THE ARTHUR OF THE IBERIANS

The Arthurian Legends in the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds

EDITED BY DAVID HOOK

ARTHURIAN LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

VIII

THE ARTHUR OF
THE IBERIANS

THE ARTHURIAN LEGEND IN THE SPANISH
AND PORTUGUESE WORLDS

edited by

David Hook

UNIVERSITY OF WALES PRESS
2015

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THE IBERIAN *TRISTAN* TEXTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

María Luzdivina Cuesta Torre

The legend of Tristan and Iseult is represented in medieval Castilian literature by some allusions in poems and prose works; by three versions of a ballad (Spanish *romance*) of epic-lyric character devoted to the death of Tristan and known by its first line ('Ferido está don Tristán'); by MS 22021 of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, which contains two letters created in the style of the genre of the sentimental romance from the basis of an episode in the story of the two lovers (which are analysed in the chapter by Carlos Alvar); and by four prose romances, all anonymous, of which two are preserved in manuscript and two are known only from printed editions, and all of which are studied in the present chapter.[1] These are as follows:

1. *Códice de Tristán* of the BNE: MS BNE 20262–19, edited by Bonilla (1904: 25–8; 1912: 318–20), Menéndez Pidal (2nd edn 1971: I, 350); and MS BNE 22644, on vellum and paper, in Castilian, dated to the beginning of the XVth century by Alvar and Lucía (1999: 11), and edited by them.

2. *Cuento de Tristán* (Vatican MS Vat. Lat. 6428), edited in modern times by Northup (1928) and by Corfis (1985, 1994, 2013), dating from the late XIVth or early XVth century, on paper, in Castilian and Castilian-Aragonese (Sharrer 1977: 29).

3. *Tristán* or *Tristán de Leonís* (entitled *Libro del esforçado cauallero don Tristán de Leonís y de sus grandes fechos en armas*), with its *editio princeps* printed at Valladolid by Juan de Burgos in 1501. Other editions were printed at Seville by the Crombergers in 1511 and 1528 (and in 1533 according to Gallardo 1863: no. 1240, and Escudero y Perosso 1894: no. 336), and by Juan Varela in 1525 (and probably in 1520, according to Escudero y Perosso 1894: no. 215). A further three editions have been suspected: two earlier than 1511, and one from the Cromberger printing house before 1520, of which only a few folios survive (Cuesta 1997d). Study of the woodcuts carried out by Cacho Blecua (2004–5) demonstrates the existence of an edition of *Tristán* from the Cromberger press between 1501 and 1507, which supports Cuesta's hypothesis (1997d). Among the modern editions of this work the most important are those by Bonilla of the edition of 1528 (ed. 1907: 339–457) and that of 1501 (ed. 1912) and, for the latter text, Cuesta (1999a). A summary of the plot and catalogue of the

characters, together with a brief introduction to essential bibliography, are found in Cuesta (1998c).

4. *Tristán el Joven* (entitled *Corónica nuevamente enmendada y añadida del buen cavallero don Tristán de Leonís y del rey don Tristán de Leonís el Joven, su hijo*), printed at Seville by Domenico de Robertis in 1534, with a modern edition by Cuesta (1997e). There is a reading guide with a detailed summary of the plot (Cuesta 1999c).

A fuller description of all these witnesses can be found in the chapter by Lucía Megías in the present volume.

The four texts involved here must be considered to constitute different works because of the significant variations that they present in certain episodes, in style, and in intention. The two works preserved only in manuscript are incomplete to a differing degree because of textual losses during manuscript transmission. In the case of the *Cuento de Tristán*, the loss of folios affects the beginning of the narration and also a long final section which covers nearly half the work, on the assumption that its extent was similar to that of the Castilian *Tristán* printed in 1501. The manuscript records the story of Tristan from when his tutor Gorvanao advises him to leave the kingdom of Leonís until the point at which Queen Iseo accompanies Tristán to the tournament at Camalot and both receive a visit in their tent from King Arthur and Lancelot. In the case of the *Códice de Tristán*, the loss affects numerous folios scattered throughout the work, and partially the surviving folios, the margins of which have been trimmed (ed. Alvar and Lucía 1999: 10). The content of the fragments recounts the section from the tournament in Scotland at which the Caballero de las Dos Espadas, Palomades, is defeated, up to the war to avenge the death of Tristán and Iseo, the return of Quedín to Little Britain, and the death of Iseo de las Blancas Manos. It is almost certain that none of the manuscripts represents the first version of the legend of Tristán in Castilian in the form of a romance, since allusions are found in other literary works before these dates (see the chapter by Carlos Alvar in the present volume). However, these allusions are so brief or conventional that they do not permit any conclusions to be drawn concerning any features of any earlier version.

At the beginning of the XVIth century a new version was printed, known by the short-title *Tristán de Leonís*, based on a manuscript similar to the *Códice de Tristán* in content, but to which a new stylistic and ideological model has been applied, mingling with the familiar epistolary elements derived from chivalric literature related to Troy (Marín Pina 2004–5) and from the genre of sentimental romance which flourished during those years (Cuesta 1999a: introduction, especially pp. xxiii–xxvii).

The last of the editions of *Tristán de Leonís*, which was published in 1534, was completed with some chapters interpolated into the episode of the lovers' sojourn on the Isla del Gigante, which tell of the birth of the children of Tristán and Iseo, who are given the names of their parents, and the arrangements for their upbringing, as well as

other adventures involving new characters. This made possible the addition, after the romance was completed, of a second part which was printed together with the first, devoted to narrating the adventures of these descendants, and following the patterns and conventions of the romances of chivalry which dominated Castilian fiction at this time. This edition of 1534 must be considered a different work, as is reflected in its title, which combined the two components, the old and the new, of which the narrative consists, bringing together with the copulative conjunction the names of the protagonists: *Corónica del buen cavallero don Tristán de Leonís y del rey don Tristán de Leonís el Joven, su hijo*. The anonymous author distinguishes between the 'ancient matter' which he took from earlier editions almost unaltered, except in the chapters that precede his interventions, and the new material that he incorporates. Although the work was not printed again in Spanish, it was translated into Italian: *Le opere magnanime de i due Tristani, cavalieri della Tavola Ritonda* (Venice: Michele Tremezino, 1555), in two octavo volumes.

MS BNE 22021 that contains the *Carta de Iseo y respuesta de Tristán* is an original work of the end of the XVth or beginning of the XVIth century that is inspired by the letter that Queen Iseo sends to Tristán on learning of his marriage to Iseo de las Blancas Manos, princess of Little Britain; see the chapter by Alvar in the present volume, and studies by Cuesta (1994a: 237–9), Sharrer (1981–2; 1984a: 155–7), Gómez-Redondo (1987) and Gwara (1997: 80, 97–9). Since Iseo's letter is completely reworked, preserving merely the theme and the tone, and Tristán's reply does not figure in any of the prose romances about him, it is not possible to establish a clear relation between this witness and any specific Peninsular version of the legend of Tristán; but logic leads us to suppose that its anonymous author knew the episode from which he drew his inspiration through either *Tristán de Leonís* or the manuscript version which was in circulation prior to the printing of that work, and of which we have only the fragmentary witness of the *Códice de Tristán*.

Equally, the *Romance de Tristán* offers few precise data to enable us to identify the text known by its author, although the few facts that it does convey (the mortal wound dealt to Tristán by his uncle with a lance-thrust from a high place) coincide with what appears in *Tristán de Leonís* (Seidenspinner-Núñez 1981–2; Cuesta 1997c) and, probably, with what must have been contained in the *Códice de Tristán*, for which reason, taking into account the dates of its diffusion, we must conclude that it was the latter that gave rise to this ballad (Cuesta 2009b).[2]

The Castilian *Tristán* texts transmit two different versions of the story, although with a selection of episodes and content apparently identical in fundamental aspects. Since they are preserved in incomplete manuscript witnesses of different length, it is not always possible to compare them directly with each other or with other European witnesses. This difficulty can be remedied in part by supplying from the printed edition of *Tristán de Leonís* the text missing in the manuscript fragments. Essentially, the storyline is as follows.

The story begins with the establishment of the tribute paid by Cornwall to Ireland, the birth of Tristán, his stepmother's attempts to poison him, his journey with his tutor Gorvalán to the kingdom of Feremondo of Gaula, in whose court he rejects the love of Princess Belisenda (who finally commits suicide) and his establishment in Cornwall as an anonymous young nobleman. The hero's youth ends with the arrival in Cornwall of Morlot of Irlanda to collect the tribute, an event which provokes the knighting of Tristán by his uncle King Mares so that he can confront Morlot. Tristán mortally wounds Morlot, but receives in return a poisoned wound which does not heal, so he embarks in a drifting boat to seek his salvation. And so he arrives in Ireland, where Iseo, niece of Morlot, cures him and feels drawn to him. The protagonist distinguishes himself in a tournament, but when his identity is discovered he is exiled because of the death of Morlot. Back in Cornwall again, Tristán vies with King Mares for the love of the Lady of the Lago del Espina, and for this reason his uncle sends him to Ireland to ask for the hand of Iseo, with the secret purpose of having him killed by the Irish. Tristán saves the king of Ireland in a judicial duel at the court of King Arthur, and in reward the Irish ruler concedes Iseo's hand to him, for himself or for his uncle. The queen of Ireland hands to the lady Brangel the love philtre which the bride and groom must drink on their wedding night, but Tristán and Iseo drink it during the voyage. A storm drives them to the Isla del Gigante, where Tristán fights with the lord of the island and kills him, but later surrenders, out of gallantry, to the latter's son, the generous half-giant Galeote. In Cornwall again, Brangel replaces Iseo on her wedding night so that the king shall not notice the loss of her virginity. The lovers meet in secret, but Iseo is afraid that Brangel may denounce them and orders her to be killed, though she later repents. The knight Palomades takes the lady to the court again and as a reward receives the right to carry off Queen Iseo. Tristán rescues her. Other adventures follow, such as that of the horn which denounces adulterous women, which places the lovers at risk; they are finally found out and condemned, but succeed in escaping to the forest, where they live happily at the 'Home of the Wise Woman' until Mares seizes Iseo there while Tristán is absent hunting. Because of his poisoned wound, Tristán seeks a cure in Little Britain, where he helps the king to victory in a war, and receives as a reward the hand of his daughter Iseo de las Blancas Manos. However, he does not decide to consummate his marriage, and, when he receives a letter of reproach from Queen Iseo he decides to return to her. On the journey he is accompanied by Gorvalán and Quedín, the brother of his wife Iseo. They linger in the Floresta Peligrosa, where Tristán saves Arthur from death at the hands of the Doncella del Arte, and they have various adventures. Once in Cornwall, King Mares pretends to pardon Tristán, but organises a joust so that he may be killed by another knight. Tristán either overcomes, or obtains by courtesy the surrender of, the best knights of the Round Table, including Lancelot. One day the queen begs him that they should flee together to the kingdom of Arthur. And so they arrive, after some adventures, at Lancelot's castle, where they dine with him and Queen Guinevere, and lodge there

afterwards. Tristán goes to a tournament organised by Arthur, accompanied by Iseo, and during the journey other knights join them, among whom there are the gracious Dinadán and Palomades. The latter attempts to violate the queen by trickery, but is discovered and has to flee. Tristan and Iseo remain at the court of Arthur until King Mares arrives there to demand justice. On Dinadán's advice, the lovers make both kings believe that their relationship is chaste and they return to Cornwall with Mares, although Tristán soon comes back. He stays at the court of Arthur, participating in the adventures that arise there, such as that of the Ancient Knight or the reception of Galahad to the Round Table and the beginning of the quest for the Grail. Finally he decides to return to Cornwall, and after six months there, having fallen asleep in the queen's bed, King Mares, alerted by Aldaret, wounds him from a garret with a poisoned lance. His death is a prolonged one, and Tristán has time to say goodbye to his friends, the king and Iseo, and to send his arms to the court of Arthur. Tristán dies first and the queen's heart breaks afterwards. Both are buried with great honour. The *Códice de Tristán* adds the story of the war of vengeance undertaken by the knights of the Round Table, Quedín and Gorvalán, and the death of Iseo de las Blancas Manos. *Tristán de Leonís* replaces this ending with a description of the beauty of the three princesses who died for the love of Tristán, among whom Queen Iseo was the most outstanding.

The Castilian Texts in their Iberian Context

To place them in the panorama of medieval literary production in the Iberian Peninsula, the Castilian *Tristán* texts are complemented by various manuscript texts preserved in extremely fragmentary form: namely, a single Galician-Portuguese </list> fragment and three Catalan fragments. These are as follows:

5. The Galician-Portuguese *Livro de Tristán* (Madrid: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Legajo 1762, no. 87), dating from the last third of the XIVth century, is a fragment of two vellum leaves, written in two columns and with coloured initials, from the archive of the Dukes of Osuna. It was edited by Serrano y Sanz (1928: 307–14), who also gave a codicological description of it; and also, in the more careful form of a palaeographic and critical edition together with an introductory study and other annexes, by Pensado Tomé (1962). The text contains episodes that do not figure in any of the Castilian texts nor in the Catalan manuscripts (Cuesta 1994a: 233, 239–46). The account of its textual relationships has been revised subsequently by Michon (1991: 259–68), López Martínez-Morás and Pérez Barcala in the introductory study to the edition of the *Livro de Tristán* (Lorenzo and Souto 2001: 73–84, 87–103), Lorenzo and Díaz Martínez (2004: 371–96) and Soriano (2006). The manuscript was rediscovered in 2012 after

being mislaid for twenty years; in the bibliography by Mérida (2010: 301) it is still listed as lost.

6. The *Tristany* of the manuscript of the Ayuntamiento of Cervera (MS B-343 of the Arxiu Comarcal de Segarra), currently lost: four folios dating from the end of the XIVth century in Catalan. The text was edited by Duran (1917).

7. The *Tristany* of MS 1 of the Arxiu de les Set Claus, Andorra: four folios in Catalan dating from the second half of the XIVth century, first reported by Bohigas in his review of Northup's edition (1929), but edited much later by Aramon (1969: 323–37). The miscellaneous codex in which they are contained has been described by Santanach (2003: 434–5).

8. The *Tristany* of Biblioteca de Catalunya MS 8.999/1, consisting of two bifolia, which preserve two fragments of a single codex in Catalan, and contain two non-consecutive sections of the narrative. The bifolia were donated to the Biblioteca de Catalunya in July 2008 by Eulàlia Duran together with the papers of her father (the editor of the Cervera *Tristany*), which included an incomplete draft of the transcription of the text, for which reason it is possible that they may have been found in the archive at Cervera. Santanach, who reported their existence (2010), has announced that he is preparing an edition.[3]

Following the publication of the article by Lida de Malkiel in *ALMA* (1959 and reprints), the Iberian texts relating to *Tristán* suffered a long period of critical neglect. In recent years some works have appeared on the Iberian *Tristán* material as a whole, arising from doctoral theses on the subject: in 1994 the present author published part of her 1993 thesis, and Ros Domingo (2001) advances beyond his thesis of 1995. The doctoral theses of Iragui (1995) and Soriano (2000) are unpublished at the time of writing. The remaining treatments of the Peninsular *Tristan* texts have a partial perspective in so far as they refer to a single text, as is the case of Soriano (2006) on the Galician-Portuguese fragment, or to specific aspects of the material, as with Campos García-Rojas's work on geography and the development of the hero in the Castilian printed editions (2002). Subsequently, various articles have appeared which give overall accounts of the current state of knowledge on the Iberian *Tristan* texts: Alvar (2001, reprinted 2010; and on the Peninsular Matter of Britain material in general, 2008), Beltrán (1996), Capra (2003), Faccon (1996), Lucía Megías (1998b), Gómez Redondo (1999: II, 1505–40) and Orazi (2006: 130–42). Nonetheless, at present all these studies require revision since the discovery of new texts can alter, to a greater or a lesser extent, the existing view of the relations among the various texts.

The Castilian Texts in the Medieval European Tradition

The Iberian *Tristan* texts arise within a lengthy and extensive literary tradition: extensive because of the number of versions, lengthy by virtue of its antiquity, which goes

back to the XIIth century in its written form, but which has its roots in Celtic oral literature (Cuesta 1991, 1994b). The legend of Tristan was taken up by the authors of the *roman courtois* in French, German and other languages (Icelandic, Danish ...), remembered by the troubadours in their compositions and finally decanted into an extensive romance in prose, intimately connected to the Arthurian *Vulgate* and the *Roman du Graal* or *Post-Vulgate*: the *Roman de Tristán en prose*.4 In this form it circulated in the Iberian, Italian, English, German and Slavonic domains.

The French prose work dates from before 1240, although it was remodelled on successive occasions, undergoing various alterations and giving rise to an enormous quantity and confusing tangle of manuscripts relating to different versions. Soriano (2006: 112–29) brings together in her list more than ninety manuscripts.

Baumgartner (1975: 50–2) considers that none of the extant texts preserves the original version, and reasserts the traditional division of the manuscripts into two great families, agreeing in this with Vinaver (1959 and reprints: 339–47) and Löseth (1891, rept 1974), who carried out an exhaustive analysis of the manuscripts of the work known at that time, which is still indispensable today. The divisions are:

–The so-called first version, or the short version, represented by MSS fr. 756 and 757 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (BNF), more faithful to the original, and labelled V.I. by Baumgartner, since he considered it earlier than the long version;

–The so-called second version, or long version (V.II), of which there exist thirty-nine manuscripts, which sometimes develops the text of the original, and at others abbreviates it. This version V.II is, for Ménard (1987: 9–18), the principal text of the work, and because it is the most widely-diffused is generally referred to as the 'Vulgate' of the *Tristan en prose*. Among the manuscripts that contain the full text are, for example, BNF MSS fr. 335–6 (*olim* 6970 and 6957), and MS 2542 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (ÖNB), which was used as the base manuscript in the edition by Ménard.

Both versions follow the same text of *Tristan*, but divergences begin from paragraph 183 of the analysis by Löseth (MS BNF fr. 757, which has been edited as representative of V.I, begins with paragraph 184), and both are, in any case, later than 1240, since they add interpolations from the Arthurian cycle of Pseudo-Robert de Boron and particularly from the *Queste* (Baumgartner 1975: 53–62). Some episodes of V.I lacking from V.II belong, according to Baumgartner's theory, to the original form of the romance, while according to the theory of Curtis they were incorporated later into V.I (that is to say, V.I would exhibit some more modern traits). Leonardi (1997: 217) considers Baumgartner's theory more probable.

Baumgartner studies separately a series of texts, created later than those belonging to V.I and V.II, characterised by being either mixed versions of these two with a section

interpolated from the *Lancelot en prose* (texts which he classes as belonging to a version III, represented by MSS BNF fr. 97 and 100–1), or else amplified versions which combined these three versions with long interpolations from various sources well into the XIVth century (V.IV, represented by BNF MS fr. 99). He likewise treats separately some manuscripts which contain unique texts, with their own particular characteristics. Among the latter there stands out BNF MS 103, derived from V.IV, but which incorporates material from the XIIth-century poems, which makes it appear, wrongly, to be a very ancient representative of the work (Baumgartner 1975: 86–7).

