

ORIGINALITY OF JUAN MANUEL'S  
LIBRO DEL CABALLERO  
ET DEL ESCUDERO

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University of Kansas, 1923.

Submitted to the Department of Spanish  
and Portuguese and the Faculty of  
the Graduate School of the Un-  
iversity of Kansas in par-  
tial fulfillment of  
the requirements  
for the  
degree  
of  
Master of Arts

June 2, 1924.

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## FOREWORD.

Menéndez y Pelayo and Gaston Paris have expressed opinions as to the similarity of Juan Manuel's Libro del Caballero et del Escudero and Ramon Lull's Libre del Orde de Cauaylería but these opinions are not supported by a definite comparison of the books or a careful investigation of the sources of either. For this reason I have chosen to set forth in this thesis the Originality of Juan Manuel's Libro del Caballero et del Escudero.

I take this opportunity of expressing my greatest appreciation and deepest gratitude to Professor J.M.Osma for his untiring effort and interest in aiding me in the pursuit of these investigations.

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## INTRODUCTION

### I. Development of Chivalry

#### 1.

One of the strongest institutions of Europe during the Middle Ages was that of Chivalry. It grew out of the feudal conditions there existing and was a result as well as a cause of a lack of central government. Not until methods of warfare changed and the life of a knight degenerated into a brilliant round of gay tourneys did political unity in Europe begin to manifest itself and the feudality that fostered Chivalry disappear.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Leon Gautier declares that Feudalism and knight-hood were not only not complementary but were often in direct conflict. He says: "Si le monde occidental du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle ne se fût pas constitué féodalement la chevalerie eût néanmoins pris naissance, et malgré tout, se fût nécessairement développée au soleil des nations chrétiennes: car la chevalerie n'est autre chose, comme nous le disions plus haut, que la forme chrétienne de la condition militaire, la force armée au service de la Vérité désarmée." (Leon Gautier: La Chevalerie. Paris, no date, p. 21-22.) However this may be, it is nevertheless true that chivalry existed only in that period where there was no strong government to protect the poor and weak, and was constituted at its inception to fill that lack. Too, the necessity of each feudal

The common idea of chivalry; the popular idea, that of the knight riding forth to adventure to glorify his name and that of his lady love, is only one phase of chivalry and the phase that came into the institution at the beginning of its decadence. The stories that grew up about this kind of chivalry, the Chansons de Gestè, are the means that popularized the type. There is more of fascination and romance to these tales than to the stories of the stark, austere knighthood of the Church.

We think of Roland and of Tristam as the examples of all knightly virtues and as the mirror of knighthood of all times. But they are only the outstanding knights of the last period of chivalry, the period in which the gaie science played such a great part, whose love affairs kindled the imagination of writers of the XIVth and XVth centuries and also of the readers who in attempting to make their lives as romantic and interesting as the popular heroes brought about a decadent state of marital affairs in these centuries.

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baron to protect his own men and estates from marauding barbarians gave opportunity for the growth of individual power of each noble to the point where he would not curb his interests to the king's command nor brook the interference of an overlord.

Déléchuze calls this chivalry romanesque and places it in direct contrast to real chivalry. There is the difference between them of the fabulous and the true.<sup>2</sup> The romanesque we find in the ballads of the troubadors, the lyric accounts of the Herculean adventures of knights softened somewhat by the rules and usages of the gaie science, the art of gallantry, that is, the relation of the knight to his lady.

Chivalry in its beginnings is remote and complex. There is no definite and sudden outcropping of this medieval institution but a preparation for it in the manners and customs of the people so that all nations were ready for the grafting of its terms and usages on the trunk of their social and military systems. Its remotest source seems to have been a custom among the Germanic tribes that overspread the whole of western Europe. F. Warre Cornish says: "The Frankish horsemen are the precursors of the knights of Christendom."<sup>3</sup> He also states that the custom began "from a period antecedent to all historical records", and is "only to be traced by archaeological and linguistic evidence".<sup>4</sup>

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2. E. J. Deléchuze: Roland ou la Cheralerie: Paris, 1845. Vol., I, p. 115-133.

3. F. Warre Cornish: Chivalry. New York, 1911. p. 30.

4. Id. p. 29-30.

Oman supposes "that Badmila, the Ostrogoth.....is the first chivalrous figure in modern history".<sup>5</sup>

A. Giry in an article on Chivalry adds: "Mais ce qui a dû contribuer plus que tout<sup>l</sup> autre chose à la formation, au développement et à l'organisation de la chevalerie, c'est la transformation profonde que paraît avoir subie l'organisation militaire vers le milieu du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle."<sup>6</sup>

Deléchuze is not certain<sup>7</sup> whether chivalry was the result of the transmission of ideas and usages or whether it developed individually among different nations. But since all Western Europe was overrun by barbarian tribes having a common origin, descended from ancestors living north of the Danube, it would seem that the simple origin was common and that the Crusades, beginning in 1097, standardized the ceremonies and the ideals.

