

Salvation and Gender in Juan Manuel's *El Conde Lucanor*

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Juan Manuel wrote his collection of exempla, *El Conde Lucanor* (ca. 1330-1335), to teach the reader or audience how to achieve a balance between taking care of his physical existence (“cuerpo”) and saving the soul for the next life:¹

Et Dios, que es conplido et conplidor de todos los buenos fechos, por la su merçed et por la su piadad, quiera que los que este libro leyeren, que se aprouechen del a seruicio de Dios et para saluamiento de sus almas et aprouechamiento de sus cuerpos; asi commo el sabe que yo, don Iohan, lo digo a essa entençon” (*Obras completas*, II, 28: 57-62).

Sin, penitence, redemption, and salvation are central themes. However, only a few of the exempla depict the actual salvation or damnation of a soul; these exempla are the focus of this paper. While looking at how salvation is portrayed (especially the intervention of supernatural agents), I also consider gender. Many critics have studied antifeminism in the collection.² My approach will show that the antifeminism goes even deeper than previously thought. Are there women characters portrayed with souls? Are women readers or listeners of the exempla intended to benefit from the main preoccupation of the book?

In the first prologue the author announces that his book will appeal to everybody: “E seria marauilla si de qual quier cosa que acaezca a qual quier omne, non fallare en este libro su semejança que acesçio a otro” (*OC*, II, 23: 6-8). In effect, there is something for everybody to identify with in the book. Yet this fact does not prevent the book from having a predominantly masculine feel.³ Perhaps Juan Manuel’s use of “omne” here did not include women.⁴ After all, the problems of the Count Lucanor, which motivate Patronio’s telling of the *exemplos*, mirror Juan Manuel’s own problems as a wealthy and powerful nobleman. Despite addressing a universal reader in the prologue, then, is the book not meant to be more a manual for the male nobility?⁵

¹ Burgoyne believes that many critics take for granted that Juan Manuel wants to balance these two paths. Pointing out that “there is no promise of a resolution in the prologue,” his position is that the *exemplos* do not provide such a resolution, arguing that it is up to the reader to “search for a solution to the matter of *Dios y el Mundo*” (165). See especially Chapter 1, “Ethical ambiguity in *El Conde Lucanor*” and Chapter 2, “Juan Manuel’s exemplary art.”

² See Oñate (18-21); María Jesús Lacarra (1986), Sandoval, Vasvári and Lacarra Lanz.

³ The masculine slant of *El Conde Lucanor* has been studied from several angles. Caldera shows that the collection repeats the noble male’s worldview found in *Libro de los estados*. Klinka, in “Le féminin dans les apologues du *Comte Lucanor*,” studies how Juan Manuel erases positive feminine signs in *El Conde Lucanor*, suggesting that he has enemies besides Alfonso XI, and they are powerful women. She writes, “En effet, le *Comte Lucanor* se caractérise par l’élimination des signes féminins, excepté lorsque la cohérence narrative l’impose. Cet ouvrage se révélant être un code de règles sociales mettant en valeur Jean Manuel et son idéologie, il me semble opportune d’émettre l’hypothèse qu’Alphonse XI de Castille ne serait pas le seul a s’opposer aux ambitions de l’auteur” (361). Adams demonstrates how Juan Manuel develops the character of Saladrín in order to show by contrast the superiority and masculinity of the Christian male.

⁴ For a discussion of “omne” and “hombria” see Carreño (62).

⁵ Many of the problems that the Count Lucanor shares with his trusted advisor involve lengthy, detailed stories that

This is the fundamental question regarding the salvation/damnation stories because gender should make no difference for salvation or damnation. For example, the characters in Berceo's *Milagros de nuestra señora* and Alfonso X's *Cantigas*, both women and men, equally enjoy opportunities to be saved. In contrast, in *El Conde Lucanor* there is an imbalance. Women are associated with the devil. Angels do not frequent the company of women. The Virgin Mary has but one small role in a single story. Personally, women do not experience miracles, nor do they get saved.

The article is organized in five sections. The first focuses on the portrayal of the Virgin Mary in the collection's most controversial story (because of its dubious authorship), *exemplo* LI. The second shows how angels bond with male characters, never with female characters. The third covers the miracles in *El Conde Lucanor*, not one of which features a woman character who benefits personally from a miracle that saves her soul. The next section deals with the association between the devil and his women helpers. The final section examines the portrayal of the soul, with special attention to the question of whether the women characters have souls. The conclusion confronts again the problem of intended audience. If women characters are not portrayed as being saved, what does that say about the world-view in *El Conde Lucanor*?

(No) Virgin Mary

It is not known if example LI, "Lo que contesçio a vn rey christiano que era muy poderoso et muy soberbio," was written by Juan Manuel, and if it was, if Juan Manuel intended the story to be part of the collection or not. Reinaldo Ayerbe-Chaux does not even take it into consideration in his pivotal study on Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor: material tradicional y originalidad creadora*. Alberto Bleca, in *La transmisión textual de El Conde Lucanor*, writes that the story only appears in manuscript 6.376, the earliest manuscript, and not in the other five (13). Because the story is not listed in the "Tabla" (the front index) and because it lacks an epigraph, and on account of other textual, linguistic, and stylistic aspects, Alberto Bleca believes that the story is apocryphal (115), contradicting the conclusions arrived at by other critics, like Daniel Devoto, John England, and David A. Flory, who maintain that Juan Manuel is the author.⁶ In the José

pertain precisely to the life of the male noble, which accounts for the masculine feel of the collection. The stories that Patronio narrates as examples, although more universal in their appeal, were selected foremost for their masculine appeal. Many of the stories with women characters are about masculine dominion over women.