But as Punzi points out (2005: 152–4), in reviewing the French manuscript tradition, it must be borne in mind that the surviving manuscripts represent four different types of products: those which present a complete version; those containing only one part (which shows that the manuscript tradition circulated in multi-volume copies), the first of which ends at paragraph 171 of the analysis by Löseth; those which select a particularly significant episode; and those which are the work of a compiler who intervenes to reconstitute and rejuvenate the text. This complicates enormously the process of comparing manuscripts and renders it more difficult to establish clear conclusions.

Compared with the *Tristan en prose*, the Castilian adaptations display features associated with V.I, and are characterised by maintaining a biographical structure, suppressing the account of the remote ancestors of Tristan. Regarding the final episode recounting the vengeance for the death of Tristan, which appears in very few manuscripts of the *Tristan en prose*, the discovery of the fifty-nine fragments of the *Códice de Tristán* edited by Alvar and Lucía has allowed us to correct the assumption that the Castilian *Tristan* texts lacked this material. Although it is absent from the later printed *Tristán* texts, it certainly was present in the *Códice de Tristán*, and could have been in the lost section of the *Cuento de Tristán* and the Catalan fragments. *Tristán el Joven* offers a reworking of the same theme, which could indicate that its author knew a version of the work in which this material was present (Cuesta 2009c). Nor do the Castilian texts contain the journey of Mark to Logres and his adventures (and misadventures) there, which do figure in V.II and did so in a reduced form in V.I, the 'short version' of the *Tristan en prose*. This indicates that its source could be either an abbreviated version of V.I, or a text which predated the addition of this material to the *Tristan en prose*.

If the Castilian *Tristan* texts are compared with the analysis of the *Tristan en prose* by Löseth (1891, rpt 1974), the following correspondences emerge:

–*Cuento de Tristán*: 24–44, 47, 49, 48, 45–6, 51–6, ?59, 71a–75a, passages without any equivalent in Löseth (Adventure of the *Paso de Tintayol*, adventure of the Horn, journey to the Joyosa Garda), 344, 355–354 (narrative inverted), arrival of Brangen (Brangel in the printed editions) at the Joyosa Garda, 376, 378 and 380 (Northup 1928: 17–18). Like the *Cuento*, the Catalan manuscript of Andorra and

the Castilian printed editions of the XVIth century take up only the beginning of
Löseth's paragraph 57, a somewhat modified part of 59, and the end of 60.

–*Códice de Tristán*, MS 20262–19, edited by Bonilla (1904): 622.

–*Códice de Tristán*, MS 22644: 30–1, 41–4, 74a, adventure of the horn, 380
(conversation between Arthur and the lovers in their tent after a tournament)
and proclamation of the tournament of Vercepó and agreement between the
lovers and King Mares through the intervention of Arthur and the astuteness of
Dinadán, 251, 252a, 196, 200, 202–3, 623, 108, 205–6, 621–2, 626, 547–50,
distant parallels with 574–613 corresponding to the episode of vengeance, and
the death of Iseo de las Blancas Manos.

–*Tristán de Leonís* (and therefore also that part of *Tristán el Joven* that reproduces
it): 19–44, 47–9, 51–8, 60, 63, 71a, 72a, 73a, 74a, 75a, 363–5, 122, 376, 380,
251, 252a, 196, 200, 202–3, 623, 108, 205–6, 621–4, 445, 509, 392a, 395, 448,
626, 546–50 (Bonilla 1912: p. li).

–*Tristán el Joven* adds an original episode on the theme of vengeance for the deaths
of the lovers, which has remote parallels with 574–613.

–The Galician-Portuguese *Livro de Tristan*: 68, 73, 75–93.

The Cervera Catalan MS: 20–2.

–The Andorra Catalan MS: 56–7, 59–60, and 71a.

–The Biblioteca de Catalunya Catalan MS: 22–7 and 34–8.

It must be remembered that in Löseth's analysis paragraphs 1–619 belong to the
Tristan en prose, but 620–43 summarise the *Compilation* or *Roman de Roi Artus*, writ-
ten around 1272 in French by the Italian Rustichello da Pisa at the behest of Edward I
of England while he was present at Acre together with his Queen Eleanor of Castile, in
the context of the Eighth Crusade (Cigni 1994: 9). It would not be at all strange, then,
if subsequently Eleanor possessed, and passed to her Spanish family (the royal house
of Castile), a copy of the work of Rustichello. So, MS 20262–19 of the *Códice*, which
recounts the adventures of the Ancient Knight, corresponds to the *Compilation*; it is
the only work which relates this episode apart from the medieval Greek poem (dated
between the end of the XIIIth century and the second quarter of the XVth) found only
in the copy in Vatican Library MS Vat. Graec. 1822 (fols 200–5), of Cypriot origin
(ed. Bonilla 1912: 301 n. 1; Cigni 1994: 367 col. c), the *Tristan Veneto* (which is here
following the *Compilation*) and *Tristán de Leonís* and *Tristán el Joven*. The Ancient
Knight is also the protagonist in four of the mural paintings at the castle of San Floret
in Alvernia, built at the end of the XIIIth century, related to the adventures recounted
by Rustichello (Cigni 1994: 368).

Faced with the complexity of the transmission of the *Tristan en prose*, in the case of
the Castilian versions it is at present impossible to establish which specific manuscripts
were used by the translators. None of the known French or Italian manuscripts could
be the source of the Castilian *Tristán* texts. Nor is it possible to discount the possibility

that the translators could in some cases have become co-authors of the texts, modifying these at will. The Castilian versions are different from one another; coincide closely with the brief Catalan fragments; are markedly original when compared to the various French versions edited by Curtis (1963, 1976, 1985 rpt 1985–6) (which contain the beginning of the work) and by Ménard (1987–97 for V.II, and 1997–2007 for V.I), or summarised by Löseth (1891 rpt 1974); and exhibit occasional points of similarity with the Italian versions, whilst on other occasions they diverge from them. In some episodes, they apparently coincide with the English version of Malory, according to Rumble (1969: 122–44) and Kennedy (1970: 6–10); Sharrer (1979b) takes up this theory, but dissent from it is expressed by Iragui (thesis 1995: 269–74) and Soriano (2001: 319 n. 2, and 1999b), with the latter pointing out that Malory's version is a form of Version II, while the Castilian texts follow V.I.

This textual panorama proves the existence of an idiosyncratic or anomalous version of the *Tristan en prose*, closer to V.I than to V.II, the definition, dating and characteristics of which have, however, been the subject of much debate and doubt, but the essential character of which would be its biographical emphasis and, consequently, the absence of a good part of the episodes in which Tristan does not appear (that is to say, it gives the appearance of an abbreviation or reduction of V.I). This specific, idiosyncratic version, sometimes called 'condensed', 'abbreviated', 'reduced' or 'anomalous',5 the existence of which is beyond doubt, has been proposed as the common origin of the so-called Hispano-Italian family; this is a peripheral (Cuesta 1993a: 246–52; 1993c) or southern (Iragui 1996) grouping to which some (but not all) the Italian and Iberian *Tristan* texts belong.

In the light of the information obtained from the Italian texts, this special version (Y, in the designation of Entwistle and Ros Domingo, R in that of Delcorno Branca) apparently transmits, however, only a section of the first part of the *Tristan en prose*, corresponding to paragraphs 19–75a of the analysis by Löseth. Since the *Compilation* of Rustichello influenced some of the Italian texts, there is a problem in seeking to establish whether the agreement between these and the Castilian texts in the second part of the work is due to both traditions sharing this source, as Bonilla held (ed. 1912: xliv–lxi), or whether the material from the *Compilation* reached the Castilian texts through its prior incorporation into a *Tristan* 'X' in French, as Entwistle thought (1925 rpt 1975: 102–29, especially 118–20), or in Italian (Northup 1912: 216).

The source of the Hispano-Italian family is characterised by its lacking two important sections of the *Tristan en prose*: the long prologue relating to the history of the ancestors of Tristan and the adventures of the 'Pays du Servage' and the 'Valet à la Cote mal taillée' and the 'Demoiselle Mesdisant' (paragraphs 1–18 and 59–71 of Löseth).

While the existence of this distinctive version is not in question, the argument over the language of the redaction of it which reached the Iberian Peninsula has been intense. The first to defend the Italian origin of the Castilian versions then known was

Northup (1912: 194–222; 1913: 259–65; at greater length, 1928: 1–78). His various arguments are, according to Sharrer (1979b: 39), based on incomplete knowledge of the transmission of the French work from Löseth's analysis of the texts in what was then the British Museum Library and the BNF, besides his ignorance of the existence of the Catalan manuscript of Cervera published by Duran i Sempere in 1917. Nor, obviously, could he take into account the Iberian and Italian *Tristan* texts published or discovered subsequently, a problem which also affects the work of Bohigas (1929: 284–9), who assumed a Catalan intermediary between the Italian version and the Castilian. The theory of an Italian origin was opposed by Bonilla (1912: xliv–lxi) and Entwistle (1925, rpt 1975: 102–9, esp. 118–20) who, still without knowing of the existence of the Galician-Portuguese fragment, defended the descent of the Iberian and Italian texts from an anomalous *Tristan en prose* with different characteristics. For Bonilla, this latter was linked to the *Compilation* of Rustichello, and for Entwistle it would have been its source. Alonso (1947: 189–204, esp. 201) did not believe in the existence of Italianisms in the Castilian texts and maintained that some expressions considered to be such by Northup (for example, *Joyosa, Guiosa* or Giosa, from the French *Joyeuse*) were already found in other earlier Castilian texts and could be explained equally on the basis of Gallicism. For her part, Scudieri Ruggieri (1966: 238–46) proposed, with little success, an Aragonese adaptation of the French *Tristan* as the source of the Castilian and Italian texts. Delcorno Branca (1980: 229) proposed the existence of a French *Tristan* of V.I which met with special favour in Italy and Iberia. More recently, this position has been defended by the present author (1993a: 198–263; 1993c: 65–75; 1994a: 233–71), who excludes from this Hispano-Italian group the Galician-Portuguese fragment (a position on which all the later studies agree), and hypothesises the existence of an early text of V.I of the *Tristan en prose*, that would have been preserved in the zone of Provençal influence from the period in which these first versions appeared, and circulated in the peripheral region of Iberia and Italy, while in the meantime in the north of France ever more elaborate and amplified manuscripts continued to appear. Together with the *Compilation*, this anomalous *Tristan* would have influenced the Italian, Castilian and Catalan *Tristan* texts.

In support of this possibility there may now be cited a fragment of a text of V.I of the French *Tristan en prose*, copied on the blank leaves of a XIIIth-century manuscript containing various Latin works on astronomical and mathematical subjects, the marginal notes in which make use of a Castilian containing Catalanisms (Leonardi 1996: 9–24). The possibility is also favoured by the opinion of Heijkant, who confirms the earlier view of Parodi, according to which the Italian *Tristano Riccardiano* represents an early redaction of ;the work (Punzi 2005: 159). The same theory is supported by Soriano (1999b, 2001; 2003a; unpublished thesis 2000: 116–18, 172–212), and Alvar (2001: 73; 2008: 36), although they add the hypothesis that this anomalous *Tristan en prose* would have been copied in Italy. Ros Domingo (2001:

258), in a work that is an expansion of his doctoral thesis of 1995, separates the Italian family from its Iberian relatives at the level of the anomalous version of the French *Tristan en prose* and assigns to the Iberian branch a Gallo-Romance source with occasional Germanic traits, which would have contained all the features which differentiate the Iberian texts from the Italian ones. However, Iragui (1996: 39–54), summarising his doctoral thesis of 1995 and without knowing of either the publications of Cuesta on the Iberian *Tristan* texts or (naturally) of the later work of Delcorno Branca (1998a, b) on the Italian texts, takes up anew the theory of Northup to defend as the common source of the Hispano-Italian family, which may be termed the southern European or (in the terminology of some scholars) 'Meridional' version (M), a lost manuscript which was at one and the same time the source of the M family, consisting of the French manuscripts copied in Italy in a Genoese scriptorium around 1300, and of a lost manuscript of this family, already in Italian, which would have reached the Iberian Peninsula.6 Iragui's principal contributions consist of identifying the Italian texts that belong to this family (Iragui 1996: 39–40) and the division into two volumes of the manuscript of the hypothetical archetype of the M family.7 The second of these volumes would not have influenced the surviving Italian texts (hence the absence of any distinction in his work between those of V.I and those of V.II, since there is no clear difference between these in the passages of the first part), but is preserved partially in MS BNF 760 (the adventures associated with the journey to the tournament at Louveserp and the end of the story) and BNF 1463 (an extract from the *Compilation* and the end of the story). The theory of the transmission of the story in two volumes is based on the fact that MSS fr. 760 and 1463 (the latter containing the oldest manuscript fragment of the *Compilation*) contain only this second part and give no sign of having a deficient beginning, from which he concludes that they were conceived as the second volume of a pair (Iragui 1996: 51). This second volume of the work would have begun after Löseth's paragraph 75a, with the return of Tristan to Cornwall after his marriage to Iseo de las Blancas Manos and his rescue of Arthur. Hence the adventures of the Ancient Knight would have featured in this second volume which does not survive in the Italian descendants, like the adventure of the Paso de Tintoíl, an episode found exclusively in the Castilian texts. However, it is difficult to believe in the dependence of the Castilian and Catalan texts on one written in Italian when there appear in the Castilian texts episodes and details that are not found in the surviving texts written in Italian dialects. It seems, rather, that the second part of what Iragui calls the M Family, or its source, circulated hardly at all in Italy but did circulate in the Iberian Peninsula.

  Subsequently, Alvar (2001: 73) and Soriano (2001: 332) pointed towards what Curtis identified as the _ family of the *Tristan en prose*, which coincides in part with that designated the M Family by Iragui (1996: 41–2), to which belong the incomplete manuscripts National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, MS 446E (denoted W) and M (Modena), as being the most probable as the source of the Hispano-Italian version, in

combination with the work of Rustichello. Both they and Ros Domingo (2001, ch. II) base themselves on the research of Delcorno Branca (1998b: 49–79) into French manuscripts of Italian origin of the end of the XIIIth century and the beginning of the XIVth produced at a scriptorium in Genoa in which there worked Pisan prisoners taken at the battle of Meloria (1284), and among the products of which there were found MSS W, M and BNF fr. 1463 which contains the *Compilation* of Rustichello.

Heijkant (2004: 388–9) points out some curious similarities within the Hispano-Italian group: all the texts of this group lack the episode of the repeated encounter of Lamorat and Gauvain (Löseth's paragraph 72a), and in all of them the martyrdom of Joseph of Arimathea on the Isla del Gigante is recounted. An important difference between the Iberian texts and the Italian ones is found in the negative and criminal character given to Palomades in the former.

Some passages in which the similarities between Italian and Spanish texts are particularly important have attracted special attention in recent years, and it is necessary to point out that not all of these are in the first part of the work. To some extent this casts doubt upon the theory of Heijkant (2004: 385) that Northup and Parodi were correct to argue that the anomalous *Tristan* contained only the first part of the work up to Löseth's paragraph 75a (an assertion brought into question also by the presence of the adventures on the way to the tournament of Louveserp in MS BNF fr 760 noted by Iragui), and that this second section, probably in another volume, left no trace in Italy. These passages are five, as follows:

1. Tristan's stepmother's attempts at poisoning, studied by Soriano (2001). In both *Tristán de Leonís* and the Cervera MS, and presumably also in the Catalan and Castilian MSS in which the episode does not now survive, her first and second attempts to poison Tristan occur in inverse order to their appearances in the French and Italian *Tristan* texts. Soriano (2001) compares the second attempted poisoning in the Hispanic texts with the version of the first poisoning in the Italian *Tristano Riccardiano* and in another Italian text, the *Zibaldone da Canal*, a mercantile manuscript from Venice dated around 1290–1300, which contains a brief fragment of the *Tristan en prose* concerned with the infancy of the hero, the language of which betrays an original source in French. Only in the *Zibaldone*, *Tristán de Leonís*, and in the Catalan fragment of Cervera is there the added element of the involvement of an animal (a dog in the Catalan and the Castilian), which dies from drinking the poisoned wine (Soriano 2001: 328). As far as concerns his stepmother's third attempt to poison Tristan, after the funeral of King Melidaux, it is found in *Tristán de Leonís*, though it is not preserved in the extant part of the Castilian manuscripts, which begin with later episodes, while the Catalan MS from Cervera is cut short before this. It is necessary to observe that this passage is at the beginning of the work, and that the third attempted poisoning features in the *Tristano Riccardiano*. On the one hand, the inversion of

the order shows the unity of the Iberian versions compared to the French and Italian witnesses, and, on the other, the third attempt at poisoning and the presence of the animal prove the existence of connections between some of the Castilian *Tristán* texts and some of their Italian counterparts.

The discovery of the Catalan MS in the Biblioteca de Catalunya allows us to appreciate now that in this fragmentary witness there are also three poisonings; that their order is the same as in *Tristán de Leonís* and in the Catalan MS of Cervera; and that, just as in these, in the second attempt one of the king's dogs is involved. Also, the *Panciatichiano* (ed. Allaire 2002: 138–40) presents the third attempt at poisoning.

2. The genealogy and adventures of the Ancient Knight, studied by Cuesta (2008b). The adventures surrounding this character which are included in the *Códice de Tristán* and *Tristán de Leonís* (and therefore also in the first part of *Tristán el Joven*) are not found in the French *Tristan en prose*, but are present in the *Compilation* of Rustichello da Pisa and in the *Tristano Veneto* (the character is mentioned in *Palomèdes* and in the *Tavola Ritonda* (ed. Heijkant 1997: 433, 452), but in these works he takes part in very different episodes. One of the adventures of this knight and his genealogy are summarised in Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula*, which demonstrates its popularity in the Castilian context. The episode could have been found also in the *Cuento de Tristán* in the Vatican MS and perhaps in the Catalan *Tristan* texts, but their fragmentary state prevents our proving that this was the case. The *Compilation* and the *Tristano Veneto*, the manuscript of which here copies the *Compilation* (*Tristano Veneto*, ed. Donatello, 1994: 19–24), differ from *Tristán de Leonís* in some details of the Ancient Knight's genealogy and in adding his joust with Lancelot and with all the vassal kings of Arthur. Here, the similarities between the *Tristano Veneto* and *Tristán de Leonís* are no doubt caused by the influence of the *Compilation*. The *Tavola Ritonda* also takes up material from the *Compilation*, although it does not do so in this specific episode.

