustrations, contains the melodramatic struggle of the dying person with the devil and the help of the angel. The interpretations of the *Coplas* that reject the literary

influence of the *Ars moriendi* seem to overlook the longer version of the *Ars moriendi* that circulated in Europe in the fifteenth century. It is quite likely that Manrique had access to the longer version of the *Ars moriendi* in Latin which differs in both content and style from the shorter version. That version that I believe Manrique likely had access to does not contain the aspects of the shorter version that literary critics like Beltrán find problematic in comparing it to the *Coplas*.

Looking at the *Coplas* in conjunction with the *Ars moriendi*, a reading intended for lay people and religious, offers evidence for an interpretation of an emerging consciousness about subjectivity not only based from period spirituality but also in relation to practices in reading derived from Augustine. In *Lectio spiritualis*, a person was encouraged to read for self-benefit, to remember and potentially compose something new of his own. As I analyze memory in the *Coplas* in relation to the longer version of the *Ars moriendi* which I believe served as memory for the *Coplas*, I will follow the order of the *Ars moriendi* and work from it to the verses in Manrique's poem.

In the longer version of the *Ars moriendi* the first chapter stipulates that if a man is virtuous or repentant, death is not only good but precious in God's sight (O'Connor 25). When Manrique introduces his father in the *Coplas*, he declares him virtuous, the first stipulation for a good death in the *Ars moriendi*. It should be noted that Manrique states his father's virtuosity when he first introduces him into the poem and that by his virtues he establishes his goodness according to the *Ars moriendi*; yet by his virtues, he is also identifying him by his talents as a knight according to Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los caualleros* (cited in Chapter 2 of this dissertation):

Bondades son llamadas las buenas costumbres que los omnes han  
naturalmente en si, a que llaman en latin virtudes, e entre todas son quatro  
las mayores, asi como cordura e fortaleza e mesura e justicia. (Fallows  
91)

Manrique explains his father's virtues in separate tercets linked by poetic devices. The poetic language in the poem combines the goodness and talents of don Rodrigo,

Aquél de buenos abrigo,  
amado por virtuoso  
de la gente,  
el maestro, don Rodrigo  
Manrique tanto famoso  
y tan valiente, (289-293)

The demonstrative pronoun "Aquél" emphasizes the virtuous subject by its syntax and in the following verse the subject is described by adjectives that repeat "buenos abrigo" in the preceding verse. To complete the image of virtuosity, the "pie quebrado" verse reaffirms his virtue by the approval of others. He is beloved "amado," of the people. The trochaic rhythm of the two verses followed by the "pie quebrado" that states "de la gente" further extends the impact of his esteem. When the poet names the Grand-master, he introduces him with his titles, individual significant merits, "tanto famoso," and outstanding quality as a knight, "y tan valiente." The conjunction "y" that begins the "pie quebrado" adds emphasis by its syntactic function, yet also adds another syllable to the verse making it distinct from the predominately tetra-syllabic "pie quebrado" verses. The difference in syllables, four in the first short verse and five in the second is possible

according to poetic rules of his period. The two adverbs “tanto” and “tan” magnify the qualities by quantifying them. The consonantal rhyme that combines elements from the two tercets unites the two descriptions of his father who he portrays as an admirable subject because of spiritual and temporal attributes. There is contiguous meaning repeated in the rhyme and there is conformity with medieval values in the poetic expression of the spiritual and temporal aspects of don Rodrigo. The broad definitions of spiritual worth coincide with the temporal recognition of fame and courage in military exploits. Although the spiritual and temporal may seem divided, there is a relationship. For example, the knight’s virtuosity is identified by goodness towards his subjects and he is loved by the people because of his virtuosity. The officers of the military orders owned land and those who worked the land were subject to them. The placement of don Rodrigo’s fame and emphasis on his outstanding courage demonstrates their esteemed value for medieval subjects. The spiritual and temporal traits and the uniformity of the verses with a stress on courage demonstrate a representation of don Rodrigo according to medieval Castilian expectations. The poet represents his father’s spiritual traits according to the *Ars moriendi* and praises him by medieval standards as an outstanding knight and head of a military order.

In the *Ars moriendi*, after asserting that death is good for the virtuous man, come several descriptions of death as comparisons taken from classical and ecclesiastical sources including St. John Chrysostom, St. Anselm and St. Bernard (O’Connor 25-26). Manrique describes death by comparing it to the end of the road of life:

Este mundo es el camino

para el otro, que es morada  
sin pesar  
mas cumple tener buen tino  
para andar esta jornada  
sin error. (49-54)

The octosyllabic verses with accented penultimate syllable in the consonantal rhyme lead to the tetra-syllabic “pie quebrado” verse with a difference in syllabification and accentuation. These tetra-syllabic verses are accentuated on the last syllable which adds a silent syllable due to the final stress. The use of anaphora with the repetition of the preposition, “sin” followed by two infinitives, results in verses complementary in meaning that are also complementary in meter, syntax, rhythm, rhyme, and vowel sequence. The use of anaphora occurs again with the repetition of “para” in the second verses of each tercet with “para el otro” and “para andar”. The stressed initial syllable of the verse, “mas cumple tener buen tino” warns of a didactic admonition from the beginning of the verse by the stressed syllable. The warning of this verse exemplifies the didactic approach characteristic of the medieval period. Consonantal rhyme connects figures of thought in the verses: “camino,” the road of life, and “buen tino,” the good manner in which one must travel that road. The rhyme of “morada,” place, is the trope for immortality and “jornada” is a traveler’s one day journey, a destination to be reached within a given time. The poet completes the meaning of reaching the place of destination within a specific amount of time by the rhyme of “morada” and “jornada”. He shows how the road is to be travelled by rhyming “buen tino” with “camino”.

From his verses, Manrique's reader can take away a narrative of immortality through metonymy because he is the traveler on the road whose manner of travel is guided by spiritual readings that he knows. His reader is on a path that requires following guidelines and he has set out to reach a place, immortality, within a designated time. It is through metonymy that one goes from the argument towards the setting and from the characters towards time and space in narrative (Jakobson, *Fundamentals of Language* 90-92).

Manrique has included his reader in the narrative since the beginning of the poem with the use of the subjunctive in the verbs, "Recuerde," "abive," and "despierte"(1-2). He soon joins his reader with "como a nuestro parescer" (10). In the next six verses, double stanza [II], he uses the first person plural in three verbs. He begins the following double-stanza, [III], with a first plural pronominal adjective, "Nuestras vidas (25). When he warns, "mas cumple tener buen tino", the voice of the poet approaches his reader as one who is not distant from him and again acknowledges that both he and his reader are on the same path to immortality. Manrique has approached subjectivity by relating to his reader, his reader with himself, and his reader with don Rodrigo Manrique. In identifying with his reader from medieval descriptions of subjectivity in the context of death, he uses second person singular, first person plural, and third person singular.

The *Ars moriendi* that I believe served as *memoria* for the *Coplas* also was a resource for the medieval subject at death. The first chapter of the *Ars* continues by stating "the folly of trying to escape the inevitable", a sentiment expressed by Seneca and that has less emphasis on resignation than on good sense (O'Connor 26). The Grand-master explains:

Y consiento en mi morir  
con voluntad plazentera,  
cara y pura,  
que querer ombre bivar  
cuando Dios quiere que muera  
es locura. (451-456)

The final stressed syllable of the first verse in each of the tercets which only appears in approximately twenty-five percent of the verses shows firmness, intensity and seriousness. The rhyme of “morir” with “bivar” emphasizes a similarity between dying and living, considered as distinct yet complementary in the medieval period. His consent to dying as O’Connor has pointed out should not be interpreted as resignation or overpowering by Death like in the *Dance of Death*, but rather as the obvious choice for a rational man. As Plotinus clearly stated, at the moment of death, the intelligible soul has “practical, sensible aspects” (King 107). The Grand-master asserts that he consents to dying, “con voluntad plazentera” (452). The rhyme of “plazentera” with “muera” further intensifies this connection between intellect and practical and sensible aspects upon forthcoming death. Furthermore, the second verse of the six verse semi- stanza, “con voluntad plazentera” connects God’s will in “cuando Dios quiere que muera” (455), philosophical concepts from antiquity with Christian belief. The alliteration in “que querer ombre bivar” (454) which lengthens the verse on the desire to live when man is at the moment of death juxtaposes it to the short and direct response in the ‘pie quebrado’ verse that succinctly states, “es locura” (456) with a single noun. The “pie quebrado”

verse that describes his consent to die, “cara y pura” of two adjectives focuses on his consent for a longer time than the “pie quebrado” stating the folly.

These verses in the poem concur with the *Ars moriendi* and the European medieval approach to death. The words of the Grand-master represent the consent of a rational subject, and at the moment of death, the words of the knight are words anticipated from a Christian in medieval Castile, words expected of a Castilian subject. Although subjects were divided in life by social strata, equality at death united them spiritually. In his poem, Manrique represents his father at death like a rational medieval Castilian subject. The narrative on death that his reader is taking away has a protagonist, don Rodrigo Manrique who dies a medieval death and with whom his reader can identify through equality at death. But his reader’s narrative has another protagonist, the self that meditated on death from the beginning verses. The syntagmatic development evident in the poet’s use of different grammatical persons builds on the medieval perspective on death from *memoria* towards a narrative of the self at death.

The second chapter of the *Ars moriendi* contains the temptations of man by the devil on faith, hope, impatience, vainglory, and despair. As a literary device the battle against temptations was “regarded by the medieval reader as the high spot of the *Ars moriendi*” (O’Connor 27). It should be noted that it is significant that these medieval descriptions of temptations with terrible aspects are absent from the *Coplas*. I do not find that their absence negates the *Ars moriendi* as a significant part of the storehouse of *memoria* that Manrique used for his poem, however, it does show that Manrique omits any mention or allusion to what O’Connor describes as the highlight of the text for the



medieval reader of the *Ars moriendi* and thus may serve as evidence for a shift in sensibility about ways of describing the challenges of death.

The third chapter of the *Ars moriendi* has specific questions common to medieval Christian liturgies and that the author claims to have taken from St. Anselm. *Moriens*, the dying person, is interrogated about his beliefs and by answering affirmatively to these questions, he acts on faith, hope and charity, a very important part of the process of the *Ars moriendi* (O'Connor 31). This profession of faith does not appear as an interrogation in the shorter version of the *Ars moriendi*. It is, significantly, a proclamation in the final words of the dying Rodrigo Manrique who utters words of faith, hope, and charity. He proclaims his faith:

-Tú, que por nuestra maldad  
tomaste forma cevil  
y baxo nombre. (457-459)

He professes to have hope in the redemptive power of Christ's death that gave him the promise of eternal life in the divine presence:

Tú, que a tu divinidad  
juntaste cosa tan vil  
como es el ombre. (460-462)

The knight recognizes the charity that Christ showed in suffering for man's redemption:

Tú, que tan grandes tormentos  
sofriste sin resistencia  
en tu persona,  
no por mis merescimientos,

mas por tu sola clemencia

me perdona. (463-468)

The parallelism in these verses, a symmetrical structure in the words, presents the ideas of faith, hope, and charity in Christian belief which signify the redemptive power of Christ, “Tú, que. . .” The rhymes in the six verse semi-stanzas further describe faith, hope, and charity by juxtaposing man’s weakness with Christ’s goodness and mercy. The rhyme of “maldad” with “divinidad” stresses man’s imperfection and Christ’s divine nature; with “nombre” / “ombre,” the poet juxtaposes “name,” synonymous for Christ, God on earth, with “man” the imperfect being. Complementary to each other, “cevil,” and “vil” express the human form of Christ which combined humanity and divinity in order to serve mankind; “sin resistencia” and “clemencia” show Christ’s servitude and mercy towards mankind. The charity shown by Christ in suffering for mankind, “tormentos” rhymes with “no por mis merescimientos,” man’s unworthiness; “persona” which refers to Christ with “perdona” completes the redemptive triangle, the clemency of the person of Christ who redeems man and pardoned him for his imperfections. In the first of these two semi-stanzas, four of the six verses are stressed on the last syllable, distinguishing them from the poem’s predominate stress of the penultimate syllable and giving these verses a different melody. The prosodic inflexion in the three times that the direct address, “- Tú”, occurs in the first verse of three consecutive tercets further adds to the musical tone of these verses, to their symmetry, and relates their meaning to the Trinitarian aspect of Christianity.

The teachings on the sufferings of Christ on the cross and the redemption with prayers to be used by *moriens* on his deathbed in the fourth chapter of the *Ars moriendi*

particularly references Christ on the cross, His suffering, and the redemption of man (O'Connor 36-37). Though absent from the *Coplas* as instruction, the verses of the knight professing faith, hope, and charity, include the teachings by acknowledging them. It should be noted that the knight gives the teaching rather than receiving it. Prescribed prayers for the dying knight are absent from the *Coplas*; he acknowledges clemency, forgiveness, and his redemption by addressing Christ directly in a personal manner.

In the fifth chapter, the author of the *Ars moriendi* chiefly addresses the friends of the dying, warning them not to deceive him by assurances of recovery (O'Connor 37). Not allowing the family at the bedside is not a part of the longer version of the *Ars moriendi*. The family and friends of the Grand-master are present at his bedside and do not interfere with his death:

Así, con tal entender,  
todos sentidos humanos  
olvidados,  
cercado de su muger  
y de hijos y de hermanos  
y criados, (469-474)

The knight's family and servants surround him without giving him false hope for living. The longer version of the *Ars moriendi* warned against giving the dying false hope, but the shorter version stipulated that they should not be there and warned against the consequences of their presence. The knight's family and servants are at don Rodrigo's bedside; they surround him, but do not give him false hope; excellent conduct according to the longer *Ars moriendi*. In fact "entender" which refers to the knight's acceptance of

death rhymes with “muger”, his wife, to convey the meaning that she understands as he does. The stress on the final syllable of each of the verses intensifies and extends the meaning of the knight’s understanding of death to his wife. “Así, con tal entender” (469) refers to the principles of Christian belief that the knight professed and these are Christian instruction also contained in the *Ars moriendi*.

Critics are divided among the versions of verses 470 and 471 because of variations in the *stemma*. The verses “todos sentidos humanos/ olvidados” (470-471) as well as “todos sentidos humanos / conservados” is found in the fifteenth century. The variation is equally divided within the two branches of stemma which both Beltrán and Morrás find problematic, a *lectio difficilior*. Beltrán opts for “olvidados” in his edition and Morrás uses “conservados.” The lexicon in both instances refers to the sensible aspects of the soul, “sentidos,” believed since antiquity to be inferior to the intellect. The use of “todos sentidos humanos / olvidados” emphasizes that the soul has not been affected by the senses, an important concept. The soul cannot be affected by the senses “for then it ceases to exist” (King 109). The verses “todos sentidos humanos / conservados” stresses the importance of the lower senses at death because they inform the intellect. The lower senses inform the intellect without affecting the soul. I believe that although it is difficult to know the intended lexicon, both “conservados” and “olvidados” follow philosophical concepts since antiquity and do not present a problem for my interpretation. The words of the knight at death and the description of the death reaffirm a Christian death which follows accepted philosophical concepts about the soul.

The sixth chapter of the text on the medieval art of dying has prayers to be performed after a death by those at the bedside. Manrique does not provide prescribed

prayers. However, the poet reminds his reader that although the knight's life is no longer, he left much consolation, his memory. Is that memory that he has left now with his reader? Has he left a memory of himself as model and example, not just for his family, but also for his reader? It can be argued that Manrique used memory as mind like Augustine and that the poet intended to immortalize and glorify his father's memory in the mind of his reader. It is evident that "memoria" rhymes with "gloria" from the previous tercet:

dio el alma a quien ge la dio,  
el cual la ponga en el cielo  
y en su gloria;  
y aunque la vida murió,  
nos dexó harto consuelo  
su memoria. (475-480)

### ***Ubi sunt: The Historical Context for the Self***

Before Manrique recounts the life of his father, he shows death from a historical perspective by summarizing the distant past. He states that death interrupts and changes great ventures by treating even the heroes of antiquity like poor herdsmen:

así que no ay cosa fuerte,  
que a papas y emperadores  
y perlados,  
así los trata la muerte  
como a los pobres pastores  
de ganados. (163-168)

By rhyming “cosa fuerte,” the great ventures, with “muerte,” the poet shows that he is focusing on a concern for subjects at death. With the rhyme of “emperadores” and “pastores,” he designates death from the context of different strata in life. Death treats those considered great or poor in the same manner, an accepted concept in medieval Castile.

In the next stanza, Manrique leaves the distant past, *Dexemos a los troyanos* (169) and “*dexemos a los romanos*” (172), but he continues to remind his reader that subjects from the recent past are as equally hidden from us as those from the distant past:

No curemos de saber  
lo de aquel siglo pasado  
qué fue dello;  
vengamos a lo de ayer,  
que tan bien es olvidado  
como aquéllo. (175-180).

The poet asks about those who died in the recent past with the *ubi sunt*, a frequently used traditional motif in fifteenth-century Castile. Anna Krause traces the *ubi sunt* tradition from medieval verses in Latin to its use by Petrarch and Boccaccio who greatly influenced fourteenth and fifteenth-century poets (Krause 92). In *Trionfo della morte*, Laura converses with Death and views illustrious dead, while in *De casibus virorum illustrium*, Boccaccio presents tragic reverses of fortune (Krause 91, 90). The Italian contribution, applying the *ubi sunt* to contemporary life, becomes evident in its use by fifteenth-century Castilian poets and in French by Villon’s adaptation of it to beauty in

*Ballade des dames du temps jadis*, “Mais où sont les neiges d’antan” (Krause 90-91). In Castile, Ayala used it in his *Rimado de palacio* at the court of Juan II, Gonzalo Martínez de Medina applied it in a *deçir* (c. 1418) and Sánchez Talavera worked with it in his *deçir* at the death of Ruy Díaz de Mendoza during the reign of Henry IV, the closest interpretation of the form to Manrique’s (Krause 93-94). Yet Manrique’s “supreme lyric gift” distinguishes his verses with “unique and imperishable accents” (Krause 95). In the *ubi sunt*, Manrique asks about the dead using the passive reflexive form, “what did they themselves become,” “¿Qué se hicieron....?” as he names the dead. He asks about those whose lives are barely a memory in two double stanzas composed of ten continuous questions (181-204). The emphasis by the use of anaphora and parallelism repeats the same words and idea in the questions that elicit answers. The same void is repeatedly created by the absence of an answer to these rhetorical questions. He asks about each person or group, what did he himself become, “¿Qué se hizo\_\_\_\_\_” or the plural, what did they themselves become, “¿Qué se hizieron\_\_\_\_\_” and questions what happened with “¿Qué fue de\_\_\_\_\_” and in the plural “fueron\_\_\_\_\_” and “¿Qué fueron\_\_\_\_\_”. These *ubi sunt* rhetorical questions on destiny frequently used by fifteenth-century Castilian poets began with “¿ó?, ¿dó?, ¿ónde?, ¿dónde?, ¿adó?, ¿en dónde?, ¿qué es de?, ¿qué fue de? or /qué se fiso de?” (Domínguez 67).

