Continuation, Sequel, Gloss: Towards a Reconsideration of Nicolás Núñez's Ending to *Cárcel de amor*¹

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As has often been remarked, Nicolás Núñez's continuation to Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* is a curiosity. The facts are these: from its very first appearance in print in 1496, Núñez's continuation was printed with *Cárcel de amor*, which had first been printed four years earlier. The continuation was therefore just as much of a best-seller as San Pedro's work itself, which, according to Keith Whinnom's calculations, was the fourth best-selling book of the Golden Age (1980, 193). It would seem, then, that Núñez's ending found not only acceptance, but popularity amongst *Cárcel*'s readers.² But the physical union in print of San Pedro's work and Núñez's continuation belies the tensions that exist between the two works on a textual level. Núñez writes depicting himself as a disgruntled reader of *Cárcel*; his continuation is a corrective to what he believes were the shortcomings of the original narrative, namely that Laureola did not repent of her rejection of Leriano, who subsequently died of love sickness, nor declare her love for him.

The editorial success enjoyed by Núñez's continuation throughout the sixteenth century is also belied by the lack of attention that it has received from scholars, who have typically either criticised the work or ignored it all together.³ Keith Whinnom must be credited with bringing it to the attention of Hispanists as a text worth studying; in 1979 he published both a modern edition of the continuation and an English translation, alongside *Cárcel*. Even Whinnom, however, has little praise for the continuation, seeing it as a pale imitation of San Pedro's work in terms of literary merit, and a "total betrayal of its model" in terms of content (1979, xxx-xxxii).

Of course, most early Spanish continuations, including those spawned by *Celestina* and Alonso Fernández Avellaneda's infamous sequel to *Don Quijote*, receive much the same scholarly treatment. This is despite the fact that these continuations form a crucial part of the landscape of early modern Spanish literary creation.⁴ Fortunately, these texts have more recently been taken up by scholars and are the subject of William H. Hinrich's 2011 monograph: *The Invention of the Sequel: Expanding Prose Fiction in Early Modern Spain*. A long overdue study of the production of continuations of prose fiction in this period, it raises vital questions about the nature, genesis and evolution of the Spanish sequel. For Hinrichs, the early modern sequel was "invented" by Fernando de Rojas' act of continuation in *Celestina* (1), although its story properly begins with Núñez's continuation of *Cárcel*, of which he writes:

Once a conclusion as definitive as San Pedro's has been successfully defied, no ending can be final. This is Núñez's real legacy for literature. He undermines not just San

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² Hinrichs (5) and Folger (1) even assert a direct correlation between the number of editions of *Cárcel* printed in the sixteenth century and the addition of Núñez's continuation in 1496.

³ As far as I am aware, only the following studies have been dedicated to the continuation: Parrilla 1992; Rohland de Langbehn 1998; Whinnom 1973; his English translation (1979); Indini; Folger; and Yoon. Some other studies dedicated to *Cárcel* or to sentimental fiction in general also discuss Núñez; many of these are cited in this article.

⁴ Well-known studies of the gap between the texts that are held up by scholars today as representative of Golden Age literature and those actually read by or known to contemporary readers are Whinnom 1980 and Rodríguez-Moñino.

Pedro's conclusion but the very notion of conclusive conclusions. We witness here an extraordinary event: the death of the ending and the birth of the sequel. (4)

Hinrichs' book brings together for the first time a wealth of information about the production and reception of what are generally little-studied texts, and demonstrates beyond doubt the importance of the early modern Spanish sequel. However, his positioning of Núñez's continuation as the "birth of the sequel" is somewhat limiting. Hinrichs' study looks no further back than Núñez: "All subsequent continuations, including Rojas', are in a sense footnotes to Núñez [...]" (2). In starting his narrative with Núñez, Hinrichs imposes limits - both chronological and generic - on the evolutionary lifespan of the Spanish sequel:

The story of the sequel in Spain begins with continuations of the sentimental novel the *Cárcel de Amor* (1492) in 1496 and the *Celestina* (1499/1502) in 1534 and 1536, passes through the picaresque of *Lazarillo* (1554) and its continuation in 1555, embraces the pastoral of the *Diana* (1559) and its rival Parts II of 1563 and 1564, and ends with the competition to continue *Guzmán* and the *Quijote* in 1602 and 1614 respectively. (ix)

By limiting the history of the sequel to the period between 1492 and 1615 and to prose fiction only. Hinrichs cuts the sequel off from the Middle Ages and also from the composition of poetry and non-fiction prose, and with these, productive avenues of investigation as to the reasons behind the sequel's ubiquity in the Golden Age.⁵ This article reconsiders the role of Núñez's continuation as the starting point in the history of the Spanish sequel and demonstrates that in order to be fully understood, this text must be situated in the context of the material and cultural practises that made possible its composition and equally curious transmission in print. This is, of course, not to postulate a narrative of "unbroken continuity" between medieval and early modern literary practices, between Núñez and his literary predecessors. As Michel Foucault warns, such continuity in history is a fallacy (1977, 146). Rather, what I hope to show is that the print transmission - and indeed, composition - of Núñez's ending to Cárcel is underpinned by concepts of textual composition and textual space that reach back to the Middle Ages, informing Núñez's stance as continuator, albeit in the new context of print culture. After all, the term "birth" implies some form of genesis, a mutation of precedents that continue to mould even as they themselves are moulded into something new - a process that Edward W. Said describes as the "interplay between the new and the customary without which (ex nihilo nihil fit) a beginning cannot really take place" (xxiii).

I take both a textual and material approach to Núñez's continuation. Much work has been done in recent years by Hispano-medievalists to reconstruct contemporary readings of sentimental and chivalric fiction. Maxime Chevalier, Carmen Parrilla (2003) and Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (2003) identify the reader demographics of these genres. Regula Rohland de Langbehn has looked at the role that another sentimental romance, Questión de amor, constructs for its readers (1992), while Sol Miguel-Prendes looks to cultural practices at court in order to reimagine contemporary readings of *Cárcel*. These approaches have revealed much about how these texts were read, but in focussing on the relationship between the reader and the text they pass over the relationship between the reader and the material form that transmits the text, which in this case is the printed book. This material aspect is essential to understanding how a work was read by its contemporary readers and how this reading was organised by the external figures that shaped the early printed book (printers, editors, illustrators and patrons). This article will be the first to take a material approach in analysing the relationship between San Pedro's sentimental romance and Núñez's continuation. This is an especially fruitful approach to take, given that the Middle Ages conceived of texts as having physical as well as ideational boundaries, as I will discuss below.

 $^{^{5}}$ Hinrichs limits his study to prose fiction because, according to him, "Drama and poetry, especially epic poetry, have decidedly different notions of authorship and originality" (x).

The intertextual relationship between works in the sentimental corpus has also been acknowledged in recent research. Cortijo Ocaña's study (2011) on the evolution of the sentimental genre avoids the critical stalemate over the question of whether one can properly speak of a 'sentimental genre' by focussing on the way in which these texts relate to *each other*, rather than to generic nomenclature.⁶ For Cortijo Ocaña, the intertextual relationship between the works is evidence of the sentimental authors' consciousness of their participation in a shared tradition (293). In the same vein, I seek in this article to understand Núñez's continuation through its relationship with San Pedro's text, rather than by means of conventional designations such as 'sequel' or 'continuation'.