⁶ England defends Juan Manuel's authorship with three main arguments: 1) that Juan Manuel has added additional chapters to other books of his beyond the traditional even or odd numbers (25, 50, etc.); 2) that there are stylistic and linguistic parallels with the other stories; and 3) that Juan Manuel wrote and attached the story about the Virgin Mary to represent the virtue of humility, a virtue not sufficiently represented in the other fifty stories (1974, 26-27). Burke makes the case that example LI was included precisely to frame the collection, along with example I, with the virtue of humility (271-272). Flory defends the position that Juan Manuel wrote the story and included it in the collection as an epilogue that admonishes the reader against pride and arrogance (1977, 87-88). Devoto also believes that Juan Manuel wrote the story and included it in the collection (462-463). This could indeed be the case. On the other hand, it could be argued that another author (an editor?) thought that 1) the Virgin Mary needed to be represented in the collection, 2) the virtue of humility did need to be more fully represented in the collection, and 3) developing the character of the Virgin Mary in this story could answer both needs. It is noteworthy, I believe, that Patronio expounds

Manuel Blecua edition (1983) that I use, the story is placed not after example L, “De lo que contesçio a Saladin con vna duenna, muger de vn su vasallo,” but after the second, third, fourth and fifth parts of the book, at the very end. José Manuel Blecua ascribes his positioning of the story to his decision to follow the advice of Alberto Blecua, who urged caution in assigning the story to Juan Manuel (16). In 1984, Carlos Alvar also writes that there is no certainty that Juan Manuel wrote *exemplo* LI. Why would the author violate the canon of the exact numbers like 50 and 100, especially since the author repeats in many places (in the front index of the S manuscript, at the end of story L, in the prologue of the Third Part, and at the beginning of the Fourth Part), that he has written 50 examples?

More recently, Laurence de Looze, in *Manuscript Diversity, Meaning and Variance in Juan Manuel’s El Conde Lucanor*, and Jonathan Burgoyne, in *Reading the Exemplum Right: Fixing the Meaning in El Conde Lucanor*, devote a lot of attention to the problem of *exemplo* LI. De Looze believes that its author, who was not Juan Manuel, imitated Juan Manuel’s style. He also views the story as performing the conclusion of manuscript S, just as manuscript S is itself a performance that is different from all other textual performances of *El Conde Lucanor*. In other words, the story needs to be taken into consideration, De Looze maintains, whether or not Juan Manuel wrote it or included it in his collection, because it is in the performance of manuscript S (*Manuscript Diversity* 13). For his part, Burgoyne argues that the addition of example 51 was an effort to reshape the ideological content of the book (*Reading the exemplum right* 168). He believes that manuscript S was commissioned by the descendants of Juan Manuel in the fifteenth century and displayed as a “symbol of wealth, wisdom, honor and power (191).

This salvation story that has a questionable place in the collection (in the Blecua edition, it is, in effect, outside of the collection, to the side, like a cast-off story) is the one that best helps us see how salvation is gendered in the collection, because it is the only story with supernatural agents of both genders, the Virgin Mary and an angel that takes on a male form. Might this exceptional disposition of gender have affected the author’s (or authors’) decision to exclude the story from the collection? It is indeed an extra story, problematic, sticking out. Is that because the Virgin Mary is too feminine an element, too powerful a woman, to place in a masculine handbook on life? For this reason alone, the story would be out of place. However, the Virgin Mary we see in the story, as I will show, has no power.⁷ There was, then, no need to leave out the story for representing a powerful woman, for she is not one. In this respect there is no discrepancy between example LI and the other stories in the collection. This holds true even if Juan Manuel did not write the story. A second author might have attached the story to the collection because he wanted to include a story with the Virgin Mary, but did not want a powerful woman in the collection, and therefore did not develop the character to its full capacity.

on the humility of the Virgin in the story itself and not after the story has been told, which is not characteristic of Juan Manuel’s use of Patronio as a narrator.

⁷ González-Casnovas explains how the Virgin as a powerful supernatural agent can coexist with antifeminist portrayals: “Conventional views of women as subordinate, stereotypical vehicles of theme and plot can coincide with idealized representations of women as powerful forces of nature and agents of the supernatural” (30).

In this salvation story an arrogant (“soberbioso”) king does not agree with the message in a small portion of a Canticle to the Virgin, the “*Magnificat anima mea dominum*”. The verse the king does not like is “*Nuestro sennor Dios tiro et abaxolos poderosos soberuios del su poderio et ensalço los omildosos*” (495: 26-27). He replaces it with a verse that states the contrary, that God will elevate the powerful and bring down the humble. To punish the king, God sends an angel to earth to take his form and place, while he, the king, is forced to live as a pauper.⁸ The angel stays on earth for many years acting as the king while the real king’s misfortune and suffering open the way for sincere repentance. When the angel restores the throne to the repentant king, he is acting as a messenger of God’s forgiveness, telling him that he is indeed an angel: “et nuestro sennor Dios tiro vos lo por estas razones mismas que vos dezides, et envio a mi, que so su angel, que tomasse vuestra figura et estudiessse en vuestro lugar” (501: 224-226). The angel also reveals that he is an angel to the king’s people, so they may also be witnesses to the miracle: “Et desque todos fueron ayuntados, el rey predico et conto todo el pleito commo passara. Et el angel, por voluntad de Dios, paresçio a todos manifiesta mente et contoles esso mismo” (502: 248-250). The now humbled king lives on many years serving his kingdom and God and gains entrance into heaven when he dies (“meresçio auer la Gloria del Parayso”).

This story contains an unusual paragraph in which Patronio describes the humility and purity of the Virgin, for which God chose her to be the mother of his son, emphasizing the virginal conception and birth of Christ.⁹ In the other stories, we never see Patronio expound upon a religious subject in the middle of telling them. He usually does so after telling the story, in the interpretation of the story’s meaning. It would seem, then, that the Virgin Mary has been given special status and consideration here, though quite the opposite is true.

Mary is not a fully developed character. She is quoted, but she does not speak directly to any of the characters. Patronio is the one who recalls what the Virgin said of her humility:

Et veyendo que era sennora de los çielos et de la tierra, dixo de si misma, alabando la humildat sobre todas las virtudes” “*Quia respexit humilitatem ancille sue ecce enim ex hoc benedictam me dicent omnes generationes*”; que quiere dezir: “Por que cato el mi sennor Dios la omildat de mi, que so su sierua, por esta razon me llamaran todas las gentes aventurada. (OC, II, 496:37-42)

It is also Patronio who affirms her status as mother of God and queen of the heavens and earth. He does so at the end of the story to help Count Lucanor visualize her in heaven placed above the choruses of angels: “et seer Sennora puesta sobre todos los choros de los angeles” (OC, II, 496: 46).

⁸ In #59 (“Of too much pride, and how the proud are frequently compelled to endure some notable humiliation”) of the *Gesta Romanorum* (composed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century) it is also an angel who takes the place of the arrogant king, though this supernatural agent who is serving God is not explicitly called an angel. This angel talks very little in comparison to Juan Manuel’s angel (196-208).

⁹ According to Warner, “it was a deeply misogynist and contemptuous view of women’s role in reproduction that made the idea of conception by the power of the Spirit more acceptable” (47).