The *ubi sunt* part of the poem repeats the significance of death and works from the third person passive reflexive which establishes an unknown about the persons asking what did they themselves become. It also communicates an end to perceptions about them. The subjects are absent and the past is gone: what was perceived during their lives

is no longer. With the recent past, the poet evokes the memory of perceptions related to the deceased also in the passive reflexive when directly associated with the persons:

¿Qué se hicieron las damas,  
sus tocados, sus vestidos,  
sus olores?

¿Qué se hicieron las llamas  
de los fuegos encendidos  
de amadores?

¿Qué se hizo aquel tobar,  
las músicas acordadas  
que tañían? (193-201)

Manrique not only stresses the absence of the subjects, but also shows that the context that they lived in is gone by showing that what was seen, heard, smelled or felt is no longer. With the absence of the deceased, specific aspects of life have also ceased. The poet focuses on this aspect of absence. Not only does he stress the void created by the death of the subjects, but also the finality of their singular activity. He names Castilian fifteenth-century historical figures of great impact on politics and society and writes that neither their accomplishments, characteristics, nor the events in their lives, could stop death from coming. He addresses death directly for the first time:

Tantos duques excelentes,  
tantos marqueses y condes  
y varones  
como vimos tan potentes,



di, muerte, ¿dó los escondes  
y traspones?  
Y sus muy claras hazañas  
que hizieron en las guerras  
y en las pazes,  
cuando tú, cruda, te ensañas,  
con tu fuerça las at ierras  
y deshazes. (265-276)

Death hides the subjects since they pass on to immortality, to a place where they are no longer seen. Death transfers or displaces them (Beltrán, *Poesía* 164). Death has hidden the subjects and what each subject had done does not deter death. Manrique explains the deeds, “muy claras hazañas,” as heroic, illustrious, evident and obvious during war and during peace (Beltrán, *Poesía* 164). Death conquers these exceptional deeds with strength by grounding and defeating each one like a knight in combat. “Aterrar” which means “derribar, echar al suelo, assolar alguna cosa” according to the dictionary *Autoridades* makes sense here (Beltrán, *Poesía* 220). Manrique stresses the grounding of the deeds, “con tu fuerça las at ierras / y deshazes” (275-276). But the subject is not grounded. He had already proposed immortality with the verses, “di, muerte, ¿dó los escondes / y traspones?” (269-270). It is not the subject who has come to an end, but the deeds that identified him within the temporal framework. The triumph of the subject in don Rodrigo Manrique’s death follows from the philosophical concerns on death in the first part of the poem and the *ubi sunt*. The reply to “¿qué se hizieron?” what did they themselves become, is that they are hidden implying immortality. The answer to

“¿Qué se hizo el rey don Juan” (181) and his court is in a Biblical image that reminds his reader of the fleeting nature of life, “¿Qué fueron sino verduras / de las heras?” (191-192). This Biblical image is seen in the moralistic poetry of the earlier fifteenth century (Krause 97). The nature of life and the reality of death repeat the contemplative first person meditation at the beginning of the poem by placing it in the contemporary context of third person narrative. “Tantos duques excelentes, / tantos marqueses y condes / y varones” (265-267), hidden and transposed by death, the poet specifically identifies with “Y sus muy claras hazañas” (271), the singular events of contemporary nobles. Their singular feats, “muy claras hazañas,” are grounded by death, “cuando tú, cruda, te ensañas” (274). The rhyme between “hazañas” and “ensañas” intensifies the encounter between death and the deeds. The feats personified are taken down like a knight, “con tu fuerça las atierres / y deshazes” (175-176). The subjects identified with the events are not conquered and overcome by death like the figures in the *Dance of Death*; in Manrique’s verses, the subjects are hidden and transferred.

Manrique explains what happens to the subjects at Death’s coming as a change in perception. He writes that Death hides the subjects, puts an end to any further perceptions of others about them and grounds their deeds. Death is neither deterred by accomplishments of the past, nor by any established institutional signs and means of defense:

Las huestes innumerables,  
los pendones y estandartes  
y vanderas,  
los castillos impunables,

los muros y valuartes  
y barreras, (277-282)

The military with its display of strength does not impede death's approach. Manrique names the ensigns of war: the banners, "pendones" of the military orders; the standards, "estandartes" of gentlemen with men of arms under them; and the flags, "vanderas" of kings, dukes, marquises, counts, vice-counts, admirals and barons (Beltrán, *Poesía* 164). All of these emblems are associated with nobility, the strata of the Manrique family, which characterizes his father's place in politics and society. But, any fortifications or other defenses cannot continue to hold against death's arrow:

la cava honda, chapada,  
o cualquier otro reparo  
¿qué aprovecha?  
Que si tú vienes airada  
todo lo pasas de claro  
con tu frecha (283-288)

Death's arrow, "tu frecha" goes through and is not detained. "De claro" means "de parte en parte, sin detenerse" (Beltrán, *Poesía* 165). The subjects' obvious heroic deeds of the past and the fortifications identify them as nobility.

Although Manrique begins his poem by focusing on philosophical concepts and a call for his reader to remember and ponder his own mortality, as he prepares to introduce don Rodrigo Manrique, he recalls the deceased from similar social strata as his father whose occupation was the military, the designated role for nobility. In fact, Francisco Rico describes the celebrations in Valladolid in 1428 from historical writings to provide a

context for these verses from the great festivities of “las justas y los torneos” (169-187). When Manrique names persons and groups of persons, he establishes contexts for these deceased nobles within their past roles by identifying them specifically within an institution, the same institution as Manrique’s father, knighthood. In the *Coplas*, the deeds end with death and the poet explains the end of these deeds in terms of chivalry. The name designations, “condes” and “varones” (266-267) rhyme with “escondes” and “traspones,” death’s action toward them. Death conquers their deeds, but only hides and transposes the subjects, “di, muerte, ¿dó los escondes / y traspones?” (269-270).

### **Don Rodrigo: The Knight and the Self at Death**

Manrique addresses death rhetorically in the verses of the *ubi sunt* where he emphasizes the temporal void created by death. He personifies death and the subject’s deeds who enter into conflict described in chivalric terms. But although Manrique identifies the subjects by obvious feats, “claras hazañas,” these are not exclusively individual conflicts. When the poet presents his father at death, however, he is like *moriens*, the dying person in the medieval text, and like the fifteenth-century knight of the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* because he acknowledges the redemptive power of Christ and also faces death’s challenge with individual agency. The poet identifies don Rodrigo with his past deeds as a knight and the narrative of his death is his own singular spiritual event, a feat by which he is identified as an individual within the Christian tradition of redemption.

Manrique introduces his father as “Aquél de buenos abrigo” (289) and exalts his talents as a knight. He portrays his father’s goodness according to the chivalric deeds that guided his life which are not in conflict with the spiritual medieval expectations of

virtuosity and goodness in the *Ars moriendi*. The poet recounts the Grand-master's life according to the vision that regulated it, the institution of chivalry. The virtues of don Rodrigo in the *Coplas* are those described for the exemplary knight in Alfonso de Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los caballeros*. These attributes are used to describe don Rodrigo Manrique in the portrait by his son Jorge Manrique and also by the historian at the court of the Catholic Monarchs Fernando and Isabel, Fernando del Pulgar. Jorge Manrique describes don Rodrigo Manrique as "Aquel de buenos abrigo" (289) as, "virtuoso" (290), "valiente" (294), and accomplishing "grandes hechos y claros" (295). The portrayal of the knight built on the medieval institution of chivalry within the fifteenth-century context of Castile framed the life don Rodrigo Manrique that Pulgar presents in *Claros varones de Castilla* which he dedicates to Queen Isabel. Manrique's representation of his father works from the institutional standards for knighthood towards the manifestation of his father at death. The poet portrays his father and narrates his life as a knight by identifying specific objects and places. With poetic language, he gives literary expression to his reader's philosophical concerns for the self through his father's death.

When he depicts his father, he describes his qualities according to the vision of chivalry in Cartagena's text. Pulgar also portrays don Rodrigo according to his chivalric talents in *Claros varones de Castilla*. Serrano de Haro pointed out the similarities between Pulgar's text and Jorge Manrique's and stated that, "Prudencia, fortaleza y liberalidad son las columnas de esta educación eminentemente bélica" (Serrano de Haro 74). Cartagena explained the qualities of the knight as virtues or "bondades" from Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*. Cartagena describes the "cuatro virtudes principales,"

“cordura e fortaleza e mesura e justiçia” and also “seer entendidos,” “saber obrar de su entendimiento,” “seer bien acostumbrados,” “ser arteros y mañosos,” “ser muy leales” (Fallows 91-93). Manrique writes that his father is virtuous, “virtuoso,” famous, “tanto famoso,” and courageous, “tan valiente” (290, 293, 294) and describes other important qualities of the knight that Cartagena calls, “bondades,” or virtues in Latin, as he explains. The poet shows that his father possesses chivalric virtues. He applauds his interaction with persons:

Amigo de sus amigos,  
¡qué señor para criados  
y parientes!  
¡Qué enemigo de enemigos!  
¡Qué maestro de esforçados  
y valientes! (301-306)

In the narrative, Manrique uses metonymy, a poetic technique that works well for epic to relate to his reader through specifics rather than universals. With “Amigo de sus amigos”, he recalls the talent of loyalty, “ser muy leales”. He stresses this important aspect by rhyming the verse with another way to display loyalty, “¡Qué enemigo de enemigos!” The rhyme of the components, “amigos” and “enemigos” and the parallelism explain the extent of his task of loyalty, anaphora with the repetition of the idea. Naming loyalty first follows from Cartagena’s text which stipulates that loyalty is the “mother” of all of the other virtues:

Leales conuienen que sean en todas guisas los caualleros, ca esta es  
bondad en que se acaban e ençierran todas las otras bondades e buenas  
costumbres, e ella es asi como madre de todas. (Fallows 93)

The two verses that juxtapose “amigos” and “enemigos” also point to the quality of understanding in chivalry. “Ca si lo non fuesen errarian en las cosas que ouiesen a defender, porque el desentendimiento les faria que non mostrasen su poder contra aquellos que ouiesen de mostrar” (Fallows 92). Manrique shows that his father was a good lord over his subjects, “¡qué señor para criados / y parientes!” He knew how to defend and care for them because he possessed “cordura.” Cartagena explains that, “[. . .] porque ellos han a defender la yglesia e a los rreys e a todos los otros. Ca la cordura les fara que lo sepan fazer a su pro e sin su daño” (Fallows 91). The poet shows that don Rodrigo displayed the qualities of understanding by his actions and his courage, “Qué maestro de esforçados / y valientes”. For as Cartagena writes, without understanding and knowing, “E aun les faria ser esforçados donde non lo ouiesen de ser e couardes do deuiesen auer esfuerço e cobdiçiar lo que non deuiesen auer e olvidar lo que deuen cobdiçiar” (Fallows 92). Manrique further expands on the concept of understanding and knowing by exulting him with three complementary figures of thought that show him possessing understanding with the metonymical “maestro” in the second tercet and repeating the quality with synecdoche, “seso and gracia” in the third tercet. He summarizes them in the “pie quebrado” verse as “¡Qué razón!,” to signal the quality of possessing understanding, “seer entendidos” in Cartagena’s text:

¡Qué seso para discretos!

¡Qué gracia para donosos!

¡Qué razón! (307-309)

The poet repeats the qualities of “seer entendidos” with three illustrations, and he emphasizes the quality of loyalty for “amigos” and against “enemigos”.

¡Qué benigno a los sujetos!

Y a los bravos y dañosos,

¡un león! (310-312)

With these verses, Manrique recalls the chivalric text to portray his father, the knight, by using parallelism, enumeration, metonymy, and synecdoche, but he also connects to his reader with the exclamations that remind his reader of the esteemed qualities of the knight which his father exemplified. He does not name the events because they are well known, but it is from events perceived in the knight’s past that the poet writes about his father like he wrote about his recent past. He emphasizes that these events were seen, an important faculty of perception.

sus grandes hechos y claros

no cumple que los alabe,

pues los vieron, (295-297)

In stanzas XXVII and XXVIII, Manrique enumerates don Rodrigo’s virtues by metonymy. He names persons that possessed these talents and were well known for them. In this manner, he narrates the life and connects to his reader with figures of thought that embody the actual qualities. The parallelism of these verses reinforces their impact and importance.

It is not surprising that Manrique’s verses depict his father according to the institution of chivalry following the guidelines established by Alfonso X and explained



by Cartagena. Cartagena's book, c. 1444, is, "[. . .] an attempt to define knighthood from a strictly Castilian perspective [. . .] and, specifically the role of the nobleman and the knight in fifteenth-century Castilian society" (Fallows 10). Moreover, it is not unusual that material from Cartagena's text would fulfill political and social intentions in Pulgar's portrait and Manrique's poem. Noel Fallows writes that,

Prior to composition of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros*, Cartagena had been intimately involved with the study of knighthood, and questions concerning the place of the noble and the knight (and by association the vassal) in Castilian society, as well as the historical identity of Castile itself and the place of Castile in a European historical and geographical context. (10)

Manrique also seems to be inspired in the same way as Pulgar in the portrait that he writes of the Grand-master in stanza XXIX on his military accomplishments in the Reconquest. He describes the events in his father's life within the political and social context of knighthood and the reconquest of lands in the Iberian Peninsula during the reign of Isabel and Fernando:

No dexó grandes thesoros  
ni alcanço grandes riquezas  
ni baxillas,  
mas hizo guerra a los moros  
ganando sus fortalezas  
y sus villas;  
y en las lides que venció,

muchos moros y cavallos  
se perdieron,  
y en este oficio ganó  
las rentas y los vasallos  
que le dieron. (337-348)

“Esta estrofa, resumen de la caracterización del maestre, parece inspirarse en la misma concepción que la biografía de Hernando del Pulgar en los *Claros varones de España*.” (Beltrán, *Poesía* 90-95).

Historically, the *Coplas* and *Claros varones de Castilla*, written within the same decade believed to have been written in Castile during the same decade use the same virtues, talents in describing the knight, yet in the *Coplas* these virtues seem to have mostly been interpreted as spiritual gifts rather than temporal talents as explained by Cartagena in his manual on knighthood. Moreover, it is evident that sixteenth-century glossers of Manrique’s poem did not choose to gloss the verses that further develop and portray don Rodrigo Manrique as “buen caballero” from his talents as a knight.

So far, I have shown that although I believe that the longer version of the *Ars moriendi* without images served as textual memory for the composition of the *Coplas*, the *Doctrinal de los caballeros*, a manual on chivalry, also contains text on which Manrique draws because he creates a narrative of death in which he identifies concepts with a reality that he describes in temporal terms. O’Connor writes that the *Ars moriendi* was not an *ars vivendi*, but rather a text expressly about dying that was used during life in order to prepare for death:

It is a complete and intelligible guide to the business of dying, a method to be learned while one is in good health and kept at one's fingers' ends for use in that all-important and inescapable hour. (O'Connor 5)

Nevertheless, if life is a way towards death, "Este mundo es el camino / para el otro, que es morada / sin pesar," a person that prepares for death during his life lives according to expectations at death. As Salinas explains:

Pero si nuestra vida terrenal es un tránsito hacia la muerte, si empezar a vivir es iniciarse en el morir, resultará que, en último término, adoctrinar sobre la vida es adoctrinar sobre la muerte por la que se ingresa en la vida ultraterrenal de la salvación. El *ars vivendi* es, así un *ars moriendi*, un arte de aprender a morir. (177)

Manrique appears to write a poem based on this link between life and death, yet he suggests postures for life based on spiritual concepts and institutional guidelines. The last prowess of the knight is his dying, "La última proeza del caballero es su morir. Así se interpretan vida y muerte, y el modo de morir es la última expresión de modo de vivir" (Salinas 183).

By looking at both the *Ars moriendi* and the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* as textual memory for the *Coplas*, it appears that Manrique's representation of his father's death models death from concepts in the *Ars moriendi* for a Christian death and from guidelines in an institutional manual written for select readers. It can be argued that by combining expectations on dying for Christians of all social strata with guidelines on living that encouraged agency for an exclusive group, knights, Manrique creates a shift in concepts of the self through his poem on death.