I.

Let us begin by looking more closely at the relationship to San Pedro's work that Núñez's continuation posits on a textual level. Several analogies to the relationship between these two texts become apparent when we look to the dominant reading practices and notions of creativity of the Middle Ages. Núñez's continuation belongs in the context of literary production, in which "reading for the learned was an activity that would ideally translate at once into writing" (Bouza 42). The adaptation of previous works was the norm and literary composition was part of a "creative continuum", in which present texts remembered past texts (Weiss 2009, 151).

Reading practices and notions of creativity were rooted in an understanding of the rhetorical principle *inventio* as a way of discovering the meanings of a text. Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter trace this understanding back as far as Saint Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, a work which "shifts the responsibility of invention or discovery from writer to reader, or from production to the interpretation of meaning" (48). This notion of *inventio* was far-reaching, existing in and beyond academic environments: in the study of rhetoric, in preaching and also in the arts of poetry. For Copeland and Sluiter it points to "a fundamental medieval outlook in which the interpretative work of *enarratio poetarum* becomes an inventional strategy oriented to the future text", as expressed in Marie de France's oft-quoted, prefatory declaration in her *Lais* that the obscure expression of the *auctores* enables future generations of readers to add to them, as they try to discover their meaning (51).

This outlook also pervades Núñez's continuation to *Cárcel*. Just as in the model of *inventio* outlined by Copeland and Sluiter, Núñez's act of composition begins in the act of reading:

Leyendo un día el tratado del no menos virtuoso que discreto de Diego de San Pedro que fizo de *Cárcel de amor*, en la estoria de Leriano y Laureola, que endereçó al muy virtuoso señor, el señor Alcaide de los Donzeles, parecióme que quando en el cabo de él dixo que Leriano, por la respuesta sin esperança que Laureola avía enbiado, se dexava morir, y que se partió desque lo vido muerto para Castilla a dar la cuento de lo passado, que deviera venirse por la corte, a dezir a Laureola de cierto como ya era muerto Leriano. [...] Y porque me parecía que lo dexava en aquello corto, con ocupación de algunos negocios, o por se desocupar para entender en otros que más le cumplían, no lo fize yo por dezillo mejor, mas por saber si a la firmeza de Leriano en la muerte dava algún galardón, pues en la vida se lo havía negado, acordé fazer este tratado [...]. (83)⁷

 $^{^{6}}$ Rohland de Langbehn puts forward the case in favour of the existence of a sentimental genre (1992). This question of genre is debated in a forum in *La corónica* (2003) which illustrates how contentious the issue remains for scholars. See Brownlee; Corfis 1997 and Severin for alternative views on how the sentimental works relate to each other.

⁷ Except where I refer to specific, early editions of *Cárcel de amor*, all references in this article are to Parrilla's edition of *Cárcel* and Núñez's continuation.

Núñez's composition is not a mere continuation of *Cárcel*, but an *interpretation*, driven by a desire to understand what he has read, the argument whereof - both in the sense of plot and of reasoning - he has puzzled over: "no lo fize para dezillo mejor, mas por *saber* [...] (italics mine)". Núñez presents his work as an interrogation of his model text, an excavation of latent answers that await discovery. He also depicts his continuation as having been necessitated by the lacuna which San Pedro left in *Cárcel*'s narrative "con ocupación de algunos negocios, o por se desocupar para entender en otros que más le cumplían [...]". Just as Marie de France's 'Ancients' purposefully wrote obscurely so that future generations could gloss them to interpret their meaning, so Núñez puts a teleological spin on what to him is a disturbing omission in the plot of *Cárcel*: although San Pedro did not give Leriano the satisfaction of knowing of Laureola's repentance, he *meant* to, and was only prevented from doing so by other demands on his time.⁸ However disingenuously, Núñez presents his continuation as an act of recovering a concealed truth in San Pedro's text, a meaning that he is expressing *on behalf* of the original author. This is the orientation towards the "future text" that Copeland and Sluiter see as defining the medieval notion of reading as *inventio*.

Early modern schooling in rhetoric was underpinned by the conversion of reading into writing, as Iveta Nakládalová shows.⁹ The study of *auctores* prepared students to compose their own imitative texts through the analytical exercise of *praelectio* and the exercise of *enarratio*, which "procura acumular el material retórico reutilizable en el discurso propio" (Nakládalová 129). The reuse of material by students in their own compositions is fundamental, and borne out in excerpere, the act of excerpting reusable elements of discourse, with which students filled their personal notebooks (156-60). This note-taking is yet another example of the medieval conversion of reading into writing. But the recycling of textual material for composition was also understood more ethically as memory, and as a primarily mental process: "The memory bits culled from works read and digested are ruminated into a composition - that is basically what an "author" does with "authorities" " (Carruthers 189). Once again, the point of departure for the act of composition is a previous text. It seems clear that Núñez's act of continuation is not the birth of a new mode of composition, but is instead firmly rooted in approaches to writing that stretch back to the early Middle Ages. Hinrichs understands Núñez's prologue as a narration of "his transformation from passive armchair reader into active activist writer [...]" (3). But as the collation of notes by students in their "cartapacio personal" (Nakládalová 162) and readers' marginal annotations of even chivalric romances (Lucía Megías) demonstrate, there was no such thing as a "passive armchair reader" when Núñez was writing his continuation. Early modern readers were, by virtue of their education, active readers.

The quintessential active reader of this period is, of course, the glossator. Predicated upon the same notions of reading as *inventio* and adaptation as creativity, is the medieval practice of textual exposition through gloss and commentary. "Whether for schoolroom or scholar, general reader or specialist, glossing was the medium of experimentation, innovation and renewal" (Copeland 186).¹⁰ Although the affiliation between Núñez's continuation and the practice of glossing will be borne out below through a textual approach, it is essential to begin to consider here the material nature of the gloss. This is because the medieval paradigm of the gloss

⁸ In a similar vein, Enrique de Villena, in his commentary on the *Aeneid*, declares that Virgil anticipated the different interpretations of his work by future readers: "E por eso fablaron los poethas en esta velada manera, por que pudiesen los exponedores varias e útiles declaraciones fazer" (qtd. in Weiss 1990, 98).

⁹ Parrilla too, positions Núñez's continuation in the context of contemporary schooling, in which "toda fascinación lectora es una incitación a la escritura" (1992, 244). Hinrichs, however, disputes "the universality of her declaration" on the basis that "only one author wrote a continuation of San Pedro, and none followed him either as rival or as a continuator of his work" (3n). Cortijo Ocaña, meanwhile, sees Núñez's continuation as a different rhetorical exercise, that of *declamatio* (2001, 179).