The story has the typical elements seen in a Marian miracle: sin, punishment, repentance, supernatural intervention, and salvation; yet here the Virgin Mary is not at the center and is not active. Here it is God, not Mary who is directing the miracle. It is the angel sent by God to take the place of the king who has the important active and redemptive role. When the king repents for his sin of arrogance, he recalls the desecration to the canticle to the Virgin. Still, he does not pray to her but to God: “nunca al fasia sinon llorar et matar se et pedir merçed a nuestro sennor Dios quell perdonasse sus pecados et quell oviessse merçed al alma” (OC, II, 499: 149-151). She is the one who has been wronged (her canticle has been desecrated), but she is not a feeling agent. Instead, it is God who is hurt by the arrogant king’s profanity (“Esto peso mucho a Dios”).

The story is presented as a miracle story, but not a Marian miracle. Once the king has thoroughly repented for his sins, the angel reveals himself as such and explains to him the punishment imposed by God. The king, with his identity and power restored, then asks the angel not to leave until the people are gathered and told of this miracle: “et pidiol merçed que se non partiesse ende fasta que todas las gentes se ayuntassen por que publicasse este tan grant miraglo que nuestro sennor Dios fiziera” (OC, II, 502: 245-247). Once the people gather, the angel manifests himself to them and tells them of the miracle that God has performed, being himself proof of it.

In summary, the story has two supernatural agents, functioning in opposite ways; the Virgin Mary, who a truncated character, and the angel in male form, fully developed. Although Mary is praised and described as in other Marian miracles, here she has no important role. She does not feel, speak directly to the other characters, intervene, act, or direct any of the actions of punishment, redemption, and salvation. The portrayal of Mary is confined to a paragraph in which her humility is praised.¹⁰ The miracle happens elsewhere in the story without her. God and his messenger the angel do everything. In effect, the story could have been composed and arranged as a Marian miracle (it has all the elements), yet it was not.

That *El Conde Lucanor* does not contain a single Marian miracle is noteworthy, since Juan Manuel admired and found inspiration in his uncle Alfonso X’s literary works, one of them being *Las Cantigas de Santa María*. He was devoted to the Virgin; he expressed this devotion by writing later in life the eloquent and passionate treatise, *Tractado de la Asunción de la Virgen María*, in which he defends the belief in her Assumption. We have already noted that it could be that a Marian miracle would not have been in keeping with the masculine feel of the book that the author wanted to achieve for his male readers.¹¹ The absence of a Marian miracle could also point to a

¹⁰ In Law XLIII of Alfonso X’s *Setenario*, “De cómo los que aoran la tierra, a Santa María querían aorar ssi bien lo entiessen,” it is explained that God chose Mary to be the mother of God, because she was the humblest of all women: “Que ffué más baxa en sser homillosa que otra muggier...” (74).

¹¹ Story XI, “De lo que contesçio a vn dean de Sanctiago con don Yllan, el grant maestro de Toledo” has one element that is seen in the Giles of Santarém legend, mainly that the young man studies black magic in Toledo. On the other hand, the supernatural agents are absent, the devil and the Virgin Mary. In the legend the young student makes a pact with the devil with his own blood. The now famous physician converts and enters the Dominican order. Virgin Mary is able to save the young man’s soul from damnation. McCleery explains that the Virgin Mary disappeared from versions of the legend, sometimes being replaced with an angel, as the importance of the individual rose in the later Middle Ages: “The Virgin Mary had been a universal saint who offered hope to many, but from the late Middle Ages

backlash in the culture at large: Mary was not in vogue anymore. The Marian cult of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had not carried on with the same intensity into the fourteenth century.¹² Nevertheless, with regard to *El Conde Lucanor*, having the Virgin Mary, the most powerful Catholic feminine supernatural being, not use any of her power in a miracle is significant.

This salvation story, which is the Marian miracle story that did not happen, points up two things that are true of the whole collection. The first is that the female reader is not courted or even addressed (we can contrast this with Juan Ruiz and his “duennas”). Not surprisingly, then, the book has very few feminine touches, motifs, images, or themes that would attract women as a group, despite the author’s protests in the prologue that the appeal of the stories is universal. The second characteristic of the collection is that it features no good and powerful women who are independent. Perhaps the author had decided a priori that Marian and feminine power did not fit well with the overall masculine design of the collection intended to attract and target his preferred male audience and readership.¹³

That Juan Manuel did possibly intend for this story to be left out of the collection poses more questions. This would mean that the Virgin Mary is not mentioned and does not have a role in the collection at all. This indeed is an important omission. The supernatural --that is, God, Christ, two angels, Saint Dominic, the devil --is depicted in the collection (with the author’s characteristic caution and restraint), but not the Virgin Mary.

If the story was written in the fifteenth century, as suggested by Burgoyne, the mysterious author’s treatment of Mary is awkward and timid. As Burgoyne explains, citing Reinaldo Ayerbe-Chaux, the patron of manuscript S could have been Maria de Manuel (*Reading the exemplum right* 190). Was it she who decided that Mary should be included in the collection, yet she included her timidly?

Angels bonding with males

In accordance with his Catholic faith, Juan Manuel believed in the existence of angels that intervene in human affairs as God’s messengers and agents.¹⁴ That there are only two angels in

the idea developed of having individual guardian angels who forged stronger, more personal, bonds between man and God” (155-156). Juan Manuel performs a similar transformation of a Marian-centered tale in his treatment of the Theophilus legend in *El Conde Lucanor*. As McCleery notes, “Mary, the Devil and the Jewish necromancer form a symbolic triangle in this legend” (149). In Juan Manuel’s version, “De lo que contesçio a vn omne que se fizo amigo et vasallo del Diablo,” however, we have only the devil and the poor man who wants to be rich again. Once again the Virgin is notable for her absence.

¹² On this subject see Flory (2000, 107-108).

¹³ Gregg points out that the Virgin Mary in sermon stories appealed to *both sexes*: “The Virgin Mary’s “masculine” authority and intercessory power with Christ combined with her “feminine” maternal compassion made her the intercessor of choice for sinners of both sexes” (107). Flory maintains that the Marian miracle tale, with its feminine values of “maternal love, abundant grace, forgiveness, protection, aid” (2000, 22), was essentially subversive: it could challenge “models of authority, whether inside or outside the Church” (2000, 20).