## CHAPTER 4

### READER'S JOURNEY FROM *THE DANCE OF DEATH*

In the *Coplas*, Manrique acknowledges the ephemeral character of earthly life and an inevitable death, yet he calls his reader to an active role towards death by asking him to contemplate his own life and future from the beginning of the poem's verses. Manrique's poem brings the reader on a journey that contrasts with the sarcastic approach of the *Dance of Death*. The verses of the *Coplas* lead the reader to self interpretation through contemplation based on spiritual concepts and the representation of don Rodrigo, whose death serves as a model for the reader. "The concept that an artistic work is a journey (while certainly to be found in ancient rhetoric) achieves a particular importance – even ubiquity – in medieval analysis" writes Carruthers in *Rhetoric Beyond Words* ("The Concept of *ductus*" 190). Manrique's poem itself takes its reader on a journey with the intention of guiding him on a road that begins at an indeterminate place, contemplating traditional philosophical concepts on death, and ends at a specific location with don Rodrigo Manrique's model engagement with death. The reader receives direction on the road through the verses in a way described by Carruthers: "Roads are not passive; they have instrumentality and agency because they direct us" ("The Concept of *ductus*" 191). From "como a nuestro parescer / cualquiera tiempo pasado / fue mejor" (10-12) at the beginning of the *Coplas* until arriving at don Rodrigo's own city of Ocaña

where Death knocks at his door, the reader has traveled through different parts of the poem and the knight through life:

después de tanta hazaña  
a que no puede bastar  
cuenta cierta,  
en la su villa de Ocaña,  
vino la muerte a llamar  
a su puerta, (391-396)

The place where the reader arrives after taking the route of the verses is the knight's own city of Ocaña where the poet writes that don Rodrigo Manrique's life ended. The locality, Ocaña, is important for the reader and for Manrique. It is a real place with historical significance. In his journey, the reader begins with philosophical concepts, goes through history, and reaches a place that he recognizes as real. Salinas observed the significance of Manrique identifying the place where his father dies, "en la su villa de Ocaña:"

En la su villa de Ocaña va la muerte a sus vistas con don Rodrigo.  
¿Por qué misterioso mandato ha dejado caer el poeta, sobre tanto  
magnífico ondular de conceptos universales, esa gota de realidad  
española, ese nombre propio, Ocaña? [. . .] Lo enorme de la muerte,  
tema de la elegía que se nos escapa, imposible de asir en su  
enormidad, halla como una prodigiosa compensación en nuestra  
sensibilidad, por lo definido, lo palpable, del lugar en que acaece.  
(184)

Ocaña is a place of significance for the Manrique family, for the Order of Santiago, and for the political struggle in Castile. According to his son, the poet, the life of don Rodrigo Manrique, Conde de Paredes, Maestre de Santiago, ended in Ocaña, yet in *Historia general de España*, Juan de Mariana (1535-1634) wrote that the Grand-master's life ended in Ulcés. The importance of Ocaña for the year 1476 is evident from Fernando del Pulgar's *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, a text where almost all of the chapters begin with references to places and what happened there. The events of the year 1476 (pages 161-264) begin with don Rodrigo in Ocaña supporting the Crown and working against two key adversaries, the Marquis of Villena and the King of Portugal:

En el año siguiente del Señor de mil e quatroçientos e setenta e seis años, los vezinos de la villa de Ocaña, que estauan oprimidos con gente del marqués de Villena, e tenían la boz del rey de Portogal, trataron con el maestre de Santiago don Rodrigo Manrique de se alçar por el Rey e la Reyna, e de le acoger en la villa. E un día por la mañana juntáronse todos los más de la villa . . . (161)

The events of the year 1476, which begin in Ocaña in Pulgar's text, bring significant political and social changes the year of the death of the Grand-master don Rodrigo Manrique. The growing influence of the monarchs Isabel and Fernando and their assertive political authority over the nobility signify a marked change from the reign of the preceding monarch, Enrique IV, el Impotente. It is 1476 that sees the Cortes of Madrigal that declare the unified central control of the medieval "hermandades" for protection and establish "contadurías" for the more efficient

handling of taxation, moves that in effect centralized more power in the hands of the monarchs. Upon don Rodrigo Manrique's death the knights that meet at Ulcés to elect a new Grand-master are persuaded by the queen to suspend proceedings and to confer the title on the King. Although King Fernando waives his claim for a time, by the end of the fifteenth century he secures the mastership of the three powerful 12<sup>th</sup> century military orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara. The obedience that the members of the three orders owed their head and center passed to Fernando so that the monarch exercised the administration of the 145,000 ducats received for their rental of land and gained jurisdiction over at least a million vassals and 1,500 dignitaries (Elliott 86). The events of the year 1476 brought authority and power for the monarchs and the death of the Grand-master don Rodrigo Manrique marked what J. H. Elliott terms: "permanent change in the social and political organization of Castile" (85-88).

The death of the Grand-master don Rodrigo Manrique brought a significant transition that contributed to the power of the monarchs in Castile. The position of the knight at death in Manrique's poem can thus be seen as an example of self control and a mental victory for the individual precisely at a time when the political influence of the monarchs Isabel and Fernando signified temporal limitations on the power of the Order of Santiago. The victory of the juridical subject represented by the figure of don Rodrigo Manrique at death is a representation of the self from philosophical concepts in Manrique's textual weaving of *memoria*. Moreover, the individualistic of concept of selfhood established in the journey through the verses manifests itself in the knight's triumph over death as an individual. At a moment in history when the

political power of the Grand-master of the Order of Santiago shifted to King Fernando, don Rodrigo conquers death as an individual empowered by his own talents and Christian beliefs.

With the *Coplas* Jorge Manrique intends to honor his father don Rodrigo Manrique, Grand-master of the Order of Santiago, as a Castilian knight and a Christian. His period in history which combined spiritual and temporal concerns in ways that may seem unusual today did not present conflicts. Likewise, political and social structures depended on their convergence. For example, monks fought in battles and monasteries were not exclusively for monks. The military order that the Manrique family supported, the Order of Santiago, was a religious and political organization. Since the military orders were branches of the monastic institution, they adhered to principles of the canonical apostolic life and specific practices of prayer and penance. The military Order of Santiago, with Augustinian roots from its founding in the twelfth century, consisted of armed monks and lay knights subject to religious discipline which contrasted them to military orders composed strictly of armed monks. This constituency of the military order of Santiago created the opportunity for a moderate rule, as Carlos de Ayala Martínez explains, and a greater propensity towards a lay organization (119). Historians agree that the Augustinian tradition influenced the military order of Jorge Manrique.

Medieval knights, key figures in Castile for several centuries, acclimated to the political changes in Spain during the last half of the fifteenth century. For medieval knights, the political influence of the monarchs signified new expectations.



In 1459 Alfonso de Palencia already warns of new political influences in his treatise, *Tratado de la perfección del triunfo militar*. Heusch summarizes the treatise:

Insiste sobre el debate entre las armas y las letras, inclinándose favorablemente hacia la necesidad del caballero de obtener una instrucción completa fundamentada en la prudencia, una prudencia que desborda los límites de la caballería para insertarse en los términos de la política general. (Heusch 45)

With the *ubi sunt*, Manrique provided a historical context that acknowledged these changes in Castile. The poet provides contiguity in his reader's journey with observations about the reality of death from the *ubi sunt* before converging onto the route towards the representation of his father's death. Not only does he identify don Rodrigo's death with the chivalric vision of the fifteenth-century knight, with temporal and spiritual concerns that respond to the philosophical concepts of the meditation, but he leads his reader to Ocaña where don Rodrigo has a positive encounter with death from which his reader continues to shape his own representation of the self.

The reader, who is engaged in contemplative reading to interpret the self at death through memory, evidences the representation of the knight at death after a meditation that juxtaposes death to the life of the knight with material from memory. I believe that the representation of the self in the meditation of Manrique's poem is a conceptual activity of memory. As King explains, "In a representational theory of memory, representation provides part of the capacity to remember things [so representation] is part of a propositional and, thus conceptual, capacity" (King 5).

When looking at the representation of the self evidenced in the *Coplas*, there is a link between propositional and conceptual capacities. Manrique's reader travels through verses woven from the use of memory to represent the self at death from pagan and Christian philosophy in older texts. The citing of texts from *memoria* is a "re-speaking" of these texts (Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* 194). "Manrique se atiende a lo más noble de la veta pagana, y a lo cristiano, y en lo que quiere se nos hace tan claro como la luz" (Salinas 207).

The artistic form provides a way that leads his reader through the text in a journey shaped by individualistic concerns for selfhood emphasized in the verses. His reader journeys through verses shaped by phonic, grammatical and lexical poetic language that lead him to a representation of self from the individual practice of contemplation and silent reading. The concept of journeying through the text, the *ductus*, works as a dynamic means for self discovery that leads from memory to the concern for self as individual. "Indeed *ductus* is a principle of movement not stasis, of process rather than product, the *conduct* of a thinking, listening and feeling mind on its *way* through a composition" (Carruthers, "The Concept of *ductus*" 196). The spiritual concepts from which the poet represents don Rodrigo's death are identified with his reader's contemplation of death, a vision composed from philosophical concepts and the reality of death. "The motif of composing as undertaking a journey with varying routes among its places could extend as well to reading, not only to the activities associated with invention (Carruthers, "The Concept of *ductus*" 193).

I believe that the contemplation of the self at death is a developing "narrative" shaped by the journey, *ductus*, provided through the form of Manrique's verses. I

find that it works with contemplative reading practices that shaped the practice of reading and composing. The “narrative” of the self at death in the *Coplas* appears to develop through a contemplative reading on death from the framework of other texts and by composing selfhood from the journey through the text. Manrique demands from the onset of the poem that his reader contemplate his own mortality. By looking at the call for contemplation and the journey for the reader, it can be argued that the “narrative” of the self becomes individualized in the journey through verses that work from memory practices and provide a way, *ductus*. *Ductus* implies movement, “[. . .] though in rhetoric *ductus* is an aspect of arrangement or *dispositio*, it pertains always to some guiding movement within and through a work’s various parts” (Carruthers, “The Concept of ductus” 196).

### **The Self as Individual in the *Coplas***

Manrique’s poem approaches the self from relationships to other texts through memory. Yet, the form of his poem leads to both the manifestation of the self in the figure of his father at death and the self as individual from the practice of contemplative silent reading. Manrique alerts his reader’s consciousness from the opening verses of the poem by a call to contemplation and the use of sapiential literature. He begins the poem with an invocation used by St. Paul, St. Ambrose, and St. Anselm, in Christian hymns, and in Petrarch, the image of the sleeping soul taking consciousness of its lapse and looking at the transcendental aspects of existence (Beltrán, *Poesía* 147). The soul, “alma,” is defined by Covarrubias in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* as, “Anima, Vide alma” and “Anima, por conciencia” (18). The poet asks his reader to remember, to use sense perception. Aristotle

explains memory as representation, a function of sense perception. In “abive el seso y despierte,” “seso” means “sentido” (Beltrán). With “seso,” synecdoche provides a direct connection to his reader. Here, the purpose is to remember, representation by contemplating, “contemplando”, as Manrique indicates.

Recuerde el alma dormida,  
abive el seso y despierte  
contemplando (1-3)

Contemplation requires working with a text and pondering it in order to help oneself in the future; it is not dwelling on the past. Contemplative reading, a practice associated with material intended for silent reading during Manrique’s time, was reading for self-benefit and for a better future.

In the first part of the poem, Manrique addresses his reader as, “the soul asleep,” “el alma dormida,” whom he urges to awaken and approach his mortality by contemplating. In the second part, the *ubi sunt*, the poet presents questions in the third person passive reflexive to show the certainty of death’s nature, “¿Qué se hizo \_\_\_\_\_?” and “¿Qué se hizieron?” In the third part of the poem, don Rodrigo at death is active and not a “soul asleep”, a model of self for his reader whom he asked to awaken to the urgency of death. He provides material about death for his reader to ponder death for his own benefit. His reader’s contemplation of death in relation to the self prepares him with thoughts for a good death. The thoughts about the self and death from a contemplative reading of the first part of the poem is followed by its certainty from a historical contextualization with specific examples. The portrayal of the dying Rodrigo Manrique as *moriens* in the *Ars moriendi*, then provides a narrative

of death, a manifestation based on the spiritual and temporal concepts in the poem.

Manrique demands that his reader remember and awaken. He cites from a storehouse of material that works as content for his poem and also forms or shapes it for the journey of the contemplation of the self through the individual practice of silent reading. He calls forth philosophical concepts from other texts to compose his poem. The slow progress of death and the gradual approach of old age, echoes Ovid's, *Ars amatoria*, for example (Beltrán, *Poesía* 148):

como se pasa la vida,  
cómo se viene la muerte  
tan callando; (4-6)

Manrique uses *memoria*, well-circulated materials, themes recurrent in literature that readers remembered and had previously made them their own. The idea of past happiness as present pain, a medieval theme, also in Dante's *Commedia* and in the *Infierno de los enamorados* by Santillana is a medieval theme passed on by the Latin philosopher Boethius (Beltrán, *Poesía* 149). Boethius is mostly known in the fifteenth century for his *Consolatio philosophiae*, and throughout the medieval period for his Latin translations of Aristotle and Plato.

cuánd presto se va el plazer,  
cómo después de acordado  
da dolor,

Text used in the poem and taken from other texts is co-present with *memoria* recalled by his reader and that he uses to contemplate. Manrique's use of *memoria* invites his reader to call forth concepts on death. The idea of time past being better

than the present comes from Ecclesiastes in the Bible; is found in Quintilian and in literature about wisdom during Manrique's period for example, in the work of Juan de Mena, Diego López de Haro or Guevara (Beltrán, *Poesía* 149). The grammatical devices of his poetic language lead his reader in the journey to the representation of the self as individual. When Manrique considers time as present, past, and future; he changes from the initial use of the subjunctive for "Recuerde el alma dormida" (1) to first person plural. He uses the grammatical devices of the subjunctive, the first person indicative, the imperative mood, and third person singular and plural passive reflexive in specific parts of the poem. With the use of "our," the poet seems to be contemplating with his reader and his reader appears invited to compose with the poet:

cómo a nuestro parescer  
cualquiera tiempo pasado  
fue mejor. (10-12)

The concept of relating to the future as a past found in the works of Seneca and Augustine was repeated in the medieval period by poets like Juan de Mena, Torrellas, the Vizconde de Altamira and by authors like Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, fray Iñigo de Mendoza and Diego de San Pedro (Beltrán, *Poesía* 149).

si juzgamos sabiamente,  
daremos lo no venido  
por pasado. (16-18)

"Our" lives bring us to "our" deaths. Manrique sets forth equality at death with the image of rivers converging into the sea. Equality at death was well accepted

in the medieval period, but the different social strata of the nobility, the bourgeoisie involved in commerce and finance, and the common people separated them as juridical subjects with different social designations. Manrique combines the nobility and the bourgeoisie as “los ricos,” a novelty (Beltrán 150). Perhaps this novelty mirrors the early-Modern reality of the flexible boundaries between bourgeoisie and nobility due to the common practice of purchasing titles of nobility.

allegados, son iguales,  
los que viven por sus manos  
y los ricos.

Manrique begins to use “we” when he approaches time as past, present, and future.

Y pues vemos lo presente  
cómo en un punto se es ido  
y acabado,  
si juzgamos sabiamente,  
daremos lo no venido  
por pasado. (13-18)

He uses “our” to establish equality at death by declaring the end to earthly “señoríos” and by designating the same end for all of the dead.

Nuestras vidas son los ríos  
que van a dar en el mar  
que es el morir:  
allí van los señoríos

derechos a se acabar

y consumir; (25-30)

Manrique uses “we” and “our” to include his reader in the first person narrative on the self. The verses establish the argument on death for the contemplative self whom he asked to remember and awaken, “Recuerde el alma dormida / abive el seso y despierte / contemplando” (1-3).

### **Time and Space in the *Coplas***

The argument in Manrique’s verses seems to work from the same time and space for both the poet writing and his reader’s narrative composed from the practice of contemplative reading. The poet uses tropes to explain time through places. Memory and remembering were related to the soul since antiquity. To awaken, which denotes time, depends on the brain, “el seso”. In the meditation, Manrique repeatedly presents figures of thought for time and place within adjacent tercets in his stanzas. He also shares time and place with his reader by providing these figures of thought in the first person and in the imperative as he forms the narrative. Jakobson observed that,

Following the path of contiguous relationships, the realist author metonymically digresses from the plot to the atmosphere and from the characters to the setting in space and time. He is fond of synecdochic details. (92)

The poet continues a relationship between time and place during the meditation in the poem. He uses it to describe life and death in the second stanza by



illustrating the time of each subject in this world with localities, rivers, and the place of the sea as death, time.

Nuestras vidas son los ríos  
que van a dar en el mar  
que es el morir.

Manrique also describes this world as a road towards death, an accepted literary trope also in the *Ars moriendi* and in *cancionero* book collections of poems. He writes about the “other world” as a welcoming place of rest, “morada”. In the next tercet, he emphasizes his reader’s presence on that road by warning “mas cumple tener buen tino”, and shows the limited time on the road by “jornada”, a journey with a specific time limit.

Este mundo es el camino  
para el otro, que es morada  
sin pesar,  
mas cumple tener buen tino  
para andar esta jornada  
sin errar. (49-54)

For seven stanzas, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII, the poet continues to use first person plural as he includes his reader in verses characterized by shared concepts of time and place within the narrative.

In stanza IX, Manrique uses the imperative to alert his reader to visible signs of approaching death during old age. In the opening verses, the poet asked his reader

to remember with the subjunctive appeal to the sleeping soul. After seven stanzas, he again demands an active response.

Dezidme: la hermosura,  
la gentil frescura y tez  
de la cara, (97-99)

As he incites his reader to respond, he places old age within the framework of a city. The figure of a locality for the effects of the passing of time gives a definite shape to an indefinite phenomenon for the request and response that he elicits from his reader.

todo se torna graveza  
cuando llega al arraval  
de senetud. (106-108)

An “arraval” was the populated area outside of a city’s walls (Beltrán 154).

When discussing the passing of time and the moment of death, he combines time and place in the context of chivalry to illustrate death. Life is fast paced and provides much space, yet when time is gone there is no longer any place to turn around.

No mirando a nuestro daño,  
corremos a rienda suelta,  
sin parar;  
cuando vemos el engaño  
y queremos dar la vuelta,  
no ay lugar. (151-156)

With the *ubi sunt* verses, the poet reaffirms the thoughts developed in the meditation. With third person singular and plural illustrations in the passive

reflexive, the *ubi sunt* continues the narrative begun in the subjunctive, developed in first person plural indicative and emphasized with the imperative “Dezidme” (97). The passive reflexive grammatical construction in “¿Qué se hizo\_\_\_\_\_?” and in “¿Qué se hizieron\_\_\_\_\_?” for what became of the persons implies absence from view, but not total absence. Manrique provides the answer to the questions of the *ubi sunt* with a component that relates to death as a time and a place, where the persons are. At the time of death, they became hidden: “di, muerte, ¿do los escondes / y traspones?” (269-270).

As the poem continues from the contemplation of the self and the illustrations of death in the *ubi sunt*, impending death is manifested in the life and death of don Rodrigo Manrique. The philosophical concepts used to shape his reader’s meditation on the urgency of dealing with death find fulfillment in the portrayal of his father’s death. The representation of his father seems to work as a model for his reader’s own composing of the self because it follows from his use of memory as knowledge in the poem, knowledge derived from philosophical concepts which Augustine writes is not intangible because it is a way of knowing and living. According to Augustine on wisdom which edifies (*sapientia*), the philosophical goal was “a way of knowing and living, not an abstract body of knowledge” (Stock 36).

When Death knocks on the door, don Rodrigo Manrique is approached with the “diziendo: - Buen cavallero” (397). In the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, Covarrubias defines “bueno”:

Esencialmente sólo Dios es bueno. [...] De manera que absolutamente  
Dios se dice bueno, porque lo tiene todo y no le falta nada, y todo

aquello que en su género está perfecto decimos ser o estar bueno,  
como buen caballero, buen soldado, buen religioso. (211).