In Scandinavian tribes horsemen were entitled to be of the privileged class and during the very beginning of the feudal period chevaliers were noble

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5. Charles Oman: History of the Art of War. London, 1905, p. 199, note 2. Cited by Cornish: op. cit., p. 30 and note 1, p. 30.

6. A. Giry: Chevalerie in La Grande Encyclopédie. Paris, no date, p. 1138.

7. Deléchuze: op. cit., préface, p. XI.

because only nobles were rich enough to equip themselves. This implied hereditary nobility or the receipt of military benefices from fiefs but did not apparently except those who gained the wealth by their own hands. Menéndez-Pidal presents the opinion that in this early period the caballeros were not always noble: "Cuando la ganancia de la guerra era mucha, los que habían ido al Cid como simples peones, se hacían caballeros; 'los que fueron de pie cavalleros se fazen', Cantar, line 1213".<sup>8</sup> However this may have been, nobility was inherent in later chivalry and the Cid's action, if the Chronicler recorded it correctly, must have been the exception, not the rule. Menéndez-Pidal says they were called caballeros "'non por razon que andan cavalgando en caballos', sino porque 'son más honrados que todos los otros defensores'... (Partidas II<sup>a</sup> 21<sup>o</sup> I<sup>a</sup>, comp. II<sup>a</sup> 22<sup>o</sup> pról. (The Partidas are of the 13th century))".<sup>9</sup> However evidences are found in works of earlier chivalry that the name caballero or chevalier grew out of the fact that the knight rode on horseback and nobility grew out of the circumstance mentioned above (that only the rich could afford a horse and trappings).

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8. R. Menéndez Pidal: Cantar de Mio Cid, Vol. II. Madrid, 1911, p. 568 and note 1, p. 568.

9. Menéndez Pidal: op. cit., p. 566.



La Curne de Ste. Palaye defines Chevalerie in his Historical Dictionary: "Ordre de chevaliers de la noblesse....Le métier des armes se nommoit Chevalerie comme nous l'avons dit. Ceux que exerçoient particulièrement ce métier étoient les chevaliers, et leur ordre portoit aussi le nom de chevalerie. Or, comme la noblesse de France étoit autrefois essentiellement destinée aux armes, le nom de chevalerie désignoit l'ordre de la noblesse...Enfin, on employoit ce mot chevalerie, même pour désigner la noblesse étrangère".<sup>10</sup>

Jean de Meun in his French prose translation of Vegetius "De re militari" of the XIIIth century, which he calls "L'Art de Chevalerie" speaks of the characteristics of the knight "Car li jone homme...doivent sormonter les autres et en lignaige et en bonté de cuer".<sup>11</sup> Ramon Lull, XIIIth century, wrote: "Tant es alte noble lorde de cauaylaria, que no basta al orde que hom lo faes de pus nobles persones".<sup>12</sup>

At first this idea of knighthood had no religious significance.<sup>13</sup> The father or other kinsman girt on the sword of his son himself. This fastening on of

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10. La Curne de Ste. Palaye: Dictionnaire Historique de L'Ancien Langage François. Chevalerie, vol.3-4. Paris, 1877, pp. 459-460.

11. Jean de Meun: L'Art de Chevalerie. Paris, 1897 p.12. The Latin version is the same but does not refer to the knight of the Middle Ages. Jean de Meun

the sword belt was the earliest manifestation of the ceremony.

In the XIIIth century became current the romances of chivalry and the usage of knights riding forth to seek adventures, making extravagant vows, meeting enchantments of all kinds and challenging all knights that came to maintain the superiority of their mistresses. The tourney became more and more a place of display till it had little in common with the tourneys of the first period that were maintained as the image of war and as training for its hardships.

The XIIth century marked the zenith of chivalry, the XIIIth manifested its decadence and the XIVth and XVth mark the end of decadence and decrepitude.<sup>14</sup>

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interprets Vegetius in terms of his own times and institutions.