¹⁴ In Alfonso X el Sabio’s *Setenario*, the angels belong to the category below that of God himself. They are “natura naturada, que quiere dezir que ffué fecha del naturador. Et estas son las criaturas a que llaman ángeles que han en ssí poder e virtud de obrar ssobre las cosas que quiere Dios que ffaga cada vno segunt el offiçio que ha” (27). In other words, they serve God in the affairs of the world, and they each have a job assigned by Him. Chapter xxxviii of Sancho

the collection demonstrates that he was not keen on viewing the world as populated by angels constantly interfering with humans.¹⁵ In other words, there is no obsession with angels. Nevertheless, the two angels that do appear in the collection have interesting and important roles.¹⁶

Both examples, III, “Del salto que fizo el rey Richalte de Ingleterra en la mar contra los moros,” and LI, “Lo que contesçio a vn rey christiano que era muy poderoso et muy soberbioso,” are stories of sin, penitence, redemption, and salvation. The angels are sent by God from heaven to earth to help the chosen sinner find his way to heaven. Although angels are traditionally viewed as having no gender, these two almost have one, a male one. As mentioned before, the angel in example LI takes on the form of a male. Both angels socialize with other males, talk about male interests and pursuits, and help save male souls, not female souls. The angel in example III defends the honor of the warrior in holy battle against the Moors, and the angel in example LI lives as a king.

The angel in example III is a character who functions both as God’s messenger and as storyteller. He is given two successive missions by God because the first one does not achieve the desired result. The target for both missions is an impertinent hermit who wants God to tell him who his companion in heaven will be. (The hermit has already won salvation for his soul because of his contemplative life of sacrifice and prayer.)

In his first mission the angel is portrayed solely as God’s messenger, telling the hermit that his companion in heaven will be King Richard of England. How he delivers the message is not described. Neither is there any information on what the angel looks like, if he even has an appearance, which is in keeping with the author’s restraint in descriptions of the supernatural world. The angel’s second mission is necessary because the hermit is angry about the news: he cannot understand how a king who has sinned by robbing and killing people will be his companion in the afterlife. After scolding the hermit as God had instructed him to do, he tells him why he should not complain because King Richard deserved more from God for one brave jump that he performed in battle than the hermit did for a lifetime of pious acts. The hermit, shocked, wants to know how this is possible.

The angel replies with a long story about King Richard’s bravery in battle against the Moors. Aboard a ship preparing to land on enemy territory, the English king sees the impending battle as an opportunity to die a martyr’s death, which will expiate his sins and gain him entrance

IV’s *Lucidario* (“El angel que guarda la persona si es de los que puso Dios en el çielo, o si es fecho de nueuo”) states that God created as many angels as needed so that every person on earth through time could have one as a guardian (170).

¹⁵ Juan Manuel describes angels in Chapter XXXII of the *Libro del cauallero et del escudero*: “Los angeles son cosa[s] espirituales [...] et que no pueden quer cosa por que cayan en pena nin culpa et que son puestos en ordenes, segund nuestro sennor Dios touo por bien et entendio que se podria mas seruir dellos. Et la razon para que los crio tengo que [es para que] sea loado por ellos et se sirua dellos segund pertenesçe [a] aquellas ordenes en que los puso” (*Obras completas* I, 62: 32-38). This passage gives us a glimpse of the medieval concept of the graded ranks of angels. This hierarchy of nine orders of angels is treated with more detail in Sancho IV’s *Lucidario*, in chapter xxxviii (168-169). For a discussion on the origin and development of the concept see Henry Mayr-Harting (14-15).

¹⁶ Marín Ureña, in “Estelas de los ángeles celestiales en la literatura medieval española,” includes *El Conde Lucanor* in his discussion; my analysis is fuller.

into heaven. He spurs his horse to jump out to sea and charge toward the shore. His eagerness is disastrous: the shore, though visible, is still too far away and the water too deep. He and his horse disappear into the ocean's depth. At once God performs a miracle: this is the important part of the angel's story. He saves the English king from drowning so that he can have his wish to fight against the Moors and expiate his sins. God remembers what he wrote in the Bible, that he does not want the sinner to die but to live and repent ("conuierta"):

Et commo quiera que estauan cerca del puerto, non era la mar tan vaxa que el rey et el cauallo non se metiessen todos so el agua en gusia que non paresçio dellos ninguna cosa; pero Dios, asi commo sennor tan piadoso et de tan grant poder, et acordandose de lo que dixo en el Euangelio, que non quiere la muerte del pecador sinon que se conuierta et viua, acorrio entonce al rey de Ingla terra, librol de muerte para este mundo et diol vida perdurable para sienpre, et escapol de aquel peligro del agua; et endereço a los moros. (*OC*, II, 57: 111-119)

Thanks to this example of bravery, the angel says, the battle against the Moors was won.

The angel's function in the story is to make way for the hermit's transition into the next world. The hermit had to be convinced that his companion was the right one for him. The story has the desired effect on the hermit, who is now grateful for the companion God has chosen for him. A story of salvation, the hermit's, contains another's salvation story, the English king's, which is a miracle story. In both, God intervenes, in one through his angel and in another directly himself. Taken together, they show that the purpose of this exemplum is to demonstrate that salvation is just as possible in the active life of a king (or nobleman, knight, soldier, etc.) as in the contemplative life of a hermit.

Whether or not Juan Manuel believed that angels can and do live among humans in human form (that is, taking the place of other humans) is uncertain.¹⁷ As we know, he was essentially a realist; he wanted to keep the focus on man and what he could do for himself with God's help. It is notable in this context that the two angels help save the souls of males but not females. In fact, we have no examples at all in the collection of women being saved. Of course, it is impossible to think that Juan Manuel believed that women did not have souls that could be saved; it is only that there is no representation of such in the book. The angels, though they have no gender in the usual sense, seem to have one, male. They keep the company of males. The angel in story III talks to another male, the hermit. Though their natures and occupations are different, they bond as males. The angel can talk about bravery in battle against the infidel and the hermit can understand the code of honor of the king/knight. In effect, the angel makes possible the future bonding between

¹⁷ According to Ward, who studied the changing views of nature, miracles, and angels in the Middle Ages, it was common to portray angels who "were human flesh and blood, and intervened, from outside nature, in concrete human situations" (qtd. in Mayr-Harting 17). Things changed, however: "From the twelfth century onward, angels would look more heavenly, and their messages would sound more heavenly" (17). Angels were *caelesticized* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, writes Mayr-Harting. Walker Bynum writes on Thomas Aquinas's conception of angels: "Moreover, a large section of Aquinas's long discussion of miracles in his *On the Power of God* is concerned with whether demons or angels can make use of physical bodies, and, if so, exactly how they might do it. Since this kind of miracle did not loom large among those actually reported in Aquinas's day, one is tempted to attribute his interest in the general fascination he and his contemporaries felt with the body/soul nexus" (226).

the hermit and the king of England, by helping the hermit understand how their respective male pursuits both show loyalty to God, the supreme male. Likewise, the angel in story LI takes the form of a powerful male, a form with which he is comfortable. The angel becomes male. The angel and the king bond as males in the miracle.