At the very moment of death, goodness is esteemed in the virtuous knight and Death approaches him “diziendo: «Buen caballero»” (397). According to Augustine, it is goodness that indicates worth and earns consideration regarding the will. When Death approaches, it is not a depressing scene with the dying person yielding unwillingly like in the *Dance of Death*. The verses of Manrique treat death as a surmountable situation. Don Rodrigo is approached by Death with consideration. He is not surprised and is surrounded by family and friends at his own place, Ocaña. Death dialogues with Rodrigo Manrique and the reader follows a not unpleasant interchange. As Death dialogues, goodness becomes evident in the approach to the knight, the dying person. Augustine praises the mind for its goodness and acknowledges that the will must be considered because of the goodness of a mind:

[. . .] because a mind is deemed worthy of praise, not only for its learning, but also for its goodness, we have to consider not only what it remembers and understands, but also what it wills – not how ardently it wills, but first what it wills and then how much it wills it” (Augustine, *On the Trinity* 57).

Death beckons with an appeal to don Rodrigo’s talent, his learning, and the use that he will make of them. The knight seems to follow Cartagena’s emphasis in the *Doctrinal de los caballeros* on “entendimiento” and the work of the knight as the mirror of the power of his will. In *De Trinitate*, talent is the result of the capacity of memory, the ability to understand, and the will to accomplish. Moreover, learning

functions through memory, from understanding and with the will to apply these, but how one uses talent and learning depends on how the will exercises memory and understanding (*On the Trinity* 58). In the appeal of Death the direct address demands a response, an exercise of the mind that involves the will which according to Augustine “disposes of those things that are contained in memory and understanding” (*On the Trinity* 57).

diziendo: - Buen cavallero,  
dexad el mundo engañoso  
y su halago;  
vuestro coraçon de aëro  
muestre su esfuerço famoso  
en este trago. (397-402)

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

The tradition of yielding to death represented by the personification of Death and figures of the reluctant dying person in the *Dance of Death* that circulated in the fifteenth century is re-written in Manrique's verses. His verses treat death as a surmountable situation. When don Rodrigo encounters Death with the power of the mind, he faces Death with "todos sentidos humanos / conservados," (469-470). Pedro Salinas writes that,

Se alza el Maestre, para que veamos, con nuestros ojos, a través de la ficción de personificar en el poema a él y a la Muerte, que los consejos y las máximas anteriores están ya hechas carne en este moribundo; para que las veamos actualizadas y vivas, en su eficacia salvadora.

(178)

In Manrique's poem, his reader contemplates the self from concepts in *memoria* and within the context of a Christian in Castile through poetic language. He works from the representation or image of himself at death, moves towards examples of others that have died, and witnesses the death of the knight immortalized as one who triumphs at the challenge of death. Manrique represents his father to his reader through memory and his reader identifies with him as an individual in his hopes for a good death. Though not a knight, Manrique's reader can identify with him as an individual at death that followed institutional guidelines in life. The poet exhorts his reader to approach his own death and

immortalizes the position of the knight as triumphant within a historical context, a likeness to the representation of the self at death that his reader contemplated, and a vision of the self based on spiritual concerns from a temporal context. I find that in the verses of the *Coplas*, the position of the knight at death builds upon medieval memory and provides a journey for the reader that focuses on a concern for the self as individual.

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## APPENDIX A

### *SPECULŪ ARTIS BENE MORIĒDI*

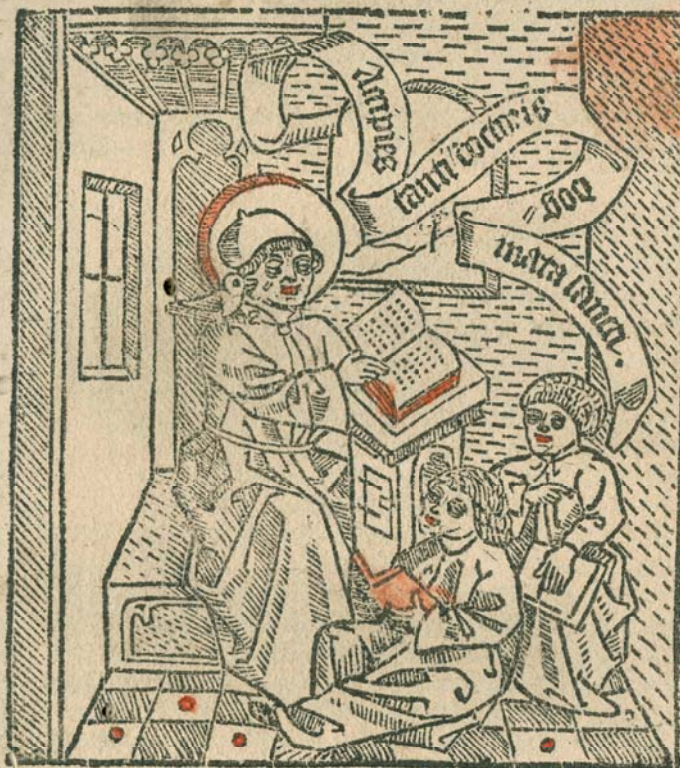
The commendation of death with the title *Speculū bene moriēdi* (c. 1414-1418) is the longer version of works known by the uniform title of *Ars moriendi*. Appendix A consists of copies of an incunabula of this text printed in Cologne by Heinrich Quentell, c. 1495, Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

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# **S**peculū artis bene moriēdi

De temptatōibus. penis infernalibus interrogatōibus agonisāntium. et varijs oratōibus pro illorum salute faciendis



2

Incipit Speculum artis bene moriendi perutilis, *Divi Thoma de Aquino.*

**Q**uam de pñtis exiliū miseria mortis transitus propter moriēdi impiciā multis nō solum laicis. verum etiam religiosis atq; devotis difficilis multūq; piculosus. immo etiam terribilis et horribilis valde plurimum videatur. Idcirco in pñti materia (q̄ de arte moriendi est) sequens brevis exhortationis modus est. circa eos maxime q̄ in articulo sunt pñtū. mentis intuitu et subtili pñsideratione notandus seu perpēdendus. eo q̄ modus rite generaliter omnib; catholicis ad artē et noticiā bene moriēdi pquerendam plurimum valere pdesse potest.

Divisio libri.

**C**ontinet aut materia ista sex particulas. quarum prima est de laude mortis scientiaq; bene moriēdi. Secunda temptatōnes morientium pñnet. Tercia interrogatōes. Quarta quandā instructōez seu informatōem cū observatōib;. Quinta exhortatōes. Sexta pñnet orōes dicendas super agonizantes ab aliquo assistentium agonizanti caro et fidei.

Prima pñcula de laude mortis et sciētia bñ moriendi.

**Q**uam omniū terribiliū mors corpis sit terribilior. si curat philosophus in. iij. Ethicorū. mors tñ anime tanto est terribilior atq; detestabilior q̄nto aīa corpe est nobilior atq; prestantior dicente ppheta. Mors peccatorum pessima. sed his nihilomin⁹ eodē ppheta attestāte. Preciosa in conspectu dñi mors sanctorū eius. qualicūq; etiam morte corpali moriant nō solum pñciosa mors est. mors sanctorū martyriū. verū etiam aliorū sanctorū sive iustorū bonorū atq; christianorū. necnō et peccatorū quātūcūq; malignorū verecōritorū et in vera fide et scē matris ecclesie unitate morientū. fm illud Apocal. ix. Beati mortui q̄ in dño moriunt propter qd̄ dñina sapientia aut Justus si morte preoccupatus fuerit refrigerio erit. si tamen moriturus in tēptationib; atq; alijs in mortis agonia sibi necessarijs cōstāter atq; pūter se tenuerit atq; reperit. quēadmodū in sequētib; manife-



statu dei adiutorio saluus erit.

**Descriptio mortis.**

**E**t ideo de laude mortis dicitur: bonorum quidem sapiens sic ait. **Mors** nihil aliud est nisi exitus de carcere re-finis cuius depositio oneris grauiissimi. corporis omnium egritudinum terminatio. omnium periculorum euasio. omnium malorum presumptio. omnium vinculo- rum disruptio. debiti naturalis solutio. reditus in patriam. ingressus in regnum. **vi Ecclesiastici. vii.** Melior est dies mortis die natiuitatis quod nimirum de bonis et electis tantummodo est intelligendum quia malis atque reprobis nec dies mortis nec dies natiuitatis bona dici debet. Quapropter bonus christianus immo etiam quilibet peccator quilibet vere contritus et fidelis de morte corporalis. etiam qualicunque de causa sibi illata contristari non debet neque perturbari neque ipsam perire inescere. sed sponte et voluntarie mentis ratione. que sensualitati utique dominatur morte suscipiat atque sufferat patienter sustineat suamque in hac re voluntatem plenarie diuine conformans et committens voluntati ut tenetur. si tamen bene et secure egredi hinc voluerit atque mori quodam sapiente sic dicente. bene mori est libenter mori. **vi.** de subdit ut satis vixerim nec anni nec dies sufficiunt. sed animus hoc ille. Cum igitur ex debito atque iure naturali omnes mori necesse sit. immo et omnino oporteat quoniam et qualiter et ubi deus omnipotens voluerit. Cumque ipsius dei voluntas sit et ubique bona sit. Cassiodorus attestante in libro collationum fidelissimus deus omnia que videntur vel aduersa vel prospera nostris utilitatibus dispensat et magis est pro suorum salute et comodo prouidus atque sollicitus. quam nos ipsi sumus pro nobis. Cumque mortem corporalem et generalem subterfugere euadere atque vitare minime valeamus. Idcirco mortem ipsam etiam sensualiter recalcitrantes ex mentis ratione bene disposite voluntarie et sine contradictione (quando deus voluerit) debemus acceptare. **Ubi Seneca.** Feres non culpes quod immutare non valere. et iterum dicit idem. si vis ista quibus vergeris effugere non valere. sed ut alius ait. Propterea ut homo christianus bene et secure moriatur. necesse est ei ut mori sciat. Nota quod est scire mori.



Scire autē mori vt quidam sapiens ait. est habere paratum  
cor et animam oī tēpē ad supna vt quicūq; mors veniat paratū eū  
inueniat et absq; retractōe eā recipiat quasi q; socius dilec-  
ti aduentū desideratū expectat. hec ille. Hec est scia vtilissi-  
ma in qua religiosi p̄cipue magis q̄ seculares sine intermis-  
sione quotidie atq; continue solliciti studere debēt vt eā vera-  
citer apprehendant cum p̄sertim religionis status idipm exi-  
gat et requirat quāq; etia; q̄libet secularis clericus et laicus  
siue ad moriendum paratus et dispositus fuerit siue nō nibi-  
lominus obedire deo tenetur qm̄ ei mandat. debet itaq; non  
solū religiosus verumetiā q̄libet xpianus bonus et deuotus  
q̄ bñ et secure mori desiderat taliter viuere et se habere vt omī  
hora (qm̄ deus voluerit) mori possit. et ita vitā debet habere  
in patientia. et mortem in desiderio. exemplo Pauli apostoli  
qui ait. cupio dissolui et esse cum christo. hec de scientia mo-  
riendi dicta sufficiant.

Secunda p̄tula de temptationibus extremis.

Prima tēptatio de fide in articulo mortis.

Sciendū sc̄do q̄ in extremis morituri grauiōres ha-  
bent tēptatōes quales in vita sua nunq; habuerūt.  
Sunt autē h̄mōi tēptatōnū generalū quinq; p̄nci-  
pales. quarū p̄ma est in fide. eo q̄ fides totius salutis nostre  
extat fundamentū. Teste ap̄lo q̄ ait. Fundamētum aliud ne-  
mo potest ponere. Unde Augu. Fides est oīm bonorū fun-  
damentū et humane salutis initū. et iterū d̄t ap̄lus. Impos-  
sibile est sine fide placere deo. Unde Johan. iij. Qui nō cre-  
dit iam iudicatus est. cū igitur talis tantaq; in fide extat vis  
vt sine ea nullus omnino saluus esse possit. dyabolus totis  
viribus hominē in extremis laborantē ab eā totaliter auer-  
tere nititur. aut saltem ad dubitandum ea aut aliquibus er-  
roribus ipsum decipere laborat bonus autem christianus  
non solum principalib; fidei articulis. verumetiā toti sacre  
scripture in omnibus et per omnia tenetur credere ad min⁹  
implicite. verumetiā sancte romane ecclesie statutis sub-  
iectus esse. et in h̄is firmiter permanere atq; mori. alioquin  
q̄cito in aliquo p̄missorum errare incipit. itaq; cito demat a

a iij

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via vite salutis. Sciendum tamen q̄ in temptatōe ista q̄  
q̄ alijs sequentibus. dyabolus nulli omnino q̄diu liberi ar-  
bitrij vsum bene dispositum rationi habuerit nisi sponte et  
iam p̄senserit. aliqua temptatōe poterit p̄ualere. nequa q̄ igitur  
bonus catholicus. dyaboli illusiones. terrores. atq̄ per-  
suasiones. omnino timere debet. q̄ mendax est et pater eius  
veritate attestante. Sed firmissime in vera fide ac sancte ma-  
tris ecclesie unitate et obedientia viriliter perseueret atq̄ mo-  
riatur. Est autem vtile et bonum sicut in quibusdam religi-  
onibus fieri solet. vt symbolum fidei circa agonizantes alia  
dicatur voce pluriesq̄ repetatur. vt per hoc infirmus ad fi-  
dei constantiam animetur. et ab eo demones qui illud audi-  
re nequeunt elongentur. Porro ad vere fidei constantiam  
etiam principaliter animare infirmum debet. fides antiquo-  
rum fidelium Abrahā Isaac et Jacob. Similiter et fides  
infidelium. vt Jacob Job Dauid. et similia. et etiam fi-  
des apostolorum necnō innumerabiliū martyrum confesso-  
rum et virginū. Nam p̄ fidem omēs antiqui et moderni deo  
placuerūt quia supradictū est. Impossibile est. sine fide deo  
placere. Item etiam ad idem inducere debet infirmum du-  
plex vtilitas fidei. vna est q̄ vera fides omnia potest. teste do-  
mino iesu xpo in euangelio. Omnia possibilia sunt credenti.  
Alia est q̄ vera fides omnia impetrat. sicut idē dñs ait Quic-  
quid orantes petitis credite et accipietis. etiam si dixeritis  
huic monti te hinc tolle. sic montes caspij petenti Alexandro  
magno adunati sunt.

De scda temptatōe in articulo mortis.

**S**ecunda temptatio est desperatio que est contra spem  
atq̄ confidentiam quam homo debet habere in deū.  
Cum em̄ infirmus doloribus cruciatur in corpore  
tunc dyabolus dolorez dolori supradat obijciēdo sibi pec-  
cata sua modis quibus potest vt cum ad desperatōnem in-  
ducat. Insuper etiam fm̄ Innocen. papam. lib. iij. de vtili-  
tate conditōis humane quilibet homo tam bonus q̄ ma-  
lus anteq̄ anima eius de corpore egrediat̄ videt xpm̄ in cru-  
ce positum ad exultatōnem et laudem bonoz et ad confusio-

nem malorum vt erubescant se fructum redemptionis non  
 habere. Sciendum insuper q̄ dyabolus peccata prefer-  
 tum nō confessa que homo commisit in agone representat. vt  
 cum sic in desperatōem trahat. sed ppter hoc nullus de ve-  
 nia debet desperare. etiam em̄ si tor latrocinia. furta. homici-  
 dia perpetrasset. quot sunt maris gutte et arene. etiam si de  
 eisdem pri⁹ nunq̄ aliquam egisset penitentiam nec ea con-  
 fessus fuisset. nec etiam modo ad confitendum ea haberet  
 facultatem. nihilominus desperare non debet. nam in tali ca-  
 su sufficeret sola vera contritio interior. Teste psal. Cor con-  
 tritum et humiliatum deus non despicias. et Ezech. inquit.  
 Quacūq̄ hora peccator ingemuerit saluus erit. Unde in-  
 quit Bernardus. Maior est dei pietas q̄ queuis peccato-  
 rum iniquitas. Et Augustinus super Joh. A nemine des-  
 perandum est dum in hac vita manet. Solum enim des-  
 peratōis gimen est quod mederi non potest. Unde et idem  
 Augustinus. Non nocet mala preterita si non placet. Pul-  
 lus igitur desperare debet etiam si solus totius mūdi pecca-  
 ta cōmississet. in casu etiam quo ei constaret q̄ de numero dā-  
 natorum esset nulli propter hoc desperandum esset eo q̄ pro-  
 pter desperationem nihil aliud agitur nisi q̄ per eam deus  
 piissimus multo magis offenditur. et peccata alia forti⁹ gra-  
 uantur pena eterna que vsq̄ ad infinitum augmētatur. Pro-  
 inde ad confidentiam veram (quam precipue infirmus ad  
 deum debet habere in agone) inducere debet eū dispositio  
 Iesu christi domini nostri. De qua inquit beatus Bernar-  
 dus. Quis non rapietur ad spem nec ad impetrandum fidu-  
 ciam si attendat in cruce domini nostri. Iesu christi dispo-  
 sitionem. vide caput inclinatum. os ad osculandum. brachia  
 extensa ad amplexandum. manus perforatas ad largiendū.  
 latus apertum ad diligendum. et totius corporis extensio-  
 nem ad totum se impēdendum. Hec idem ille Bernardus.  
 Nullo ergo modo quisq̄ desperare debet. sed in deo omni-  
 potenti plenarie confidere. Nam hec virtus valde est lauda-  
 bilis. magniq̄ meriti coram deo. de q̄ hortatur Apostolus  
 dicens. Nolite amittere confidentiā vestram q̄ magnā ha-

a iij

bet remuneratōem. Preterea sciendū q nullus peccator etiā  
quantūcūq; magnus de venia debet desperare. Exemplū  
em habemus euidentissimū in Petro christū negante. In  
Paulo p̄m etiā psequente. In Bartheo et Zacheo pub  
licanis. In Maria magdalena peccatrice. et in muliere in  
adulterio dephensa. In latrone pēdente iuxta xpm. et in Ma  
ria egyptiaca. nec nō in multis peccatorib; facinorosis atq;  
sceleratis. versus de Maria magdalena: Sum magdalena  
peccanti sum via vera. Sum lux, sum speculum crimen ad  
omne suum. Non desperetis, vos qui peccare soletis. Disce  
te more meo conciliare deo.