¹⁰ Weiss' two checklists of glosses (2013a; 2013b) demonstrate the extent to which the culture of gloss and commentary flourished beyond academic circles in late medieval Spain.

necessarily conceives of a text as occupying a physical, material space - on a wax tablet or manuscript folio - as well as the limits of its meaning. As is well known, the gloss has two basic formats: the free-standing, lemmatic commentary, connected to the commented text by words quoted from the original passage, and the marginal or interlinear gloss, which is on the same page as the glossed text (Copeland 174). The form of the gloss affects its relationship with the source text, since independent and greater page space means that the author of a free-standing commentary has more of an opportunity "to develop extended, complex and theoretically original responses to the work" (178). Meanwhile, marginal glosses tend to be shorter, due to the limited page space to which they are confined, and also more closely attached to the actual word of the original text (174). Copeland describes how the marginal gloss would later expand to incorporate the matter of existing free-standing commentaries, a development which would lead to the layout of manuscript pages changing in order to accommodate the commentary (175). In this material practice we find an analogy for the print transmission of Núñez's continuation, which saw *Cárcel*'s printed form expand to incorporate a reader's commentary.

In his article on the materiality of the medieval gloss, Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco depicts the creation of a gloss as a physical encounter between two texts, a struggle for the intellectual territory of the page:

Es una producción de espacio porque aquellos individuos que buscan crear su presencia en el universo de la esfera intelectual, lo hacen precisamente a través de la colonización y reordenación del espacio del libro. (2010, 251)

This appropriation of space in the glossed manuscript can be fruitfully compared to Núñez's own act of encroaching upon the textual space of San Pedro's work, an act which is mirrored *physically* in the expansion of the 1496 joint edition, and all subsequent editions of the work. In fact, Núñez himself describes his continuation by means of a spatial metaphor which recalls the vocabulary of textual exegesis; he begins by excusing his temerity in "acrescentar lo que de suyo está crescido" (83). This spatial metaphor puts us in mind immediately of the practice of glossing, which expands the limits of the glossed text.¹¹

In the continuation's ending we find another pointed example of the appropriation of textual space, when Núñez's narrator takes up his *vihuela* and sings a *canción* and a *villancico* of his own composition. Here Núñez makes the textual space of San Pedro's *Cárcel* his own; he uses it to showcase his talent for verse. Observing the contrast between Núñez's lyrical content and San Pedro's strong narrative focus, Cortijo Ocaña wonders whether Núñez may have even composed these poems *before* he composed the continuation to *Cárcel* (2001, 181). In that case the hierarchy between gloss and glossed text is inverted; the glossed text becomes a frame for the gloss, rather than the other way around. In addition, the two despairing songs themselves serve as further glosses, restatements of Núñez's tragic spin on San Pedro's original narrative.

I am not the first person to make the connection between Núñez's continuation and the act of glossing. In an article on the poetry that has been attributed to Núñez, Alan Deyermond concludes that these poems tend to be responses to other poetic compositions.¹² He remarks that "this applies to Nicolás Núñez's prose as much as to his verse, for his *Cárcel de amor* glosses Diego de San Pedro's just as his poems gloss other poems" (1989, 34). Deyermond says no more on the subject, and to my knowledge he did not return to this relationship between the

¹¹ Parrilla presents an alternative interpretation of this metaphor, using it as a point of departure for her examination of how Núñez expands upon certain aspects of Laureola's character, such as her loquacity (1992).

¹² Of the 11 poems attributed to Núñez in the 1511 *Cancionero general*, Deyermond observes that "three of these poems are *decires*, one of them a *respuesta*, two are *canciones*, three *glosas* to *villancicos*, one a *glosa* to a romance" (1989, 27).

continuation and the gloss.¹³ But his observation about the nature of Núñez's poetic composition suggests that Núñez may have had a specific *modus operandi* as both poet and writer of fiction. Devermond's comment also places Núñez's continuation in the context of the poetic dialogue that was such a vital part of literary production in courtly circles of this period. In this context, we see that Núñez's sequel was not born out of nowhere, but was rather the product of a courtly milieu in which reading the words of others and expanding upon them was considered an art form.

All of this has led us to the analogy that I most particularly want to make in this article: that between Núñez's continuation and the poetic genre of the *glosa*, which flourished in courtly circles in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Spain, featuring prominently in the *Cancionero general* of 1511.¹⁴ Like the medieval gloss, the poetic *glosa* is an expression of a medieval compositional outlook in which writing originates in the reading and understanding of an authoritative source text.¹⁵ This courtly, poetic form allows one poet to engage with the work of another by building a creative and interpretative poetic response around his verses, whilst retaining the metrical structure of the original composition. In the same way, Núñez inherits the essential structure of San Pedro's romance and upholds it, at least superficially, whilst interweaving into it his own 'verses', both literally (his *villancico* and *canción*) and figuratively (his continuation of San Pedro's plot). The *glosa* results in a curious textual symbiosis, which Hans Janner sums up thus:

Dos personas, pues, por lo menos, apadrinan toda glosa. El autor de la glosa, por así decirlo, recoge de manos de otro poeta el hilo espiritual, tejiendo luego con éste su propia inspiración el complejo de la glosa. (186)

The *glosa* is thus a crucial analogy for Núñez's continuation and its transmission in early print: both *glosa* and continuation stage a physical (on the page) and textual dialogue between the writings of two different hands.

This dialogue is inherently fraught with tension. The *glosa* is characterised by its adherence to, yet deviation from, the source text. The same dual position characterises Núñez's prologue, in which he oscillates between a position of humility and deference to San Pedro and a depiction of his continuation as a necessary corrective to the shortcomings of San Pedro's work. The *glosa* offers the glossator a platform from which to respond creatively, but also selectively, to the source poem. As Weiss observes, the glossator "could blend reverence and refusal in his approach to authority, endowing certain values and local meanings with a timeless quality, whilst silencing others" (2010, 104). Certainly, Núñez chooses to expand upon Laureola's callousness, thus silencing Leriano's defence of woman at the end of San Pedro's work. Núñez approaches San Pedro's text with the glossator's blend of "reverence and refusal": he is full of praise for the author he is glossing, whom he describes as "no menos virtuoso que discreto" (83) and he insists that he writes his continuation not in order to write it better, but rather to discover what happened next. Of course, this posture of deference is unconvincing, since it points directly to what Núñez saw as the shortcomings of San Pedro's conclusion.

As we know, however, Núñez's narrator ultimately ends up in Peñafiel, just where San Pedro left him at the end of his own romance. In this way, Núñez respects the structures and laws

¹³ Deyermond only reiterates this connection when he remarks elsewhere that "La continuación de Núñez es además un comentario, y parece haber impuesto su visión de la obra en generaciones sucesivas de lectores" (1995, xxii). Hinrichs also makes a comparison with commentary, but does not interrogate it further (2).

¹⁴ For a history of the Spanish *glosa* see Janner. See also Tommassetti, who shows how the *glosa* evolved from a means for poets to remember poetry of the past, to a means for them to enter into dialogue with their contemporaries, which is of course what Núñez' does in his continuation. Parilla points out that Núñez was "compañero de San Pedro en el *Cancionero general*" (1995, xliii). This does not imply a direct (dialogic) relationship between Núñez's poetry and that of San Pedro, but rather a close generic affiliation between their work, which is linked by shared convention. San Pedro and Núñez belong to a textual community, in which the works of different poets circulate together, engaging in dialogue with each other.