12. Ramon Lull: Libre del orde de Cauayleria. Barcelona, 1879, p. VIII, line 207-209.

13. A. Giry: op. cit., p. 1137.

14. A. Giry: op. cit., p. 1137.

## 2.

Between 250 and 450 A.D. the military system of the Romans and therefore of all people then in the Roman Empire underwent a complete transformation. The system of the Romans had always been based on the legion made up of sturdy, heavily-armed, heavily shielded foot-soldiers-the legionaries. These companies had up to this time been able to withstand the attacks of the barbaric horsemen on all sides. The Roman system of frontier defense was to establish permanent strongholds of legionnaires, about a hundred miles or less apart, along some natural boundary, with scattered auxiliary forces between. Alarms in case of attack could be sent from post to post. These forces could be shifted to a different part of the frontier in case of trouble. But Italy became involved in internal war and the frontiers were left exposed while troops were engaged at home. The Goths overran Roman territory in Europe and the Persians in Asia. When peace was restored the army was reorganized and the cavalry force increased from about a tenth or twelfth to a third of the forces. This was most revolutionary as the old Roman army made little use of the cavalry. But the need was felt for swiftly moving troops to be rapidly shifted in time of attack and too, that they might pursue and punish the marauders, for the Germans did not

come with their families for conquest but slipped over in bands for plunder. Fully armed legions with their baggage train and heavy armor were of no use against them. The legion thus lost prestige and became of less and less accendency as the barbarian tribes adopted the defensive armor of the Romans.

But the one event that above all else impressed upon the Romans the importance of the cavalry was the battle of the Imperial Army with the Goths at Adrianople. The Romans used their old battle arrangement and were thoroughly defeated by the Goths, whose cavalry, away foraging, heard of the engagement and swept into the battle, falling on the exposed flank of the legionnaires and driving them back upon each other. The Gothic infantry then pressed the Romans in front and so crowded and herded them together that those in the center suffocated and those in the outer ranks were unable to use their arms because of lack of space.

These Goths had lived for a while on the steppes of Russia where they first used horses, then in Ukrania where the influence of Tartar and Cossack was strong and they considered it more honorable to fight on horseback. All of the German tribes in fact fought largely on horseback but they had up till now been of no avail against the heavy-armed legionnaires. But with this victory the Goth according to Oman found that "he had

become the arbiter of war, the lineal ancestor of all the knights of the Middle Ages, the inaugurator of that ascendancy of the horseman which was to endure for a thousand years".<sup>15</sup> The Gothic nobles and their warbands fought on horseback but would dismount when necessary, Oman quotes from a writing of Isidore of Seville, 615 A.D.<sup>16</sup> The Ostragoths who overran Italy in the Vth century used a large preponderance of cavalry. The Franks began to use cavalry in the VIth and VIIth centuries. Oman further states that the "strength and core of the Visigothic armies consisted of the counts and the horsemen of their personal retinues, the oath-bound 'clientes' or 'buccellarii' who had made themselves the 'men' of the nobles".<sup>17</sup>

Theodosius next organiser of the Roman army enlisted every Teutonic chief he could persuade by bribes and honors. Their men served with them. These of course were horsemen. Theodosius won a battle over the Roman and Gallic army of the West in 385 and another in 392. This led to the immediate adoption of cavalry in the West as well as in the East.

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15. Oman: op. cit., p. 14.

16. Id., p. 46 and note 2, p. 46.

17. Oman: op. cit., p. 44.

When the Goths sacked Rome in the Vth century infantry as the higher force had completely disappeared from southern Europe.

Oman says: "The true interest of the centuries of the early Middle Ages lies in the gradual evolution of new forms of military efficiency, which end in the establishment of a military caste as the chief power in war, and in the decay among most races of the old system which made the tribe arrayed in arms the normal fighting force.... The period of transition may be considered to end in the XIth century, when the feudal knight had established his superiority over all descriptions of troops pitted against him, from the Magyar horsebowman of the East to the Danish axeman of the North."<sup>18</sup>

Spain was of course in contact with both Roman and Visigothic methods of warfare. The Roman occupation of Spain was from 206 B.C. to 409 A.D. During the last centuries of occupation the Romans were adopting cavalry. The Visigoths, whose ancestors came from the plains beyond the Danube, from whence came all Germanic tribes whose native method of fighting was on horseback, came into Spain in 414. They had already been in contact with Roman customs and were Christians. They had, after sacking Rome, settled in

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18. Oman: op. cit., p. 42.

Southern France and conquered it for themselves, then, when war broke out there, moved over into Spain where they made war on the Vandal tribes in the name of their ally, Rome, but where they really proceeded to conquer the country on their own account. By 623 the Visigothic kings were sole rulers. Then into Spain came the use of horsemen in warfare from two sources, Roman and Gothic.