Tercia temptatio de impatientia.

**T**ercia temptatio est de impatientia q̄ est p̄tra chari  
tatem qua tenemur deum diligere sup omnia. Nam  
morituris maximus dolor capitis accidit his p̄ci  
pue qui nō morte naturali (que rara est) sicut maxime docet  
experientia. sed frequenter ex accidentib; pura febre vel a po  
stematē aut alia infirmitate graui et afflictua atq; longa dis  
solvunt. Que quidē infirmitas plerosq; et precipue ad mor  
tem indispositos et inuite morientes ac defectū vere charita  
tis habentes adeo reddit impatientes atq; efficit murmurā  
tes ut pluries ex nimio dolore et impatientia amentes et in  
sensati videantur sicut sepe visum est de multis. ex quo vere  
constat quia tales utiq; in vera charitate deficiūt. Teste Hi  
cronimo. qui ait. Si quis cum dolore egritudinem vlt mo r  
tem suscipit. signum est q̄ deum omnipotentē sufficiēter non  
diligit. Necessē est ergo omni homini qui bene mori volue  
rit ut in qualibet infirmitate quantumcūq; afflictua longa  
vel breui ante mortem et in morte nō murmuret. Teste Gre  
gorio in moralibus. Iusta sunt cuncta que patimur. et ideo  
valde iniustum est si de iusta passione murmuramus q̄ q; pa  
tiens sit. s̄m illud Luce. In patientia vestra possidebitis ai  
mas vestras. Nam sicut p patientiā anima possidetur atq;  
custoditur. sic per impatientiam atq; marmurationem per  
ditur atq; condemnatur. Teste b̄to Gregorio in omelia qui  
sic ait. Regnum celorum nullus murmurans accipit. q̄ au/

tem Albertus magnus de vera contritione dicit. Vere contritus ad omnem afflictionem infirmorum et punitorum letanter se offert. ut per offensam deo satisfacere digne possit quāto magis infirmus quisque suā propriā infirmitatem solam multis alijs infirmitatibus sine compatione leniorem debet patienter et libenter sustinere. cum infirmitas presertim ante mortem sit quasi quoddam purgatorium cum toleratur ut oportet quando videlicet patienter libenterque cum gratitudine tolerat. Nam secundum Albertum non solum gratitudine indigemus in his que sunt ad nostram consolationem. sed etiam in his que sunt ad nostrā afflictionem. Unde Gregorius. Divina enim dispensatione agitur ut prolixiori vicio prolixior egritudo adhibeat vel conaptetur. Dicat ergo quisque infirmus et precipue moriturus cum Augustinus. hic secura hic via ut in eternum mihi parcās. unde Gregorius. Misericors deus temporalem severitatem adhibet ne eternam inferat ultionem. Cum autem temptatio ista militet contra charitatem sine qua omnino nulla potest esse salus. eo quod charitas vera patiens est atque omnia suffert. Teste apostolo. ubi studiose notandum atque ponderandum extat quod dicit omnia nihil penitus excipit. Omnes igitur corporis egritudines sine murmure et difficultate multis ex ratione tolerande sunt. Unde Augustinus dicit volenti alias amanti nihil est difficile neque impossibile.

Sequitur de quarta temptatione scilicet de vana gloria.

Quarta temptatio est superbius complacentia que est superbia spiritualis. per quam dyabolus devotum atque religiosum et perfectum magnis infestus est. Cum enim hominem ad devianandum a fide. aut ad desperationem vel impatientiam non potest inducere. tunc aggreditur eum per superbius complacentiam in eum iactans cogitationes. O quam firmus es in fide quam fortis in spe et quam constans in patientia. O quam multa bona es operatus et hominibus. Sed contra hoc dicit Isidorus. Non te arroges. non te iactes. non te extollas insolenter. nihil de te presumas. nihil boni tibi tribuas. nam tanta superbius posset esse complacentia ut per hanc homo vanaretur. Unde Gregorius.

Quisq[ue] reminiscendo bonum quod gessit dum apud se egit apud auctore[m] humilitatis cadat. debet igit[ur] morit[ur]o[rum] cautus esse cu[m] p[er] superbiam sentit se temptari. ita ut se tunc humiliet atq[ue] deprimat sua peccata cogitando et q[uod] ignorat an odio vel amore dignus sit. Fleat[ur] desperet nihilominus cor suu[m] ad deum dirigere p[er] spem et dei misericordiam que est sup[er] oia opera eius cogitando atq[ue] operando. et q[uod] fidelissimus deus qui est veritas ineffabilis ~~et~~ iurando p[er] p[ro]p[ri]am tam repromisit dicens. Vno ego dicit d[omi]n[u]s nolo morte[m] peccatoris sed magis ut conuertat[ur] et viuat. Imitet[ur] ergo homo beatu[m] Anthoniu[m] cui dyabolus dicit Anthoni tu me vicisti q[uam] eni[m] te volo exaltare tu te deprimis. et cum te volo deprime re tu te erigis. Sic ergo faciat unusquisq[ue] siue sanus siue infirmus. et victus est dyabolus.

Sequitur de quinta temptatione scilicet de delectatione mundanorum.

**Q**uinta temptatio (que magis seculares atq[ue] carnales infestat) est nimia occupatio t[em]p[or]alium atq[ue] exteriorum circa r[ati]onem liberos atq[ue] amicos carnales atq[ue] diuinitas et alia que inordinate in vita sua dilexerunt. Nam qui bene et secure mori voluerit debet omnia t[em]p[or]alia et exteriora simpl[iter] atq[ue] totaliter postponere et se deo plenarie totum committere. v[er]u[m] Schotus sup[er] iij. sententia[m] d[icit]. Si quis infirmus (cu[m] se iam videat morituru[m]) vult mori et plane consentit in mortem ac si eam p[er] se elegisset satisfacit p[ro] oib[us] venialib[us] peccatis. vno co[n]fert aliquid ad satisfaciendu[m] p[ro] peccatis mortalib[us]. Quapropter vtile e[st] atq[ue] o[mn]ino necessarium in mortis articulo voluntate[m] sua[m] p[er] omnia conformare diuine voluntati ut oportet. Raro aut[em] aliquis secularis vel carnalis etia[m] religiosus vult se ad mortem disponere. et quod p[er]petuus est nec quicq[ue] de hac re audire etia[m] cu[m] iam ipe de facto agnizat speras secusuru[m]. quod reuera p[er]iculosissimum est in homine xpiano ut dicit cancellarius vel cantor parisiens[is].

Notandu[m] vero q[uod] dyabolus in omib[us] p[re]dictis temptationib[us] ho[m]inem nequaquam cogere poterit. nec ei etiam aliquatenus preualere ut sibi consentiat q[uod] diu[ino] usum habuerit. rat



tionis nisi sponte ei voluerit cōsentire. quod certenon solum  
bono xpiano. verum etiam cuilibet peccatori q̄m mē q̄ ma-  
gno sup omnia cauendū est. An apls. Fidelis deus qui nō pa-  
tietur vos temptari supra id qd̄ potestis. sed faciet etiā cum  
temptatione puentum vt possitis sustinere. sic dicit glo. Fi-  
delis deus est verax in promissis. qui dat nobis resistere po-  
tenter viriliter z p̄fenerāter. dat potentiā vt vincamus. grā  
vt mereamur. p̄stanciā vt perseueremus. facit puentū. i. p̄u-  
tis augmentū. vt possitis sustinere ne deficiatis. sed vindice-  
tis quod sit per humilitatē. vñ Augu. Illi nō tremūt in for-  
tace q̄ non hnt ventū supbie. Humiliet ergo peccator se vt  
sub potenti manu dei victoriā obrinere possit z auxiliū in oī  
temptatione. egritudine z tribulatione maloz z doloz vsqz  
ad mortē includine.

Tercia pticula de interrogationibus in articulo mortis.

**D**ēinde sequunt̄ interrogationes que fieri dnt̄ mori-  
turi dum adhuc vsum rōnis hnt̄ z loquēdi. z hoc  
ideo vt si quis minus dispositus fuerit ad moriēdū  
de meliori informet̄ atqz in eodē confortet̄. Ille aut̄ interro-  
gationes debent fieri fm̄ Ansel. ep̄m hoc modo. Primo q̄  
ratur sic frater Letaris q̄ in fide xpi moriariis. r̄deat etiam.  
frater penitet te nō tā bñ vixisse sicut debuisses. r̄deat etiam.  
frater habes emēdandi animū si spaciū viuendi haberes. re-  
spondeat etiā. Frater credis nō posse nisi p̄ mortē xpi saluari.  
r̄deat etiā. Credis q̄ p̄ te mortuus est dñs ihesus ch̄stus  
filius dei. r̄deat etiā. Agis ei gr̄as ex toto corde de hoc. r̄-  
deat etiā. Age ergo (dñ in te est aīa tua) ei semp gr̄as. et i hac  
sola eius morte te totum cōtege huic morti te inuolue z si do-  
minus deus te voluerit indicare. dic dñe mortē dñi mei  
ihesu xpi ob̄icio inter te z me z iudiciū tuū aliter tecū non  
contendo. Si dixerit q̄ mereris damnationem. dic mortem  
dñi mei ihesu xpi ob̄icio inter te in me z mala merita mea. ip̄-  
sumqz dignissime passionis meritum offero pro merito qd̄  
ego habere debuissē z heu non habeo. Dicatur iterum do-  
mine. Mortem dñi mei ihesu xpi pono inter me z iram tuā.  
Deinde dicat ter. In manus tuas dñe p̄mendo spiritū meū

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12. Et idipsum (si nō potest loq̄) dicat cōuentus vel aſtātes.  
 In manus tuas dñe p̄mendo sp̄m eius. et securus moritur  
 nec videbit mortē iū eternū. Porro cū interrogatōnes p̄e/  
 dicte solū p̄sonis religiosi atq; deuoti cōpetere atq; suffi/  
 cere videant. tū dñr oēs xp̄iani siue seculares siue regulares  
 sū cancellariū parisiē. mō subsequēti de suo statu et salute  
 in agone certius atq; clarius inquiri et informari sic. Primo  
 credis oēs p̄ncipales articulos fidei. Et insup toti sacre scri/  
 pturę p̄ oīa sū sanctoz catholicoz atq; orthodoxoz scē eccle/  
 się doctorū expositionē. et de testatis om̄es hereses atq; erro/  
 res atq; sup̄stitiones ab ecclia reprobatas. ac letaris insuper  
 q̄ in fide xp̄i ac vnitate matris ecclie ac obediētia moriatis.  
 Secūdo queras sic. Cognoscis te creatorē tuū sepe et multi/  
 pliciter atq; grauit̄ offendisse. Nam p̄ b̄t̄m Bern̄. in canti/  
 cis sic d̄r. scio neminē absq; sui cognitione saluari de qua ni/  
 mini vera salus oriū et amor dñi. q̄ et ipse sicut in it̄ū sapien/  
 tię ita et salutis. Tercio doles ex toto corde de oibus p̄ctis  
 p̄tra dei maiestātē amorē atq; benignitatē et bonitatē cōmis/  
 sis et de bonis omissis et gratijs neglectis. nō solum timorē  
 mortis conturbatus vel pene cuiusq; sed magis ex amore  
 dei et iusticie. et charitate qua tenemur deum sup̄ om̄ia dili/  
 gere. et petis frater de oibus istis veniā optans. In super/  
 cor tuū illuminari ad cognitōez oblitoz. vt de illis valeas spe/  
 cialiter penitere. Quarto p̄ponis te veraciter velle emenda/  
 re si superuiuere debueris. et nunq; plus mortaliter peccare  
 scienter et proposito deliberato. sed potius q̄ntumcūq; ca/  
 ra dimittere. imo etiā vitā carnalem p̄dere anteq; deū plus  
 velles offendere. rogas insup deū vt det tibi grām hoc p̄po/  
 sitū p̄tinuandi et nō recidendi. Quinto indulges ex toto  
 corde oibus q̄ vnq; aliq̄d nocuentū verbo vel facto tibi in/  
 tulerunt atq; offenderunt. ob amorē et venerationē dñi no/  
 stri ihesu xp̄i. a quo et tu veniā speras. petis etiā fideliter in/  
 dulgēti et remisisti tibi ab eis quos offendisti quouismodo.  
 Sexto vis ablata restitui integraliter inq̄ntum teneris iux/  
 ta tuaz facultatū valorē. etiā vsq; ad omniū bonoz tuozum  
 cessionē atq; renūciatōnē inclusiue vbi alia satisfactio fieri va//



7  
 teret. Primo queratur sic. Credis q̄ pte mortuus est xps.  
 et q̄ aliter saluari non potes nisi per meritū passionis domi-  
 ni nostri iesu xpi. et agis etiam de hoc deo grās ex toto corde  
 quantū vales. Quicūq; ad p̄dictas interrogatōnes ex p̄scia  
 bona et fide nō ficta vere poterit affirmative respondere satis  
 evidens argumentum salutis habet si decesserit q̄ de nūme-  
 ro saluandorū erit. Si quis vero de p̄missis ab alijs inter-  
 rogatus nō fuerit p̄sertim cum satis sint pauci atq; rari q̄ hu-  
 ius artis habeant sciam. intra se redeat interrogās scipm sub-  
 tilius cōsiderando an taliter sit dispositus vt p̄fertur eo q̄ abs-  
 q̄ tali dispositōne nulli omnino p̄t esse salus. Qui autē sic dis-  
 positus est vt dictū est. se totū passioni xpi recōmendet et com-  
 mittat. et cōtinuo inquātū possit et infirmitas p̄miserit eā ru-  
 minet atq; meditet. Nam per hoc omnes diaboli temptatio-  
 nes et in fide xpi maxime superantur.

Quarta particula de instructionibus pro infirmis cum  
 obsecrationibus.

**P** Reterea cum fm Greg. Omnis xpi actio nostra sit  
 instructio. idcirco ea (que christus in cruce moriens  
 fecit) eadē cūlibet morituro p̄ suo modulo atq; pos-  
 sibilitate in extremis extant facienda. Fecit autē xps in cruce  
 quinq; oravit: Nam dixisse p̄ psalmos istos Deus de me  
 us respice in me: et octo sequētes vsq; ad versum inclusiue.  
 In manus tuas etc. Itē clamauit et fleuit. aplo teste. Animā  
 patri cōmēdauit atq; spm tradidit. vt testantē euāgeliste Sic  
 et infirmus in articulo mortis cōstitutus orare debet saltem  
 corde si nō p̄t voce. vñ Jsid. Melius est cū silentio orare cor-  
 de sine sono vocis q̄ solū verbis sine intuitu mentis. Scdo  
 debet clamare fortiter sicut corde nō voce. plus em̄ attēdit de-  
 us cordis desiderii q̄ clamorē vocis. Nam cordis voce cla-  
 mare nō est aliud q̄ remissionem peccatorum et vitā eternā  
 fortiter desiderare Tercio debet plorare nō oculis corpali-  
 bus oculis cordis lachrimādo. s. vere penitēdo Quarto d̄z aia  
 deo cōmēdare dicēdo. In manus tuas etc. Quinto spm tra-  
 dat vt videlicet moriat volūtariē. volūtate suā in hoc diuine  
 p̄formās volūtati vt oportet. Proinde q̄diu agonizās loq̄ et  
 b i

viuū ratōis habere poterit sequentes dicat obsecratōes.  
Et primo ad sanctam trinitatem.

Oratio ad sanctam trinitatem.

○ Summa deitas. immensa bonitas. clementissima  
atq; gloriosissima trinitas. summa dilectio. amor et  
charitas miserere mei miserere mei peccatoris tibi em̄ comē-  
do spm̄ meum. Item dicat ad patrem. deus meus p̄ssime  
pater misericordia. misericordia fac huic paup̄cule creatu-  
re. et in vltima necessitate succurre iam dñe indigenti aie et de-  
solate vt nō a canibus infernalibus deuoratur.

Item dicat orōem sequentem.

○ Dulcissime et amantissime dñe iesu christe fili dei vi-  
ui. ob honorē et virtutē tue beatissime passionis ui-  
be me recipi inter numerū electorū tuorū saluator et redemp-  
tor meus redde me totū tibi vt me nō reicias a venia. et non  
repellas a gloria tua. Item dñe iesu christe paradysum tuū  
postulo nō ob valorē meritorū meorū. cum sim pulnis et ci-  
nis et peccator miserrimus. sed in virtute et efficacia tue san-  
ctissime passionis. per quā me miserrimum redimere volui-  
sti et mihi paradysum tuo p̄cioso sanguine emere dignat⁹ es.  
Item dicat pluries sepe repetendo istum versum ter ad mi-  
nus. Dirupisti vīcula mea tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis.  
Nam iste versus fin Cassidorum tante virtutis creditur  
vt peccata hominū dimittantur si in fine trina confessione  
dicatur. Item dicat quod sequitur.

Oratio ad Iesum xpm̄.

○ Domine iesu christe propter illam amaritudinē quā  
p̄ me sustinere voluisti in cruce maxime in illa hora  
quādo sanctissima anima tua egressa est de corpore tuo. misere-  
re aie mee in egressu tuo. Item post hoc inuocet seriosissime  
atq; instatissime corde et ore inquitū p̄ualet gl̄iosissimā et gi-  
nem Mariā omnium peccatorum efficacissimā atq; p̄uallē-  
mam mediatricē atq; adiutricem sic dicens.

Oratio ad beatā Mariā inuitandā

○ Regina celorum mater misericordie refugium pec-  
catorum reconcilia me vnigenito filio tuo ei⁹ clemē-

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tiam pro me indigno peccatore interpellat. ut ob amorem tuum  
mea dimittat crimina perducens ad gloriam suam. Deinde in-  
uocat sanctos angelos precibus sic inquit.