¹⁵ Tommassetti too, locates the roots of the *glosa* in exegesis (1743).

of San Pedro's work. Like his ending, Núñez's beginning also echoes that of San Pedro, although he deviates slightly from his model by addressing an expanded audience of "Vuestras mercedes" (83), rather than San Pedro's single addressee, "Vuestra merced" (3). Núñez desires to differentiate his own work from that which he is glossing, just as Rojas makes sure to mark off the text he continues from his own work, in the prologue to *Celestina:*

E por que conoscáys donde comiençan mis maldoladas razones [y acaban las de antiguo auctor], acordé que todo lo que del antiguo auctor fuesse sin división en un aucto o cena incluso, hasta el segundo aucto, donde dize: 'Hermanos míos', etc. (Rojas 71)

The same principle applies to the various typographical solutions, such as the labelling of verses with letters (a,b,c etc.) or with rubrics bearing their respective authors' names, that are employed to distinguish the *texto* from the *glosa* in early modern print editions of *glosas*.¹⁶ These solutions facilitate the coexistence on the page of the compositions of two different poets, whilst also pointing to their alterity.

One of the most curious additions by Núñez to San Pedro's romance is the *letras* in his evocation of Leriano and Laureola when they appear to Núñez's narrator in a dream-vision. These *letras* are epigrams attached to each minute item of clothing - from gloves to hose - worn by San Pedro's characters. Scholars have mostly engaged with these *letras* only to debate their literary merit; Whinnom criticises them for "trivializing the protagonist's emotions" (1979, xxxii), while Hinrichs praises them as an expression of the sequelist's freedom to embellish the story that he has commandeered (18). But these *letras* are not mere embellishment or creative digression; they are an act of *inscription*.¹⁷ They are a literalisation of the act of glossing which Núñez undertakes in his continuation; the glossator literally writes all over the characters, inscribing them with his interpretations of their emotional state. His inscriptions are organised systematically; the *letras* attached to Leriano's clothing begin with his head and move down towards his feet, much as a marginal gloss would be organised around the body of a text. Núñez, believing that Leriano must resent Laureola, uses the *letras* to lend him a voice with which to express this anger. The penultimate *letra*, embroidered on Leriano's shoes, reads:

Ya está muerta la esperança

y su color

mató un vuestro desamor. (89)

What Núñez has created here in the *letras* is quite clearly a gloss; he renders explicit the characters' emotions and thoughts - which were unspoken in San Pedro's work - by annotating their physical person. The text's technical affinity with the *glosa* becomes even clearer when Núñez cites phrases from San Pedro's text as part of his *letras*:

Acabados son mis males

por servicio

de quien negó el beneficio. (92)

As Parrilla notes in her edition, the first line of this *letra* is an echo of the last words which San Pedro's Leriano utters after he consumes Laureola's letters in preparation for his death (92n). Here Núñez expands upon these words, extending them so that they are transformed from a pathetic expression of Leriano's martyrdom into a vindictive accusation aimed at what Núñez clearly interpreted as Laureola's callous treatment of Leriano. This is a clear echo of the way in which the *glosa* cites and expands upon another poet's verses.

Núñez's *letras* project onto the characters his own views of San Pedro's creation: Leriano becomes the poor, martyred lover, deprived of the affections that were due to him by his beloved, while Laureola is presented as the cold, callous woman who rejected him to save

¹⁶ For examples of this see Pérez y Gómez's facsimile editions of the sixteenth-century *glosas* on Jorge Manrique's *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*.

¹⁷ Francomano argues that Núñez uses the *letras* to draw "attention to the materiality of texts, by turning the figures of the protagonists into texts to be read" (2011a, 36).

herself. Like glossators before and after him, Núñez writes with a specific agenda, which is apparently to denounce and emphasise Laureola's callous treatment of Leriano.¹⁸ Núñez's *Auctor* explains to Laureola that, once he has died, "no quedará quien tu crueza publicare" (86). The task of making known Laureola's cruelty is thus left to the story's continuator, Núñez himself. Writing on the sixteenth-century *glosas* composed on Jorge Manrique's *Coplas*, Weiss observes that "other glossators also incorporate their own experiences and perspectives into the poem, and by implication provide a model for their readers - glossators *in potentia* - to do the same" (2010, 105). This is another explanation for the popularity and acceptance that Núñez's continuation achieved in the sixteenth century. What the continuation offers its readers is not the death of the ending, but a model of interpretative freedom. As Cortijo Ocaña argues, Núñez's continuation is an exploration of *Cárcel*'s latent narrative possibilities (2001, 179-81). Núñez re-opens the textual space of *Cárcel*, which San Pedro had closed with his final words, and in so doing, he offers the reader space to query narrative outcomes and to suggest alternative ones.

By reading Núñez's continuation in the context of the medieval gloss, and not simply as a sequel, we can appreciate it differently. As we know, Whinnom sees Núñez's continuation as a betrayal of its model, whilst for Hinrichs it represents the death of the ending. But Núñez is participating in a cultural and material practice in which loyalty to the source text is not a prerequisite. The very act of glossing expands the space occupied by an existing text in order to make room for one's own hand and for a creative response to the text.¹⁹ Nor is it a question of the "death of the ending"; in the continuum of literary composition in which the glossator participates, an existing text represents the beginning of a new one. Indeed, the task of textual completion was often left to readers of manuscripts and early printed books alike. Just as no text in manuscript culture was ever considered finished, with space routinely left on the wax tablet or manuscript for insertions, annotations and emendations (Carruthers 205; 217-8), so David McKitterick has shown that the early printed book was by no means considered complete when it had left the printing press. Early modern readers were customarily requested by authors and printers to amend the printed texts they read, meaning that "the role created for the reader in manuscript culture as "textual clarifier" therefore remained in print culture" (McKitterick 133). Núñez's act of continuation emerges from this role of the reader as completer of the text. And so, like the glosa, Núñez's continuation is in dialogue, both textually and spatially, with the source text that it circulated with in print. And like the glosa, Núñez's continuation departs from its source text, yet always returns to it; rejects it, yet pays homage to it. It transforms it, but at the same time preserves it in memory.

II.

Moving now from a textual approach to a material approach, let us look at the relationship that is established between the two texts through their literal binding together in print. Parrilla has pointed out that the two texts should be studied together, since that is how they were read when they were originally printed (1992, 253). I would add that in order to fully understand how these works relate to each other and how they were received by contemporary readers, the *material* form in which they were both transmitted must also be studied.

¹⁸ Alonso de Cervantes, for example, uses his 1501 gloss on Manrique's C*oplas* to lament his misfortune as an exile who has lost his material wealth and social standing.

¹⁹ Francomano examines an analogous material practice which enabled French readers of San Pedro's romance to enter into the narrative space of *Cárcel* as Núñez did, through the adaptation of the text into a series of tapestries entitled *L'Histoire de Lérian et Lauréolle* (2011b). When hung on the walls of a chamber, the tapestries formed a physical space for readers of the romance to inhabit; they also reinterpret the story, as Francomano shows.