3. The mortal wound of Tristan (Cuesta 2009b: 510). The episode belongs to the lost section of the Castilian manuscripts. *Tristán de Leonís* shows itself to be significantly independent of other versions of the episode and it is not possible to establish anything more than a remote association with the Italian family, which is very interesting nonetheless since it occurs in the final part of the work. It is interesting, moreover, that the feature that associates it with the Italian texts (the weapon used is a lance, instead of a sword) is absent from the *Compilation* of Rustichello, so that it must have reached both the Italian texts (*Tristano Panciatichiano*, *Tristano Veneto*, *Tavola Ritonda*, and the *cantare* entitled *La morte di Tristano*) and *Tristán de Leonís* and the *Romance de Tristán* by way of another intermediary text. Moreover, the *Tavola Ritonda* – a

summa of the Arthurian cycle written in Tuscan dialect and dated to the second quarter of the XIVth century that brings together the adventures of Lancelot and those of Tristan, preferring the latter as an exemplar of chivalry – together with the *cantare* agrees with *Tristán de Leonís* and the *Romance de Tristán* in showing King Mark/Mares wounding the protagonist from outside the room, while the *Tavola* is even closer since it includes a supernatural premonition of the fatal wound. However, these coincidences between two texts so distant in other respects seem to be the result of independent elaboration of elements present in a common source.

4. The death of the lovers and the description of their tomb (Cuesta 2010, 2014a). For the present author, the text of *Tristán de Leonís* is aligned with that of the *Tavola Ritonda* by the fact that the lovers' deaths are not simultaneous; by the circumstances of them, avoiding any hint of murder or suicide; and by the incorporation of religious elements such as the final confession and prayer. However, differences in expression and intention could not be greater, since while the *Tavola* attempts to glorify the protagonists' love, the Castilian text focuses on prompting a moralising reading of the episode, presenting a Tristan who turns his eyes towards God and eternity. This moralisation agrees with the apparent fear of offending God exhibited by the author in the epilogue of the 1501 edition, which differs in this respect from the epilogue of *Oliveros de Castilla*, which he plagiarises. Although the religious elements could be owed to additions carried out independently by the authors of *Tristán de Leonís* and the *Tavola Ritonda*, these could have been inspired by some references of this type present in a common source. Contreras (2010) indicates the elements typical of the ritual for the death of kings which are visible in the Castilian episode, giving it a more realist aspect.

Heijkant (2004: 389) indicates various correspondences between one of the Italian *Tristan* texts and *Tristán de Leonís* in the episode of the death of the lovers: Iseo sings; the lovers are lying down when surprised; the doctors cannot cure Tristan; Iseo is led by the knights close to the dying man and faints twice; Tristan dies in a Christian manner in the presence of an archbishop; Iseo does not die because of Tristan's embrace; her beauty is explicitly mentioned. The majority of the similarities are in the *Tavola Ritonda*, although Iseo's singing and the reference to her beauty are found in the *Panciatichiano*.

5. The war of vengeance for the death of Tristan and the punishment of Mares/Mark and Aldaret/Andret (Alvar 2001: 57–75, especially p. 73; Soriano 2003a: 203–17; Cuesta 2009a; 2009c). The episode, absent from the majority of the manuscripts of the *Tristan en prose*, is taken up with significant differences in the *Códice de Tristán*, *Tristán el Joven* (in both, Quedin and Gorvalan take part in the war of vengeance, with their host, and Lancelot with other knights of the Round Table;

King Mares is pardoned; and Aldaret is punished), in MS BNF 24400 of the *Tristan en prose* (Dinadan undertakes the task of raising the people of Leonís against their king alone; the war is unleashed, directed by Dinadan and Dinas; and Mark is pardoned: Löseth 1891 rpt 1974: 405–22), in the *Tavola Ritonda* (the war is undertaken by the combined armies of King Amoroldo de Irlanda, King Governal of Leonís and King Arthur; Andret dies at the orders of King Mark who is captured and dies of obesity fed by Lanzarote and Amoroldo), and in the *Tristano Veneto* and the *Cantare della Vendetta di Tristano* (in which the principal role is assumed by Lancelot, and Mark dies in the battle; in the *Cantare* Andret also dies in the battle at the beginning of the war). It is my view that, as far as concerns the episode of the vengeance, it does not seem that the proximity of the Castilian text to the *Tristano Veneto* or the *Cantare* is any greater than that which it has to the *Tavola Ritonda*, against what Alvar and Soriano had supposed. I consider that a good part of the content of the episode of vengeance is hinted at in previous passages in the work which are indeed found in the *Tristan en prose*, so that they could have been developed in a specific manuscript, the common source of the Italian and Castilian versions, and amplified in different ways by each of the latter.

A closer proximity between the *Cuento de Tristán*, *Tristán de Leonís*, and the *Tavola Ritonda* is also encountered during the sojourn of the lovers at the Joyeuse Garde (Alegre Guardia, Giosa Guardia): in both texts the residence there of Lancelot and Guinevere is mentioned, which ends in the reconciliation of Guinevere with Arthur.

The fact that in different episodes of the Castilian *Tristan* texts coincide to a greater extent with various extant Italian texts indicates, beyond doubt, that they do not derive from any one of them. It also seems very doubtful to suppose that they derive from another lost text in Italian which would have included all the similarities that are scattered through the surviving Italian texts, which are not encountered solely in the first part of the work. Besides, as Punzi recalls (2005: 160), French was not a foreign language in Italy at that time, but was the language of culture, so that a codex produced in Italy would not necessarily have to be one in Italian. The theory proposed by the present author, of the existence of an anomalous text of V.I of the French *Tristan en prose*, circulating in Italy and Spain and copied in Italy, seems to Soriano (1999b: 424) the best-suited also to the reality represented by the Catalan fragments, and Santanach (2010: 26) inclines towards that possibility. In the MS from which the Iberian texts (other than the Galician-Portuguese) originate, or perhaps only in the branch that would give rise to the *Códice de Tristán* and *Tristán de Leonís*, the work of Rustichello would already have been juxtaposed with the anomalous *Tristan* thus producing some of the traits shared with the *Tristano Veneto*.

Studies relating to the readership and possession of *Tristan* texts in the Peninsula, although there are still not enough of them (Cingolani 1990–1; Ferrer Gimeno 2011;

Ramos 2006), have begun to shed some light upon this matter. Cingolani finds references to eight copies of *Tristan* texts in Catalan inventories of the XIVth and XVth century, which reveals its popularity among the bourgeoisie; Ferrer Gimeno (2011) studies the libraries of Valencia between 1416 and 1474, finding a single copy among the possessions of a merchant who had an extremely active commercial relationship with Italy; Ramos (2006: 93) finds a *Libre de Tristany* in the inventory of a merchant drawn up in 1458 in the notarial office at Sant Feliu de Guixols. Soriano (1999b: 423–4) considers the Italian *Tristan* texts that could have circulated in the Peninsula but about which we have no information, while there are documentary references to more than twenty *Tristan* texts in French, and the testimony of *Curial y Güelfa* (1982: 120) speaks of the Catalans who translated the books of Tristan and Lancelot, from French.

In order to reach more precise conclusions about the origin of the extant Castilian and Catalan texts and also in order to know if the anomalous redaction of paragraphs 19–75a of Löseth continued further and reached as far as some episodes of the second part of the work, it is still necessary to collate the Iberian texts with the French MSS of the V.I family, copied in Italy, possibly at the Pisan–Genoese scriptorium. This workshop had specialised in copying and decorating Arthurian texts, and it seems that in it there were produced eight copies of the *Tristan en prose* towards the end of the XIIIth century (Delcorno Branca 1980: 211–29; Bertolucci Pizzorusso 2003). It is also necessary to undertake a similar collation with the third, fifth and sixth parts of the *Tristano Panciatichiano*, a text which was not published until 2002 (ed. Allaire); it follows, in its third part, a redaction similar to that of the *Riccardiano*, while for the rest of the text it uses BNF MS fr. 757, belonging to V.I, but not to the _ family of Curtis or the Pisan –Genoese MS group (ed. Allaire 2002: 6–7).

Even more urgent, however, is a new examination of the question of the relationships among the Hispanic texts themselves, and between these and the Italian and French witnesses. This study should take into account, on the one hand, the French and Italian texts not studied by Cuesta, Soriano, Iragui and Ros Domingo in their general studies of the Iberian *Tristan* texts because at the time in question there were no easily accessible editions of these, and, on the other, the new Iberian witnesses discovered after those theories were formulated. The discovery of new fragments of the *Códice de Tristán* published in 1999 came later than the studies of the present author (1993a, 1993b, 1994a), and Iragui (1995, 1996); although Ros Domingo (2001: 16 n.5) cites the edition by Alvar and Lucía Megías, he does not take the text into account in his analysis, probably because he learned of this publication when his work was already completed. The later studies which do take the *Códice* into account for a comparative analysis involving other European witnesses relate to specific episodes, as has been seen. As long as the Catalan fragments recently discovered and reported by Santanach i Suñol (2003:434–5), who describes and studies them (2010: 21–38), remain unpublished, they cannot be compared with the remaining witnesses except in the

most general way. It is essential to have, first and foremost, a reliable palaeographic transcription of the *Tristany* of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

In any case, the existing studies show that the Castilian and Catalan *Tristan* texts form a sub-family in relation to the Italian texts, in so far as they contain episodes found only in this group, readings unique to this group, and the same sequence of episodes when compared to the remaining texts.

Fig. IX.1: Relations of the Italian *Tristan* Texts and Those of the Iberian Peninsula
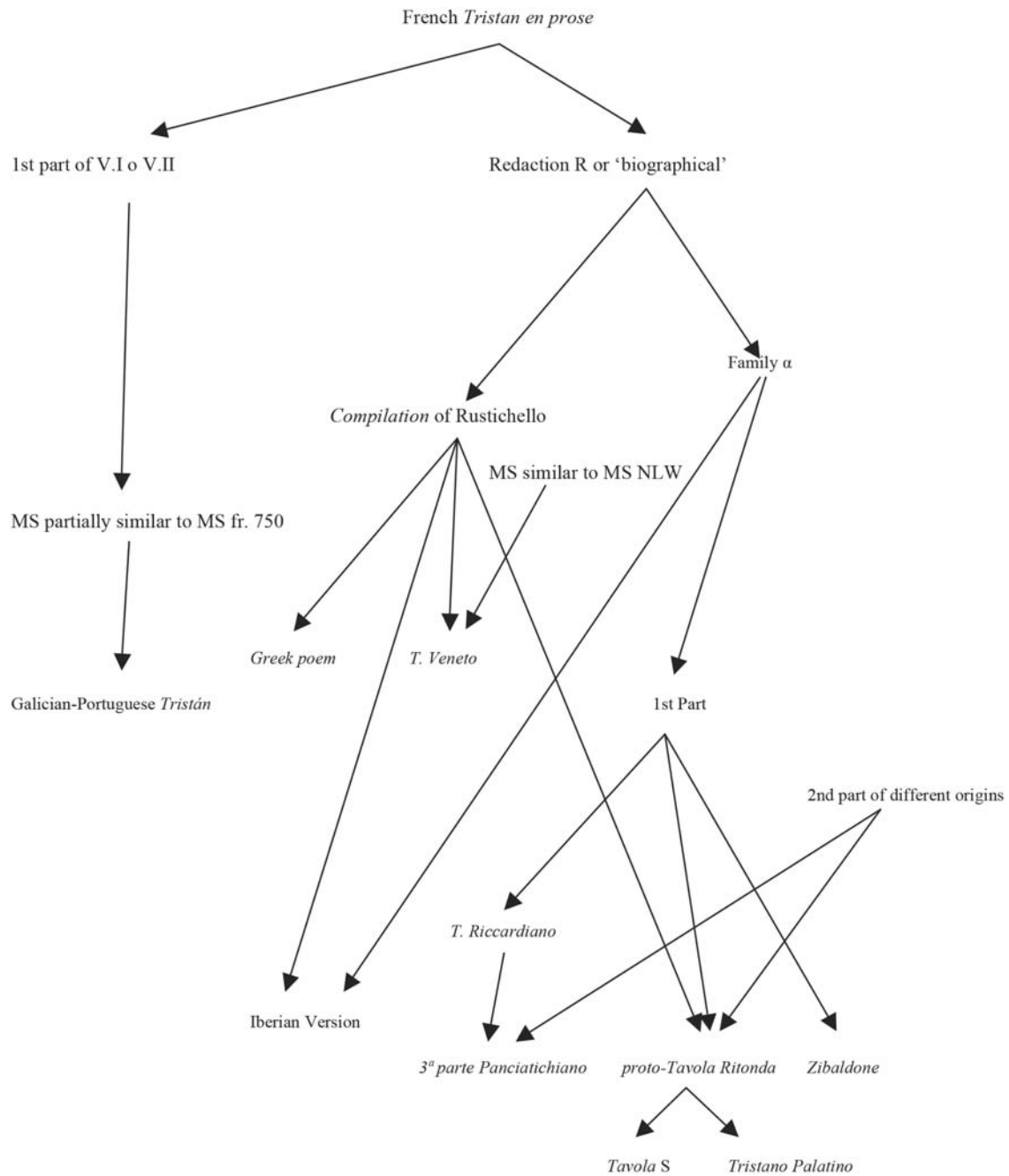
Relations among the MSS from the Iberian Peninsula

As far as concerns the relationships among the Iberian texts themselves, it may be observed that whilst the extant Catalan texts, albeit very fragmentary, coincide to a great extent with the Castilian texts, as will be seen below, the rather longer Galician-Portuguese fragment follows fairly closely a version similar to that offered by the French *Tristan en prose* of BNF MS fr 750 (Soriano 2006: 62). It cannot, however, be determined whether it belongs to V.I or V.II since it preserves passages belonging to the first part of the work, but using a source which does not coincide with any of the French manuscripts, according to Michon (1991: 266). This source in any case cannot have been the biographical or anomalous version, since it contains episodes and characters not found in the Catalan and Castilian *Tristan* texts, both manuscript and printed, and it is clearly separated from the other witnesses from the Iberian Peninsula (Cuesta 1993a: 226–34; 1993b: 91; 1994a: 239–45, 264; Soriano 2006 especially 51; Iragui 1995: 164–67; Ros Domingo 2001: 259–71). It can be stated, therefore, that there existed two lines of textual transmission of the legend of Tristan in the Peninsula: the Galician-Portuguese line, and that involving the remaining manuscripts. This latter textual family can be described as the central-eastern Iberian version because of its geographical location within the Peninsula. Given the fragmentary character of its manuscript texts, the basic traits of this version can be known from the printed *Tristán de Leonís*, once the original features which distinguish this particular edition are excluded.

The existence of these two independent lines renders obsolete, as far as the *Tristan* texts are concerned, the idea of Portuguese priority in the penetration of material relating to this hero into the Peninsula as maintained by Castro (1983). Independently of the date of the arrival of the theme in Galician-Portuguese literature, there was another route of entry for the Castilian and Catalan texts (Cuesta 1994a: 28–31). On the question of this priority, more information can be found in the chapter by Alvar in the present volume. In any case, as Conde de Lindquist reminds us (2006), the possible routes and dates of penetration of Arthurian literature into both regions should be seen as more varied and extensive, including the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and relations with the world of the north.

It is necessary to revise Entwistle's proposal on relations between the Plantagenets and the Castilian Crown (1925 rpt 1975: 29–63) in so far as concerns the arrival in Castile of a particular version of *Tristan*, emphasising the role that could have been played by Edward I of England in the diffusion of the anomalous *Tristan*. This king was the patron of the production of the *Compilation* of Rustichello; was in Italy at a date close to the creation of the Pisan–Genoese workshop; was married to Eleanor (1254), the sister of Alfonso X of Castile, who makes the first references to Tristan by a Castilian author (albeit in poems written in Galician-Portuguese). Edward I visited Burgos in 1254, and received a return visit to London in 1255 from the future King

Sancho IV of Castile, nephew of Eleanor; and moreover the *Tavola* mentions as an authoritative source a book obtained by Piero, Count of Savoy (1203–68) perhaps during a journey to England, and which is 'now' in the possession of the Pisan Gaddo dei Lanfranchi (on whose identification see the 'Introduzione' by Heijkant to his edition of the *Tavola Ritonda*, 1997: 7–8).

As far as concerns the dating of the extant Iberian texts, they are all placed in the second half of the XIVth century, with the exception of the *Códice*, the script of which places it in the XVth century.

The Two Branches of the Central-Eastern Iberian *Tristan*

It is difficult to establish the relationships among the texts of the central-Eastern Iberian family given the fragmentary nature of all the manuscripts, particularly those of the Catalan *Tristan* texts. The criteria for distinguishing subgroups must be based on their proximity in linguistic expression, in the order of the episodes, and in minor details of the plot. The present author (1993a: 210–26; 1993b: 83–93; 1994a: 58–9, 138–45) had proposed the separation of the *Cuento de Tristán* from the branch represented by the sole fragment of the *Códice* then known, the Catalan fragments of Cervera and Andorra, and *Tristán de Leonís*, considering that the *Cuento de Tristán* showed itself more independent in its manner of expressing fundamentally similar ideas; that in the brief section it preserves the Cervera manuscript cannot be contrasted with the *Cuento*, but reveals itself rather close to *Tristán de Leonís*; and that the Andorra fragment agrees with *Tristán de Leonís* against the *Cuento*.

Following the discovery of the new fragments of the *Códice de Tristán*, my own studies (1999a: xvi–xix) and those of Rubio Pacho (2001) have independently defended the existence of two branches among the Castilian *Tristan* texts, with the *Cuento* on one side, and on the other the *Códice* and *Tristán de Leonís*, together with the Andorra MS and probably that of Cervera.

Alvar (2001: 74; rpt 2010: 248, 255), in attempting to represent a greater proximity between the *Tristan* from Cervera and the *Códice de Tristán*, excludes from this group in his stemma the Andorra *Tristany*, which he considers to be an independent version within this Catalan-Castilian branch which he designates the 'Hispanic branch'. However, the fragmentary nature of the texts prevents a direct comparison, so that it is necessary to use *Tristán de Leonís* as an intermediary between the Cervera text and the Castilian *Códice*, and also to compare the two Catalan fragments. For this reason the difference becomes purely hypothetical.

Ros Domingo (2001: 258), who does not use the *Códice* for his argument nor include it in his scheme, does not separate the *Cuento* clearly from the Andorra and Cervera Catalan witnesses, nor from the fragments of the *Códice* known at that point (including the one published by Bonilla), but accepts that the *Cuento* uses the

Gallo-Romance source as well as its principal source in Catalan, derived from the former, which he believes they share. He indicates (2001: 163–85) specific passages in which the readings of the Andorra fragment correspond to those of *Tristán de Leonís*, others in which they coincide with the *Cuento*, and yet others in which they do not correspond to any of the Hispanic witnesses. This leads him to propose a stemma in which the Andorra and Cervera fragments and *Tristán de Leonís* descend separately from a single ancestor; the latter could also have influenced the *Cuento*, which would have derived directly from the source of this ancestor.