Spanish armies were hard to raise in the time of the Visigoths and landowners, even clerical, were required to arm a certain portion of their slaves. The counts were then in charge of the soldiers of their districts. The masses of soldiers, Goth or Roman cared little for the distant king for whom they were supposed to be fighting but "thought more of propitiating their local despots, the counts".<sup>19</sup> Thus began the feudal society and the military caste of Spain.

The custom that is considered the most remote source of medieval chivalry existed among these Gothic or Germanic tribes whose horsemen overthrew the Roman legion and finally overcame the power of the Roman Empire. It was at first very simple, "beginning from a period antecedent to all historical records," and consisting of a kind of town meeting, where all the people gathered in the square and the ruler of the band

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19. Oman: op. cit., p. 46.

gravely handed to the German youth, who up to this time had been only an unimportant member of his family, a javlin and a shield. Then the father or a kinsman of the boy fastened on him the sword belt and sword which he wore continually thereafter, for the men went every day armed. The young man was now admitted to all civil rights, in other words he was a citizen of the tribe. This seemed to be the purpose of the ceremony at first, the bestowal of civil rights. However, that implied with attainment of man's estate, full participation in all the activities of the tribe which were to a great extent warlike.

This custom of manifesting by some outward sign the entrance into citizenship was current not only among these barbarian peoples but is found among the Romans. There was much honor in the young Roman's abandoning the toge prétexte for the toge virile. In the mingling then of Barbarian and Roman customs the German investiture would tend to survive because of its similarity with an established custom.

As early as 791 Charlemagne girded on his son's sword, when the latter was only thirteen years of age, to assure him the respect of the people in Aquitania, the province he ruled. Again in 838 this son Louis gave to his son Charles the armes viriles at the age of sixteen and before giving him a kingdom.



Then came the troubled times of the IXth and Xth centuries. The German tribes that had conquered Western Europe had embraced Christianity but they were in turn harassed in the East by Saracens and in the North by Norman perates. There were depredations everywhere. No roads were safe. Buildings and especially churches, because of their rich plunder, were burned. Many private wars were fought against the pagan. All people became fighters. Then with the suggestion and abettment of the Church everyone in Christian wrath against the Saracens began to contemplate journeys to the Holy Land.<sup>20</sup> Then the Church took up the Christian education of the soldier. His profession became the ideal, chivalry, and later, the eighth sacrament.<sup>21</sup> Gautier says in this connection: "Il y eut un moment où l'on sentit partout la nécessité de tempérer les ardeurs du sang german et de donner un idéal a cette fougue maldépensée. De là la Chevalerie."<sup>22</sup> However it took some centuries for the fierce, brutal soldier, the feudal baron, to become the gentle, kindly knight. The Church served as the restraining influence to his cruelty and fierceness and in the course of a few centuries subdued barbarian warfare to a precise law and

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20. Gautier: op.cit., p. 24.

21. Id., p. 24-25.

22. Gautier: op. cit., p. 2.

object.

The sponsoring of chivalry or, in a harsher sense, of warfare by the Church was not as spontaneous as the simple statement above may seem to indicate. The development from thinking war incompatible with religion to sanctioning it extended from the IVth to the Xth century.

The Church and Church martyrs were at first bitterly opposed to war. Saint Augustine of the IVth century declared against it. The Fathers of the Council of Kiersey in 858 declared: "Nous devons faire la guerre à nos vices et la paix avec nos frères."<sup>23</sup> However, as early as the Vth century Saint Maxime of Turm had declared unhesitatingly that there was nothing condemnable in military service.<sup>24</sup> The Church saw its inevitableness and so gradually came to declare war just, when made to avoid evil and advance good. In the IXth century Saint LéonIV wrote to the Franks about warriors battling for the Christian faith: "A celui qui mourra eu de telles batailles, Dieu ne fermera pas les portes du ciel."<sup>25</sup> In the XIth and XIIth centuries writers began to declare that chivalry was to avenge those against God and to protect the Christian people and John of Salisbury, XIIth century even went so far as to declare that chivalry had been instituted by God himself.

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23. Gautier: op. cit., pp. 3-4 & note 1, p. 4.

24. Id., p. 11.

25. Gautier: op. cit., p. 12 & note 1, p. 12.

The first crusade in 1097, made up as it was of warriors, and having for its purpose warfare of Christian against Saracen, was sanctioned by the Pope and by churches everywhere, in fact it was instigated and organized by the Clergy. And it was then that chivalry whose teaching had been recently undertaken by the Church became a standardized institution.