Needless to say, the act of reading is not wholly reducible to the effects of the *mise-enpage* of a text, as Roger Chartier reminds us:

Whatever it may be, reading is a creative practice which invents singular meanings and significations that are not reducible to the intentions of authors of texts or producers of books. Reading is a response, a labor [...]. (1989, 156)

But though an act of intellectual independence, reading is also directed by the way in which a text is presented and made available to the reader. The *mise-en-page* of a printed book directs the reader's eye, emphasising some aspects of the text whilst silencing others. As one of the most prominent champions of the study of the materiality of the text, Chartier has argued against the separation in scholarship on literature and book history of materiality from meaning, or "the material and technical conditions of the production or diffusion of printed objects from the texts that they transmit" (2001, 181).²⁰ A study of the material form in which Núñez's text was circulated is therefore vital if we are to understand the conditions of its readers' response.

Moreover, the print transmission of Núñez's work can tell us how early printers sought to situate the continuation in relation to the 'original' work. For example, does the layout of the early editions serve to separate the works or rather to unite them? How is the reader invited to move between the two texts? And what can the *mise-en-page* of Núñez's continuation tell us about contemporary notions of creativity? In order to answer these questions, I will examine the way in which textual boundaries and space are translated physically into print. I also consider the role of paratexts, such as printers' rubrics, colophons and woodcuts, in constructing the relationship between the two texts.

As we know, the binding together of Núñez's continuation and San Pedro's work in 1496 was a huge editorial success: in her catalogue of editions, Ivy A. Corfis counts twenty-seven Castilian editions of the joint work between 1496 and the close of the sixteenth century. To this count Parrilla adds another edition, printed in 1527 by Jacob Cromberger (1995, lxxv).²¹ Scholars have wondered whether the success of the joint work might have been due to Núñez's amendment of San Pedro's text. Robert Folger attributes the success of Núñez's text to its restoration of gender roles, which are troubled in San Pedro's work. Whinnom sees the continuation's negative portrayal of Laureola as a misogynist corrective to the feminism of San Pedro's work and suggests that this may have been the reason for its success (1973, 365-6), though he acknowledges that the matter remains in doubt:

We simply cannot tell whether Nicolás Núñez rode to success on the back of San Pedro's best-seller and owed the major part of his apparent popularity to the sheer inertia of printing traditions, or whether the success of San Pedro's uncompromising narrative did not owe something to Núñez's modification of its ending. (359)

Despite the general conservatism of readers' tastes and printers' publishing choices during this period (Griffin 157; 163), *Cárcel*'s printing traditions were not quite as inert as Whinnom's words might suggest. Over the course of its publication history, the joint work underwent what Chartier calls "typographical transformations", which, however minute, affect the way in which a text is read and perceived (1989, 162). What follows is an examination of some of these transformations, with the aim of shedding light on the question, raised above by Whinnom, of the reasons behind the continuation's success.

²⁰ For a useful introduction to the study of the materiality of printed words and images see Larkin and Pon's introduction to the special issue of *Word & Image* dedicated to the subject. Medieval and early modern Hispanists are increasingly turning their attention to the material form of the works they study. See for example Brocato, who shows what we can learn about the intended use and audience of particular editions of Juan de Mena's work by analysing their *mise-en-texte* and *mise-en-receuil*. See also McDaniel on the post-publication history of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, for another example of this approach.

²¹ See Griffin 252 and also no.276 in his Appendix 1, a descriptive catalogue of books printed by the Crombergers.

My first-hand examination of the material transmission of Núñez's text is limited to the early editions to which I had ready access at the time of writing. My study takes in the copies of nine Castilian editions held at the British Library, printed between 1496 and 1598. They are:

- 1. 1496. Burgos: Fadrique Basilea de Alemán [I.A 53247] (1.2)
- 2. 1523. Zaragoza: Jorge Coci [C.63.e.15] (1.11)
- 3. **1525.** Seville: Jacob Cromberger [G.10226] (1.12)
- 4. 1526. Burgos: n.p. [C.33.f.5] (1.13)
- 5. **1540.** Toledo: Juan de Alaya [C.62.b.13] (1.16)
- 6. 1553. Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari [12490.a.10] (1.22)
- 7. 1556. Antwerp: Martin Nucio [12316.a.53] (1.23)
- 8. 1576. Antwerp: Philippo Nucio [1074.a.15] (1.24)
- 9. **1598.** Antwerp: Casa de Martin Nucio [12490.df.1] (1.27)²²

To supplement the examination of the above editions, I consult Corfis' detailed descriptive catalogue of *Cárcel*'s editions (1987) for information on the editions that I have not been able to examine myself.

To begin, I would like to raise the question of terminology. The terms used to describe Núñez's continuation, and indeed other 'sequels' of the period, ought to be analysed, for they are too often taken for granted. Núñez's text was designated a "continuation" by modern scholars such as Whinnom; others have followed suit.²³ For convenience, I too have used this term here. But an examination of the terminology used in the early editions reveals that *Cárcel*'s printers employed three different designations for Núñez's continuation throughout the sixteenth century and that "continuación" was not one of them. The early editions refer to Núñez's text in one or more of the following ways, with slight variations: "*Tractado* que hizo Nicolas nuñez sobre el que sant pedro compuso de Leriano y Laureola: llamado Carcel de amor [...]" (in the titular rubric at the top of Núñez's text); "Carcel de amor del *cumplimiento* de Nicolas Nuñez" (on the main title page or internal title page, if it was printed with *Questión de amor*), or thus in the colophon: "Fue empremido el presente tractado: intitulado carcel de amor con *otro tratadillo añadido* por Nicolas nuñez" (all italics mine).²⁴ Below is a table, based on Corfis' descriptive catalogue, which shows how the known use of these terms is distributed across the early editions.²⁵

²² Shelfmarks are in square brackets and refer to the British Library. Numbers in parentheses refer to the entry in Corfis' catalogue of editions.

²³ Deyermond also calls it a "secuela" (1995, xxii).

²⁴ Cárcel and its continuation were printed with Questión de amor in six, possibly seven, different editions. See Corfis' catalogue.

²⁵ The 1532 Zaragoza edition (Corfis 1.15) and the 1580 Salamanca edition (1.25) are omitted here as their contents are not known.

" Tra[c]tado [] sobre " 1496	"Cumplimiento"	"Tratadillo añadido"
1500	1500 [on title page] ²⁶	
1508	1508 [on title page]	
1509		
		1511
c. 1511-1515		
		1516
1522		1522
1523		1523
1523		1523
1525		1525
1526		1526
		1527
1531		
1540		1540
1544		
1546	1546 [on internal title page]	
1547		
1548	1548 [on internal title page]	
1551		
1553		
1556	1556 [on internal title page]	
1576	1576 [on internal title page] 1580 [on title page]	
1598	1598 [on internal title page]	
1598	1598 [on internal title page]	

This reveals much about how printers sought to situate Núñez's text in relation to San Pedro's work. The simultaneous use of different designations suggests that there were different ways of understanding Núñez's text, and this is especially true of those editions which refer to the continuation as both the "cumplimiento" of, and "tractado sobre", Cárcel. The use of two very different designations in the same edition reflects the ambiguous nature of the continuation: was it to be understood as a commentary on *Cárcel* or as a definitive ending to it? These terms also attempt to establish a hierarchical relationship between the two texts. This is most obvious in the use in some editions of the diminutive in "otro tratadillo añadido", where others used "tractado sobre". The latter term recalls the vocabulary of the *glosa*; the phrase "glosa sobre" is typically used in printers' rubrics to establish the relationship between glosa and texto. The preposition "sobre" communicates the sense of 'over-writing' another text, as well as pointing to superiority over, but also dependence on, that text. As we can see from the table above, this understanding of the relationship between the two texts was posited by the majority of sixteenth-century editions. In eight instances, Núñez's text was also presented as the natural and definitive "cumplimiento" to *Cárcel*, the part that renders the narrative complete.²⁷ Grammatically too, the phrase "del cumplimiento" suggests an intrinsic relationship between the two texts. As early as

²⁶ According to Corfis' description of this edition, the title page is missing and is replaced by handwritten copy, which Corfis doesn't date. The title reads: "Carcel de amor/del cunplimiento de/ Nicolas Nuñez." See 1.3 in Corfis' catalogue.