**O**ratio ad angelos inuitandos  
Spiritus celorum angeli beatissimi assistite mihi qui  
eo migranti ex hoc seculo et potenter me eripite. ab  
omnium aduersariorum meorum insidiis et animam meam in  
vestrum consortium assumite. tuque precipue angele bone cu-  
stos meus mihi a domino deputatus. Deinde apostolos martyres  
confessores atque virgines. specialius tamen illos sanctos atque  
sanctas quos vel quas prius sanus in veneratione habuit  
et dilexit in auxilium suum inuocet in isto necessitatis articulo  
diligenter. Item dicat ter vel quater vel ultra si possit hec et  
similia verba que beato Augustino ascribunt. Pax domini no-  
stri iesu christi et virtus passionis eius et signum sancte crucis et  
integritas beatissime virginis Marie. et benedictio omnium  
sanctorum. et custodia angelorum nec non suffragia omnium  
electorum sint inter me et omnes inimicos meos. visibiles  
et invisibiles in hac hora mortis mee. postea subiungat etiam  
ter dicendo istum versum. Largire clarum vespere. quo  
vita nunc decidat. sed premium mortis sacre perbennis in-  
stet gloria. Si autem infirmus predictas obsecrationes om-  
nes nesciat vel infirmitate inualecente dicere non possit. di-  
cat eas aliquis de assistantibus clara voce coram illo muta-  
tis mutandis. ipse tamen agonizans quod diu usum rationis ha-  
bere poterit oret intra se corde tantum et desiderio. putet sciat et pos-  
sit. ita orando spiritum domino reddat. et saluus erit.

Sequitur quinta precatio de exhortationibus circa infirmos  
in agone mortis.

**N**otandum deinde sane atque studiose aduertendum  
quod rarissime etiam aliqui inter religiosos atque deuot-  
os ad mortem se disponunt tempestiue. ut oportet  
eo quod quilibet diutius victurum se existimat. nequaquam cre-  
dens se cito moriturum: quod nimirum ex instinctu dyabo-  
li fieri certum est. nam sicut luce clarius constat plurimum per tales  
inane spem neglexerunt seipsos aut intellexit aut ipse aut idem  
b ij

spoliū morientes. Quapropter quisq; charitatē dei nec non  
 zelū habeat aīaz. taliter utiq; vnūquēq; primorū egrotantē  
 in aliquo corpis piculo vel aīe cōstitutū studeat sollicitus in-  
 buccre et monere. q̄tenus p̄mo et p̄ncipali oīb; postpositio  
 de medicina spūali et remedio q̄citius sibi p̄uideatendilare  
 frequēter enim vt quedā decretalis dī Corpalis infirmitas  
 ex aīe languore ortū habet. iō papa p̄ eādē decretalē cuilibet  
 medico corpis districte p̄cipit. vt ne cuiq; egroto corpoream  
 conferat medicinā p̄usq; ad spūalem medicinā q̄rendā eū  
 moneat et inducat. Sed decretalis ista quasi ab oīb; venit  
 in contrariū. Citius enim hoīes carnalē q̄runt medicinā  
 corruptibilem q̄ spūalem. Sitr oīa mala et aduersa p̄p̄tis  
 intuitu vel nutu dei solent euenire. p̄pheta attestāte. Nō est  
 malum in ciuitate qd nō fecerit deus. intelligo nō malū cul-  
 pe sed malum pene p̄ culpa. q̄obz infirmus q̄sq; aut in aliq;  
 cōstitutus piculo studiosus extat ad inducendū et aī oīa cū  
 deo pacem sibi faciat spūalem p̄ oībus adhibēs medicinā  
 Sacramenta videlicet ecclesiastica deuotē recipiēdo. testa-  
 mentū ordinādo domū suā atq; negocia alia si q̄ habet legiti-  
 me disponēdo. Nullaten⁹ aut detur infirmo spes nimia cor-  
 palis sanitatis cōsequende. cuius m̄ cōtrariū tā frequēter fi-  
 eri solet a multis in piculū aīaz. circa iustos q̄ actu agonizāt.  
 ita q; nullus eorū aliqd audire vult de morte Vñ cancel. pa-  
 rifici. sepe p̄ vnā talē inanē gloriā et falsam p̄solatōē et fictam  
 sanitatis corpis p̄fidetiā certā incurrit bō damnatōē. Et iō  
 hortāndus est infirmus. vt p̄ verā p̄tritiōem puramq; p̄fessio-  
 nem aīe peuret sanitatem. q̄ etiā ad salutē corpis (si sibi fue-  
 rit expediēs) valere poterit. et ita q̄terior erit et securior. Eū aut  
 teste Breg. Vera cōtritiō rara sit. Et q; fm̄ tho. in lū. senten-  
 tiaz distū. xx. aliosq; doctores p̄ma q̄ videtur haberi iuxtre-  
 mis vix sit vera p̄ma sufficiens ad salutē in illis p̄cipue de q̄-  
 bus cōstat q; in toto tpe vite sue p̄cepta diuina vota q; spon-  
 tanea voluntate nunq; veraciter sed solū fictē atq; dolose ser-  
 uauerunt. Idcirco vnicuiq; tali ad mortis articulū deducto  
 suadendū est vt fm̄ suā possibilitatē mētis ratōne laboret ad  
 penitentiā ordinatā seu verā. vt videlicet nō obstante dolore

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vel timore sibi inherenti vti ratione inquantum potest. et conetur  
 huius displicentia voluntaria propter finem debitum. id est propter deum  
 et reuertat a via male indignationis habitus precedentiium et la-  
 borat ad displicentiam quantum poterit huius licet bene ne ad de-  
 sperationem remittat. proponant ei illa mala que superius in secu-  
 da pericula de temptatione desperationis dicta sunt. Sicut etiam  
 moneat ut etiam contra alias temptationes ibidem positas animosus  
 existat fortiter atque viriliter resistendo preterea cum per dyabolum  
 in inuine cogi possit. Item moneat ut decedat tanquam verus et  
 fidelis christianus. attendat insuper an vinculo excommunicationis  
 astrictus teneatur ut informetur. quatenus in hoc totis viribus  
 ordinationi sancte matris ecclesie se submittat ut absoluator.  
 Item si moriturus plerumque tempus spatium ad recollectionem suam  
 habeat. et non mortefestina pueniatur legende sunt coram eo a-  
 presentibus historie et orationes deuote. in quibus prout sanus am-  
 plius delectabatur. vel recedenda sunt diuina precepta ut per sum-  
 mus meditetur si quid inuenerit se contra ea negligenter deliquit.  
 se si infirmus usum loquendi perdidit habeat in sanam et inte-  
 gram noticiam. et ad interrogaciones coram eo recitatas. signo aliquo  
 exteriori vel solo consensu cordis respondeat. hoc enim sufficit ad  
 salutem acquirendum in interrogaciones fiant antequam usum loquen-  
 di perdat. Nam si ex interrogacionibus verisimiliter appareant responsio-  
 nes infirmi non usquequaque sufficere ad salutem reme-  
 dium per informationem necessariam apponat modo quo fieri poterit  
 meliori. manifestandum est finem exigentiam infirmi periculum  
 quod incurrit quod ecclesia precepit non obstante quod plurimum terreatur.  
 Iustus est enim ut cum terrore salubri eopungatur et saluetur quod cum  
 blanditijs et dissimulatione nociua condempnetur. Absurdum quod  
 penitus est. et christiane religioni contrarium. imo dyabolicum. ut ho-  
 minis morituro corporis et anime periculum et humano timore  
 rene conturbetur abscondatur. Quo circa ysaias propheta regem  
 Ezechiam egrotantem usque ad mortem salubriter tenuit dicens cum  
 moriturum cum adhuc mori non deberet et Grego. monachus  
 prope tunc in mortis articulo constitutus. ut in. iiii. li. dia. legitur.  
 tenuit ad salutem. Item presentem infirmo imago crucifixi que super  
 circa infirmos est habenda. vel etiam beate marie virginis aut

b. iii.

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aliterius sancti quē pridē sanus venerabat. Habeat etiā bi-  
 dem aqua benedicta q̄ sup infirmū. & alios circūquaq; stātes  
 frēq̄nter asperget vt sic ab eodē demones cōpescant. S; si  
 nō sunt oīa p̄missa breuiter p̄ponende sunt orōnes illę p̄sentī  
 quę nro saluatori dño nro iesu xpo dirigunt. Nequaquā etiā  
 cuiq; morienti amici carnales xpor libere diuitie. & alia tpa-  
 lia ad memoriā reuocent vel reducant nisi q̄ntū infirmi spū-  
 tualis sanitas postulat & requirit. Porro in materia ista quę  
 extreme necessitatis extat subtilissimē cōsiderent atq; ponde-  
 rent singula puncta & sequētie quib; adiecta sūt aduerbia co-  
 q̄ non verbis sed aduerbijs incremur put in cōpendio the-  
 ologice veritatis li. v. c. x. cōtinet. Cum autē placide libenter  
 et sine periculo bñ & secure mori velit & meritorie. talis cura  
 te debet studiosius vt moriēdi artē eiusq; dispositionem in-  
 ta p̄missa dum adhuc sanus sit sollicite studeat & discat neq;  
 q̄s mortis expectans ingressum. Nam dico tibi carissime fra-  
 ter in veritate crede mihi q̄ morte aut graui infirmitate ingre-  
 diente ipsa deuotio egreditur. & q̄to ppinquius hec accē-  
 serit sci se inuoluerit tanto longius illa fugā dabit. Si ergo  
 nō vis decipi nec errare si vis securus ēē instantē age quod  
 potes dum sanus sis. & rsum rōnis habeas bñ dispositē  
 dñs actū tuorē cōp̄ssis. Q̄s multi imo infiniti vltimam  
 necessitatē expectātes seip̄os decipiūt & deperunt atq; ne-  
 glexerunt. Vnde ergo frater atq; canes si placet ne & tibi sic cō-  
 tingat. Nulli ergo incongruū vel mirū videat de tam solerti  
 cura et sollicita dispositōe ac studiosa exhortatiōe ip̄is mori-  
 entib; vt p̄mittit exhibenda. q̄ nimis tanta talisq; vis & ne-  
 cessitas ip̄is est inditq; ac incubit vt si possibile ēēt tota ciui-  
 tas ad morientē cū minorib; cōuenire deberet festināter si-  
 cut in quibusdā religionib; extat vbi statuitur q̄ qñ ip̄s  
 mori appropinquat. tunc tabula pulsetur vt mor audita ta-  
 bula q̄cunq; hora oēs fratres ybicunq; fuerint dimissis om-  
 nibus occupationibus occurrant q̄citius possint morienti.  
 Vñ dī q̄ religiosi & mulieres p̄pter sui status honestatem  
 currere non debeant nisi ad morientē et ignem.

Sexta particula de orationib; dicēdis i articulo mortis.



14

**V**ltimo sciendū est q̄ orōnes seq̄ntes dici p̄nt super infirmū laborantē in agone q̄ si est p̄sona regularis tūc cōuocato cōuentu p̄mū cū tabula vt moris est p̄mittit letania cū orōnibz et psalmis cōsuetis atq; ordinarijs more solito. Postea verō si adhuc sup̄uinit subiūgunt orōtiones seq̄ntes ab aliquo p̄ntiū put oportunū fuerit et ipsa p̄tiet que etiā pluries iterari p̄nt p̄pter infirmi deuotionem si vsum habuerit rōnis. hoc tñ de salutis necessitate nō oportet sed p̄pter infirmi cōmoditatē atq; deuotionē laborantis in extremis fieri pōt. Porro apud infirmos seculares dicantur orōnes iste put deuotio et dispositio ac cōmoditas ipsoz et assistentiū erigit et requirit tempus. sed heu sunt paucissimi nō solū apud seculares verū etiā i pluribz religionibus qui huius scie habeat artē. vt in mortis articulo suis p̄mis fideliter assistat interrogādo monēdo ac etiā p̄ ipsis exorādo vt p̄ferat p̄fert cū ipsi morientes nondum velint mori. et ita anime morientiū miserabiliter piclāntur.

Sequuntur orationes. Oratio ad ihesum christum.

**P**er amorē q̄ te dignissimū innocentissimū et dilectissimū paternę charitatis filiū p̄ nobis factū hominē vulnerari ac mori p̄ salute hoīs fecit. idylge tuo. **R.** misericordissime ihesu omne q̄s cogitatu verbo vel facto affectionibz et nutibus verbis et sensibus corporis et anime deliquit et verā remissionē tribue illi sufficientissimā emendationem. illis quoq; totius mūdi culpas soluisi. ac in plenā suppletionē oīm negligentia et suar adde illi p̄fectissimā conuersationem illam quā ab hora cōceptōis tue vsq; in horā mortis habuisti. et sup̄ fructū oīm bonoz operum que tibi ab initio mundi vsq; in finem ab omnibus electis placuerunt vel placere p̄auerunt. Qui viuīs etc.

Oratio ad sp̄m sanctum. **Off.**

**I**n vnione feruentissimi amoris q̄ te vitā oīm viuētium coegit incarnari. et anxiato spū in cruce mori pulsamus ad medullam benignissimā cordis tui vt anīe famulicui. **R.** fratris nostri oīa p̄ctā diuinitas et tue sanctissime cōuersationis ac p̄e dignissime passionis merito obui.

sa supplicat faciasq; expiri sup habundantissimā multitudinē  
miserationū tuar. nosq; oēs specialiter istā psonā fratrē no/  
strū (quē primū vocare disponis) pparas placatissimo tibi  
mō. sibiq; z vniuersitati vtilissimo cum dulci patientia vera  
penitētia plena remissione peccatorū fide spe firma z caritate  
pfecta. z in pfectissimo statu inter dulcissimū amplexū z sua/  
uissimū osculū tuū feliciter recipias ad tuā eternā laudem.

*Oratio ad deum patrem.*

**I**n manus inextinguibilis misericordie tue pater sancte  
pater iuste z amantissime cōmendamus spm famuli  
tui. A. fratris nostri fm magnitudinē amoris. quo  
se aīa filij tui sanctissima in cruce tibi cōmendauit suppliciter  
deprecantes quatenus p illā inestimabile dilectōis charitatē  
qua tuā diuina bonitas in se totā traxit illā sanctissimā aīā  
vt i hora vltima famuli tui. A. fratris nostri suscipias in eo/  
dem amore spiritum eius. Amen

*Oratio ad sanctum Michaelem.*

**S**anccte Michael archangele dñi nrī iesu xpi succur/  
re nobis apud altissimū iudicē. O pugil inuictissi/  
me assiste nunc famulo tuo. A. fratri nostro in extre/  
mis valde laboranti z defende eum potenter a dracone infer/  
nali. z ab omni spiritu fraude maligno. Insuper exoramus  
te preclaz atq; decoz ministrū diuinitatis summe. vt in hac  
extrema hora vite fratris nostri benigne suscipias ac leniter  
aīam ipsius in sinum tuum dulcissimū. z pducas eam in lo/  
cum pacis refrigerij z quietis. Amen.

*Oro ad beatā virginē Mariā matrem misericordie*

**I**n temerata z in eternū benedicta virgo maria toti⁹  
angustie adiutrix succurre nobis dulciter z ostende  
famulo tuo. A. fratri nostro in extremis tuam glorio/  
sam faciē in vltima necessitate sua. z dispde omēs inimicos  
eius in virtute dilecti filij tui dñi nrī iesu xpi z scē crucis z li/  
bera eum de omni angustia corporis z anime. vt laudes di/  
cat dñio deo in secula seculor.

*Oratio ad iherosolum christum.*

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**E**ra mi dulcissime redemptor piissime iesu benignissi-  
me p illam lachrymabile vocem (qua in humanitate  
moriturus pro nobis doloribus et laboribus passi-  
onis adeo psumptus es vt te derelictu a patre clamores  
rogam ne loq facias a famulo tuo *A.* fratre nostro auxiliu  
tue miseratōis in hora et in momēto afflictōis aie sue p defec-  
tōe et psumptōe spūs te iuocare in extrema hora mortis quā  
scire nō valet *S.* p triūphū scē crucis et p salutē salutifere pas-  
sionis et amoroſe mortis tue. cogita de ea cogitatōes pacis  
et nō afflictōis. s; misericordissime miseratōis solatōis. Et  
libera eā de oib; angustijs ipius manib; q̄s p ea in scā cruce  
figi pmisisti. clauis acutissimis Iesu bone et dulcissime pater  
et dñe crue eā a tormētis sibi deputatis. et pduc eā in requiez *psm*  
eternā. cum voce exultatōis et confessionis.

*O*ratio ad iesum christum.

**M**isericordissime dñe iesu xp̄e fili dei viui in vnione il-  
lius cōmendatōis (qua tuā sanctissimā aīam patri  
tuo celesti in cruce moriēs cōmēdasti) cōmēdamus ineffabili  
tue maiestati aīam famuli. *A.* fratris nostri orātes misericor-  
dissimā bonitatē tuā. quatenus p oīm honore et meritū eius-  
dē aīe tue sanctissime p quā saluamē oēs aīe et a morte liberan-  
tur. aīe famuli tui. *A.* dilecti fratris nostri miserearis liberās  
eā misericorditer ab oib; miserijs et penijs. et pducas eā ppter  
amore et intercessionē tue dilectissime matris sp̄s ḡinis marie  
ad p̄replādā gl̄iaz tue iocūdissime visiōis. Qui cū deo p̄re et

*O*ratio ad deum patrem.

**Q**uesumus misericors deus q̄ scdm multitudinē mi-  
seratōnū tuarū p̄ctā penitentiū deles. et p̄teritoz cri-  
minū culpas p venie remissionē euacuas. respice ppicius  
super p̄bū famulū tuū. *A.* fratre nostrū remissionē oīm p̄ctō-  
rum suoz tota cordis cōfessione poscentē. exaudi deprecantē  
renoua in eo piissime pater q̄cqd in eo terrena fragilitate cor-  
ruptū ē vel q̄cqd dyabolica fraude violatū est. et vnitati cor-  
poris eccl̄e mebrū redēptōis p̄grega. Misere dñe gemitū  
suorum miserere lachrymarū eorū et nō habentē fiduciā nisi in  
misericordia tua ad tue reconciliatōis sacramentū admitte

C I

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Amen.

*Comendatio morientis.*

*Oratio sup infirmum.*

**C**ommendo te omnipotenti deo charissime frater et ei cuius es creatura committo ut cum humanitatis debitis morte interueniente persolueris ad creatorem tuum qui de limbo terrene te formauit reuertaris. Egrediati itaque anime tue de corpore splendor angelorum ceteris occurrat inde apostolorum tibi senatus subueniat. Candidatorum tibi martyrum triumphatorum exercitus obuiet. lucide rutilantium te confessorum turba circūdet. iubilantium te virginum chorus excipiat et bene quietis in sinu patriarcharum te amplexus asstringat mitis atque festinus dominus noster iesus christus tibi complexus appareat qui inter assistentes sibi te ingerit inter esse decernat. Ignosces omnino quod horret in tenebris quod fridet in flammis quod cruciat in tormentis. Cedat tibi nequissimus sathanas cum satellitibus suis nec in aduentu suo te vincat. sed coram angelis dei contremisecat ac in eterne noctis chaos immaniter diffugiat et exurgat deus. et dissipent omnes inimici eius. Sicut deficit humus ita deficiat terra. iusti epulentur et exultent in conspectu dei. Confundantur igitur et erubescant contra te tartaree legiones et ministri sathane iter tuum impedire non audeant. liberet te a cruciatu christus qui pro te morti dignatus est. constituat te christus filius dei viui intra paradisi amena et spiritus uirginitatis. et iam inter oues suas verus te ille pastor agnoscat. Ille te ab omnibus peccatis tuis absoluat atque ad dexteram in electorum suorum sorte te constituat. ut redeptorem tuum facie ad faciem videas. et pater spiritus assistas. manifestissimam beatissimis oculis aspicias veritatem constitutus inter agmina beatorum contemplationis diuine gaudio potiris in seculum seculorum. Amen.