With regard to the Catalan fragments in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, the only study at present is that of Santanach (2010), who presents a schema of transmission rather different from that of Cuesta and Alvar. Although he divides the Catalan and Castilian witnesses into two branches, he groups in a single family the Catalan fragment of Andorra and the *Códice de Tristán*, from which the Castilian editions of the XVIth century derive, and he places in another family the *Cuento de Tristán* and a lost manuscript which would be the source of the two Catalan fragments in the Biblioteca de Catalunya and the Cervera fragment (Santanach 2010: 36). For this he relies on coincidences between the *Cuento* and the new Catalan manuscript in relation to the order of the episodes narrated and the development of the action (Santanach 2010: 34). That is to say, the Catalan and Castilian manuscripts are not grouped according to their languages, although, as Santanach indicates, the almost complete lack of passages common to all three Catalan witnesses makes the comparison extremely difficult, limiting it to the ending of the Cervera manuscript and the beginning of that of the Biblioteca de Catalunya. It is this brief parallel fragment that allows him to suppose that at this point the *Cuento* would not have presented a version distinct from that of the remaining witnesses in Catalan and Castilian (including the printed editions), indicating that this lack of distinguishing characteristics does not allow the Cervera fragment to be located clearly in either family, so that it may belong to either of them. For Santanach, the branch consisting of the *Códice*, *Tristán de Leonís* and the Andorra manuscript is characterised by presenting more conservative solutions compared to the branch represented by the manuscripts of the Biblioteca de Catalunya and Cervera and the *Cuento de Tristán*, which is much more innovatory (Santanach 2010: 35). Santanach's work constitutes a first approach to the problem and contrasts the Catalan fragments with *Tristán de Leonís*, since he cannot do it directly with the *Códice de Tristán* because no section common to all is preserved, assuming that it offers the same version. But the studies of Cuesta show that the printed text does not always follow the reading offered by the *Códice*. Some differences between the *Tristany* of the Biblioteca de Catalunya and the *Cuento*, on the one hand, and *Tristán de Leonís*, on the other, in the passages where no other witnesses exist, could indicate the existence of interventions by the person responsible for reworking the Castilian printed text, representing readings common to the entire manuscript tradition that were changed in the printed version. This would give the misleading impression of
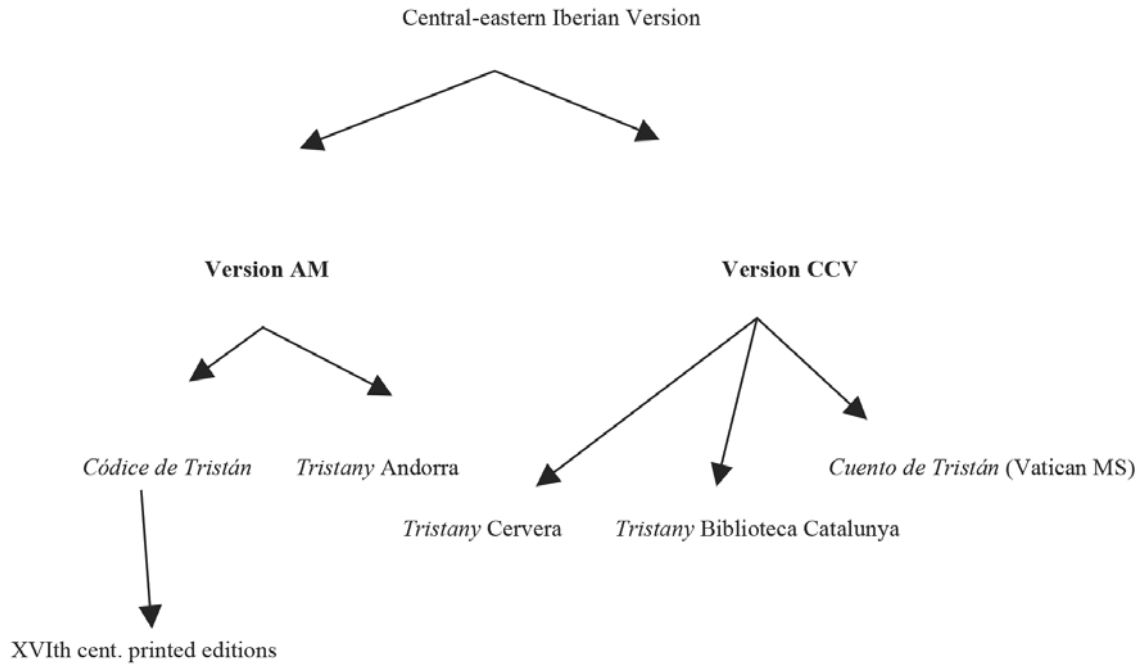
similarity between the Catalan manuscript and the *Cuento*. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the coincidences among the different witnesses, taking into account also the readings of the Italian manuscripts of the Hispano-Italian group.

On the question of the language of the archetype of the central-astern Iberian branch, the priority of Catalan has been defended by Bohigas (1929: 284–9), Iragui (thesis 1995/6: 275–80), Soriano (1999b: 420) and Ros Domingo (2001: 249–58), with arguments drawn mainly from the study of the language, while Northup (1912**:** 219) asserted that he had found no traces of Catalanisms in any of the Castilian texts (though he was unable to see the Catalan manuscripts). Cuesta (1993b: 88) indicates that the differences between the *Cuento* and *Tristán de Leonís* indicate the use of a common source in a language other than Castilian, which obliged the translators to adapt the text instead of merely copying it, or are indicative of a high degree of originality and innovation on their part. Alvar (2008: 36) envisages two translations of an anomalous *Tristan* in French originating in an Italian scriptorium: one in Castilian-Aragonese and the other in Catalan or Castilian. Santanach (2010: 36) believes that the common origin of the Catalan and Castilian manuscripts could be a manuscript in either of these two Peninsular languages or in Aragonese, since the evidence is not conclusive. The linguistic studies carried out to date compare the Andorra MS with *Tristán de Leonís*, concluding that this Catalan manuscript has readings closer to the French manuscripts than does the Castilian version, but it remains necessary to carry out a comparison with the MS *Códice de Tristán* since the printed text has been modernised in various respects and some of its quirks may not have been present in its source.

Scudieri-Ruggieri for her part believes that the French *Tristan en prose* was altered in an Aragonese translation, which would later have served as the source for the Castilian and Italian texts. Her argument is based on the word 'ploto', which she considers to be a misreading in Castilian of the Aragonese 'ploro' ('weeping', Castilian 'llanto': Scudieri-Ruggieri 1966: 241; Cuesta 2008b: 153–4, 167). After the discovery of the fragments of MS 22644 it can be seen that the typographical error was introduced in the printed edition of 1501, from which it was later transmitted to the successive editions of *Tristán de Leonís* and to *Tristán el Joven*, since the *Códice de Tristán* contains the form Castillo del Ploro (ed. Alvar and Lucía 1999: 86).

Characteristics of the Central-Eastern Iberian Version

In the *Cuento de Tristán* (chs 130–41) and in the Castilian printed editions (chs 49–58) there is a series of adventures unique to this tradition, in other words, which are absent from the different versions of the *Tristan en prose* and the Italian *Tristan* texts, and which demonstrate the dependence of the texts of the central-eastern version on a common source. These are: the adventure of the Paso de Tintoíl, found only in the

Fig. 2: *Stemma* of the MSS from the central and eastern Iberian Peninsula

Central-eastern Iberian Version

Version AM   **Version CCV**

Códice de Tristán   *Tristany* Andorra   *Cuento de Tristán* (Vatican MS)

Tristany Cervera   *Tristany* Biblioteca Catalunya

XVIth cent. printed editions

Cuento de Tristán and *Tristán de Leonís*, and a different development of the episodes of the lovers' flight from the court of Mares, the adventure of the horn and the journey up to their arrival at the Joyosa Guarda. Parts of these episodes are found in the fragments of the *Códice de Tristán* (from the flight from the court to the adventure of the horn, fragment 12 of MS 22644), but probably were present in their entirety as is the case in the *Cuento de Tristán* and *Tristán de Leonís*.

Another characteristic of this version is the amplification of the adventures in which Palomades is involved, and the negative and criminal character adopted by this individual in the episodes related in chapters 60 and 62–3 of *Tristán de Leonís* (the *Códice de Tristán* includes in fragment 15*r* a reference to Palomades that allows us to deduce that it too contained these episodes). Equally, the *Códice de Tristán* (fragment 19*r*) and *Tristán de Leonís* (ch. 65) are the only texts (since the fragment of the *Cuento de Tristán* ends before this point, although it presumably would have contained the episode) that relate the trick used by the lovers at the suggestion of Dinadan to obtain King Mares's pardon. This was inspired by the episode of the interposed sword that appears in the XIIth-century poems by Eilhard (in High German), Béroul (French), and in general in all the verse tradition.

In addition, it has already been seen that the adventures of the Ancient Knight, narrated in the *Compilation*, are unique to that text, in which it is stated that Rustichello copied the adventure from a book taken to Italy by Edward I of England on his way to the Crusade, which was supposedly his source (Rustichello, ed. F. Cigni 1994: 233, col. a), and that of the works based on him. All these episodes were probably found in

the lost part of the *Cuento de Tristán* and in the lost sections of the Catalan manuscripts that now survive only as fragments; that is to say, they would have constituted a distinguishing characteristic of the Central-Eastern Iberian family.

The Castilian Manuscripts

The *Cuento de Tristán*

This work is known from MS Vat. Lat. 6428, dating from the end of the XIVth or beginning of the XVth century, which consists of 131 folios written in two columns but with some errors in the present folio sequence. Five folios are lacking at the beginning and it is impossible to know how many are missing at the end. For a full description, see the chapter by Lucía Megías in this volume. The narrative begins with the journey of Tristan to the court of King Framont de Gaulas and ends when King Arthur and Lancelot visit Tristan and Iseo in their tent during a tournament on the outskirts of Camelot, shortly after the lovers' flight from the court of Mares and their arrival in the Joyosa Guarda. It is a composite manuscript consisting of quires written by five different hands, of which one (D) exhibits Aragonese dialectal traits, also present to a lesser extent in other hands, which has led some scholars to speak of this manuscript as containing the Castilian-Aragonese *Tristán*. Copyists A, B and C seem to have operated in turn, relieving one another; D and E seem to have been preparing a separate copy of the text, since some passages are duplicated. The extensive surviving fragment contains fifty-four repeated pages, and Northup (Introduction 1928: 3) gives credence to the conclusion that this situation could involve different copies from a single exemplar erroneously combined in a single manuscript. Since the MS is preserved in the Vatican Library, it may be supposed that it came from the library of the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII, Pedro de Luna, which would link it, too, to an Aragonese context, since the Luna family originated in that kingdom.

The most detailed analysis of the *Cuento de Tristán* is still that by Northup in the introduction to his edition. Corfis, who has edited the text more than once (1985; *Cuento de Tristán de Leonís*, ADMYTE 0, 1994), offers brief details, which can be supplemented from the review by Sharrer (1977: 29). A new edition by Corfis was published in 2013, accompanied by a brief introductory study and numerous notes, relating particularly to variants. For the most part, critical interest has centred on the definition of its relation to *Tristán de Leonís* and on cataloguing the characteristics which distinguish it from the latter, an aspect of study begun by Northup (ed. 1928: 25–76). Gómez Redondo (1999: II, 1505–27) has taken an interest in the work's structure and in the ideology with which it is imbued, as well as in the stylistic aspects that distinguish it from the *Códice* and the printed Castilian version.

The characteristic which best defines the nature of the *Cuento de Tristán* is the tendency to a humorous and realistic presentation of events, indicated by Hall (1974:

187–9; 1983: 76–85), Rubio Pacho (1996), and the present writer (1999a: xvii), although these scholars differ over the interpretation of this feature. Before the discovery of the fifty-nine new fragments of the *Códice de Tristán*, Hall considered that *Tristán de Leonís*, like *Tablante* and the *Demanda*, reflects the favourable attitude towards chivalry of aristocratic society at the end of the XVth century and the beginning of the XVIth, and in consequence suppresses or modifies some comic scenes and realist details of the *Cuento de Tristán* to avoid anything that could give an unfavourable impression of the knight. This would involve supposing that the printed text derived from the *Cuento*, which, as has been seen, is not the case. I have previously pointed out (1999: xvii) that in one of the examples adduced by Hall, that of Quedin's complaint at not encountering adventures, a modification in favour of a chivalric ideology cannot be attributed to the author of *Tristán de Leonís* (ch. 42) since the Catalan MS from Andorra, dating from the second half of the XIVth century, agrees with *Tristán de Leonís* on this point. Furthermore, in other passages in which it is possible to compare the *Cuento* with the *Códice* it can be seen that the modification in favour of greater courtesy, and the consequent loss of a humour that degrades the protagonists, was either already present in the XVth-century *Códice de Tristán*, from which it passed to the printed editions, or was simply always a feature of the central-eastern Iberian line of textual transmission. It was therefore the author of the *Cuento* who decided to alter this trait, or who was following a different tradition. In favour of this hypothesis I have adduced the attitude of Tristan to Iseo de las Blancas Manos on abandoning her: the Andorra MS and the printed editions show us a hero who sympathises with his young wife, but is incapable of failing to obey the summons from Iseo la Rubia. The *Cuento de Tristán*, in contrast, presents Tristan as happy and even smiling on hearing the excuses with which Brangel deceives the princess. In this instance there is a realist attitude in all the texts, but it is pointing in a different direction, underlining in the first grouping the queen's foresight and in the *Cuento* the impulsive and crazy attitude of Iseo. Rubio Pacho (1996: 123–31) believes that the *Cuento* represents a decadent and critical vision of knighthood predating the exaltation of chivalry in the XVIth century. Even were this so, rather than being a characteristic of the age, since it is found neither in the Andorra text nor in the *Códice de Tristán*, it could involve a vision of the theme peculiar to the author. Santanach (2010) indicates that the Biblioteca de Catalunya MS coincides with the *Cuento*. Moreover, it can be added that realism is not exclusive to the *Cuento de Tristán*: the *Códice* (ed. Alvar and Lucía 1999: 87) and *Tristán de Leonís* (ch. 26) mention that Gorvalán gives a contraceptive potion to Brangel when she replaces Iseo on her wedding night, a detail not found in the *Cuento* (ed. Northup 1928: 123). In the flight from the court of Mares, an episode unique to the Castilian texts, in the *Códice* (Alvar and Lucía 1999: 101) and *Tristán de Leonís* (ch. 53) the lovers take the magic ring of the king and money or possessions. In the *Cuento* they take nothing and the queen regrets having taken nothing but her own clothes (Northup 1928: 249; Corfis 2013:161–2).

Comparison of the *Cuento de Tristán* with the *Códice de Tristán* and, where this is impossible because of the fragmentary character of the manuscripts, with *Tristán de Leonís*, allows the present writer (1999a: xviii) to state that the storyline is the same, although with important variations in expression and in style, and even in the order, selection, and the content of some episodes. In general terms, they differ in the names of characters, in the length of passages, in dialogue, in the use of direct and indirect speech and in matters of detail, as well as in style, since the language is more modern and the style more polished and rhetorical in the *Códice de Tristán* and *Tristán de Leonís* than in the *Cuento de Tristán*.

It is the belief of the present author (1999a: xvii) that the distance between the *Cuento de Tristán* and the remaining Castilian texts increases in the final extant chapters of the manuscript, a feature that is corroborated indirectly by the recently discovered Catalan manuscript of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, which agrees with the Catalan text from Cervera and with the *Cuento de Tristán* in the only section common to all three, which is the beginning of the work. This leads one to suspect that perhaps these differences became greater in the lost section. In the final extant folios of the *Cuento* the dialogues are very different from those in the *Códice*, and the printed editions shorten the material. Gornayo accompanies Tristan and Iseo on their journey to Camalot and has a decisive influence on the arrival of Brangel at the Joyosa Guarda; the tournament at Camelot, which lasts for three days, is described in detail, day by day, indicating the changes in the colour of Tristan's arms; in the second tournament at Camelot, at which Tristan arrives accompanied by Iseo, and is visited in his tent by Arthur and Lancelot on the second day, it is Arthur who finds the tent. Precisely at this point the manuscript is interrupted, without there being any possibility of learning the details of the conversation between King Arthur and Queen Iseo, which are very significant in the *Códice* and in the Castilian printed editions, since Arthur reproaches Iseo with having abandoned her husband and complains of the evil committed by Queen Guinevere with Lancelot.

In the *Cuento de Tristán*, the names of the secondary characters are written differently from their forms in the remaining Castilian witnesses (including the names of relatively important individuals, such as Brangen, Gorvanayo, Goidís and Dinadani, and place names such as the Joyosa Guarda); at other times they have been completely altered, or have been confused with another character, as is the case with Brunor, who is replaced on one occasion by Brioberis and on another by Bravor, and with the husband of the Lady of the Espina, who receives various names in the *Cuento*, none of which coincides with what is given in the printed editions (Cuesta 1994a: 45–7; 1999a: xviii).

Some of the differences presented by the *Cuento de Tristán* in comparison with the *Códice de Tristán* allow us to appreciate more clearly the originality of the former in the depiction of the characters. The role of Gornayo (Gorvalan) is more important in the *Cuento*, and Queen Iseo is more determined, independent and extreme in her

reactions. For example, an episode with an entirely different focus in each of the two versions, and which moreover does not appear in the French *Tristan en prose* or in the Italian versions, is the adventure of the Paso del Cuerno (ch. 53 of *Tristán de Leonís*). While in the *Cuento* the queen insists that Tristan must blow the horn and threatens, when faced with his refusal, to sound it herself, even causing Tristan to grow somewhat angry (ed. Northup 1928: 249), in the *Códice* and the printed versions she begs her lover not to sound it, for fear lest he receive some wound. In the same way, Rubio Pacho (2000, 2002) has underlined the negative character given by love and female characters in the *Cuento de Tristán*, which accentuates the misogynist tendencies of the *Tristan en prose*, which are attenuated in *Tristán de Leonís*, although, in my view (2008a: 168–71), there is also an ambivalent evaluation of love in this work. Ros Domingo (2001: 283–404) also underlines the negative representation of love, characterised as 'mad', and of the character of Tristan, as well as the moralising and Christian perspective of the narrator; and adds as a distinguishing feature of the work his vision of it as lacking in humour and sex. This view is, in my judgement, based on an erroneous understanding of the episodes in which Dinadani is the protagonist, whose misogynistic statements and criticisms of Tristan Ros Domingo takes seriously instead of perceiving their comic content. Dinadani behaves less courteously in the *Cuento* (Cuesta 1999a: xvi; Rubio Pacho 2000: 1572–3), but this results in a more humorous dimension of this character. His invectives are so exaggerated that they have to be taken as part of a burlesque conversation. In contrast to *Tristán de Leonís*, the *Cuento* is characterised by presenting more elements of violence, especially verbal violence; the hero's challenge to his uncle the king to the death as he flees from the court and settles in the Paso de Tintayol, the explicit mention of a possible suicide in Iseo's letter, the expression 'puta falsa' applied to Iseo by Dinadani (Rubio Pacho 2000: 1571–3).