²⁷ I exclude the 1500 edition here as its handwritten title cannot be assumed to be representative of the original title page.

at least 1508, the co-dependency and interrelation of the two texts was cemented on the title page of the joint edition through the use of this phrase. The 1508 edition, and seven others, authorise the continuation thus, elevating it from the status of mere textual appendage to that of indispensable conclusion to San Pedro's work. It is worth noting that those editions which present Núñez's text as a "cumplimiento" to *Cárcel* are also the only ones to mention the continuation and its author on the title-page (either main or internal), thus distinguishing it in a way that the other editions, entitled simply "Carcel de amor", do not (Fig.1). This choice might suggest the continuation's importance to printers as a selling point of their editions of *Cárcel*, or perhaps simply that readers had grown to expect *Cárcel* to be accompanied by Núñez's commentary. On the other hand, the reference to Núñez's text as "otro tratadillo añadido" in the colophon of nine editions seems to relegate the text to a secondary role in the joint work.²⁸ It does, however, also draw attention to the cumulative compositional process involved in the formation of the joint work, as well as the literal expansion of the printed text to accommodate Núñez's addition. The term thus situates Núñez's work in the compositional tradition of adding to - glossing - texts. In fact, this is what all three terms have in common.



Fig.1. Internal title page of *Cárcel de amor* in *Question de amor y Carcel de amor*. Antwerp: Philippo Nucio, 1576, [L2^r]. © The British Library Board, (1074.a.15)

²⁸ The distinction between *tratado* and *tratadillo* in these editions may also refer to the brevity of Núñez's work as compared to San Pedro's much longer romance. According to Whinnom, the use of the term "tractado" refers to the fact that a work is an extended piece of prose writing, and not necessarily to the work's didactic purpose (1982, 216).

And what of other sequels of the period? What terms were used to designate them? Space does not permit me to discuss them all, but I will briefly consider some examples. Celestina's first two continuations were entitled "La Segunda Comedia de Celestina" (1534) and "La Tercera Parte de la Tragicomedia de Celestina" (1536). The titular relationship became more tenuous with subsequent sequels, such as "Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia" (1542) and "La Tragedia Policiana" (1547).²⁹ The concept of a literary continuation as a separate and distinct 'part' appears to have crystallized in the consciousness of authors and readers in the latter half of the sixteenth century, for both sequels to Lazarillo de Tormes (1555 and 1620) were labelled "La segunda parte", as were the sequels to Guzmán de Alfarache (1602) and La Diana (1563). The designation "Segunda parte" points towards a rupture in the narrative that is being continued and suggests an independent text. This culminates in the title of Avellaneda's infamous sequel to Don Quijote: "Segundo tomo del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha (italics mine)". Avellaneda's desire to emphasise his own continuation as a free-standing work is evident. His title reveals an awareness of contemporary printing conventions - early modern sequels were printed both as separate volumes and also with the original text - and also of the significance of this material relationship.³⁰ When compared with the designations of subsequent sixteenthcentury sequels, the terms used by printers to describe Núñez's text point to its unique nature. Núñez's printers recognised the interdependence and symbiosis in the relationship of his continuation to Cárcel, and reflected this in their mise-en-page of the text. Today Núñez's text still defies easy classification, just as it did when it was first printed. We therefore need to question the terms we use to describe it, such as 'continuation' and 'sequel'.

And how did the two texts share the physical space of the editions which bound them together? The first thing one notices upon examining these editions is the precarious nature of the physical divisions between Núñez's continuation and San Pedro's work. As we have already seen, in all but four editions, Núñez's continuation is subsumed into the work which it continues by means of an ellipsis on the main title-page, which refers only to "Carcel de amor" (Fig.2). Thus far then, Núñez's continuation is presented to its readers as part of the work entitled *Cárcel de amor*. In the 1496 edition, the colophon again conflates the two texts into a single work: "Fue emprentada *la presente obra* por Fadrique aleman de Basilea (italics mine)". In the same vein, in all of the editions that I have examined, continuity between San Pedro's text and its continuation is established through the use of uniform typeface across the two texts. Furthermore, in the 1496 edition, the voodcuts which illustrate San Pedro's work are recycled in Núñez's continuation.³¹

²⁹ See Whinnom 1987 for more on *Celestina*'s sequels. Hinrichs provides detailed studies of *Celestina* as a sequel and the other sequels that I mention here, amongst others.

³⁰ Hinrichs claims that "Most sequels were bound with originals, particularly if they were allographic, a combination of mutual commercial benefit" (183n). The decision to print *Cárcel* and Núñez's continuation together must, of course, have been to some extent commercially driven. However, as this article aims to demonstrate, the early print transmission of the continuation was symptomatic of a fundamental understanding of textual space, born out of the practice of glossing. The printing together - or separately - of Golden Age texts and their continuations is a practice which requires further investigation and bibliographical documentation. Hinrich's book therefore highlights a fruitful avenue of research into the ways in which the relationship between early modern works and their sequels was established in early print.

³¹ For more on the woodcuts of the 1496 edition, see Deyermond 2002. As Deyermond explains, the recycling of woodcuts was common in early print, not just within a single work, but across different works as well.



Fig.2. Title page of the first joint edition of *Cárcel de amor* and Nicolás Núñez's continuation. *Carcel de amor*, Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1496. © The British Library Board, (1.A53247)

Based on the editions that I have seen, the two texts were consistently printed in close proximity to one another, intimately sharing the material space of the book. Early printers were not precious about printing an allographic, 'unauthorised' continuation alongside San Pedro's work, and some were less precious about it than others.³² The 1496 edition has a single, blank verso separating the two texts, meaning that the reader's transition from one to another is temporarily interrupted; this barrier of blank, physical space stages a rupture in the narrative and points to the separateness of the texts. By contrast, upon reaching the end of San Pedro's work, readers of the 1523, 1553, 1556 and 1576 editions see both texts at the same time. Here the texts begin and end respectively on facing folios, sharing the same space. They are even closer in the 1525, 1540 and 1598 editions, in which the continuation begins on the same page where *Cárcel* ends, thus allowing the reader to move seamlessly between the texts and bridging the scission between the two narratives (Fig.3). The 1526 edition places the continuation overleaf from San Pedro's text, but this appears to have been necessitated by limited page space, rather than a desire to put physical distance between the two texts. Even if the proximity of the two texts in print is incidental, that is to say, determined by the demands of economy or the physical

³² I use the word "allographic" here to mean "written by another author". I borrow this usage from Hinrichs, as it is a convenient way of referring to sequels written by authors who did not write the original, or first, part.

construction of the book's quires, it nevertheless would have had a profound effect on the compartmentalisation of the texts by readers. Each subsequent edition of the joint work would have reinforced the close textual and material relationship between the two compositions, thus authorising Núñez's continuation, but also *Cárcel* itself. This is a material narrative of what Carruthers terms "socialisation", the process whereby a text "enters public memory and becomes 'literature'" as it acquires commentary by readers (213). The physical proximity between Núñez's continuation and its source text in some or indeed all of these editions may, as I say, have been incidental, but the printers' positioning of the continuation as a "cumplimiento", for example, was not. This designation of the continuation was plausibly the result of a strategy by the printers to authorise Núñez's continuation alongside *Cárcel*, which in turn is itself authorised by the continuation.