Miracles for men

The collection contains five miracle stories (where the word miracle is used or, as in one case, where there is no other way to interpret the event).¹⁸ All but one are very much male-centered, as we shall see. Before proceeding, let us clarify what constitutes the miracle in the stories already discussed. In example III it is that God saves King Richard and his horse from drowning so that the king can eventually save his soul. The angel's two visits to the hermit are not called miracles. The miracle in example LI is that the angel takes the place of the king for many years so that the real king can repent for his arrogance, become humble, be pardoned for his sins, and save his soul. The miracle is perfected at the end of the story, when the angel reveals himself to the people as an angel.

In example XXVIII, "De lo que contesçio a don Llorenço Suarez Gallinato", don Llorenço Suarez Gallinato shows his loyalty to his Catholic faith while living in Granada among the Moors. A cleric who has converted to Islam, just for sport and to entertain his Moorish audience, mocks a Mass, "consecrates" a host, and turns it over to his audience, who drag it in the mud and make fun of it. Don Llorenço Suarez Gallinato decapitates the cleric and kneels down in the mud to adore the host, which he believes is truly the body of Christ. At that, the host jumps from the mud to don Llorenço's lap. This is the miracle. There appears to be no agent here, just a host that jumps from the mud on its own.

The miracle (the term is not used here, but there is no other way to understand the event within the story) confirms don Llorenço's belief, that the host is the true body of Christ, and that it is then Christ who moves the host (himself) from the mud to don Llorenço's lap. The story of the miracle is told by don Llorenço Suarez Gallinato himself to none other than King Ferdinand III, who has asked him if he believes that God will have pity on his soul, given his record of having worked for the Moors. Don Llorenço believes that his defense of the body of Christ warrants God's pity on his soul, and the important detail of the miracle is proof.¹⁹

This miracle is also at the very heart and center of the masculine values of defense, loyalty, and bravery. (These are also feminine values in the collection, as we shall see.) Don Llorenço Suarez Gallinato at the time is the head of Granada's guard. It is while accompanying the king that he encounters the public spectacle in which the host is desecrated. The Moors want to kill don Llorenço Suarez for killing the cleric and on account of the fear stirred in them by the miracle that

¹⁸ This is Alfonso X's definition of a miracle in his *Setenario*: "La ssetena es natura marauillosa, que está ascondida de los entendimientos de los omnes; que non pueden alcançar a ella nin otra natura ffazer lo que ella ffaz. Estos son los miraglos que vien de la natura que ha Dios en sí mismo e de la uertud que ssale della; ca maguer sea visto por oio, non puede llegar a sser entendida por entendimiento de omne segunt qual es en sí misma" (27).

¹⁹ Devoto writes that this is not only a Eucharistic miracle but also a defense of the Eucharist or of the name of God (415).

they have witnessed. The king of Granada stops them, but angrily demands an explanation from his guard. Don Llorenço Suarez explains that if his job as guard to the king requires him to risk his life in defending him, proving his loyalty, then so much stronger is his obligation to defend his faith, risking his life for it.

Example XLVIII, “De lo que contesçio a don Pero Nunnez el leal et a don Roy Gonzales de Çauillos et a don Gutier Royz de Blaguiello con el conde don Rodrigo el Franco,” narrates a tale with a miraculous surprise. The miracle here is only a small part of Patronio’s story, yet it is what sets off a string of events, all centering round the theme of loyalty. This miracle is the only one in the collection that involves a woman, “duenna fija de don Gil Garcia de Çagra”. Her husband, don Rodrigo el Franco, has falsely accused her of adultery. She prays to God for a miracle: that he provide a sign that will prove her husband’s accusation false. God, heeding her prayer, performs the miracle. He inflicts her husband with leprosy. She divorces him and marries the king of Navarre: “Luego que la oración fue acabada, por el miraglo de Dios, engafezio el conde, su marido, et ella partiosse del. Et luego que fueron partidos, envio el rey de Nauarra sus mandaderos a la duenna et caso con ella, et fue reyna de Nauarra” (*Oc*, II, 356: 29-32).

The miracle, God inflicting leprosy on a husband who falsely accuses his wife, underscores the importance of loyalty. Because she is loyal she is rewarded by God, whereas he is punished for being disloyal. The theme of loyalty (joined with that of bravery) is developed in each successive situation: the count’s three loyal knights accompany him on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land; they show him their loyalty and bravery by drinking the water with which they wash his wounds. Pero Nunnez, one of the loyal knights, bravely defends in a duel a lady who has been falsely accused of adultery by her husband. He wins the duel, but because the lady did feel lust, he loses an eye in the confrontation (he predicted something of the sort would happen, but was willing to suffer the loss). Once he returns home, after years of exile, his loyal wife bravely pierces her own eye with a needle to demonstrate to her husband the extent of her loyalty. The miracle in the story does not center on salvation of the soul but on loyalty and bravery in two spheres, marriage and knighthood. At one end of the story is the miracle that saves one woman from a bad marriage, false accusation, and punishment by death. At the other end is another woman’s brave demonstration of loyalty for her husband. In the middle, in addition to the story of three knights’ brave loyalty to their lord, is the sense of justice of one of the knights, who in a duel is brave enough to defend the somewhat dubious honor of a woman who is innocent of committing adultery but not of harboring intentions of committing it.

The final miracle I discuss is the most well known one, example XIII, “Del miraglo que fizo sancto Domingo quando predico sobre el logrero.” St. Dominic performs the miracle in this story about damnation. The character, a rich Lombard on his deathbed, has led a life of greed. He arranges to repent with the help of St. Dominic; but St. Dominic sends in his place a friar who in turn is sent away by the Lombard’s greedy sons, who fear that their father will give away his fortune to the Dominican order in order to help expiate his sins. The Lombard dies without confession. St. Dominic presides over the funeral and cites the verses of the Bible, “*Ubi est thesaurus tuus, ibi est cor tuum.*” When the family members open the treasure trunk of the

Lombard, they find in the place of the treasure the Lombard's heart covered in worms.²⁰ This is St. Dominic's miracle. The miracle is both a lesson and a warning to the living. The consequence for leading a life of greed is damnation of the soul. Patronio tells Count Lucanor that the accumulation of wealth should be done ethically and without obsession. God rewards in the afterlife good deeds done on earth, which constitute the true wealth in life.