Rubio Pacho (2001) maintains that the episode of the love philtre that unleashes the love of the two protagonists is less complex and presents its own moral connotations in the manuscript of the *Cuento de Tristán*. As regards the episode of the rescue of Arthur, the *Cuento* devotes more attention to the description of the combats. The different variants reveal, in his judgement, an organic character to the texts which renders risky their interpretation as simple translations or corrupt versions of an original, since they reflect very significant information and can enable us to understand the later development of Spanish chivalric fiction.

Iseo's letter in the *Cuento de Tristán* has been compared with the version offered by the Catalan fragment from Andorra (Cuesta 1993a**:** 214–17; 1993b; 1994a: 137–45). The striking proximity of some phrases proves beyond question the existence of a common archetype, since although the Castilian version is fuller than the Catalan, there is nothing there that can be attributed to *amplificatio*. In the case of the letter that Belisenda sends to Tristan, the text in the *Cuento* approaches in its content, but not in its expression, those of the *Tristan en prose* and the *Tristano*

Riccardiano, but displays some originality. The letters were from the first moment the extracts preferred by reworkers and translators of the romance to exercise their creative talents, as is shown by the fact that they have been replaced by others in *Tristán de Leonís* and the fact that MS 22021 of the BNF contains a 'Carta de Iseo y Respuesta de Tristán'. which are original creations. The similarity between the letter of Iseo in the *Cuento* and in the Andorra MS shows that the *Cuento* can offer trails leading to how the central-eastern Iberian version may have looked in those passages in which no other manuscript witness has been preserved and *Tristán de Leonís* shows signs of reworking.

Santanach (2010: 35) identifies innovation as characteristic of the *Cuento* and the MS of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, compared to the more conservative solutions given in the Andorra manuscript and *Tristán de Leonís*. These latter have a greater number of coincidences with the Italian tradition represented by the *Tristano Riccardiano*. It is an urgent task to compare in detail the MS of the Biblioteca de Catalunya with the Castilian and Italian manuscripts, in order to establish whether the features which distinguish the *Cuento de Tristán* arise from freedom and originality in translation on the part of its author, who separates it from the common trunk, or whether they result from the existence of a distinct textual tradition. The comparison of the *Cuento* with *Tristán de Leonís*, although it can offer some clues, can turn out to be misleading since the printed text is the object of a wide-ranging ideological and stylistic reworking, as will be seen below. In general, with the exception of the sections reworked in the printed text, the differences between *Tristán de Leonís* and the *Cuento de Tristán* that were pointed out by Northup (ed. 1928: 25–76) are found also when the *Cuento* is compared with the *Códice*.

In conclusion, the *Cuento de Tristán* coincides with the text of the *Códice* and the XVIth-century printed editions in so far as concerns the storyline, with a few exceptions, but its style is much more primitive, more ingenuous, less rhetorical. Normally, the same ideas are expressed in a very different way in these texts, and verbal coincidences are few. Furthermore, there are important variations in the content that affect the characterisation of the characters, more violent in the *Cuento*, and less courtly, who are sometimes presented with negative features. As regards the ideology transmitted by the text, it tends to offer a realist and critical look at the practice of the knightly ideal, which leads to an ironic and humorous interpretation of some episodes.

The *Códice de Tristán*

The *Códice de Tristán* (the identification and ordering of the fragments of which have required laborious work by its editors) adds to the interest of the text itself that of the miniatures that illustrate the story, which show that it was prepared for a reader of high social rank. Together with the Paris manuscript of the *Libro del caballero Zifar*, it constitutes one of the few medieval Castilian manuscripts in which there are preserved miniatures that are not devoted to the field of religious iconography.

Alvar and Lucía (1999: 9–12), in their description of the manuscript, differ from the view of Bonilla (1912: 318) on the dating of the text, which they consider to be of the XVth century. It is the work of a single hand; the writing block measures 215 × 70 mm. The fragments were preserved in the binding of another work. This manuscript was never used by printers, since it lacks the distinctive marks found in those used for this purpose. The fragments are now preserved as two manuscripts of the BNE, nos. 20262/19 and 22644, the second of which, consisting of fifty-nine fragments, some of which preserve the original foliation, represents the recently discovered material that was not available to scholars until the publication of the edition by Alvar and Lucía.

The following episodes of the *Códice de Tristán* are preserved, which differ greatly in length, and some of which have significant internal *lacunae*:

1. From the organisation of the first tournament in Scotland to Tristan's departure to fight in the second tournament, provided with arms that belonged to Morlot (corresponding to chs 11–12 of *Tristán de Leonís*).
2. From the end of the combat with Galeote to the wedding night of Mares and Iseo, the seizure of Iseo by Palomades, and her discovery by Gorvalan (chs 25–30 of *Tristán de Leonís*).
3. From the freeing of Arthur from the power of the Doncella del Arte until Tristan takes leave of Arthur (chs 45–6).
4. From the flight of Tristan and Iseo from the court of Mares until they fall asleep in the castle of the knight who guards the passage of the Horn Bridge (ch. 53).
5. From the end of the second tournament at Camelot and Arthur and Lancelot's visit to Tristan and Iseo in their tent until Dinadan arrives at the Joyosa Guarda (chs 58–9).
6. From the combat of Lancelot and Tristan at the tournament of Vecepon, the stay of King Mares at Arthur's court and the pardon of the lovers to the admission of Tristan as a knight of the Round Table, the arrival of the Ancient Knight at court, and his intervention in the combat in favour of the widowed lady and her daughter (chs 63–71 and 73–4).
7. From the end of the fight between Tristan and Galaz to Tristan's return to Tintoíl (chs 78–9).
8. From the mortal wound of Tristan until the latter asks for confession and takes communion (chapters 871–83).
9. The war of the Knights of the Round Table against Mares, the punishment of Aldaret, and the death of Iseo de las Blancas Manos (not corresponding to the printed text).

My comparison of the *Códice* and *Tristán de Leonís* (1999a: xix–xxiii) confirms my earlier impressions based on MS 20262/19 of the *Códice* (Cuesta 1993b: 86–9): in general, and with the exception of specific episodes that have been totally altered in

Tristán de Leonís (for example, the letters) and which are examined below, the differences between both texts consist essentially of orthographic and morphological differences, lexical variants and changes affecting syntax, suppression and amplification and small changes of content, in addition to the use in various passages of *Tristán de Leonís* of a rhetorical tone akin to that of sentimental fiction. Some of the chapter headings of the *Códice* coincide word for word with those of the printed editions (for example, fols 19*r* and 27*r* of the *Códice* and chs 65 and 70 of *Tristán de Leonís*), although, going by what survives, the manuscript must have had almost twice as many chapters as the printed text. The exemplar followed by *Tristán de Leonís* must have been another copy, since lost, of the *Códice de Tristán*, corrected and altered to a varying extent, according to the section involved, by whoever prepared the text for the press. The similarity between the texts in some places is so close that it permits us to reconstruct the damaged section of the manuscript. Unfortunately it is not possible to compare the *Códice de Tristán* with either the Catalan manuscript of Andorra (which contains the section from the wedding night of Tristan and Iseo de las Blancas Manos to the beginning of the combat between Tristan and Lamarad in the Gasta Floresta) nor with that of Cervera (which contains the freeing of Meliadux from the power of the enchantress and the first attempt at poisoning made by Tristan's stepmother), nor yet with the recently discovered manuscript of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, since they do not contain any common episode.

Only three passages of the *Códice* do not find any corresponding part in the text of *Tristán de Leonís*: part of fragment 10 referring to the episode in which King Arthur beheads the Doncella del Arte who had held him captive, and fragments 37 and 38 which tell of the war of vengeance for the death of the protagonist, undertaken by his friends, and the death of Iseo de las Blancas Manos. These passages have been suppressed for ideological reasons by the author-reworker of *Tristán de Leonís*, and because of this may offer further evidence on the characteristics of the version in the *Códice*. The passage involving fragment 10 allows comparison also with the *Cuento de Tristán*, which is not the case with fragments 37 and 38. This is very interesting, since it permits us to appreciate the great difference between the *Códice* and the *Cuento* in the expression of ideas, the order of events, and in part of the content. This passage in the *Cuento* was already compared with *Tristán de Leonís* by Rubio Pacho (2001: 69–72), who notes less attention to the description of combat than in the Aragonese version. In terms of ideology, the *Códice*, like the *Cuento*, depicts Tristán's disapproving attitude towards Arthur's action in decapitating the Doncella del Arte, even if the reproach is articulated openly and explicitly in the *Cuento* – 'ca no pertenesçia a vos de matar mujer ninguna' (ed. Northup 1928: 219; ed. Corfis 2013: 136) – in which the king justifies his action with a single sentence ('esto conuenia de fazer, ca en otra manera non era onbre seguro della'), while in the *Códice de Tristán* the protagonist adopts a much more courteous attitude, expressing only 'maravilla' at the king's action, and Arthur articulates a long paragraph explaining everything that

has happened (ed. Alvar and Lucía 1999: 99). This explanation is also lacking from Malory's *Mort Arthur*, where it is the Lady of the Lake who orders him to behead the enchantress (Kennedy 1970: 8), but it is found in the French *Tristan en prose*. In contrast to both manuscripts, *Tristán de Leonís* suppresses both Tristan's astonishment and the king's explanation, and the death of the Doncella del Arte passes without comment. The *Códice* offers an intermediate solution, in relation to the *Cuento* and the printed versions, in so far as concerns respect for royal authority and courtly behaviour. The comparison of the three texts at this point allows us to appreciate the surprising partial coincidence between the content of the *Cuento* and that of the printed version that is not encountered in fragment 10 of the *Códice*. In the *Cuento*, the king takes the horse of a dead enemy and begins to fight; the Doncella Aventurera warns Tristán of the escape of the Doncella del Arte, and Tristán captures her and takes her to the king before continuing his fight with the enemy, while Arthur punishes the Doncella. In *Tristán de Leonís*, Tristán is warned by the king of the flight of the Doncella del Arte, captures her and hands her over to the king's justice; she is beheaded; devils carry off the Doncella and her castle is burnt; afterwards Tristán hands his own horse to the king. In the *Códice*, in which the beginning of the episode does not survive, Tristán asks the king to ride on his horse while he takes another: it is then that Tristán hands the Doncella del Arte to the king for punishment, Arthur beheads her, devils take away her soul, and her castle burns. In other words, the *Códice* differs in that it does not contain the warning about the flight of the Doncella, which would indicate yet again that the printed version derives from a different, although very similar, manuscript, while the *Cuento* is distinguished by lacking Tristan's display of courtesy in offering his horse to the king, and the divine punishment of the Doncella. Both additions support the theory of a less courtly behaviour on the part of the characters of the *Cuento*. The divine punishment, moreover, contributes to reinforcing Arthur's justification for having killed the Doncella, thereby diminishing any unease produced by this episode's failure to conform with the courtly ideology. Moreover, both manuscripts are distinguished from the printed text in the order of occurrence of the handing over of the horse and the death of the Doncella, although this alteration could be explained by a search for a more logical sequence of events.

Fragments 37 and 38 have received attention from critics because they refer to the episode of the vengeance for Tristan's death which is narrated, although with important differences, in some of the Italian *Tristan* texts (as stated above). Its presence in the *Códice* shows that this episode formed part of the Hispano-Italian *Tristán*, and leads us to suppose that it would have figured in the lost part of the remaining central-eastern Iberian manuscripts. Its absence from the printed *Tristán de Leonís* must be explained as an intentional modification motivated by the ideological orientation of this text, more respectful towards the authority of the king.

Gómez Redondo (1999: II, 1539–40) notes the importance of the use of irony and of narraative formulae, the presence of colloquial traits characteristic of orality, and

the emotive language as distinguishing features of the style of the manuscript in contrast to the printed version.

In the *Códice de Tristán*, some characters who take part in one episode have different names, although these are phonologically similar to those which they have in the printed texts (for example, the kings and knights who attend the investiture of Tristan as a knight of the Round Table, and the arrival of the Ancient Knight). Special interest and importance attaches to the fact that the *Códice* gives as an epithet to Queen Iseo the nickname 'Brunda' (ed. Alvar and Lucía 1999: 86), which differs from that of 'Baça' given to her in the *Cuento*. It was, therefore, the version known from the *Códice* and not that from the *Cuento* that was familiar to the *cancionero* poets who refer to Iseo as 'Brunda' (for example, Juan Barba, or perhaps, if Juan de Tapia is referring to the same character, 'Bruna': Cuesta 1999b: 86–7, 90–1 'Personajes arturicos'), and that is also reproduced by Rodríguez de Montalvo in his *Amadís* (ed. Cacho Blecua 1999: 1678).

Apart from the studies carried out on the miniatures and especially on the relationship of these to the text which they illustrate (Lucía Megías 2001b, 2005a) and on the resemblances of the *Códice* to other textual witnesses of the Hispano-Italian family of *Tristan* texts, there have been no studies examining structural, formal aspects of the text, or of its content. The manuscript *Tristán* texts still offer a wide scope for literary research and a better knowledge of them, especially of their meaning, would provide much information about the evolution of Castilian fictional narrative in the final centuries of the Middle Ages and about the various ideological orientations that guided its authors.

The Renaissance *Tristán de Leonís*

In 1501 the printer Juan de Burgos brought out in Valladolid the first edition of *Tristán de Leonís*. The book was not a novelty in the strict sense, since the plot of the work and the names of its protagonists were already famous among potential readers by the beginning of the XVth century, as is revealed by *cancionero* poetry (Cuesta 1999b), or references to Tristán and Lanzarote in the *Arcipreste de Talavera* (1438), and, slightly later, the mention of King Hoel of Little Britain, his daughter Iseo de las Blancas Manos and her brother Cardoin (the 'Quedín' of *Tristán de leonís*) in the *Libro de las bienandanzas e fortunas* of Lope García de Salazar (1471–6, ed. Marín Sánchez 2000 in CORDE, para. 221 *s.v.* Cardoin), or even, at the end of the century, the reference to the firmness and loyalty of Tristán in the *Libro de las veynte cartas e quisitiones* of Fernando de la Torre (ed. Díez Garretas 1983: 133). The work offered an adaptation of the version that is known from the BNE manuscript of the *Códice de Tristán* and which was probably also a reworking dating from the beginning of the XVth century of what had been circulating in Castile from the first third of the XIVth century, as is attested by the allusion to the loves of Tristán in the *Libro de buen amor* (stanza 1703) and to Tristán, in the company of Amadís and Zifar, in the *Glosa al regimiento de*

príncipes of Juan García de Castrogeriz (earlier than 1350). Nor was it the first time that this plot, in its general lines, had been printed: the French *Tristan* had been printed in Paris in 1489. Although, moreover, this was the first time that it had been printed in Castilian, Juan de Burgos had previously ventured into the publication of another work of Castilian Arthurian material, the *Baladro del sabio Merlín* (1498), and other works of chivalric fiction, such as the *Cronica troyana* (1490).
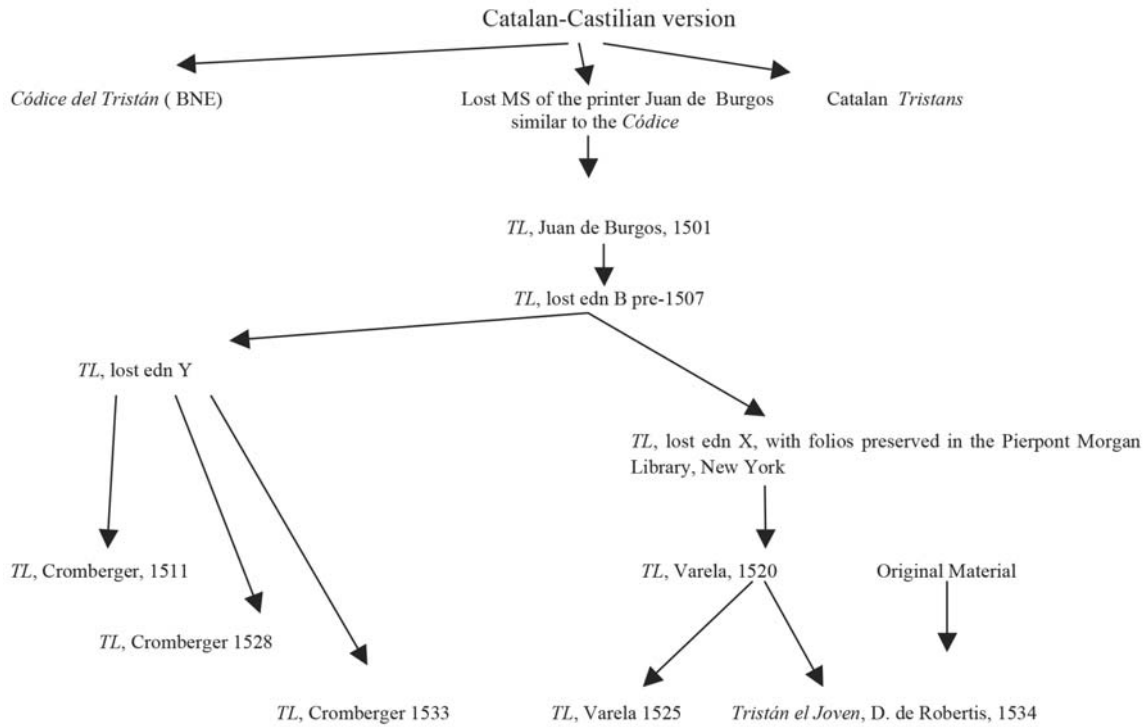
The *Tristán* printed in 1501 met with a notable success, to the extent that there were at least another seven editions printed in Seville. The Cromberger printing house produced, on paper with a hand-and-star watermark, editions in 1511, 1528 and surely the now-lost edition of 1533, as well as another, X, of which some loose leaves are preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, discovered inside a copy of the edition of 1528 by Cuesta (1997d), the woodcuts and header of which coincide with those of the 1511 edition, although the distribution of abbreviations in the text does not; the text must have been printed before 1520, since it seems to have been the base text for the first edition printed at Seville by Juan Varela de Salamanca**.** Varela's Seville press produced the 1520 edition, currently of unknown whereabouts, and that of 1525. Finally, the Seville press of Domenico de Robertis printed *Tristán el Joven* in 1534, which includes as its first part a *Tristán de Leonís* marked by the peculiarity of inserting several chapters on Galeote and on the life of the lovers on the Isle of Ploto, and adds also an extensive second part with the adventures of the offspring of Tristan and Iseo who were both on that island.