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Thus we have traced the origin of the three elements: military, ceremonial, and religious---whose fusion somewhere in the Xth and XIth centuries produced the Chivalry of the Middle Ages. That of Europe is generally conceded as having been organized toward the middle of the XIth century. The first description of knighting of which we have knowledge (according to Deléchuze)<sup>26</sup> is that of 1127 when Godfrey of Anjou was armed knight at Rouen by the Duke of Normandy. The first truly historical description of the religious ceremony is of the year 1247 when William, Count of Holland, after having been elected Emperor of the Romans was made knight before being crowned. But there are many, many accounts of these ceremonies in the Chansons de Geste, which however are not authentic.

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26. Deléchuze: op. cit., p. 75.

## 3.

Spanish chivalry was even more splendid than other European chivalry: "Europe, with her active courage, -- her jealousy of honor, -- her superior religion; -- Asia, with her proud and lofty deportment, -- her fervid and sublimated imagination, and the magnificent ceremonial of her pomp, -- formed the Knight of Spain and in consequence of this influence of Orientalism on his character, he represents the stateliness of chivalry as perfectly as the English cavalier its adventurousness, and the French its gaity."<sup>27</sup> The germs of chivalry were in the minds of the Visigoths who overthrew the Romans in Spain but knighthood did not arise till the time of the Arabs and the opportunities offered for feudal warfare against the Moors. Spanish chivalry acquired a gravity from the Moors that was foreign to the nature of the chivalry of other countries.

It cannot be definitely known when chivalry sprang up in Spain. The Chansons de Geste grew up after Charlemagne's entrance into that country and his defeat at Roncesvalles 778. Legends had been built around Charlemagne and his twelve peers and these were taken over by the Spanish juglares and nationalized.

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27. Charles Mills: History of Chivalry. London, 1826.  
Vol. II, p. 232

These twelve counsellors and captains were in later Chansons called chevaliers. Deléchuze says however: "Il faut donc connaître toute la vérité que est que Roland était simplement et ainsi que d'autres, un brave officier des armes de Charlesmagne, et que dans ce temps, la chevalerie n'existait pas, puis qu'elle n'a commencé à s'établir que trois siècles après le temps où Roland vivait".<sup>28</sup> However, these men had all the attributes of the knight. Deléchuze speaks of the story in the pseudo-Turpin Chronicle of the single combat between Roland<sup>29</sup> and Ferrngus, the Mohammedan giant: "On observera....que les lois les plus strictes

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28. Deléchuze: opcit., p. 5.

29. The only mention in history of Rowland is in Eginhard's Life of Charlemagne. In speaking of the attack of the Franks at Roncesvalles by the Gascons, Eginhard says: "Egginhard, the King's steward; Anselm, Count Palatine; and Roland, Governor of the March of Brittany, with very many others fell in this engagement." Eginhard: Life of Charlemagne translated from the text of the Monumenta Germaniae by Samuel Epes Turner.

et les plus recherchées de la chevalerie, sont observées et que le point d'honneur entre pour beaucoup dans la complaisance bizarre avec laquelle Roland protège le sommeil du géant mohométan."<sup>30</sup> So that when Charlemagne and his peers came into Spain they brought with them a tradition of chivalric behavior that was the forerunner of the chivalry proper with its full ceremony and definite standards of the XIth century. For Charles shortly after the expedition into Spain, 791, girded the sword on his young son Louis that he might have the respect of his subjects.

So altho Charlemagne did not bring into Spain a definite chivalry he brought the practises that remained to mingle with the knightly germs inherent in the Visigothic nation and to influence and be influenced by the chivalric tendencies of the Arabs.<sup>31</sup> The first chivalric figure in Spain about whom we have any information is the Cid Campeador of the XIth century.

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30. Deléchuze: op. cit., p. 20.

31. The Romances de Antar, the Arabian cycle of chivalry, built around this hero who lived in Arabia about 622 A.D., are supposed to have been collected toward the end of the VIIIth century. (Deléchuze: op. cit., p. 156). This cycle would have come into Spain with the rest of Arabian culture.