Damnation stories with the devil and his female helpers

The single story in the collection in which the character of the devil is well developed is the famous example XLV, "De lo que contesçio a vn omne que se fizo amigo et vasallo del diablo". He and his victim are the two main characters. This story is also a salvation story, in the negative, a damnation story. The devil wins the soul of an impoverished man, down on his luck. The man does not understand that he is trading his soul for the devil's help in robbing and getting rich until it is too late. The devil, whose name is Don Martín, tells the thief at the moment before he is to be hanged, that he always helps his friends except when they get to one place, the scaffold: "Et puniendolo en la forca, vino don Martin et el omne le dixo quell acorriesse. Et don Martin le dixo que sienpre el acorria a todos sus amigos fasta que los llegaua a tal lugar" (*OC*, II, 371: 108-110). Patronio emphasizes that the man's naïve belief in the devil's loyalty cost him his body and his soul: "Et assi perdio aquel omne el cuerpo et el alma, creyendo al diablo et fiando del" (*OC*, II, 371: 111-112).

In two other salvation/damnation stories of the collection, the devil is at work behind the scenes. He has his representatives/ helpers making the connections or interfering with humans. Both agents are women.²¹ In example XL, "De las razones por que perdio el alma vn siniscal de Carcassona," the devil's female associate is called "la muger demoniada." What role does she have in life? What is her association with the devil? Is she more than human? The devil talks to her and shares his knowledge with her, that is, the amount of knowledge he wishes to divulge to her: "Acaesçio que dende a pocos días, que fue vna muger demoniada en la villa, et dizia muchas cosas maravillosas, por que el diablo, que fablaua en ella, sabia todas las cosas fechas et avn las dichas" (*OC*, II, 317: 26-29). She knows that the Seneschal of Carcassona's soul has not been saved, despite his charity to the order of Mendicant Friars, whose members have prayed for the salvation of his soul. These friars visit her in her house to find out what she knows; and even before they have a chance to speak and ask, she knows why they are there and gives them the answer. She, in fact, says that she has just returned from leaving the damned soul of the Seneschal in hell. This "muger demoniada" is not human; she is a devil's helper in a female form.²² The devil informs her of the souls in her area that are damned and why, and her job is to escort these souls to hell. She lives as a human among humans, like the angel in story LI.

²⁰ For Alfonso X, the heart was the seat of the soul. In Law V in the *Second Partida* we read, "Et assi como yaze el alma en el coraçon del ome, e por ella biue el cuerpo, e se mantiene, assi enel Rey yaze la iusticia que es vida e mantenimiento del pueblo de su señorío." (*Siete Partidas* II 7).

²¹ Cárdenas-Rotunno discusses briefly the traditional association between woman and the devil (203).

²² Cárdenas-Rotunno cites Lacarra, who in her introduction to *Sendebat* notes that there is an intermediary diabolic spirit in Islamic folklore, an *efrit*, who often takes on a female form (203).

It is a beguine who is the devil's helper in example XLII, "De lo que contesçio a vna falsa beguina."²³ In this case it is she who for her evil deeds is punished by God, meeting a violent death at the hands of justice. This tale, unlike examples XIII, XL and XLV, is not a strong damnation story. It is not about the beguine and her soul's final destiny. The story focuses instead on two other things, the devil (how he works) and hypocrites, represented by the "falsa beguina." It shows how the devil is always working to destroy the good in the world and put his stamp of evil in its place. Here he targets a devoted married couple who let their guard down. They allow a stranger (the beguine who has volunteered to help the devil) into their lives. She does the devil's work by creating such distrust between them that they end up killing each other. The lesson is unmistakable: the worst kinds of people are the "gatos religiosos," who act Christian, like the beguine, but who have bad intentions to hurt good people. They can be known by their actions, if not at first, then eventually. The beguine's punishment by God falls within a central theme in the collection, that the truth always comes to the surface and gets revealed:

Pero por que Dios nunca quiere que el que mal fecho faze que finque sin pena, nin avn, que el mal fecho sea encubierto, quiso que fuesse sabido que todo aquel mal vineira por aquella falsa beguina, et fizieron della muchas malas iusticias, et dieron le muy mala muerte et muy cruel. (*OC*, II, 334: 133-138)

There is no mention of the beguine having a soul nor that she has received her just punishment in hell, which makes the story something other than a strong damnation story. It is instructive to consider the parallels and differences between this example and example XLV, the one about the doomed would-be thief. Both he and the beguine have a voluntary association with the devil. Both meet the devil on a road or path. The would-be-thief meets him on a path "por vn monte." The beguine meets him as he is walking from "aquella villa do fazian vida aquel omne et aquella mugger." The devil is not described in either tale. The reader is told, however, that he walks and talks and is always at work in some capacity among humans: "Et bien cred que el diablo sienpre cata tienpo para engannar a los omnes" (*OC*, II, 369: 41-42).

In example XLV, the devil takes advantage of the would-be-thief's emotional state of despair, which, Patronio says, is his usual way of recruiting:

Quando vee que estan en alguna quexa, o de mengua, o de miedo, o de querer conplir su talante, entonçe libra el con ellos todo lo que quiere" (*OC*, II, 369: 42-44). The down-on-his-luck man is scared by the devil, yet he goes ahead and makes the pact with him: the devil will help him out of his poverty and make it easy for him to rob establishments and homes. If in the beginning what motivates the man to accept his association with the devil is the desire to get out of his poverty, it is his incremental greed and arrogance that lead him to his doom, to the place where not even the devil himself can save him. The devil

²³ Hammer studies the variants of the Beguine story in the manuscripts of *El Conde Lucanor*. Hammer, like Burgoyne and de Looze, emphasizes that the manuscripts are rewritings (of rewritings) of the non-extant original. Rather than talk about the intentions of the author, then, we must speak of the intentions of the author and the editors (readers and copiers) and try to distinguish between them. He writes, "I will suggest that this richer meaning of the Beguine tale is only available to us if we move beyond the print paradigm of the stable text and embrace the instability of the manuscripts" (172).

takes advantage of the man's moment of weakness, but then the man's greedy character reveals itself as he gets more fearless and brazen with every robbery. By that time, the man has no fear of the devil, God, or the consequences of his evil deeds.