All the surviving editions descend from the 1501 edition, although through another intermediary (edition B), some of the errors of which are transmitted to all the later editions, though each of them adds its own erroneous readings and occasionally a deliberate variant. In the case of the 1534 edition, the addition of new material means that it should be considered to be a different work. Besides these, the present author (1997d) has postulated the existence of another edition before 1511, Y, the source of the Cromberger editions. B or Y would be the pre-1507 Cromberger edition whose existence Cacho Blecua (2004–5) believes to be certain, basing himself on the use of the woodcuts from *Tristán* in the 1507 edition of *Oliveros*.

Tristán de Leonís in Images: the Woodcuts

As Cátedra emphasises (2007: 22), one should not minimise the importance that the existence of earlier woodcuts may have had in this period in the printing of particular works. Specifically, the *Tristán de Leonís* printed by Juan de Burgos has a wealth of illustration, since it contains eighty-two woodcuts distributed over eighty-three chapters, and of these twenty-five are used just once (Cacho Blecua 2010: 7).

Cacho Blecua (2004–5, 2007) analyses the relationships of non-textual dependence in the woodcuts added to the editions of *Tristán*, *Oliveros*, *Amadís*, and the *Coronación* of Juan de Mena, taking as his starting point the lapses in the link between text and image. In this way, he is able to establish which of the works making use of a particular

Fig. 3: *Stemma* of the Printed Editions of *Tristán de Leonís*.

Catalan-Castilian version

Códice del Tristán (BNE)   Lost MS of the printer Juan de Burgos
                                 similar to the *Códice*   Catalan *Tristans*

TL, Juan de Burgos, 1501

TL, lost edn B pre-1507

TL, lost edn Y

TL, lost edn X, with folios preserved in the Pierpont Morgan
Library, New York

TL, Cromberger, 1511   *TL*, Varela, 1520   Original Material

TL, Cromberger 1528

TL, Cromberger 1533   *TL*, Varela 1525   *Tristán el Joven*, D. de Robertis, 1534

woodcut is the one for which it was created. This permits him to be precise about the dating, and to corroborate the hypothesis of the existence of lost editions, earlier than those which are now extant, of romances of chivalry issued by the press of Jacobo Cromberger. The numerous images shared by *Tristán* and *Oliveros* imply the reuse of some blocks originally intended to illustrate an edition of *Tristán de Leonís*, which must necessarily predate the *Oliveros* printed in 1507 in the same Seville workshop. One-third of the engravings in *Amadís de Gaula* go back to a graphic model issued by the Cromberger printing house, and must be from a lost *Tristán de Leonís* which would have been published between 1503 and 1507. Some of the woodcuts of *Amadís* went on to appear in *La Coronación* by Juan de Mena. The shared images suggest that these books were aimed at a similar public, accustomed to using texts enriched by illustrations, which was probably drawn from the aristocratic strata.

The 1501 Edition by Juan de Burgos

The text of the 1501 edition consists of ninety-four folios measuring 184×260 mm and one titlepage. It is printed in black-letter type in two columns of forty-three lines. At the start of each chapter there is a small woodcut, normally alluding to the subject of the chapter; there are eighty of these, but many of the woodcuts are repeated on various occasions. The chapters are not numbered but they do have headings. The text begins on f. 3, with an ornamented capital, but without wood-cuts. The colophon conveys the date and place of printing and the name of the

printer; there follow, on the final leaf (94*r*), a statement by the translator or reviser (in reality a farewell or epilogue) and a woodcut. A single copy is known, in the British Library (C.20.d.24), which previously belonged to the library of Heredia; the first three folios have been refashioned (the title page and the two containing the 'Tabla'), and folio 73 is missing, which must have been lost before the Tabla was reconstituted, since the title of chapter lxviii is not given in it. On the title page there appears only the title of the work. The 'Tabla' occupies both sides of fols 1–2 and could have replaced 'una carta que embio maestre Guillaume de Namur a mosen Juan de Beraforte, que estava preso por mandado del rey Duarte', mentioned in the contents of the editions of 1511, 1525 and 1528, but which does not appear in them because its place is occupied by the 'Prohemio'. Neither the 'Carta' nor the 'Prohemio' figure in the surviving text of the London copy of the 1501 edition. The contents lists perhaps allude to a letter which must have appeared in one of the earlier editions of the work (the colophons of the editions of 1511, 1525 and 1528 emphasis that they have added tablas lacking in the earlier editions, which indicates a recognition that there were various editions before 1511). The 'Carta de Guillaume de Namur' or the 'Prohemio', or perhaps both, could have been at the front of the edition of 1501 on the first, lost, folios.

Tristán de Leonís (1501) Compared with its Medieval Source

The modifications carried out by the author of *Tristán de Leonís* in relation to his medieval source relate to various intentions. In the Renaissance work, specific passages are suppressed that were found in the *Códice de Tristán*, with the aim of shortening and reducing the text. In some cases, the cut may be caused by the corruption or loss of that part of the manuscript being used as an exemplar by the printer: the explanation of the award of seats at the Round Table, which the printer sums up with a brevity formula, corresponds to a point at which the text of the *Códice* is corrupt. But in general the motive for the omissions is ideological, or perhaps commercial, seeking to satisfy the expectations of a public to which the work was directed. Such are the war against King Mares for the death of Tristán, the punishment of Aldaret, and the return of Quedín to Little Britain on the death of Iseo de las Blancas Manos when she learns of the death of her spouse. These must all necessarily have been present in the printer's source, since in the epilogue it is stated that there were three women who lost their lives for the love of the hero, while in the work there are recounted only the deaths of Belisenda and Queen Iseo la Brunda. The author wished to transform the ending to come closer to the model of sentimental fiction, a genre triumphant at the time of the publication of the first edition, and also to avoid narrating a confrontation between the monarch and the knights. As has been seen, the elimination of the explanation given by Arthur to Tristán about his capture and enchantment by the Donzella del Arte and on the reason why he has killed her seems to relate to the same purpose of avoiding questions about royal authority.

In other cases there appears the opposite process, *amplificatio*: in a very rhetorical style, typical of sentimental fiction, dialogues and monologues are introduced in particularly dramatic passages. A good example is the lamentation of Iseo on seeing her dying lover: while the *Códice de Tristán* dwells on the description of the queen's gestures of grief, the printed texts add verbal laments to accompany these. Dissatisfied with the amplification carried out, the author even offers an explanation which justifies, with brevity *topoi*, the fact that more detail is not given of these words. Besides increasing the dramatic quality, some amplifications serve the function of offering a more religious depiction of the characters, as will be seen below.

Not all the modifications, however, involve especially dramatic passages, nor are they all due to the desire to use a more refined and rhetorical language or to impart a more religious tone to the work. Other amplifications seem simply to increase the verisimilitude or the realism of the setting. Thus it is with the account of the first tournament in Scotland: when King Languines goes to take part in favour of the king of Scotland, the preparations he undertakes to go to the tournament are narrated, calling together all his knights and amassing arms, horses, food and fodder; further on there is a paragraph added about how all came together and prepared for the tourney, laying out the place where this was to take place and erecting the tents, the vantage points and stands, and the barriers (at the end of chapter 11). The reworking of the manuscript by the 'author' of *Tristán de Leonís* extends throughout the entire text.

Special consideration must be given to all the amplifications carried out in the text through plagiarism of various works produced in the workshop of Juan de Burgos, which has led critics to suppose that there existed a close relationship between the author and the version given by *Tristán de Leonís* and the printer. For Sharrer (1984: 147–57; 1988a: 361–9), the person responsible for the plagiarisms was the printer himself, Juan de Burgos. These textual appropriations seem to have as their objective the setting of the work in the context of the fictional literature that was produced in the workshop in question, thereby facilitating its acceptance by the same kind of public as already enjoyed those other works.

Plagiarism of Sentimental Fiction and of Trojan Themes

Some cases of plagiarism had attracted the attention of Bonilla (1912: 387–8) in his edition of *Tristán de Leonís*; others were subsequently pointed out by Lida, Waley, Sharrer, and Marín Pina. The *proemio* is derived from *Oliveros de Castilla y Artús de Algarve*, printed by Fadrique de Basilea in 1499; the epilogue reworks that of the *Baladro del sabio Merlín*, printed by Juan de Burgos in 1498; the letters and the final description of the beauty of Iseo come from the *Crónica troyana* printed by the latter printer in 1490; but the most extensive contribution is that from *Grimalte y Gradissa* by Juan de Flores, a work from which there have been taken speeches, Iseo's prayer

and the description of the lovers' tomb in chapters 82 and 83, besides the few verses that adorn the romance.

Bonilla also drew attention to the similarities between the scene in *Oliveros* in which the queen expires on seeing her dead husband, and the death of Tristan and Iseo. In this case, it is probably imitation in the other direction. In view of the fame enjoyed since the XIIth century all over Europe by the legend of the lovers and their tragic death; given that there already existed a ballad, known at the court of the Catholic Monarchs, '*Herido está don Tristán*', in which this well-known scene was reproduced and it is related how both expired while they were locked in a kiss; and since there exists a Castilian manuscript of *Tristán* from the XVth century which shows the current circulation of the material relating to Tristan at that time, it seems logical to suppose that Juan de Burgos, already having in his possession the manuscript for the proposed edition of *Tristán*, should have emphasised the similarities in the corresponding passage of his edition of *Oliveros*.

With regard to the portrait of Iseo with which the romance finishes, Entwistle (1925 rpt 1975: 117–20) pointed out that Brunetto Latini, a guest of Alfonso X around 1260, attributed to Tristan a rhetorical description of Iseo in his *Li Livres dou Tresor* and believed it possible that this description might have existed in a lost *Tristan* text. Gardner (1930 rpt 1975: 40) suggests that the passage came directly from the author of the *Tresor*. For Lida (1966: 134–48) the portrait of Iseo was added later after the main text was completed, as is shown by its late linguistic features, under the influence of the sentimental romance. These hypotheses were rendered obsolete with the discovery of the medieval manuscript which was involved in the transmission of the text of Guido de Colonna to the *Cronica troyana* of Juan de Burgos. Gilman (1978: 326–7) n.136, followed by Sharrer (1988a: 369) believes that the portrait of Helen of Troy in the *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, of which there exists a manuscript of the anonymous Castilian translation of the end of the XIVth century, was the source of the first edition of the *Crónica troyana* in 1490, printed by Juan de Burgos, and that from this work it passed to *Tristán de Leonís* and to the portrait of Melibea in Act I of *La Celestina*. In the same line of argument are the studies of Marín Pina (2004–5) in relation to the plagiarised letters from the Trojan work and those of Galle-Cejudo (2005) on the portrait of Iseo and its classical precedents.

Although Sharrer (1984a: 147–57) believed that the confluence of the Arthurian romance and sentimental fiction explains the differences that distinguish Iseo's letter in the *Cuento* from that in the printed edition, the discovery of the model of the letters in *Tristán de Leonís* as being the *Crónica troyana* printed by Juan de Burgos in 1490 places these modifications in a wider context than that of the adaptation of the model of sentimental fiction. Marín Pina has identified passages derived from the letters of Daymira to Hercules, Medea to Jason and Elisa Dido to Eneas in the letter of Iseo. The same occurs with the letter Belisenda sends to Tristan announcing her suicide: the *Cuento* and the printed editions do not coincide in a single line. That in *Tristán de*

Leonís is patently more rhetorical and much longer (Waley 1961: 10). The manuscript of the Biblioteca de Catalunya discovered recently contains Belisenda's letter, but a dampstain prevents our verifying whether it offers the same version as the *Cuento de Tristán*. Marín Pina also indicates the sections of the *Crónica troyana* that inspired Belisenda's letter in the printed edition.

For their part, following the path opened by Lida (1959, 1966), the relations existing between the printed *Tristán* and Juan de Flores's *Grimalte y Gradissa* have been underlined by Waley (1961: 1–14; 1972: xxv–xxvii), Seidenspinner-Núñez (1981–2), Sharrer (1984a), Parrilla (1988: xxxix–xl), and Gwara (1997: 78–9). As has been seen, the text of 1501 adds material taken from this work. Lida (1959: 406–18; 1966: 134–48) was the first to indicate two cases of borrowings, which she believed were attributable to the printer. These are two stanzas of incidental poetry, composed, according to Flores, by Alonso de Córdoba, and some of the language used by this Córdoba in the description of the tomb of Fiameta, which is reapplied to the tomb of Tristán and Iseo. The same view is held by Sharrer (1984a, 1988a). Waley extended the study of the relations between *Grimalte y Gradissa* and the 1501 *Tristán*, attributing the points of similarity to Juan de Flores and concluding that in the latter work there are seven passages taken from the former. Two of these are unaltered (the tomb of Tristan and Iseo, which replicates that of Fiameta, and the verses placed in the mouth of Melianes, which reproduce the final verses of *Grimalte*), and the remaining cases are carefully modified to suit their new context (1972: xxv). Gwara believes that the plagiarism of *Grimalte y Gradissa* in the 1501 *Tristán* and in another romance of chivalry, *Clarián de Landanís*, were not the work of Juan de Flores himself (1997: 77–9), to whom he does, however, attribute, from stylistic analysis, the *Carta de Iseo y respuesta de Tristán* in MS 22021 of the BNM (1997: 80, 97–9). This attribution was suggested previously by Sharrer (1981–2; 1984a: 155–7).

The influence of the sentimental romance must have been decisive at the moment of deciding on the ending of the work in the printed texts: the Castilian version of the XVth century ended with the narration of the death of Iseo de las Blancas Manos and the war of vengeance for the death of Tristan, with the punishment of Aldaret and King Mares' plea for forgiveness. But these episodes involved a diminution of dramatic tension: for any reader of sentimental romances, the perfect ending must be the death of the lovers. The death of the wife of the protagonist must not obscure that of Iseo la Brunda, who dies at the same time as her lover. The requited, but illicit, love of Tristan and Iseo should not compete in the mind of the reader with the innocent love of the scorned spouse of the knight. In this way the moral lesson of the text was intensified: an example of the negative consequences of 'loco amor', emphasised by Dinadán in other passages of the work, combined with the exaltation of the lovers, pardoned by God at their death.

In these intrusions of sentimental fiction into *Tristán* two factors were undoubtedly of considerable influence: firstly, they shared a favourite theme of that fiction, that of

the tragic love that leads the lovers to their death, an almost conventional ending of many sentimental narratives; and secondly, letters expressing love and its opposite were one of the essential elements of that genre. The adulterous nature of the protagonists' love, with the obligatory tragic end announced by Dinadán and of which the lovers themselves were aware (on more than one occasion Tristan attempts to 'partirse del mal de la reina'), relates *Tristán de Leonís* to the genre of sentimental fiction (Cuesta 1999a: Introduction, pp. xxxi–xxxii). As is the case with such works, the plot is closed, love is the destroyer of social order (the nephew strikes at the honour of his uncle, the knight at that of his king) and of the life of those who suffer from it, whom it plunges into madness and shame (Iseo does not dare, at first, to flee with Tristan because in every court they would be considered 'falsos', traitors), and whom it subjects to persecution by envious courtiers (Aldaret and his lady) and the jealous husband (Mares). For Ros Domingo (2001: 283–404), it is precisely this contamination by sentimental fiction, together with the rewriting of the story of Tristan to focus on its protagonist and on the central theme of love, that distinguishes *Tristán de Leonís* from other Ibero-Romance versions.

The tragic outcome, with the death of the protagonists, gave the romance an adequate moral lesson against disorderly love, which would have gratified moralists, while the theme of love rendered impossible by social conventions would have pleased readers of sentimental fiction. The work thus had everything required to satisfy the reading public of the early XVIth century, and so to maintain the success already established during two centuries of its previous existence in medieval Spanish literature. These possibilities for commercial success must have weighed heavily in the mind of the first printer of the work, who also took care, as will be seen below, to include religious elements that suppressed the more subversive aspects of the story of the lovers.

The Reworker of 1501

Juan de Burgos began his work as a printer in Burgos in 1489. There he remained until 1499, publishing around twenty books, among them the *Baladro del sabio Merlín con sus profecias* and the *Doze trabajos de Ercules* of Enrique de Villena. In 1500 he temporarily abandoned Burgos to set up shop in Valladolid, where the previous year the presses of Petrus Giraldi and Michael de Planes had ceased operating. Some of the texts that he published in this period could have been inherited from other printers. In Valladolid, in 1501, he published *Tristán de Leonís* and the *Historia de los nobles cavalleros Oliveros de Castilla y Artús de Algarbe*. In 1502 he returned to Burgos. His last dated work was printed in October of that year. In May 1503 the printer Andrés de Burgos was working there, who seems to have used the typographic material and presses of Juan de Burgos (Norton 1966: 62–3). As a printer, Juan de Burgos reveals

himself to be extremely interested in works of fiction and does not restrict his role simply to reproducing in print the manuscripts that came to his hands. The work of adaptation carried out in the case of *Tristán* also occurred, for example, in his edition of the *Crónica troyana* and in the *Baladro*. In the latter, as in *Tristán*, the influence of sentimental fiction can be detected, and also, again as in the case of *Tristán*, there are incorporated some verses taken from *Grimalte* and attributed to Alonso de Córdoba. As far as concerns the *Crónica troyana*, Juan de Burgos produced a new book that would triumph over the previously-known versions and become the canonical text for Renaissance reference. He used two sources for his version, the *Sumas* of Leomarte in a XVth-century version, and the medieval translation of the work of Guido de Colonna. In the prologue to his edition, he reveals that he had intended to divide it into four parts and mentions the chapters that would have corresponded to each, but he did not in the end put this arrangement into effect. The *Crónica troyana* permits us to see how Juan de Burgos conceived the work of the printer: the boundary between his work and that of a rewriter is imperceptible. Everything seems to indicate that it was Juan de Burgos himself, or someone who worked assiduously for him and systematically adapted the manuscripts that he was going to publish from his press, who was the author of the final reworking undergone by the Castilian *Tristán*.

Cátedra and Velasco raise another interesting possibility (2000: 79–94). Some of the works printed at the workshop of Juan de Burgos were found in manuscripts owned by the Comendador Cristobal de Santisteban (who was still alive in 1534). The printer's publications could have been commissions in which the involvement of Santisteban was not limited to the mere loan of material from his library. Cátedra and Velasco highlight the literary knowledge and stylistic skill involved, which seem to go beyond the capacity of a mere printer, and which reveal the borrowings inserted into various works from his press (2000: 91–2), abilities which Cristobal de Santisteban certainly had. They emphasise the latter's relationship with various publishers and his interest in the publication of texts, revealed in his obtaining privileges to print.