Ramon Lull's idea of the origin of chivalry while not historical is very interesting and is probably the explanation of the concentration of the various existing chivalric trends into the institution itself. Ramon Lull says: "Habían desfallecido en el mundo la caridad, la lealtad, la justicia y la verdad, comenzando á emperar la enemistad, la deslealtad, la injuria y la falsedad, y de aquí nació gran trastorno en el pueblo cristiano. Y como el menosprecio de la justicia había sido cansado por falta de caridad, fue menester que la justicia tornase á ser honrada por temor; y para eso todo el pueblo fue repartido en millares, y de cada mil fue elegido un hombre más amable, más sabio, más leal, más fuerte, dotado de más noble valor, de más experiencia y más perfecta crianza que los restantes. Y se buscó entre todas las bestias cuál era la más hermosa, y la más ligera y corredora, y la más sufridera de trabajos, y la más digna de servir al hombre. Y como el caballo es la bestia más noble, por eso fue elegido y entregado al hombre que había sido preferido entre los mil, y por eso á este hombre se le llamó caballero."<sup>32</sup> Such is the legend.

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32. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. VII, lines 146-167.  
Translated by Menéndez y Pelayo in Origenes de la Novela. Vol. I. Madrid, 1905, pp.LXXIX-LXXX.

## II. Growth of the Mystical Significance of the Ceremony of Knighting.

Until the middle of the XIIth century the ceremony of knighting was very simple. The young squire chose someone to dub him knight and as the nearest and dearest knight was usually his father, we find that most of the ceremonies were performed by the fathers until the time when the Church took an active part. Leon Gautier describes the development of the ceremony.<sup>33</sup> At first it was merely to fasten on the young German an axe or a sword. Nothing more. Then with the increasing use of horses in warfare until the IXth century when nobles fought only on horseback the young man was prepared with the means of subjecting his horse and throwing himself upon the enemy---that is, spurs were fastened to his heels. Since they fought, even whole armies, in those days, by single combat where one would be mortally wounded immediately without protection, all warriors found it necessary to adopt armor. This custom came originally from the Roman legion, was incorporated into the warfare of the Gothic tribes upon their exposure to Roman customs and became a part of the inheritance of the chevalier. So the dressing of the knight-to-be in his armor became

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33. Gautier: op. cit., p. 270.



part of the preliminary ceremony or adoubement of Knighthood. Attendants dressed the squire in a coat of mail with a hood and a piece to cover the nose, then they put on him the hauberk and helmet. The young man, to be at his best, bathed in the morning before dressing for the ceremony. This was at first simply a hygienic performance and had nothing of the symbolic.

Then bathed, shod, spurred, dressed, encased in iron, he was ready to have his sword girt on. This was the ceremony proper. All the symbolism, all the mysticism came later and grew out of the religious influence on chivalry.

The colée or blow with the palm of the hand upon the back of the neck was not at first necessary. It was only a kind of brutal test of the stoicism of the young candidate and was accompanied by a word or so of advice like: "Be valiant." Then to show that he was a good horseman the new knight mounted his horse without the use of the stirrup and galloped about before the group of people displaying his prowess. Out of this grew the later tourneys after the ceremony which gave the knights ample opportunity to show their worthiness.

This, then, was the first manner of dubbing a knight. It was material, Germanic, barbaric. The

Church did not appear. This was the military ceremony.<sup>34</sup>

This lasted until the XIIth century. In the historical account of Jean, Monk of Marmontier, about the knighting of Geoffroi Plantagenet d'Anjou at Rouen in 1127 or 1129 the ceremony is simple and laical.<sup>35</sup> There is nothing of the Church or of its ceremonies. The King of England girds on the sword. There is mention of the colée in a chronicle of an adoubement of the year 1181.<sup>36</sup> In the middle of the XIIIth century the colée was common. Examples are found in chronicles of that time.<sup>37</sup>

The change in attitude of the Church toward chivalry has already been traced. But after its acceptance of chivalry and its recognition of the knight as the soldier of the Church the entrance of religious form into the ceremony up till then purely military was gradual. The Church had undertaken the education of the young candidate but at the beginning of this period the laical or military and the religious ceremonies existed side by side. Probably the religious started with the blessing of the sword by the priest. This was very natural in the Middle Ages with their almost superstitious belief in miracles in the Church. It

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34. Gautier: op. cit., pp. 270-271.

35. Id., pp. 274-278

36. Id., p. 282.

37. Id., p. 283.

had been called upon to bless various possessions and ceremonies of man before this. Since the Church had charge of the education of the squire he attended mass regularly so a solemn mass on the day of his dubbing was incorporated into the ceremony. The watch of arms in the Church was an adaptation of watches kept by the people before great festivals and as knighting took place on festival days the watch became associated with its preparation. The words that accompanied the colée became religious in nature and grew into a sermon. After the blessing of the sword by the priest the ceremony was performed by whomever the squire had chosen. He was questioned as to his purpose in entering chivalry, various pieces of his armor were fastened on, he knelt and the consecrator gave him three blows on the shoulder or neck with the flat of the sword, and pronounced him knight "in the name of God, of St. Michael and of St. George". The ceremony was followed by the young man mounting his horse as before, without stirrup and executing a few manoeuvres.