Fig.3. Transition between San Pedro's text and Núñez's continuation in the 1540 edition of *Cárcel. Carcel de amor*, Toledo: Juan de Alaya, 1540, [evi^v-evii^r]. © The British Library Board, (C.62.b.13)

The authorisation of Núñez's continuation through the centrality given to it in print can be profitably read against a parallel practice in early print culture in which marginal glosses might be subsumed into the main body of the commented text. In his article on the importance of marginal glosses in the fifteenth-century courtly environment, Rodríguez Velasco describes how some medieval glosses, in both print and manuscript traditions, were moved by the scribe or printer from the margins of the page to the centre, and reproduced in the same body of text as the commented work (2001, 123). This shift of the gloss to a more central position is beyond the will or control of either author or glossator. As Rodríguez Velasco puts it:

Se trata [...] de un proceso de importancia histórico-cultural que excede a la voluntad de sus autores y que, justamente, nos habla de una recepción activa de la glosa como texto

tan central como el propio texto tutor. Central e incluso independiente, una atalaya, pues, no marginal, sino privilegiada para la construcción de un discurso de impacto cultural y de una experiencia dialéctica. (123)

This assessment can be extended to Núñez's continuation and provides valuable context for understanding a material practice that seems incompatible with our modern valorisation of the 'original' above any imitations or adaptations spawned by it. In a similar process, the centrality given to Núñez's continuation in print appears to have influenced the way in which *Cárcel* itself was transmitted in translation. The English translation, *The Castell of Love* by Lord John Bourchier Berners (1548), merges *Cárcel* and Núñez's continuation into a single narrative; there is no indication that they were once separate texts. Furthermore, the editor Andrewe Spigurnell's prologue to the reader in the second and third editions of *Castell* claims that the work illustrates "a ladye's crueltie" (93), a reading probably formed on the basis of Núñez's emphasis in his continuation on Leriano's suffering at the hands of Laureola.³³ Rohland de Langbehn describes a similar process in the German textual tradition of *Cárcel*. The German translator Hans Ludwig von Kuffstein also merged the two texts to form a single narrative and Núñez's emendation of *Cárcel* paved the way for further adaptations of San Pedro's work in German (Rohland de Langbehn 1998).



Fig. 4. Woodcut depicting the Auctor and Laureola. *Carcel de amor*, Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1496, hii^v. © The British Library Board, (1.A.53247)

³³ I quote from Boro's critical edition of *The Castell of Love*. For further analysis of the influence of Núñez's continuation on Berners' translation and Spigurnell's prologue see Boro's introduction, 16-26.

The 1556, 1576 and 1598 Antwerp editions dramatize the way in which Núñez's continuation undermines the conclusiveness of San Pedro's ending. The ending of San Pedro's romance is marked with the rubric "Aqui se acaba el carcel de amor". On the following page, a surprise awaits the reader, for the following rubric announces the beginning of another work: "Siguese el tratado que hizo Nicolas Nuñez sobre [...] Carcel de amor [...]." Thus far, there is nothing unusual about this; the same rubric heralds Núñez's continuation in other editions. However, in the above-mentioned editions, Núñez's continuation ends with a repetition of the rubric that had earlier ended San Pedro's text: "Aqui se acaba la Carcel de amor". On the level of the extradiegetical word of the printer, Cárcel de amor literally ends twice. These rubrics and colophons are thresholds through which the reader enters and then exits the fictional world of *Cárcel*, only to re-enter it again, this time in Núñez's work.³⁴ The colophons also re-enact the reopening and subsequent re-suturing of San Pedro's text as carried out by Núñez's conclusion to his continuation. Núñez's concluding words pose as a restorative return to the ending of the original work and as an orthodox imitation of an auctor: "llegué aquí a Peñafiel (como dixo Sant Pedro), do quedo besando las manos de vuestras mercedes" (104). In reality, however, these words serve to emphasise the degree to which Núñez has deviated from the ending of San Pedro's work. His sly, parenthetical aside "(como dixo Sant Pedro)" points to the allographic nature of his continuation, deflating what would otherwise be a perfect re-enactment of the original ending of *Cárcel*. The 1496 edition provides a further example of the way in which the mise-en-page of these two texts blurs their textual boundaries. As mentioned above, the first joint edition recycles the woodcuts which illustrate Cárcel for use in Núñez's text. This includes woodcuts which depict the figure of the Auctor, with interesting implications. I would like to focus on the woodcut which depicts the Auctor executing his role as mediator between Leriano and Laureola (Fig. 4). The use of this image in both San Pedro's text and Núñez's continuation produces a conflation of the figures of the Auctor of each text. The reader is encouraged to identify the man in the woodcut as the same narrator-character of both texts, and also as the historical author of both works, since in Cárcel, somewhere between the beginning of the prologue addressed to Diego Hernández and the beginning of the narrative proper, the historical author, San Pedro, becomes the narrator - and protagonist - of the work. In his article on the complex figure of San Pedro's Auctor, Peter Dunn argues that this figure serves as an allegory for authorship: just as the narrator-character shapes the outcome of the narrative on the diegetical level of the text, so San Pedro, the historical author, shapes the narrative on the extradiegetical plane. As Whinnom points out, the figure of the Auctor becomes even more complicated once inhabited by Núñez in his continuation (1973, 360). By adopting the Auctor as the narrator of his own, divergent sequel, Núñez continues the allegory of the author-narrator who shapes the events of the story which he is telling. Like the replicated woodcuts, which visually represent Núñez's Auctor and San Pedro's Auctor as the same figure, Núñez only gives the appearance of wishing to continue where San Pedro left off. He works within the narrative framework that he has inherited from San Pedro, but he also takes the Auctor and the narrative of Cárcel to places San Pedro would never have taken them. The structure of Núñez's continuation thus stages what Harold Bloom calls "clinamen", the writer's unpredictable swerve away from his predecessor's influence, which he initially appears to be following (19-45). The woodcut in Fig. 4 points, albeit inadvertently, to this swerve away from San Pedro: the astute reader notices that this replicated woodcut is not entirely consistent with the narrative that is has been transplanted into. The image shows the Auctor delivering a letter to Laureola but, by contrast with San Pedro's text, no

³⁴ See Genette for more on paratexts as thresholds or entry points into a text.

missives are exchanged in Núñez's continuation.³⁵ The 'foreign' woodcut in Núñez's text, initially a mark of continuity with San Pedro's work, now points instead to the allographic nature of *Cárcel*'s continuation. It shatters the illusion of a seamless and autographic continuation to San Pedro's fiction, an illusion which Núñez had created by inhabiting the figure of the *Auctor* in the first place.