The Ideology of *Tristán de Leonís*

The most important modifications carried out in the 1501 *Tristán de Leonís* in relation to the *Códice de Tristán* are concentrated in the final episodes, and this can be related to the new ideology that the author of the work is attempting to impose on the material he is adapting. The plagiarisms and final modifications seem, in fact, to be intended not only to bring the work closer to the triumphant genre of sentimental fiction and to the successful *Amadís de Gaula*, but above all to attenuate, through an increase in the religious content, the moral conflict that could be posed by the exaltation of adulterous love for readers of the work at the beginning of the XVIth century (Cuesta 2008a: 169–75; 2014a). The new religious elements, absent from the *Códice de Tristán*,

increase, throughout chapter 83, the pathos, the religious sentiment, and the devotion of the protagonists, Tristán and Iseo, by the following devices: by the vigil and prayer of Iseo, by several pleas to God and the Virgin made by Tristán in his lament for his imminent death, by his plea for forgiveness to all present, and by his final prayer.

The entire episode in which Iseo spends the night in a vigil praying for the salvation of her lover was created for *Tristán de Leonís*. The queen's prayer revolves around two ideas that are rhetorically amplified: (1) she begs God to spare Tristan's life, since the blame for his sins should fall upon her; and (2) if this is not possible, she prays that God permit her to die with him, so that this should be a clear case of divine justice. Both themes are well developed and arise from Iseo's complete ignorance of the effects of the love potion. The passage seems to be a moralising commentary on the romance. All in all, the prayer is well suited to the perspective of the enamoured queen. The desire to keep their love secret, expressed as a sign of repentance and an intention to reform, is in accordance with this character's attitude throughout the text. At the end of Iseo's prayer, there is included a passage taken from Juan de Flores's sentimental romance *Grimalte y Gradissa*, which the rewriter places in the mouth of Governal, who attempts to console the queen.

At the end of the night, Iseo's anguished prayer is followed by Tristán's confession and lament, his testamentary arrangements, and his farewell to those present, in which he begs for their forgiveness. Tristan's prayer, his confession, and his plea for forgiveness addressed to all those present are also found in the *Tavola Ritonda*, although in a different sequence and language, and must have appeared also after Tristan's plea for confession, absolution and communion which are preserved at the end of f. 36*v* of the medieval Castilian *Códice*. Some religious elements, therefore, must already have been found in the common source of the Hispano-Italian family of *Tristan* texts.

However, the detailed analysis of the final chapters of the work, contrasting them with the versions found in V.II or the *Vulgate* of the French *Tristan en prose*, that in BNF MS fr. 757 (representing V.I of the *Tristan en prose*), and from Italy the *Compilation* of Rustichello da Pisa, the *Tristano Veneto* (of the late XIIIth century), the *Tristano Panciatichiano* (XIVth century), and the *Tavola Ritonda* (in Tuscan dialect of the second quarter of the XIVth century), as well as the *Cantari di Tristano* (second half of the XIVth century), leads me to postulate a closer relationship between the Castilian text and that of the *Tavola*, while the coincidences between the remaining Italian representatives of the Tristan legend with *Tristán de Leonís* can, it seems, be explained on the basis of a common source not very different from V.I of the French *Tristan* (Cuesta 2014a).

In short, the religious sentiment imposed on the characters throughout this chapter must be attributed principally to the rewriter and not to his source. It is this religious sentiment with which he imbues Tristán that renders impossible the attitude of defiance in the face of death that this character adopted in the other versions. In *Tristán*

de Leonís there is some nuancing of the hero's invitation to death to come whenever it wishes to do so, through the inclusion immediately afterwards of a prayer. It is not enough for the Tristán of the Castilian printed version to have his lover in his arms in order for him to die happy denying any importance to death: it is necessary for him to address himself to God and to think more of his soul than of his sweetheart. The rewriter does not fail to include, after Tristán's lament for his impending death, his testamentary arrangements, so that the hero dies after arranging his spiritual and earthly affairs.

The work of the rewriter is centred upon this episode in converting the deaths of Tristán and Iseo into Christian deaths, through three devices: the depiction of Tristán as a devout Christian; the elimination of his killing of Iseo, turning the latter's death into a natural one from grief rather than its being caused by the excessively tight embrace of her lover; and the suggestion of God's forgiveness of the lovers, making into a reality the plea of Iseo in her prayer to be allowed to die at the same time as Tristán.

The author's final prayer in the epilogue of the 1501 edition, which is suppressed in later editions, is intended to attest to readers his faith and devotion, which could have been brought under suspicion for having related this story of adulterous loves, just as Tristán's prayer in his last moments of life bears witness to his repentance and his Christian death. The significance of the religious elements incorporated into the epilogue is even greater since this epilogue is in other respects a calque of the one found in the *Baladro del sabio Merlín* printed in 1498, also by Juan de Burgos. The author of the epilogue (probably the same person who carried out all the rewriting or remodelling of the *Códice de Tristán*) considered it convenient to add to *Tristán* some religious elements that did not appear in the epilogue to the *Baladro*.

This recantation with which the 1501 edition ends perhaps reflects the fear of the reaction of readers at a specific point in time at which the glory of loving was overshadowed by the sin of loving, and at which the glorification of adulterous love was not permissible (Cuesta 2008a: 169–76), still less when it affected the monarchy; the war of succession which brought Isabel into confrontation with Juana la Beltraneja was not so long past, and the latter was accused of not being the daughter of Enrique IV but was claimed to be the result of adultery between Queen Juana and Beltrán de la Cueva. While the *Tavola Ritonda* modifies the ending of the French *Tristan en prose* to exalt the love of the protagonists and presents no conflict between their sinful love and its glorification, the author of the Castilian text avoids exalting the adulterous love of Tristán and Iseo, as he will later do in describing their tomb (Cuesta 2010), and attempts to concentrate the reader's interest on the lovers' repentance, undermining the content of the story passed to him by legendary tradition. The originality of the Spanish *Tristán* printed in 1501, reprinted so frequently during the XVIth century, has an extremely clear ideological orientation, caused either by the religious beliefs of the rewriter if he is sincere in these final manifestations, or else by his desire to avoid the

reproaches of his readership. It would appear that he was successful in this, since of all the Arthurian works published in this period in Castilian, *Tristán* is the one which enjoyed by far the greatest number of editions, while *Lanzarote* (ed. Sharrer and Contreras 2006), another work with royal and adulterous love, remained unprinted.

Tristán de Leonís and the Romances of Chivalry

The work carried out by the rewriter of *Tristán de Leonís* succeeded, as its editorial success shows, in aligning the work closely with the Renaissance readership, among whom it would be received throughout the first third of the XVIth century as one more of the representatives of a newly fashionable genre: that of the romances of chivalry.

Precisely the same combination of knightly adventures (challenges, personal combat, jousts and tournaments, feats of arms, single and group combat) and amorous matters that had provided so many readers for *Tristán* would become typical of the most successful genre among the XVIth-century public, which, however, avoided adulterous love between the protagonists (Cuesta 1999a: xxvii–xxxiii). The successive editions of *Tristán de Leonís* contributed to the formation of the characteristics of the new genre, as did other medieval works on chivalric themes, whether Arthurian or not, that were printed in the first years of the XVIth century (Cátedra 2000: 17–8), although the enormous influence of *Amadís de Gaula* predominates over the rest. The sheer number of editions of *Amadís* and *Tristán de Leonís* in the first third of the century implies the existence of a readership among which were found also the writers of romances of chivalry, who absorbed from reading these works the features of the genre within which they themselves wished to create their own works: biographical structure, the *topos* of the pretended translation (Cirlot 1993; Marín Pina 1994), the exposure of the newborn hero (Gracia 1991), the imposition of a name related to the circumstances of his birth, to which is added the name of his country (Marín Pina 1990), amorous pursuit by women whom he does not love (a *topos* so common in the romances of chivalry that Don Quixote cannot but believe that Maritornes and Altisidora are attempting to undermine his fidelity to Dulcinea (Marín Pina 1998: 876–9), just as the evil lady and Morgana offer their love to Tristan), travelling ladies (Marín Pina 2007a, 2010), the imprudent granting of an unspecified boon and the rescue of the beloved who has been kidnapped (Tristán rescues the Dueña del Lago de la Espina and later Iseo), investiture as a knight by a king who is a near relation, generally the father, as occurs with Galaz and Amadís (an uncle, in the case of Tristán), the Ancient Knight (Lucía and Sales 2007)...

Magic and the supernatural, so characteristic of the Arthurian material and of the romances of chivalry (Cuesta 2014b) are represented in *Tristán* by Merlin, Morgana and the Holy Grail. Merlin, the model of so many enchanters both male and female in chivalric literature (Cuesta 2007) plays an active role in the opening chapters of

Tristán de Leonís: in the birth of the hero, in the revelation of the latter, and in his rescue. Moreover, he utters prophecies concerning his destiny, which places him among the three best knights in the world. Although he later disappears, occasional mentions of him, such as that made to the 'Padrón de Merlín', keep him in the reader's mind. In the text we also find ladies who know spells capable of causing loss of memory or freedom, such as those who enchant King Meliadux and King Arthur; magical objects sent by an anonymous woman, an identity behind which there hides Morgana, such as the enchanted horn which reveals adulterous women, and the broken shield which will become whole when the two sweethearts depicted on it become lovers; dwarfs with prophetic capabilities, such as those who are found at the courts of King Feremondo of Gaula and King Mares of Cornualla; the magic potion, an amorous drink which unleashes the love of the protagonists; premonitory dreams which foretell disasters, such as those of Tristan before being wounded by the young archer, those of Iseo de las Blancas Manos before losing her husband, or those of Iseo la Brunda before Tristan dies; the ring that makes its owner invincible and invisible; the ability of Morgana to guess the identity of who the unknown knight is ...

Another *topos* of the romance of chivalry taken from the Arthurian romance (but not only from this source) is the presentation of the fiction as history (Eisenberg 1982; Fogelquist 1982). If the account of the deeds of Arthur is supposed to be the work of the monk Blaise, to whom Merlin himself dictates his life story (Alvar 1991: 42–3), the deeds of Tristán, related by himself, are going to be preserved in the *Libro de Aventuras* of the Round Table. These are the predecessors of the wise magician whom Don Quixote will imagine to be the historian of his adventures.

The motifs of the island and the proud and idolatrous giant, frequent in the romances of chivalry of the XVIth century (Cuesta 2001), are represented in *Tristán* by the island of Ploto and the giant Bravor. The fabulous monsters are present in the work in the episode of the Bestia Ladradora. The squire who accompanies the knightly protagonist in the romances of chivalry is present in the character of Gorvalán (Urbina 1991: 27–34).

A particularly notable characteristic of *Tristán de Leonís* is humour. This feature of the work is probably one of those which it retains from its source, since there are also humorous touches in the surviving Castilian and Catalan manuscripts, as has been seen. Nor is humour lacking in the Renaissance romances of chivalry (Daniels 1992), in which this element must not be attributed solely to the influence of the humanistic comedy or Italian chivalric literature (Sales 1996: 152 n. 43): humour is already present in the Arthurian narratives and in *Amadís*. It is sufficient to recall the episode of Gandalín in the tower of Arcaláus, which must surely have influenced that of Sancho Panza and the fulling hammers: both squires suffer physiological reactions because of fear. *Tristán* is full of comic details: the story of bleeding noses with which the Dueña del Lago del Espina attempts to cover up her adultery; the scene in which King Mares threatens the lady's dwarf; the inelegant situation of Tristán on being

rejected by the Lady of the Lake to whose rescue he has ridden; the fright of Palomades on meeting Brangel and believing her to be a ghost;, Palomades' erotic dream, from which he is reluctant to be awoken by Gorvalán; the practical jokes of Lamarad at the expense of the cowardly knights of Cornwall; the episode of the enchanted horn; King Mares's fall when he attempts to capture his nephew; the disillusionment of Quedín at not encountering any adventures; the punishment of the bravado of Queas; the discussion between Queens Iseo and Ginebra about the attractiveness of Tristán; the reproaches made by Arthur to Iseo, complaining about Ginebra's infidelity to him; the affair of the helmet, thanks to which Dinadán learns to fly, because the knights who defeat him unhorse him in order to take his horse (a joke that reappears in *Florisel de Niquea*, IV, II, 12 : Daniels 1992: 39–40); the comic insults of Dinadán to Tristán and Iseo; the jokes on the need to hold oneself well in the saddle during the tournament of Vercepó; Dinadán's observations on the misfortunes that follow upon love; the trickery practised on King Mares on believing that the lovers are sleeping separated by a sword...

The courtly ambience that surrounds the knightly world, the description of which constitutes one of the factors in the success of the romances of chivalry, was already accurately picked up in the Arthurian romance: the games of chess, the tents erected by the shores of the sea, the lofty vantage points whence ladies and kings contemplate jousts and tournaments, the music of the harp, the parades in the course of which the people have the chance to admire and compare the beauty of knights, ladies and maidens, the petitions to the king or to the heroes by supplicant knights and ladies, the messengers who arrive at court with news of other characters, the assembly of the whole court around the king ... All this forms part of the framework in which the adventures of the protagonists develop.

Many of the *topoi* of Arthurian material passed to the romances of chivalry through *Amadís* and the *Tristán* texts; the latter, together with *Lanzarote*, had already influenced *Amadís* (Cuesta 2008b). The successive editions of *Tristán de Leonís* would, for publishers and readers, be incorporated within the publishing phenomenon of the romances of chivalry whose characteristics have been studied by Lucía (1998a): folio format, printed in two columns in black-letter type with decorated initials, and a title page with the title and a woodcut of an armed knight. The length of the text, although shorter than that of other romances of chivalry, was not, at all events, anomalous: hence the fact that the work did not adopt the quarto format of the brief chivalric narrative.

Tristán is not the only Arthurian work to be printed and read as one among other romances of chivalry in the XVIth century: Roubaud (2001) believes that at bottom there lies a desire to enhance, through contrast, the new fictions on the basis of the old, which the former would eclipse using similar mechanisms and devices. This attitude surely underlies the characteristics presented by the 1534 continuation, *Tristán el Joven*.

Tristán el Joven (1534)

Description

This work, published in Seville in 1534 by Domenico de Robertis and translated into Italian in 1555, with some modifications that impart a more clearly Renaissance character to it (Gimber 2004), is an adaptation and continuation of *Tristán de Leonís*, and occupies 207 folios printed in two columns, in black-letter type, which is (as we have seen) the customary format of Renaissance romances of chivalry, the genre to which it belongs. Three copies are currently known (Lucía Megías 2005b). The text is divided into two parts.

The first book of *Tristán el Joven* brings together the material that appeared in *Tristán de Leonís*, to which the 1534 author refers as 'materia antigua', but with the addition of new chapters in the central section, and with the suppression of a few passages. The original material created by the anonymous author of the 1534 text consists of the Prologue, in which he justifies the need for a continuation of *Tristán de Leonís*, an extensive interpolation spanning chapters XXVII to LXI of Book I (fols 20*ra*–50*va*), and the entire Book II, in which there are narrated the adventures of the two children of Tristán and Iseo, who bear the same names as their parents, up to their marriages. Furthermore, at the heart of the material taken from earlier edition of *Tristán de Leonís*, other minor modifications are carried out.

The thirty-five new chapters introduced in Book I give the first book a length similar to that of Book II. In them is narrated the story of the love affair of Ricarda, sister of Galeote, with the King of the Hundred Knights, the adventures of Galeote and Micer Antonio until the death of the former, and the stay of Tristán and Iseo on the Isla del Ploto, where the birth of their children occurs.

As regards the second part, which is the completely original creation of the anonymous author of 1534, it is much longer than the 'materia antigua' derived from *Tristán de Leonís*. Its first chapters tell of the war of vengeance for the murder of Tristán, the accession to the throne of Cornualla and Leonís of Tristán el Joven, still a child, the chivalric and amorous adventures of his uncles Palante and Plácido, the first loves of Tristán el Joven with Queen Trinea and the scenes of court life in which the beautiful princess Iseo is the central character. The central part of the work consists of the chapters devoted to the journey of Tristán el Joven to the court of Arthur to be armed knight by the king himself, his knightly adventures in defence of justice and against pagan giants, and his expedition to assist Queen Trinea in her war against the Idumeans, which he undertakes incognito, as well as the marriage of the young squires of the protagonist. The final chapters are devoted to relating how Tristán el Joven travels to Spain after having dreamed that there he will meet love, how he falls in love with the infanta Maria and succeeds in rescuing her from the Moorish knight who had kidnapped her, subsequently agreeing to marry her at the same time as her brother King Juan marries Princess Iseo. The

weddings are celebrated in Leonís, and the work ends with the return of King Juan and Iseo to Spain, where both will reign.

The first studies of the work were by Eisele (1980), who set out the changes she had observed in relation to previous editions (1981), and Seidenspinner-Núñez (1987–8). Subsequently I (1989) edited the text, with an introduction, as a dissertation (*memoria de licenciatura*, which was the basis of my 1997 edition), at the same time as Gil de Gates presented her doctoral thesis, still unpublished. Until 1995, the date of Ros Domingo's doctoral thesis, in which the work occupies almost one hundred pages, the principal interest in the text had been on the part of the present writer, save for an article by Gil de Gates (1993; also 1997). Subsequently, the list of researchers working on the text was augmented by Gimber (1996 and 2004), Ros Domingo (2001: 283–404), a development of his earlier study, and above all Campos García Rojas, who has published numerous studies on it (Eisenberg and Marín Pina 2000: 435–9).

The Author

Although *Tristán el Joven* appeared as an anonymous work, a study of mine (2002a: 328–44, developing my 1993 thesis and 1997 edition) proposed as author a descendant of Garci Franco and María de Saravia who would have had some connection by family or patronage with the Manrique clan. Although it is not possible to identify a specific individual as the author with any certainty, it is my belief that he could be a great-grandson of Garci Franco, chaplain of Carlos I and brother of María de Guzmán, who married Francisco Vargas Manrique. This suggestion is based on several factors. Firstly, on the references to Peninsular geography in the text as the locations of important episodes: Fuerteventura and Burgos, of which the bishops were Pablo de Santa María and his son Alonso de Cartagena, who wrote in 1436 some *Allegationes* defending the rights of the Castilian Crown to the Canary Islands. Secondly, on important fictional characters in the work who can be identified with historical families or individuals, as indicated by the 'equals' sign: Silvera = Diego de Silva, who fought and became a prisoner on Gran Canaria (Perdomo 1942); el Franco = Garci Franco, a member of the Council of the Catholic Monarchs, married to María de Saravia, niece of Alonso de Cartagena; Pedro de Lara = Pedro Manrique, who claimed to be descended from the Siete Infantes de Lara and who obtained from Isabel I (in return for his renunciation of the corregidorship of Vizcaya) an indemnity which guaranteed to the Oñaz clan and its supporters their retention of all their property. Thirdly, on episodes in the romance which can be related to contemporary historical events: confrontations in the enduring Basque Country feud between the Oñaz faction and that of the Gamboa clan and their supporters, the succession of Carlos I to the throne, the matrimonial policy of the Catholic Monarchs and Carlos I. From this argument, another aspect of the work emerges: the projection of reality into fiction and the author's ambition to carry out the reverse process, the projection of fiction onto the reality of his time, an aspect that can be seen equally in the social, political, and moral ideology conveyed.