As we said, the beguine's association with the devil in example XLII is also voluntary. She crosses paths with the very devil, and she has no fear. On the contrary, she wants to demonstrate that she can be successful in the endeavor in which he has failed, which is to destroy the couple's loving relationship. For payment for her services, she asks that he do whatever she wants him to do: "Et ella dixol que se marabillaua, pues tanto sabia, commo non lo podia fazer, que si fiziesse lo que ella querie, que ella le pornia recabdo en esto" (*OC*, II, 332: 37-39). She is indeed successful, yet God, not wanting her to get away with her evil deed, arranges for her to get caught and killed by the very people of the village. . In her arrogance she forgot about God, believing that the devil would have to do her bidding; that she would have power over him. She was bargaining for power over the powerful devil.²⁴ The attempt, of course, came to naught.

In *El Conde Lucanor*, women are associated with the devil in a different manner than men are. In example XLV, "De lo que contesçio a vn omne que se fizo amigo et vasallo del diablo," the man participates in the drama of free will regarding salvation or damnation. The woman in example XL, "De las razones por que perdio el alma vn siniscal de Carcassona," is "la muger demoniada," an associate of the devil. A beguine is the devil's helper in example XLII, "De lo que contesçio a vna falsa beguina." Both stories reflect the traditional close association between women and the devil. The women are the devil's helpers.²⁵ They are not tempted; they tempt.

Souls

Though the story of the false beguine is very well developed, as we have seen, the topic of the damnation of her soul is not mentioned. What is the significance of this? Before drawing any conclusions about this question, I would like to draw attention back again to the very strong damnation/ salvation story told in example XL, "De las razones por que perdio el alma vn siniscal de Carcassona." Five main features of the narrative account for this: 1) The deathbed scene of the rich Seneschal of Carcassona. He has spent his life focusing on building his wealth; and now, at the end of it, he worries about his soul. He hopes to save it by willing his estate to the order of Mendicant Friars, members of which, to return the favor, gather at his bedside to pray for his soul. 2) The devil in the background waiting for and finally claiming the soul of the Seneschal. 3) The "muger demoniada" as the escort who takes the damned soul to hell. 4) The very lengthy explanation to the friars by the "muger demoniada" of why the Seneschal lost his soul. He did not do good deeds while he was alive; he thought of doing them only when he was dying, leaving

²⁴ For Cárdenas-Rotunno the devil in example XLV is a comical devil, a *Dummteufel*, not a *Dominus* devil, princely and powerful (203).

²⁵ The fear of female "gatos religiosos" associated with the devil has a long tradition. These were unmarried younger women who lived together in groups, just like the beguines. Explaining this fear, Ruether quotes a passage from the Bible (1 Timothy): "Such younger women...are eyed with suspicion as 'gadding about from house to house; and they are not merely idle, but also gossips and busybodies, saying what they should not say...some have already turned away to follow Satan' (5:13, 15)" (41). Hammer finds versions of the beguine story in the *Libro de las delicias* by Joseph Ben Meir Ibn Sabara, *Speculum Laicorum*, the "Poema de Adolfo," and the *Scala Coeli* (175).

instructions in his will for good deeds to be done in his name only after his death. 5) Patronio's lengthy admonition at the end about the importance of performing good deeds in life in order to guarantee salvation of the soul, including the five conditions that make charitable acts genuine and that help the soul's chances of being saved.

This fifth feature is also found in example III, "Del salto que fizo el rey Richalte de Inglaterra en la mar contra los moros." This time, though, Patronio focuses on the role of penitence in the salvation of the soul and expounds at length on how to carry it out. He tailors his explanation to his male audience, the count Lucanor. His message is accentuated by a discourse on knighthood, pointing out that since the Count Lucanor is a knight, he is God's knight, not the devil's: "ca ya todos veyen que non dexades nada de lo que deuedes fazer de caualleria, mas queredes seer cauallero de Dios et dexades de ser cauallero del diablo et de la vfana del mundo, que es falleçedera" (*OC*, II, 59: 166-169).

Another story in the collection, though not properly a salvation story, also depicts a deathbed scene at the center of which is a soul. In *exemplo* IV, "De lo que dixo vn genoves a su alma quando se ovo de morir," a wealthy Genoese on his deathbed talks to his soul directly, with his family and friends around him.²⁶ He scolds his soul for wanting to depart from this life when he has so much to enjoy-- family, friends, gold, silver, precious jewels, ships and boats, gardens, mules and horses, birds and dogs for hunting, jongleurs for amusement and consolation, a great house lavishly furnished, in short, everything that one could ever want. Then he angrily tells his soul to depart to the uncertainty of the next world if it insists. If this story were illustrated, we might see the soul represented as it leaves the body. The departing soul, according to Moshe Barasch, is "an original creation of medieval culture and imagination."²⁷ In most cases, notes Barasch, the body is a corpse when the soul departs. Here, though, the Genoese talks, possibly face-to-face, to the soul. The reader cannot help but wonder how this soul would have been represented visually -- as a newborn baby (Barasch 17-18), or a tiny human being of indefinite sex, or even a male adolescent.²⁸ What I want to emphasize here is that the soul is that of a man, like all the souls depicted in the collection. It is not that Juan Manuel states anywhere in the collection that women do not have souls, which is contrary to Christianity, according to which women are spiritually equal to men; it is simply that there is no woman in the collection whose soul is represented.²⁹

In example XL, "De las razones por que perdio el alma vn siniscal de Carcassona," Patronio's postscript is also heavily tailored to the male audience represented by the Count

²⁶Ayerbe-Chaux identifies two earlier versions of this story, that of Jacob of Vitry and Etienne de Bourbon (33).

²⁷ On this subject, see Barasch (15).

²⁸ Mayr-Harting addresses the portrayal of angels' gender throughout the Middle Ages (18). Angels were seldom portrayed as female. They were traditionally portrayed as male. Eventually, they were made androgynous. Thomas Aquinas, on the other hand, made angels ethereal.

²⁹ Ranft poses a thought-provoking question regarding women and spirituality in Christian tradition: "As we can now confidently assert, Christianity did indeed possess a strong and enduring tradition of women's spiritual equality. Are we then to praise Christianity for its ability to establish and maintain the one lone tradition of equality that Western women possessed for a millennium and a half, or to fault it for its failure to force the whole of society to adopt similar traditions of equality in all other realms?" (231).