*Alia Oratio*

**P**roficiscere anima christiana de hoc mundo in nomine patris omnipotentis qui te creauit in nomine iesu christi filij eius qui pro te passus est. In nomine spiritus sancti qui in te infusus est. occurrat et succurrat angelus sancti et archangelus throni et dominatio principatus et potestates atque potestates cherubin atque seraphim subueniant tibi patriarche prophetę apostoli et euangeliste martyres et confessores monachi et heremite pueri et uidue innocentes adiungat te ordo omnium sacerdotum et leuitarum et omnium ecclesiarum.

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rbolice graduū. vt in pace sit locus et habitatio tua in iheru/  
salem celesti p eundē xpm. Sequunt alie orōes bone  
et viles dicē de sup agonizantes sumpte ex tali exemplo.

**F**uit qdā papa q̄ dū ad extrema venisset interroga/  
bat capellanū suū virū idoneū quem plurimū dilige/  
bat. q̄bus suffragiis post mortē eū veller iuuare apd  
deū. Qui rēdit q̄ oīb̄ modis q̄b̄ posset. q̄cūq̄ deberēt p  
salute aīe sue fieri facere veller: tūc papa ait. nō posco a te ali/  
qd subsidii nisi dū videris me in agonia positū dñicā oratio/  
nē dicas p me trib̄ vicib̄ q̄ sibi hoc libentissime facturū p/  
misit. ad quē papa dū p̄mum pater noster dixeris. dic in ho/  
nore iesu xpi obsecrans illum vt multitudinē sui sudoris san/  
guinei quē p timore sue angustie p nobis copiosissime effu/  
dit p̄tra multitudinē pctōz meorū patri offerre z oñdere dig/  
net p oīb̄ angustijs q̄s pctis meis exigētib̄ merui. Cū scōz  
pater noster dixeris. dic in honore oīm passionū z amaritu/  
dinū iesu xpi q̄s in cruce sustinuit. z maxie in illa hora q̄n aīa  
ci⁹ sanctissima de suo corpe sacratissimo est egressa p̄i offer/  
re z oñdere diligēter: p̄tra oēs penas z passioēs q̄s p pctis  
meis timeo meruisse. Cū dixeris terciū p̄ noster. dic i bono/  
re ineffabil charitatē Iesu xpi q̄ ipm de celis ad terrā z tole/  
rātiās oīm hāz passionū. traxit in hac charitate saluare me z  
celos mibi apire dignet q̄ meis meritis saluari neq̄o neq̄ ce/  
lestē regnū obtinere. his dictis p̄misit capellanus hec oīa li/  
berissime se facturū qd̄ z fecit cū diligētia z deuotiōe q̄ potuit.  
Post mortē reueritus ē papa splēdidus z choruscās. grās un/  
mēlas sibi referēs dicēdo sine oī pena fore se liberatū. Nam  
post p̄mū p̄ noster xps suū sanguinē p me oñdēs oēm meaz  
ppullauit angustia. Post scōm p̄ noster p amaritudinē oīm  
passionū suarū oīa pctā mea vt nūb̄ deleuit. Post terciū p̄  
noster p charitatē suā celos referauit. z me cū gaudio intro/  
duxit. ppter hāc reuelatōēz (quā p̄d tūc capellān⁹ q̄ plurib̄  
referebat) in plurib̄ locis mori inoleuit vt ibidē p̄d tūc mo/  
dus orādī apd moriētes deuote fuaret sub spe certissima q̄  
ipa orō valet hoīēz a demonib̄ liberare pctā diluere z cele/  
ste regnū apire. Auxilio dñi nostri iesu xpi q̄ ē benedictus in

c q̄

secula' seculorū amē. Dic ergo kyrieleyson xpeleyson kyrieley  
son dñe miserere nob. Pater noster Ave maria Saluator mū  
di salua nos q̄ p crucē tuā z sanguinē tuū redemisti mundū  
auxiliare nobis te deprecamur deus noster

Oratio ad iesum christum.

**D**omine iesu xpe p agoniam z ordē tuā sacratissimā  
(qua orasti p nobis in mōte oliueti qñ factus ē sudor  
tuus sicut gutte sanguinis decurrētis in terrā) obsecro te vt  
multitudinē sanguinei sudoris tui quem p̄ timore angustie  
tue copiosissime pro nobis effudisti. offerre z ostendere dig  
neris deo patri omnipotēti p̄tra multitudinē oīm. p̄ctōz bu  
ius famuli tui. **A.** z libera eū in hac hora mortis ab oībz pe  
nis z angustijs q̄s p p̄ctis suis timet se meruisse Qui cū p̄e  
rē. Scdo dic sic. Kyriel. xpel. Kyriel. Dñe miserere nobis.  
p̄r n̄r. Scifica nos dñe signaculo scē crucis vt fiat nob ob  
staculū p̄tra scua iacula oīm inimicōz. defende nos p lignū  
scm z p̄ciū iusti sanguinis tui cum. quo nos redemisti.

Alia oratio ad iesum xpm.

**D**omine iesu xpe qui p nobis mori dignatus es in cru  
ce obsecro te vt amaritudines oīm penā z tuāz quas  
p nob miseris peccatoribz sustinuiſti qñ sanctissima aīa tua  
egressa ē de corpore tuo offerre z oñdere digneris deo p̄r oīpō  
tēti p̄a famuli tui. **A.** et libera eū in hac hora exitus sui ab  
oībz penis z passionibz q̄s p peccatis se timet meruisse. Qui  
vixit zc. Tercio dic sic. Kyriel. xpel. Kyriel. Dñe miserere  
nobis. p̄r n̄r. Protege salua bñdic sanctifica dñe famulū tu  
um p signū sancte crucis morbos auerit anime z corpis ac  
contra hoc nullū ſter periculū +

Sequitur alia oratio ad iesum xpm.

**D**omine iesu xpe q̄ p os p̄phete tui dixisti in carita  
te p̄petua dilexi te. ideo attraxi te miserans tui) obse  
cro te vt eandē charitatē tuā q̄ de celo in terrā ad to  
lerantias oīm passionū tuāz et amaritudinū te attraxit offer  
re digneris deo patri oīpotenti contra oēs passiones huius  
famuli tui. **A.** quas p peccatis suis timet se meruisse. salua ai  
mā eius in hac hora exitus sui et aperi cianuā vite. z fac eas

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13  
gaudere cū sanctis in gloria eterna. Qui uiuis rē.

Alia oratio ad Ihesum christum.

**D**omine ihesu xpe q̄ redemisti nos p̄cioso sanguine tuo scribe in aīa huius famuli tui. A. vulnera tua p̄cioso sanguine tuo vt discat in eis legere tuū dolorē et tuum amorē. dolorē cōtra omnes dolores et penas q̄s p̄ peccatis suis se timer meruisse. Amorem vt uniat tibi amore inuiscibili quo ate et ab oīb̄is electis tuis nunq̄ possit in eternum separari. Et fac eā dñe ihesu xpe p̄cipem sacratissime incarnationis. passionis. resurrectionis et ascensionis tue. fac eā participē sacratissimorū mysteriorū et sacramentorū tuorū. fac eā p̄cipē oīm orationū et beneficiorū q̄ fiunt in ecclia sancta tua. fac eā p̄cipē oīm benedictionū gratiarū. meritorū et gaudiorū oīm electorū tuorū. qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi. et concede ei vt cum his omnibus in tuo conspectu gaudeat in eternum. Qui uiuis et regnas rē.

**C**um autē tota salus hoīs in fine cōsistat. sollicitē curare deberet vnusq̄q̄ vt sibi de socio v̄ amico fideli et deuoto ac idoneo aī mortē p̄uideat q̄ in extremis ei fideliter assistat. vt ad fidei constantiā patientiāq̄ atq̄ deuotionē necnō cōfidentiā atq̄ p̄suetantiā ip̄m sollicitē incitet et animet. vt etiā demū in agonia oēs orōnes p̄cedentes et subsequētes sup̄ eū fidelit̄ legat et dicat cū attēde et intentio ne debita atq̄ deuota. Ad quaz tñ orōnū efficacitā omnino exat necessaria dispositio p̄uia morietis sicut in p̄cedenti materia de arte moriēdi certius ē expressum. vñ vnusq̄q̄ certe bñ et secare mori volenti sup̄ oīa est necesse vt p̄ns aīq̄ cū mors occupat mori discat. s̄ ben̄ pauci sunt q̄ se ad id p̄parat neq̄ q̄ p̄mis suis subueniāt seu assistāt. eos interrogando moriendo et p̄ipsis orādo. p̄sertim cū ipsi morientes nondū mori velint. et sic aīe morientū sepe miserabiliter piccantur. valde cito tecū erit hoc actu vide quō te habeas. nā bodie es. et cras nō p̄pares. Cū autē sublati fueris ab oculis cito trāsīs a mēte. Ebitudo et duricia cordis hūani ē q̄ solū p̄ntia meditat̄ et futura magis nō p̄uidet. Sic te i oī facto et cogitatu deberes tenere q̄ si statim esses moriturus si bonaz

c iij

Nesciam haberes nō multū mortē paucres. melius esset perā  
 cauere q̄ mortē pauere. si hodie nō es patus quō cras eris.  
 cras est dies incerta. ⁊ qd sis si crastinum habebis. qd pdest  
 dū viuere qm̄ paz emēdamur hac lōga vita nō sp emēdat s̄  
 sepe magis culpa augeat. vtiā p vnā diē bñ essim⁹ puerfati  
 in hoc mūdo mlti ānos plures cōputāt cōuersatōis. s̄ sepe  
 puus fructus emēdatōis. Si formidolosum ē mori forsan  
 piculosius crit diutius viuere. bt̄is q̄ horam mortis sp ante  
 oculos h̄z. ⁊ ad moriendū se q̄tidie disponit. Si vidisti aliquē  
 hōlem mori. cogita p eandē viā transib. cū mane fueris non  
 puta te ad vespērā puenturū. vespē aut factō nō audeas tibi  
 crastinū polliceri. sp ergo patus esto. ⁊ taliter viue. vt nūq̄ te  
 impuissum mors inueniat. mlti subito iprouisi moriūt. Flaz  
 hora q̄ nō putat filius hōis venturus est. Qm̄ em̄ hora extre  
 ma veniet multū aliter sentire incipies. de tota vita tua pre  
 rita valde dolebit q̄ tā negligēs fuisti et remissus. q̄ felix ille  
 est q̄ talis nūc nūc ē in vita qualis tūc optat inueniri i mor  
 te. dabit nāq̄ magnā fiduciā fidelī moriēdi pfectus contem  
 ptus mūdi. amor disciplīne labor p̄m̄e fernēs desiderii i vir  
 tutib⁹ p̄ficiēdi. p̄m̄ritudo obedientie. abnegatio sui. ⁊ sup  
 portatio cuiuslibet aduersitatis. p amore xpi mltā bona opa  
 ri potes dū sanus es. s̄ infirmus nō poteris. pauci et infirmi  
 ta te emendant sic est qm̄ pegrinant raro. noli cōfidere super  
 amicos et p̄imos. nec in futuris salutē tuā differas. q̄ citi  
 us obliuiscēt tui hōies q̄s hoc p te facturos aliqd estimas.  
 Melius ē nūc tēpestiue puidere ⁊ aliqd boni pmittere q̄ ali  
 orū auxilio sperare si nō p te sollicit⁹ sis ip̄o. q̄s erit pte i fu  
 turo. nūc tps valde p̄ciosum est. nūc sunt dies salutis. nūc  
 tps acceptabile p̄ch dolor q̄ hic vilius nō expēdis in quo p  
 mereri vales vñ eternālī viuas qm̄ vnū diē sue hōz p emē  
 datōe desiderab et nescio an impetrab. Examine si p timo  
 ratis fueris posses te de magno piculo liberare maxie si de  
 morte fueris suspect⁹. stude nūc viuere taliter vt i hora mor  
 tis valeas potius gaudere q̄ timere. discen nūc mori mundo  
 vt tunc incipias viuere xpo. discen nūc om̄ia contemnere. vt  
 tunc possis ad xpm̄ p̄gere. castiga te nunc p p̄maz vt valeas

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14  
certā habere fiduciā. ad qđ te stulte victurū diu estimas. cum nullū habeas diē securū qđ multi decepti sunt. quorūcūq; audi-  
sti et vidisti. qđ ille gladio cecidit. ille submersus est in aqua. ille ab alto ruens cernicē fregit. ille manducādo scubuit. il-  
le bibendo finē fecit. alius igne. alius peste. alius latrocinio perijt. et oīū finis mors est. et vita hoīm tanq; vmbra mor-  
tis subito ptransit. qđ memorabit tui post mortē. et quis ora-  
bit p te age nunc kine. quicqđ agere pro te de vtilissimo po-  
teris qđ nescis qm morieris. nescis etiam qđ tibi post mortē  
sequet dum tps habes cōgrega diuitias immortales. pter  
salutē tuā nihil cogites. solū qđ dei sunt) cures. fac nunc tibi  
amicos. venerare dei sanctos et eorum actus imitare. ut cum  
defeceris in hac vita illi te recipiant in eterna tabernacula.  
serua te peregrinū et hospite super terrā ad quā nihil spectat  
de mūdi negocijs. serua cor liberū et ad deū sursum erectum  
qđ non habes hic civitatē manentē. illuc preces gemitus qđ  
tidianos cum lachrymis dirige. ut spūs tuus mereatur ad  
pām post mortem feliciter transire.

**D**e morte tua ita poteris formare meditātōes. Pri-  
mo ut horā mortis semp suspectā habeas cogita qđ  
ex improviso mors veniet qm minime sperabis qm  
minime delibera bis. qm minime disposuisti. qm adhuc diuiti-  
as te vivere sperabis et cogitasti. habere te nonnunq; sicut  
statim esses moriturus et melius senties que sequunt. Co-  
gita itaq; qualr mortē pcedit grauissima infirmitas. cum ta-  
les infirmitates nō sunt nisi precones ei. vide ergo grauita-  
tem huius infirmitatis. cogita errorē naturalis inclinationis  
appetētis pmanere. cogita itaq; cū iā hō se senserit a mundo  
transiturū siue medicis hoc dicētib; siue p seipm senserit qua-  
lis tunc erit clamor cōscie qualis recursus in eo qui se nō dis-  
posuit aut disponit. tunc enī ipa pctā ad memoriā cōfluent.  
Et cogita qm de singulis pctis tuis et passionib; cruciabe-  
ris qm illa nō viciisti. cogita etiam si tali articulo mortis non  
contritus a pctis sis qđto desiderio desiderares vnā horam  
sanitatis vel annū pro emendatione. cogita homo cū ad il-  
lam horam veneris et hinc transibis ac tps pteritū compa-

c. iij

raueris ad eternitatē ad quā trāfibis q̄ breuis tibi videbitur  
tota vita tua. apparebit tibi breue sompiū. et ita erit tibi totū  
sp̄s. tuū et tota vita tua. ac si p̄ modū spacij parui puta dimi-  
die leuce prexisses. cogita q̄tus erit dolor cū videbis q̄ p̄p̄e  
tā paruā delectatōem illa sempiterna gaudia amisisti. Logi-  
ta q̄ amara erit sepacio ab his q̄ viciose dilexisti puta ab ho-  
nore tuo q̄ hic in alto statu totis viribz honore q̄siuisti et vo-  
luptates tuas. et sic de cōsiliis. Cōsidera dispositōem mo-  
rientis quō totū corpus nigrescit. oculi cōtabescunt. Logi-  
ta quō demōes sūt ibi p̄parati ad escā tanq̄ leones rugiētes  
expectātes aīam. Deinde cōsidera quō aīa in egressu suo (cū  
inceperit cōsiderare regiōnē ignotā. et q̄t demones eā expec-  
tant) q̄ inuēte exīt et q̄ libenter rediret ad corpus suū sed nō  
pōt. q̄ clause sunt fenestre sensuū et sp̄s vitales. Logita et  
go trāsire ad catenas inimicōz. cogita tūc quō singuli sp̄s  
vicioz ad eā occurrēt q̄rentes suā aīam vīcē sp̄s supbie su-  
pbiam. sp̄s luxurie luxuriā. et que sua sunt. et sic de alijs.

**V**ltimo aduertendū quō aīa egressa de corpe statim  
statuet aīa tribunal iudicis expectās finem q̄ ex hoc  
tūc vsq̄ i extremū nō reuocabit et vbiq̄ legauerit  
ibi manebit. Deinde cogita quō tādē corp⁹ tuū tradet sepul-  
ture et perpetue obliuioni hospes fuit hic et obiit. et memoria  
eius recessit de terra. Poteris autē modū hunc a cōtrario as-  
sumere de morte iustoz. Nā illi vidētes se de hoc mūdo mi-  
graturos gaudēt et in testimonijs cōscie exultāt q̄liberātur  
de istis miserijs. et q̄ hic non fuerunt ligati concupiscentijs  
non dolent hinc exire.

De penis infernalibus.