There was a third kind of adoubement, the liturgic, in which the priest himself fastened on the sword, and the ceremony was in Latin. It was purely clerical.

The type of ceremony most used was the religious. The liturgic was too sanctified and the military too uncouth. The religious ceremony is that of which Ramon Lull and Juan Manuel write. The chivalry of the

XIIth and XIIIth centuries was of this character.

Ramon Lull tells us definitely of the part of the priest and of the older knight, the consecrator: "When the priest has done that that belongs to his office, then it is fitting that the prince and the high baron who wishes to beknight the squire who demands chivalry, should have the virtue and the order of chivalry himself, that he can by the grace of God give the virtue and order of chivalry to the squire who desires the order and virtue of chivalry".<sup>38</sup>

We know, too, that this is the type of chivalry from the story of the Libre del Orde, that of the young squire journeying to the court of the great and wise king to be made knight by him. The same situation exists in the story of Juan Manuel's Libro del Caballero y del Escudero. The religious teaching is emphasized in the meeting with the hermit-knight who is devoting his last days to a religious and contemplative life and who takes upon himself the instruction of the young squire.

Before the XIIIth century the adoubement is religious but it is not symbolic. In a poem of Hugnes de Tabarie, L'Ordene de Chevalerie, written in the first years of the XIIIth century in the Picard dialect we find a symbolic and mystic meaning attached to the

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38. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXII, lines 990-994.

preparations for the ceremony: "la coupe des cheveux et les ablutions sont le symbole du premier baptême, et de la pureté de l'âme avec laquelle on doit se présenter pour devenir chevalier; (Hughes fait ensuite coucher Saladin sur un lit.) Ce lit est l'emblème du paradis dans lequel Dieu doit donner la récompense d'une vie pure, et le repos à ceux qui ont employé leur vie à secourir les faibles et les opprimés. La chemise blanche que le soudan revêt ensuite, est un avertissement de tenir son corps pur et net, comme elle, et la robe écarlate qu'il met pardessus, lui fera souvenir qu'un chevalier doit toujours être prêt à répandre son sang pour Dieu et la sante Église. Les bottes brunes qu'on lui fait chausser doivent lui rappeler continuellement qu'il est venu de la terre et qu'il doit y retourner. La ceinture dont on entoure ses reins, est l'emblème du courage dont il doit s'entourer, de la chasteté, de la virginité même, qu'il est tenu d'observer. Les éperons d'or attachés à ses talons, avec lesquels il fera obéir son cheval à toutes ses volontés, c'est la figure des élans intérieurs de l'âme qui l'exciteront à aimer Dieu profondément et à défendre sa loi avec courage.... Ce franc ou cette épée, est à deux tranchants, afin que le chevalier puisse se défendre contre plus riche et plus puissant que lui, et de l'autre côté soutenir le faible et l'opprimé. Après

avoir reçu une coiffure blanche, comme signe de la pureté de pensée recommandée au chevalier...la colée ...C'est pour faire souvenir à celui qui est ordonné chevalier, de celui (Jésus Christ) qui la reçue."<sup>39</sup>

Gautier declares that the doctrines of L'Ordene are not found in the chansons de geste nor in any of the popular chivalric poems.<sup>40</sup> A little later, toward the latter part of the XIIIth century we find a complete treatise of the mystical significance, not of the ceremony, but of all the arms of the knight in the fifth part of Libre del Orde de Cauaylería of Ramon Lull. Other authors of the XIVth and XVth centuries imitated Lull in this.<sup>41</sup>

Thus from the rude girding on of the sword of the German youth --- that occurred at a time previous to all historical record and that meant simply and only citizenship --- the rite was handed down thru the Middle Ages, being amplified, solemnized, and mystified until it arrived in the XIIIth century to the very grave,

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39. Delechuze: op. cit., pp. 80-82.

40. Gautier: op. cit., p. 291.

41. P. Meyer states that it was a coincidence if the significance of arms in any two authors was the same. However the ideas were fairly similar in some. (Compare Ramon Lull's chapter with the allegorical poem of Peir March Le Harnois du Chevalier of the

very impressive, and very beautiful ceremony, fraught with significance, of the adoubement of the ideal of Medieval manhood, the knight.