The reluctance of modern editors and scholars to publish and study Núñez's continuation alongside San Pedro's canonical *Cárcel de amor* is due in part to the low esteem in which we hold sequels, to the value we place on originality instead, and to a modern understanding of the author as owner of his literary creation, a consequence of the development of copyright.³⁶ It is also due to the separateness and fixity which for us characterises the printed text today. For Walter Ong these qualities of print are in opposition to the more flexible and fluid form of the manuscript:

Print encourages a sense of closure, a sense that what is found in a text has been finalized, has reached a sense of completion [...]. The printed text is supposed to represent the words of an author in definitive or 'final' form. For print is comfortable only with finality. Once a letterpress form is closed, locked up, or a photolithographic plate is made, and the sheet printed, the text does not accommodate changes (erasures, insertions) so readily as do written texts. By contrast, manuscripts with their glosses or marginal comments (which often got worked into the text in subsequent copies) were in dialogue with the world outside their borders. (129-30)

As McKitterick has shown, however, early modern printing did not serve to 'fix' texts in their definitive form. And as my examination of the typographical transformations undergone by Núñez's continuation throughout the sixteenth century demonstrates, the early printed book in Spain actually mirrored the flexibility of the manuscript in its ability and readiness to accommodate textual change; it was expandable and editable. What better example can there be of the dialogue between a printed book and its outside borders than the 1496 joint edition of *Cárcel*, in which Núñez's 'external' continuation was incorporated into the printed body of San Pedro's romance?

It is now generally accepted that the speed and the scale of change to book production brought about by the printing press has been overstated, and that the relationship between the cultures of manuscript and early print was one of influence and interrelation, as opposed to one of rift.³⁷ The two mediums were in dialogue with each other and the early printed book clearly did not carry the same connotations of closure and finality that it does today. It reflected the *process* of literary composition, rather than the "final form" of the author's words. We need only look to the editorial history of *Celestina*, and its transformation in print from *Comedia* to *Tragicomedia*, or to the publication of Cervantes' second part to *Don Quijote* - a response to Avellaneda's unauthorised sequel - for evidence of the continuous dialogue between print and readers in the early modern period. Early printers of Spanish texts were more than willing to expand the limits of the printed book to incorporate the responses of their readers. Printers would capitalise on the cultural value of these 'reader-responses' - be they glosses, commentaries or continuations - and would even turn their inclusion in an edition into a selling

³⁵ For Brownlee, in having Leriano and Laureola communicate directly in the continuation, rather than by letter, Núñez remedies the failure of the "cooperative principle" of language that occurs between them in San Pedro's text (162).

³⁶ For a study of these developments in the concept of the author see Chartier 1994, 25-61. In this study, Chartier historicises Foucault's "author-function", for which see Foucault 1979.

³⁷ In Chartier's words: "Until at least 1530, the printed book remained very much dependent on the manuscript - it imitated its predecessor's layout, scripts, appearance [...]" (1993, 161). Francomano argues that *Cárcel* is inscribed with an awareness of the dialogue between manuscript and print cultures; in both San Pedro's text and its early printed form, we see the preoccupation with the materiality of letters and the written word transplanted into the print medium (2011a).

point.³⁸ It seems that rather than owing its popularity "to the sheer inertia of printing traditions", as Whinnom suggests (1973, 359), Núñez's continuation may have been promoted to a position of importance within the joint work through its printers' strategies of *mise-en-page*, which themselves reflected an understanding of the continuity between reading and writing that underpinned literary composition during this period.

Conclusions

In Núñez's continuation we see the basic techniques, principles and ethos of the poetic *glosa* being applied to fictional composition. This consideration of Núñez's continuation outside the category of 'sequel' paves the way for re-considering other texts, especially continuations and adaptations in the same way. Let us take as an example Juan de Flores' *Grisel y Mirabella*. Might Flores' fictional disembowelment of Pere Torroella not be read as a brutal gloss on this poet's infamous *Maldezir de mugeres*?³⁹ Indeed, the intertextual nature of the sentimental romances as a whole, which reference each other so insistently, might be understood in the light of the courtly, poetic dialogue of the *glosa*. There is perhaps more to be found in the intertextuality of the sentimental corpus than generic consciousness; there is also the same spirit of admiration mingled with competitiveness, which fuelled poetic composition in late medieval and early modern courtly circles, where the poetic *glosa*, the epitome of intertextuality, flourished.⁴⁰

Núñez's continuation, and other early modern sequels, along with the gloss and also the sentimental romances, all participate in the same, pre-existing, medieval traditions of literary composition.⁴¹ The sequel was not born, as Hinrichs claims, with Núñez's continuation of *Cárcel*; in a culture in which reading almost always led to writing and in which texts required completion by their readers, every medieval work was a 'sequel'.

Examining the early editions of *Cárcel* and its continuation reveals how early print, through its ability to accommodate changes and insertions, actually mirrored and supported this medieval compositional outlook, in which a text is continuously added to and continuously generates new texts. Dominant cultural and material practices of the Middle Ages thus colluded to produce the joint editions of *Cárcel* and its continuation. The material transmission of Núñez's continuation also highlights its uniqueness in the history of the early modern sequel, in which, as Hinrichs shows, rival texts struggled to displace each other. For although there is tension and competition in Núñez's continuation to *Cárcel*, the relationship of these two texts is not one of displacement, but rather of the textual symbiosis that is unique to the *glosa*.

Studies of the material transmission of other early modern adaptations, sequels and the sentimental romances would contribute an invaluable perspective to our understanding of the intertextual relationships between theses texts. Certainly, as I hope I have shown here, it is

³⁸ For another example of this I return to Cervantes' gloss on Manrique's *Coplas*, which from its first edition was printed and marketed as the "Glosa famosissima sobre las coplas de do[n] Jorge Manriq[ue]". In the 1501 edition (BL C.20.e.19.) the word "*Glosa*" dominates the title page in large font, eclipsing Manrique's name and the title of his work.

³⁹ The ambiguity of Flores' ending has been much discussed by scholars, but his treatment of Torroella is arguably analogous to the aggressive *cancionero* refutations of his *Maldecir* by poets such as Antón de Montoro, Gómez Manrique and others. For more on these poetic responses to the *Maldecir* see Matulka 125-132.

⁴⁰ For more on the competitiveness and power dynamics at play in *cancionero* poetry, see Johnston 235-54. Johnston considers the socio-economic function of *cancionero* poetry.

⁴¹ They are also examples of creativity within convention; Núñez, like the glossator, and the author of sentimental fiction, forges his own, literary creation out of an established conventional code and inherited structure, thus upholding these literary conventions and conforming to them, whilst also generating something new of his own.

impossible to fully understand the relationship between *Cárcel de amor* and its continuation by Núñez without understanding how this relationship is constructed in the material space of the page.

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