An Anti-Arthurian *Tristán*

For this author, the Arthurian world is merely a pretext and the story of Tristan simply a basis on which to construct his fiction about a character and a story well known to his readership. He is interested in the contemporary world, and makes use of the romance to attempt to imbue his public with his ideology.

Both the present writer (1993a: 464–6; 1997e: 55–9; 2002a: 308–9) and Ros Domingo (2001: 371–95) emphasise in published work the intense labour of deconstructing the Arthurian world undertaken by the XVIth-century author. It is clear that he wishes to propose as a model an alternative world to that described in the Arthurian texts, and for this purpose he makes use of two techniques. On the one hand, he progressively diminishes, as the story advances, the roles of the principal figures taken from *Tristán de Leonís*, and changes the nature of their character to the extent that they become totally different individuals, who share only their name with their Arthurian counterparts (this is what occurs, for example, with Gorvalán and Brangel). On the other hand, he mercilessly degrades such Arthurian characters as he uses in single episodes, attributing defects to them and ridiculing them. The most notable case is the transformation of Queen Ginebra, who is described as an elderly, lustful woman, who forgets her love for Lanzarote on seeing the handsome and youthful Tristan, pursues him insistently, and is rejected by him. In his design of the character of Ginebra the author could have had in mind the evolution that the image of the queen had undergone in the *romancero viejo*, as pointed out by Piñero (2005).

As regards the protagonist himself, Seidenspinner-Núñez (1987–8) has already pointed out that, as occurs with other sons of famous medieval chivalric heroes, Tristán el Joven completely replaces Tristán de Leonís as an exemplary model, an aspect which is reflected symbolically in the work by the award to the son of the father's seat at the Round Table (29). Compared with his father's knightly heroism, the son displays a prosaic, and at times comically prudent, behaviour (30–1). This arises from the fact that the chivalric ideal maintained by the author does not now correspond to a medieval heroic ideal, but to a Renaissance one imbued with a Christian spirit.

Since the author attempts, in his work, to supersede the Arthurian model, in many passages his starting point lies in the reworking of the themes he found in the previous editions of *Tristán*. The theme of suicide, which was related to the theme of passionate love, serves, in the continuation, to highlight the blindness and pride of those who will accept neither Christianity nor defeat (Campos García Rojas 2003). Tristan's journeys in search of healing of the damage from his wounds are turned, in *Tristán el Joven*, into a journey by the queen of Egypt who has been magically poisoned and who can obtain health only from the hands of the protagonist (Campos García Rojas 2009–10); in other words, where the father seeks healing on the journey, the son dispenses it to those who come to seek him. And while the father journeyed to obtain the hand of Iseo on behalf of King Mares, the son travels in order to obtain the hand of the sweetheart

who is destined for him; what had been adulterous love in the older story becomes matrimonial love in the continuation (Cuesta 1990).

The Episode of Vengeance: Relations with the Medieval *Tristán* texts

To conclude this section on the relations between the text and previous *Tristán* texts, it is necessary to recall that the second book of *Tristán el Joven* begins with a series of chapters devoted to the vengeance against King Mares de Cornualla for the murder of Tristán and Iseo. The presence of this episode in the work, as well as some specific details of it, lead me (2009c) to maintain that the author of the 1534 work knew a text similar to that of the *Códice de Tristán*, which would presuppose a widespread and sustained circulation of the latter at that time, since *Tristán de Leonís* does not include this episode. The author, following the same procedures as elsewhere in the work, diminishes the role of the characters drawn from *Tristán* to increase that of the new characters whom he has created, for which reason the episode appears greatly altered. Nor, moreover, does the *Códice* survive complete, so that this suggestion, like the reconstruction of the partially legible episode in the *Códice*, must remain a mere hypothesis.

Genre and Style

Gil de Gates (thesis 1989: 288) considers *Tristán el Joven* to be a fruit of the medieval tradition, though she later modifies her statement and characterises the work as representative of a period of transition. In my belief (2002a), however, it is fully Renaissance both in style, since the author adheres to the ideas of Valdés on written language, and in the ideals that it reflects: it criticises secret marriage, valid during the Middle Ages (as recognised by Alfonso X), and offers a social and political model appropriate to ruling an empire, with the resulting power of the crown over the nobility. The genre within which *Tristán el Joven* is inscribed is not that of the medieval Arthurian chivalric romance, but that of the romances of chivalry, which around 1534 was already enjoying enormous success and vitality. The very concept of producing a continuation follows one of the unwritten rules of this genre: the romance of chivalry always left open the possibility of a continuation in which the leading role was played by the son of the protagonist. The 1534 author perceived the lack of a continuation of *Tristán de Leonís* with a second part narrating the adventures of his son as an anomaly and a defect, as he declares in his prologue (commented on by Soriano 2005), and to remedy this deficiency he decides to write it himself, although to do so he has to modify the 'historia antigua'.

The inclusion of the work in the genre of the romances of chivalry is evident not only in its physical presentation, with the characteristics which distinguish the publication conventions of that genre, and in the imitation of episodes from the most successful works, especially from *Amadís* and *Palmerín de Olivia* (Cuesta 1997a, 1997b, 1998), but, above all, in its use of the same range of *topoi*, with its incorporation

of all the elements, settings, episodes and characters typical of that type of work: combats with pagan giants, a wise enchantress, proud knights, feats of arms, challenges, wars, love affairs, magical objects, islands.... Some *topoi*, however, are drawn not from this genre, but from folklore: for example, the game of chess has a very important role in the episode of the Isla del Ploto, in the conception and birth of Tristán el Joven and his sister the infanta Iseo (Campos García Rojas 2000), and the theme of hunting, which sets off various narrative threads since it constitutes a journey or a displacement through the various scenarios in which the narrative is set, which themselves are possessed of a certain symbolism (Campos García Rojas 2001a).

The new chapters introduced in the interpolation in the first part, and all those of the second part, strike a discordant note relative to the inherited material, moreover, in matters of style (since they follow the Renaissance model), in their descriptive realism, and in the important role of humour and parody (Cuesta 2002a: 317–23). The author combines the rhetoric of courtly discourse placed in the mouths of the characters at solemn moments, with the frequent presence of the colloquial character of the spoken language both courtly and popular, through dialogue. In the dialogue, the mention of the speaker is sometimes suppressed when it is clear who is speaking, which imparts much greater liveliness to the narration. At other times, sentences with numerous verbs are what gives an almost visual vivacity to the scene. The use of the diminutive is notable, as is that of comparison and realistic, colloquial dialogue and the use of humour and ironic parody to introduce, in a veiled manner, his criticism of those who do not follow the mode of life and social relations that he is presenting as a model. Even a comic character, Miliana, is used didactically by the author when he makes it known that the infanta Iseo did not consent to people mocking her and asked that she be respected because of her advanced old age (Gil de Gates 1995). Gil de Gates (1997) perceives in the work a type of intimate humour that integrates members of the group within the social 'I', and another type of humour with the function of differentiating and with an outward gaze that stigmatises the Other by converting it into a comic character. These two types of humour are placed at the service of the author's ideological intentions. Humour and imitation are combined in one banqueting scene that Gimber (1996) compares with other similar episodes in the *Cuento de Tristán*, *Tristán de Leonís* and *La Celestina*.

Humour and realism are united to offer, at times, passages in which parodic verisimilitude predominates (Cuesta 1997b). The author has no difficulty in depicting knights who sleep, eat, and go to confession before dying, as Cervantes would demand years later. This is not the only coincidence, fortuitous or not, with *Don Quijote*: a humour which recalls that of Cervantes fills a dialogue between boatmen (ch. CLXXX) and another between knights and shepherds (ch. CCIII), as well as many other episodes of the book. There also appear in the 1534 *Tristán* such *topoi* as leaving the horse's reins loose so that it can choose the road to follow (chapter CCIII), and that of faithful servants of knights 'cuando no se catan les vienen las mercedes muy

crecidas' (chapter CXX). If, as Martins supposes (1983a: 33–44) on the basis of affinities between the characters of Dinadán and Sancho Panza, Cervantes knew *Tristán*, it is very probable that he should have known this edition, the closest to him chronologically, and the one in which humour based on realist parody is an extremely important factor.

Space and the Development of the Hero

Two bodies of material so different in style and ideology were, of necessity, difficult to amalgamate, and the unity of the work suffers as a result. One of the devices that assist the author in creating structural links between the old material and the new created by him is spaces and journeys, studied by Campos García Rojas. From the perspective of folk motifs (also strongly associated with symbolism) he has examined the feminine crossing, which when associated also with a space involving water confers interesting meanings not only on episodes and their narrative development, but also on the very construction of female characters such as Florisdelfa and Queen Tulia (2009–10). As far as concerns the motif of the journey, he indicates its relationship with the search for healing, and how this constitutes a trigger for the knight to leave his homeland not for any chivalric adventure, but for survival, so that he enters into encounters with the supernatural or with the elements which enable him to overcome his sickness (2009–10). The episode of Tristán's journey at random after being mortally wounded by Morlot first and then later by the young archer, is the inspiration in the second part of the work for the journey of Queen Tulia in search of a cure.

As far as concerns space, Campos García Rojas analyses the different elements of geography and their symbolic significance in so far as they constitute scenarios for the development of the hero. Islands, the Mediterranean Sea (2002a), the forest, Egypt (1997b), cities, castles, lakes and rivers, mountains, are specific and differentiated spaces, the symbolism attached to which from ancient times endows with particular significance and meaning the actions that occur in them (2000, 2002a, 2002b).

Social, Moral and Political Ideology: Marital Love and Imperial Policy

The author offers an ideology that fits well with Renaissance humanism, but that collides both with that diffused by the Arthurian romance and with some aspects of that espoused in the romances of chivalry. Specifically, this disharmony is noticed above all in the author's favourable attitude to marital love, in his rejection of magic, which he reluctantly accepts by presenting it only as the magic of entertainment (illusionism, an automaton, a speaking bird, journeys on a cloud), or as the work of the devil (the lady Florisdelfa). The character Florisdelfa is a good example of the author's negative attitude to magic practised by the female characters who constitute a threat to the protagonists, and of his condemnation of women who transgress the norms established for their gender (Campos García Rojas 1997a).

As far as love is concerned, *Tristán el Joven* is very different from the work of which it purports to be a continuation. The previous editions of *Tristán* presented love as a destructive force that inevitably unleashed tragedy, and conceived it as always being linked to adultery, while the 1534 text presents the amorous sentiment as a structural element in society, which leads to happiness and which is channelled through marriage (Cuesta 1990). For Ros Domingo (2001: 283–404) the distinctive feature of the *Tristán* printed in 1534 is the protagonist's transformation into a husband, sovereign, father and Christian, and the absence of conflict between love and society throughout Book II.

Another aspect of interest to the author is contemporary politics. *Tristán el Joven* is at one and the same time a reflection of and propaganda for the figure of Carlos I (better known outside Spain as the emperor Charles V) and perhaps also a proposal for a programme of government and a criticism of a model of behaviour (Eisele 1980; Cuesta 1996): the ruler must be a good Christian, visit the different parts of his kingdoms, unify his territories and achieve peace and understanding among the inhabitants of his different possessions, have counsellors among his relatives but not favourites, bestow in each kingdom posts on natives of that land, and promote among his relatives marriages of political importance. This interest in politics and the historical reality of his time is shared with other romances of chivalry from the period of the Catholic Monarchs and the first years of the reign of Carlos I (Marín Pina 1995). Many romances of chivalry disguised the reality of their time under an idealist style and technique (Cuesta 2002b). For his part, Campos García Rojas (2001b) perceives in addition a political interest on the author's part, which is related to the exemplary model of the Catholic Monarchs: in the episode of the Isla del Ploto in *Tristán el Joven* are reflected the political ideas of their reign as far as concerns the construction of a legacy. Moreover, spaces are strongly associated with the ideological requirements of the XVIth-century romances of chivalry; thus, events that unfold in the Mediterranean are frequently aimed at the conversion of the infidel or the destruction of the pagans, that is to say, to the messianic ideal of military and spiritual conquest that predominated at that moment (Campos García Rojas 2002a).

It is usually said that for the Arthurian romance adventure is a quest in which the very identity of the knight errant is at stake. In *Tristán el Joven* the motive of the adventure is different: it shares with other romances of chivalry the desire to entertain by relating the surprising events which befall its protagonist and which are simply an opportunity for him to display his courage, his skill, and his courtly qualities. But these adventures are narrated as a function of the ideology of their author. Thus, for example, the adventures serve the purpose of allowing the protagonists and his friends to put into practice the virtues that define the ideal knight, showing what is the correct behaviour. By contrast, the enemies of Tristan are characterised by their pride, vanity, discourtesy, cruelty, paganism, injustice ... The adventures prove the negative consequences that these defects entail for their possessors, and reveal their well-deserved punishment.

The author of the 1534 text has wanted to make use of a story well known to his public, which had a long literary tradition behind it, and which belonged to the Matter of Britain, in order to:

1. criticise and, as far as possible, parody the Arthurian world and that of the contemporary romance of chivalry: to this end he uses the technique of pastiche and imitates episodes of other romances of chivalry (Cuesta 1997b);
2. present a political model, at whose apex of power is located the king, maintaining both rights and obligations, supervising the process of justice and the well-being of his subjects, surrounded by wise and loyal counsellors, delegating his power to reliable persons and being the mirror of all virtues; the author also wished to create certain parallels between the romance and reality, recording recent events that had occurred in the history of the Spanish monarchy (Cuesta 1996); and
3. propose a social model; the family appears as the basic structural element of this society, and, from this point of view, love, marriage and children take on a special significance (Cuesta 1990).

The world of the romance is idyllic and utopian in so far as it depicts a perfect society, without internal problems and whose coherence and virtues permit it to overcome all external obstacles. It is organised around a court of model personages, whom it describes in various situations, thereby making them always give the correct response. This social model is not proposed in an abstract manner, but fits perfectly within the situation being experienced by Spain at the time in question, during the reign of the emperor Charles V. The storyline shows much greater interest in reflecting the feelings of the characters, and, above all, for the 'social' relations than for the mere narration of adventures. Much importance is attached to clothes, to courtly speech, to the rituals of courtesy. The author, who makes part of his story take place in Spain, reveals himself to be a realist, and is particularly skilled in depicting family scenes, full of tenderness.

In short, the author takes advantage of the success of the romances of chivalry to diffuse and inculcate his own ideology among his readers, who, he hoped, would be numerous; for this reason he selected the most accepted genre and a very famous work, with a well-known story, and an ideology quite contrary to his own as far as the function of marriage was concerned. Naturally, there would be no point in attempting to attract to his ideology those who already shared it. In the political aspect, moreover, perhaps the implicit ideology was aimed at the emperor himself, or might even be propaganda for the policy of the latter (it must not be forgotten that it was translated into Italian in 1555 and that on 25 October of that very year the emperor abdicated; it would have been greatly to the latter's advantage to count on the good will of the Italian population towards him and his family), since although there are some veiled

criticisms, in all other matters his behaviour and life correspond more or less exactly to the model proposed (Cuesta 1996). What Gil de Gates (1989: 76) considers to be a lack of adjustment of the work to the chivalric genre, caused by the author's inexperience, could well be the effect of his astuteness, in seeking to persuade his ideological opponents and the emperor himself (a known devotee of romances of chivalry) of his case.

Unfortunately for the author and the printer who took the risk of this venture, the successful Spanish fiction of the second third of the XVIth century followed other paths: adventure and entertainment were what appealed, not moralisation and ideological indoctrination. The effort made by the author to transform the medieval Arthurian material into chivalric Renaissance fiction produced a result that would fail to satisfy the devotees of either of these two types of reading matter.

The Impact of the Tristan Romances on Spanish Literature

Although this aspect is discussed by Alvar in his chapter, it is worth reflecting briefly on the place occupied by the romances concerning Tristan in Spanish literature from the XIVth century onwards. The references in the *Libro de buen amor*, the *Glosa al regimiento de principes* of Castrogeriz, and the poets of the *cancioneros* reveal knowledge of one version or another of the medieval romances by authors of the XIVth and XVth centuries. The possible influence of these texts on the *Libro del cauallero Zifar* cannot be ruled out, despite the doubts expressed by Lucía Megías (1996), and their influence on *Amadís* is certain (Cuesta 2008b). *Don Quijote* also offers some curious parallels (Cuesta 1997b). The very fact of the publication of *Tristán* among the first works of fiction to be taken up by printers reflects an interest on the part of the public which motivated them to ignore possible criticisms, since the work of rewriting the final passages and the colophon of the 1501 *Tristán* reveals clearly that the adapter feared that his work could be labelled immoral.

As regards the first third of the XVIth century, the number of editions invites us to reflect on the enormous diffusion that the printed *Tristán* must have had, since it is comparable with the number of editions achieved by *Amadís de Gaula*, the first and most famous of the romances of chivalry, at the same time. The existence of a continuation and a translation into Italian equally leads us to conclude that it was a success in publishing terms.

It is, however, curious that there are no reprintings later than 1534, a fact that should perhaps be attributed to a poor reaction to the continuation published in that year. The reading public does not seem to have been satisfied by the modifications carried out on the medieval material by the author of *Tristán el Joven*. Other Arthurian texts also cease to be printed about the same time, reflecting perhaps the public taste for new

storylines and a rejection of the Arthurian material in favour of other fictional genres, especially the romances of chivalry.

Notes

[1] The present study forms part of project number FFI2009–11483, supported by the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación, Spain.

[2] For the ballad, see Entwistle 1925: 111, 199; Surles 1984–5; Kurtz 1986–7; Di Stefano 1988: 203–9; Cuesta 1997: 133–9; 1998a; Beltrán and Vega 2004**;** Carlos Alvar in the present volume.

[3] I am grateful to Dr Lourdes Soriano for having informed me at that time of the publication of the article in which Santanach announced the discovery, and for providing me with a photographic copy of the manuscript.

[4] On the various aspects of this work, Baumgartner (2006: 325–41) gives a survey of the current situation.

[5] I prefer to avoid the description 'abbreviated', 'reduced' or 'summarised' because it implies a judgement about the precedence of V.I over this version, a question on which scholars still disagree. For Iragui the condensed version is later, and could justifiably be described thus. For other scholars, it could reflect a textual state of the text earlier than V.I and V.II.

[6] BL Harley 4389, Biblioteca Estense, Modena, ALPHA T.3.11 (*olim* 59), NLW, Aberystwyth, 446-E, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, fr. XXIII (*olim* 234), BNF 760 and BNF 1463.

[7] *Tristano Riccardiano* and the part of the *Panciatichiano* derived from this, *Tavola Ritonda* and fragments of *Zibaldone da Canal*, excluding the *Tristano Veneto*, whose occasional points of similarity would be caused by its use of the *Compilation* of Rustichello.