Lucanor: “omne” is repeated over and over again. Even if “omne” was being used here to mean human being, Juan Manuel leaves no opening for a female audience to feel included in this important explanation of genuine charity and the salvation of the soul.

Patronio develops a similar commentary in story XLIX, “De lo que contesçio al que echaron a la ysla desnuyo quandol tomaron el sennorio que tenie,” after telling the tale about a country in which, after ruling for one year, kings are taken naked to an island. The topic is the difference between the transitory life on earth and the eternal life after death. This contrast is embodied in the soul: it is spiritual and lives forever. It is the soul that is punished for the sins committed or rewarded for the good deeds performed on earth:

Et sabet que la vida del alma non se cuenta por annos, mas dura para siempre sin fin; ca el alma es cosa spiritual et non se puede corronper, ante dura et finca para sienpre. Et sabet que las obras buenas o malas que el omne en este mundo faze, todas las tiene Dios guardadas para dar dellas galardón en el otro mundo, segund sus mereçimientos. Et por todas estas razones, conseio vos yo que fagades tales obras en este mundo por que quando del ovierdes de salir, falledes buena posada en aquel do auedes a durar para sienpre,... (OC, II, 408: 59-67)

This story is not in the full sense a salvation story either, but it does remind us of the story of the beguine, whose soul (and its salvation or damnation) is not important enough to mention or portray. In this light it is significant that in example XLIX the person depicted is a king and not a queen. (There is no portrayal of queens in the collection.) Souls are not associated with women characters in *El Conde Lucanor*. The drama of the soul and salvation or damnation is fully developed only in association with male characters. Juan Manuel’s treatment of the topic of salvation and damnation is tailored exclusively to his intended male audience and readership.

El Conde Lucanor is a manual that purports to instruct the medieval listener and reader on how best to achieve the balance of living successfully in the world while attaining the soul’s salvation. It does indeed do this, but without making any specific reference to woman’s soul. The author states in the prologue that his collection of stories has universal appeal. Does it really, if male characters are fully developed, having bodies and souls, whereas female characters are not? Maybe the “universal” did not mean male *and female*. On the other hand, perhaps the author expected that some readers and listeners would identify with some parts of the book, others with other parts; and not everybody was meant to identify with all parts. Are the lessons gendered? Are women, if they are included as listeners and readers, meant to learn some lessons and not others?

In “Los que son muy cuerdos entienden la cosa por algunas sennales”: Learning the Lessons of *El Conde Lucanor*,” John England argues that while it is true that the collection of stories is told from the perspective of the author (of the nobility), and of his male characters, a noble and his advisor, it is up to the readers to apply the lessons to themselves, to move from the particular to the general (363). England does not broach the problem of the woman reader. How is she supposed to move from the particular to the general, and to apply the lessons to herself?

In effect, both implicit and explicit antifeminism can be found in the collection. In many of the stories men characters have dominion over women characters (explicit).³⁰ On the other hand, women just don't get saved (implicit). This unbalanced portrayal of men and women suggests many questions about the author's identity. Who was "Juan Manuel"? Could Vicente Cantarino be right, that "Juan Manuel" was a Dominican friar from the Dominican monastery in Peñafiel?³¹ As a friar, he would have been well acquainted with Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Augustine was hesitant to assert that women had a soul received directly from God. She might have received a derived soul from Adam's soul ("On the Soul and Its Origins"). According to Aquinas, women do have souls; but they are imperfect, inferior, and defective.³² On the other hand, what if our historical Juan Manuel is indeed the author of *El Conde Lucanor*? Women characters are viewed from his perspective of male dominance: the noble, the knight, the hunter, the writer, the man, and the soul. Or Juan Manuel could have worked with a Dominican friar. Together, they could have produced the work that demonstrates that Christian males are God's favorite people to save. Angels prefer their company. Miracles happen to them. Their souls are portrayed in books. *El Conde Lucanor* is ultra-masculine.³³ What about the book's universal reader? Is it that the reader is indeed universal, just not a woman?³⁴ *El Conde Lucanor* was not tailored to women readers or listeners with spiritual concerns about their salvation. For that women could heed their devotionals, if they owned any, and/or sermons at Mass.³⁵

³⁰ Archer, quoting Lacarra, writes that it has been proven that Juan Manuel "explicitly rejected many of the negative tales that he certainly knew from the collections he used. As it is, he includes only three such tales, and these are counterbalanced by two which represent women in a more positive way" (12). As is obvious from my article, I do not share this opinion. Perhaps Juan Manuel, the entity we call Juan Manuel, did not want too many women characters in the masculine collection. In any case, there are no examples in *El Conde Lucanor* that show women as powerful or in a positive light. In addition, as I have shown, the book is imbued with implicit misogyny: they do not participate as souls.

³¹ Cantarino proposes that the author is not Juan Manuel but a Dominican friar: "Mucho más exacto sería su atribución a un fraile dominico, estudiante versado en la teología y las exigencias de una dialéctica razonada, discípulo fiel del entonces todavía-discutido Tomás de Aquino, y dedicado a la promulgación explicada de las doctrinas" (66). My opinion is that the Dominican friar and Juan Manuel worked together. In another study, "Jewish Representation in Juan Manuel: Respect, *Convivencia* and Silence," I also suggest that Juan Manuel and his Jewish friend, Don Salomon, collaborated (forthcoming).

³² Popik analyzes Aquinas's position with regard to woman's inferiority: "To summarize, the imperfection of woman's soul, and her inferiority in comparison with man in ability to do higher reason and to order her acts and control her passions with reason, is the result of the influence of her imperfect and weak body on her soul and its operations" (No page #).

³³ Biglieri proposes that Juan Manuel's *El Conde Lucanor* be understood on its own terms without imposing modern expectations (214). He points to the collection's hierarchical worldview (214), but without delineating this worldview.

³⁴ Lacarra makes a note of the woman reader mentioned in Part V of *El Conde Lucanor* (2006, 51). This is the only mention of the woman reader in *El Conde Lucanor*. In my opinion it is problematic, that is, not as straightforward as Lacarra suggests. It does not prove at all that Juan Manuel took into account the woman reader in the collection of exempla (Part I). A later editor could also have added the nod to the woman reader.

³⁵ The sermons themselves were tailored to specific audiences. Waters writes, "Several collections of Latin *sermones ad status* survive from the period c. 1150-1300, and there were many more individual sermons that followed their lead in attempting to address listeners in ways congruent with their particular qualities. These sermons are a late medieval

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expression of preachers' long-standing acknowledgment that different audiences need to be addressed in different ways..." (146).

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