**I**maginare ipsum infernum sū quasdam similitu-  
dines a sanctis sup hoc positas. Aspice igitur oīa  
os horribilissimū locū subterraneū puteū  
profundissimū et totū ignitū imagine ciuitatē hor-  
ribilem et magnā ac penitus tenebrosā obscurissimis et  
terribilissimis flammis succensā. clamantibus et vluan-  
tibus et plangentibus inexplicabilibus doloribus nec silibus pa-  
tis explicare. Logita etiam de penarum acerbitate. dicē

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15  
 em ille ignis ad igne nrm tanti est caloris qnti nr ignis e ad  
 igne depictu. et ita de frigore et fetore. Huius penalitatis a/  
 cerbitas patet ex stridore detru ex gemitu planctu et blaphe/  
 mia dei. r. ijs. Cogita de penaz multiplicitate ibi est ignis  
 inextinguibilis obscurissimus. frigus intolerabile. fetor hor/  
 ribilis tenebre incopabiles. ibi em erut pene in omi sensu in/  
 visu p horribiles visus et aspectus demonioz. in auditu per/  
 lametabiles gemitus et clamores. Cogita de miserabili so/  
 cietate et crudelitate tortoz sine oi misericordia intorqndo no fact/  
 gadoz. nec ad misericordia comouent. insultabunt em dice/  
 tes vbi nuc glia. vbi nuc altus status. vbi nuc supbia. Co/  
 gita quo ibi p mebra (qbo qs peccauit) p eadez et puniet. ita  
 vt in oibz mebris ibi pena sentient et sustinebunt. Cogita de  
 pena interiori vide de interiori morfu conscie et de glia eoz q  
 no morientur. quis pt cogitare sufficiter qntum doleant q  
 illa pena modicis doloribz et breui tpe no euaserut. Ite pas/  
 siones maxime in eis regnabunt. erunt em maxime inuidi et  
 erunt ita simul sicut canes rabidi. Ite recordabunt prio/  
 res delectationes ad augmentu pene. Un ibi lamentabun/  
 tur dicentes. Quid nobis pfuit supbia. Cogita de duratoe  
 penaz q scz nuq sit fine habitura no post mille milia annoz  
 imo no post tot annos q possent in milibz annis nominari  
 q ibi nulla redemptio nullus finis.

**D**Extremo iudicio seu examine qstus fiet terror. ipa  
 dem tuba angelica mirabil terreda signa. fulgura cho/  
 ruscationes percutient corda hoim et pauere facient.  
 Cogita si potes magnitudine ire iusti iudicis venientis con/  
 tra eos q eu offenderut et qntum mali terrebut imaginari e  
 quo et q amara fiet ibi diuisio. Ponent em ipsti humiles et  
 mites ad dexteram. superbi et inuidi ad sinistram in eternu amo/  
 do no coungedi nuc sunt duo. et vnus assumet et alius relin/  
 quet. Cogita qd horrois et timoris. qd admiratois erit su/  
 perbis et elatis huius mudi cu se pceperint a deo abiectos  
 viles paupes et desperatos et qs insanos putabnt ad dexte/  
 ram ppi in glia viderint assistentes. Tunc pnam intra se agen/  
 tes dicet. Ecce bi quos aliqui habuimus in derisum et iusti

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stabant in magna cōstantia aduersus eos q̄ se angustiauerunt. Cogita omnium operum et cogitationum fiet reddi-  
tio h̄yerl̄m em̄ scrutabit̄ i lucernis. i. q̄ apparēt veluti sancti  
inuestigabunt̄ ibi et q̄cqd occultū in eis fuerit ad lūmē ve-  
niet. Testes em̄ erūt qui ostendēt eis oīa q̄ fecerunt vbi q̄.  
Itē ppriū scelus et tot⁹ mūdus dabūt testimoniū p̄tra pec-  
catores. Cogita quō xp̄us exhibebit̄ ibi passionis sue insig-  
nia. et quō p̄ illā exprobrabit̄ nob̄ ea que cōtempnimus. Co-  
gita de illo conitruo horribili et irremocabili sententiā. Itē  
maledicti in ignem eternū. Cogita de dulcissima inuitatio-  
ne iustoz ad sempiternā cenā per illā benedictā vocē. venite  
benedicti patris mei etc. Cogita quā magna sunt opa mise-  
ricordie et pietatis cum ea solū xp̄s ad iudiciū suū addu-  
cere videat. cogita q̄ iusti ibunt in vitam eternā. iniusti autē  
in suppliciiū sempiternū. et hec duo loca sp̄ diuina manebūt.

**D**e gaudijs sup̄celestib⁹. imaginare locū illū p̄ ima-  
ginarias similitudines a sanctis p̄ nostra capacita-  
te inuentas. Est em̄ ciuitas ex auro mūdissimū ge-  
misq̄ preciosissimis. mirabiliter constructa. singule porte ex  
singulis margaritis. Est campus speciosissimus omnium  
florum pulchritudine decoratus. ibi estatis amenitas. ibi o-  
doris suauitas. Cogita q̄ntum potes quantū erit gaudium  
ex visione sanctissime trinitatis. in qua relucet exēplar om̄is  
pulchritudinis. om̄is bonitatis. om̄is suauitatis. quam vi-  
dendo omnia scienda scires. et quicquid volueris in ea ha-  
bebis. in cuius etiā visione beatificaberis. Cogita huma-  
nitatē christi quō cum hic fuit p̄pter nos pauper vilis et ho-  
mo ibi sublimis erit deus et homo. Cogita de gaudijs que  
habebis ibi de societate gloriosissime virginis marie et om-  
nium sanctorū apostolorū martirū et confessorū et virginū et  
de cuiuslibet gaudio gaudebis. Et tu cogita de dotib⁹ q̄s  
ibi corpus tuum recipiet que sunt. immortalitas. impassibi-  
litas. summa agilitas et maxima speciositas. Cogita de do-  
tibus anime quibus ipsa splendet que sunt plenitudo scien-  
tie. iusticie et leticie. Cogita ex his dotibus q̄ multa alia cō-  
sequeris videlicet securitatem qua non timebis. Eccl. Non

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timebis a temptatiōe inimici. inde tibi summa libertas. in/  
de sanitas. inde voluntas. inde amicitia. inde honor. inde  
cōcordia. et benivēter habebis ibi quicquid volueris. et quic/  
quid volueris non habere nō habebis. dicit Anselmus.

Sequuntur signa sex. quibus homo potest confidere de  
salute. dicit Ansel. q. sex interrogatiōes dñt fieri homini cō/  
stituto in mortis articulo. Prima est ista. si credis ea q̄ sūt  
christiane fidei quantū ad omnia determinata ab ecclesia. di/  
cat Credo. Secunda gaudes et letaris q̄ morieris in fide  
christi. dicat sic. Tercia cognoscis te graviter deum offen/  
disse. dicat sic. Quarta doles tu q̄ deum offendisti. dicat  
sic. Quinta proponis tu si vixeris abstinere a peccatis. di/  
cat sic. Sexta credis et speras venire ad salutem eternam  
non tuis meritis sed christi ihesu. dicat sic. Septima nō  
est interrogatio. sed asscuratio. Si obijciat dyabolus ali/  
quid tibi. opponas merita christi inter te et ipsum. et his per/  
actis dicit Anselmus. q. sine dubio saluabitur.

Artis bñ moriendi cunctis putilissime felix finis.

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## APPENDIX B

### *ARS MORIENDI*

Appendix B consists of a copy of the title page and four images with their corresponding text from the *Ars Moriendi* (c. 1450), a work which according to its author was written to accompany illustrations, Courtesy of The University of Chicago Library Special Collections Research Center.

THE  
**ARS MORIENDI**

(EDITIO PRINCEPS, circa 1450).

*A Reproduction of the Copy in the  
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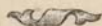
W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

**With an Introduction**

BY

GEORGE BULLEN, F.S.A., &c. &c.

*Keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum.*



**Printed for the Dolbein Society by**

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M.DCCCLXXXI.



**S**ed quo fides est totius salutis fundamentum et sine ea  
 nulli omnino potest esse salus. Augustinus qui ait  
 fides est bonorum omnium fundamentum et hu-  
 mane salutis unicum. Et bernardo dicitur. fides est hu-  
 mane salutis mirum hoc hac nemo ad filiorum dei munus-  
 rum potest pertinere sine hac omnis labor hominis est  
 vacuus. Sed dyabolus totius humane generis inimicus to-  
 tis viribus hominem in extrema infirmitate ab illa totali-  
 ter euertere nititur vel saltem ad deiciendum in ea ipso  
 inducere laborat dicens. tu miles in magno stas cruce.  
 non est sicut credis vel sicut predicatur infernus fractus  
 est. quicquid homo agat licet aliquem vel seipsum occidat  
 tum indurata pium sicut aliqui ferunt vel ydola adorant  
 ut reges paganorum et plures pagani faciunt nomine in  
 finem idem est quia nullus tractatur dicens tibi verita-  
 tem et sic fides tua nichil est. Absque et similibus dyabo-  
 lus maxime laborat ut hominem in extrema infirmitate  
 a fide auerlat quia bene scit. Si fundamentum ruat  
 omnia superedificata necessario ruunt.  
 Secundo tamen quod dyabolus in nulla temptatione  
 hominem cogere potest nec etiam aliquo modo periclitari  
 ut sibi consentiat quod diu vili rationis habuerit. nullo  
 sponte voluerit consentire quod certe super omnia cre-  
 andum est. Unde apostolus. fidelis deus qui non pa-  
 tuitur vos temptari super id quod potestis sed facit cum  
 temptatione prouentum ut possit sustinere.





**B**ona inspiratio angelus de fide  
 Contra primam temptationem dyaboli dat angelus bona  
 inspirationem dicens. Homo ne credas vestibus succul-  
 tationibus dyaboli cum ipse sit nudus. Nam memento propheta-  
 rentes decipis nec aliquo modo infide dubites luxu leniu vel inul-  
 lectu comprehendere non valeas quia si comprehendere posses  
 nullatenus esset meritoria uirtus illud gregory fides non habet  
 meritum cui humano ratio prebet expunitionem. Sed memento  
 uerba sanctorum patrum saluti sancti pauli ad hebreos et dicentis  
 Sine fide impossibile est placere deo. Et iohannis tertio. Qui  
 non credit iam iudicatus est. Et bernardi dicentis fides est  
 primo gaudio inter uirtutes. Et iterum. Beatior fuit uirga per-  
 cussio fidei xpi q. carceris xpi. Considera etiam fidem antiquo-  
 rum fidei. Abraham ysaac et iacob et quidam gentium tali-  
 cet iob reus meretricis et similia similit. fidem apostolorum nec  
 non inuitabiliu martirum confessorum atq. uirginu. Nam p-  
 fidei omnes antiqui et moderni placuerunt. Per fidem sanc-  
 tus petrus sup aquas ambulauit. Sanctus iohannes uenenu  
 sibi p. uinum suu uocamento bibit. monites calisy orauit alex-  
 andro per fidem adiuuati sunt. Et ideo fides adeo merito be-  
 uedicta. Propterea uiriliter debet resistere dyabolo et firmiter  
 credere omnia mandata ecclesie. quia sancta ecclesia errare  
 non potest cum a spiritu sancto regatur...  
 Nota quod infirmus scitit se temptari contra fidem cogitet  
 primo quia necessaria est fides quia sine ea nullus saluari po-  
 test. Secundo eo quod q. uolus est quia potest omnia dicente  
 domino. Omnia possibilia sunt credenti. Et iterum. Quod  
 aliq. orantes periculis credite quia accipietis. Et sic infirmus  
 facilliter da gra dyabolo resistet. Quare etiam bonu est ut  
 subolum fida nra agnoscat et alia voce dicatur pluri-  
 etq. repetatur ut per hoc infirmus ad fidei constantiam ani-  
 metur et demones qui illud audire abhorrent abigantur.





**D**eputaco dyabolus de despacione  
 secundo dya bolus temptat hominem in frui p despacio-  
 nem que est contra spem atqz confidentiam quam homo  
 debet habere in deum. Cum eni infirmus doloribus cruciatur i  
 eo poe sue dyabolus dolorem dolari supaddit obiacendo sibi pira  
 sua prelerim non confessa ut cum in despacione inducat dicens  
 Tu miser vide pira tua que tanta sunt ut unqz veniam acquirere  
 possis ita ut dicere possis cum caym. Maior est mea iniquitas  
 qz ut veniam merer. Ecce quomodo dei precepta transgressus  
 es. Nam deum super omnia non dilexisti homini bus iniuria  
 intulisti. et tamen bene scis qz nullus potest saluari nisi seruaue-  
 rit mandata dei quia dicit. Si uis ad uitam ingredi serua  
 mandata. sed superbe auare luxuriose guloie iracunde in uide  
 acerbiole uirili attanue preducari audisti qz ppter un peccatum  
 mortale homo potest dampnari. Iul super septem opia miseri-  
 cordie non implesti. que tamen dominus precepit inquirere  
 inextremo die uti ipse testatur. dicens hys qui a sinistris  
 sunt. Ite in ignem eternum. Nam diuini et non dedisti in ma-  
 ducatum et non didisti michi potum ac. Ite dicit iacobus  
 dicit. Iudiciu sine misericordia erit illi qui sine misericordia  
 fuit super terram. Vides etiam qz plure uoce et die in lege  
 dei vigilantissime laborantes qui tamen nullatrus de la-  
 lute sua presumere audent quia nullus scit an odio vel amo-  
 re dignus est et ergo nulla spes salutis tibi relinquatur  
 Ad et ita et similia inducit hominem in despacionem que super  
 omnia mala est vitanda cum misericordiam dei ostendat que  
 sola uos saluat teste propheta. Misericordie domini qua non  
 consumpsi sumus. Ite Augustinus dicit. Misericordiam timor uos  
 in peccato si de uenia vera despauerit misericordiam timor uos  
 perdit nichil enim sic deum offendit qz despacio





**B**ona tyratio angli contra desolationē  
contra solam temptationē dyaboli dicit angli bona tyratio  
dicens o homo quare despas luct. em. ton. letro curia furia et  
homicidia peccatiles quot sunt uires gutte et arcue etia si sol  
totius mundi pira gessisses. fiam si de elden ungi pira pe  
ubancia egles. nec ra confessus fuisses. nec etiam modo ad con  
fiteudi ea facultate haberes. nichilominus despare nō debes.  
quia i tali calu fufficit sola contritio terroz. Nele ps. 50. contri  
tu et humilietu deus nō despuas. Isti exchiel ait. Quampr ho  
ra pōz ingruerit. saluus erit. Unde Bernardus ait. fmaior  
est dei pietas q̄ quis iniquitas. Isti augustinus. plus potest  
deus miseri q̄ homo peccare. In calu etia quo tibi conlaret  
q̄ de multo dampnatozū elites neq̄ quā adhuc despare debes  
eo q̄ p desolationē nichil aliud agitur nisi q̄ p eam pmissimus  
deus multo magis offenditur et alia pira fortius aggrauant  
pina quoz strua usq̄ i nictū augurietur. Apus etia pro  
pōzibus crucifusus et nō pro uisus ut pmerit tatur di  
ctis. Nō uen uocet iustus sed peccatoz. Item plū hōas i pto  
xpi uigite. pmblo eccliaz p sepe. mattheo et zachario publicanis.  
maia magdalena peccatze i muliere desolata iuditio iulanie  
uicta xpi i cruce pendente. maria egyptiaca &c.  
Nō q̄ alio infirmus scitur se trahenti p desolationē cogitet q̄  
qua est. peoz et dampnabilioz omnibus pōis. et q̄ uigiam debet  
admitti ppter questū etiam pira. Item ut dicit augustinus.  
Plus perant uides desipendo q̄ uideri crucifigendo xpi.  
Sed cogite q̄ utiles et necessaria et spes. quia sedm eccliam  
est salutis nre anchora uite nre fundamentū. dux uictris quo  
ibit ad celū. Isti loca iniqua et ueliquēda ppeti etia questūq̄ pira



## APPENDIX C

### *DOCTRINAL DE LOS CAUALLEROS*

Appendix C contains a copy of one page of the *Doctrinal de los caualleros* (c. 1444) by Alfonso de Cartagena from an incunabula printed in Burgos, Fadrique de Basilea, 1487, Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, Wing Collection, History of Printing.



delo peligroso 7 trabajoso ayamos oydo en el libro suso scripto .  
Consiguiende cosa es q̄ oyamos dello segundo . Por q̄ en otra mañ  
ra non sería pfecta la doctrina . Ca segundo dize el juriscōsulto en  
todas las cosas es así . Que aq̄llo se dize perfecto q̄ tiene todas sus  
partes . E como quier que los legistas en la materia dela cauallia  
asaz copioso fablarō Pero mas extensa mente scriuieron la diuer  
sidad delos delictos militares 7 la pena q̄ deuen auer los caualle  
ros q̄ en la hueste yerran q̄ los gualardones q̄ merecen los q̄ bien  
siruen . Lo qual quando algunas vezes considero por q̄ lo fizierō  
así los juriscōsultos . Ca non es de creer q̄ q̄dase por oluido . pues  
non solian olvidar lo q̄ complia abuena gubernacion dela ffeput  
blica . Pienso q̄ la ffazon podria ser . Por q̄ segundo la grand diuer  
sidad q̄ ay ē los fechos 7 en las diuersas costūbres delos ffeynos  
7 las diferencias delas personas . Necesaria cosa es q̄ los mas de  
los gualardones q̄den en aluedrio del príncipe . E por esto non cu  
rarian dello declarar en las leys dexando lo todo al iuyzio del ca  
pitan . Pero los derechos deste ffeyno non se cōtentaron con esto  
Mas quisieron declarar aq̄llo q̄ exprimir se podria . E touieron  
en ello muy buena 7 notable cōsideracion . Ca bien es q̄ se declarē  
algunos gualardones . E ende q̄da el bueno 7 justo aluedrio del  
príncipe para disponer en lo q̄ non es declarado E aun mudar lo  
declarado segū la calidad delos t̄pos sintieren q̄ cūple . E como  
dos cosas son q̄ atraen a oñe a fazer bien . La vna es amor de vir  
tud o alo menos de gualardō . La otra es temor de pena . E la se  
gūda nō es tan honesta como la primera . Por q̄ el amor pertenes  
ce a los buenos 7 el temor a los malos 7 a los impfectos . Ca pro  
uerbio antiguo es q̄ dize así dexan de pecar los malos por temor  
dela pena aborrecen de pecar los buenos por amor dela virtud .  
E el juriscōsulto dize fablando en persona delos fazedores delas  
leys . Deseamos verdadera 7 nō insingida sabiduria 7 cobdiciamos  
a los oñs fazer buenos nō solo con miedo delas penas . mas con  
amonestamiento de gualardon 7 de amor . E destas dos cosas q̄ si  
eron fablar las leys del ffeyno q̄ dela caualleria tractaron . Diziē  
de como deuen ser gualardonados los q̄ bien siruē en las gueras  
E non callando de q̄ guisa deuen ser escarmētados los q̄ yerran .  
B. iiii.