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second half of the XIVth century. Romania. Vol. XX,  
pp. 579-599.

III. Source of Lull's Chapter on the  
Allegorical Significance  
of Arms.

Gaston Paris in his L'Histoire Littéraire de la France states that "les chapitres sur la cérémonie de l'adoubement et sur la signification symbolique de chacune des pièces de l'armure ne contiennent rien qu'on ne trouve ailleurs".<sup>42</sup> Also an article of P. Meyer<sup>43</sup> on a Catalonian poem of Peire March seems to substantiate this matter. Meyer declares that the allegorical significance of arms is a subject that was treated many times in the Middle Ages. He cites poems of the XIIIth century, French poems, on the same theme. These are Enseignement des Princes of Robert de Blois, Conte du Barril of Jean de la Chapelle or of Blois, the continuation of the Bible of Guyot de Provins, an Anglo-Norman poem Le Chevalier Dieu, Dit de l'épee of Jaques de Baisieux, and a provincial poem of the end of the XIIIth century by an unknown author. However these may have been contemporary with Ramon Lull.<sup>44</sup> As they

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42. Gaston Paris: L'Histoire Littéraire de la France. Vol. XXIX. Paris, 1885, p. 368.

43. Romania. Vol. XX. Paris, 1891, pp. 579-599.

44. M. Rosselló, qui paraît avoir connu cet ouvrage (Ramon Lull's Libre del Ordre) avant l'édition, puisqu'il le traite de justement célèbre et en donne un résu-



are all assigned to the last part of the XIIIth century. M.Meyer also mentions theologians writing in Latin and gives references to a sermon attributed to Hugues de Saint-Victor or to Saint Bernard.<sup>45</sup> These were writers of the XIIth century and would be anterior to Ramon Lull so it may be possible that he drew a little from some of the Latin sermons. P.Meyer states that "le point de départ de toutes ces ingénieuses compositions a probablement été fourni, comme on l'a déjà remarqué, par ces paroles de l'Épître aux Ephésiens (VI 13SS) : 'Accipite armaturam Dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo et in omnibus perfecti stare. State ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et induite lorica[m] justitiae, et calceati pedes in praeparatione evangelii pacis; in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela Nequissimi ignea extinguere; et galeam salutis assumite, et gladius Spiritus quod est verbum Dei'. Depuis longtemps, d'ailleurs, et bien avant qu'il fût question de la chevalerie,

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mé qui pourrait bien, il est vrai, n'être qu'un développement hypothétique du titre, range l'Ordre de chevalerie parmi les traités que Lull écrivit à Miramar, entre 1276 et 1286. M. Aguiló, d'autre part l'appelle un des premiers traités que l'auteur ait composés: G. Paris: op. cit., p. 363.

45. The sermon in question seems to be one upon the

l'Eglise avait assigné une signification symbolique aux vêtements sacerdotaux que l'on appelait parfois 'les armes de Dieu'".<sup>46</sup>

Looking thru the list of arms and their meanings as given by Ramon Lull we discover that his work takes up the matter about where Hugnes de Tabarie left off. Hugues deals almost entirely with the preliminary rites but includes two arms, the sword and the spurs. He says of the two edged sword: "De branc ou cette épée, est à deux tranchants, afin que le chevalier puisse se défendre contre plus riche et plus puissant. que lui, et de l'autre côté soutenir le faible et l'opprimé"<sup>47</sup> There is decided similarity to the above in this from Ramon Lull: "E cor lespaa es taylant de cada part, e cauaylaria es per maintenir justicia, e inusticia es donar a cascũ son dret, per ayso lespaa del cauayler significa q̃ lo cauayler ab lespaa mantengua cauaylaria e justicia."<sup>48</sup>

Then in the matter of the spurs, Hugnes says: "Les éperons d'or attachés à ses talons, avec lesquels

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Epistles of Saint Paul. G. Paris: op. cit., Vol. XII, pp. 11-12.

46. Romania Vol. XX p. 579.

47. Delécluze: op. cit., p. 81.

48. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. 80.

il fera obeir son cheval à toutes ses volontés, c'est la figure des élans intérieurs de l'âme qui l'exciteront à aimer Dieu profondément et à défendre sa loi avec courage."<sup>49</sup> And Lull: "Esperons son donats a cauayler a significar diligencia e espertesa e ansia con pusca tenir honrat son orde. Cor en axi con ab los sperons braca lo cauayler son cauayl per ço ques cuyt et que corra con pus iurçosament pusca, en axi diligencia fa cuytar les coses qui couenen esser, et spertea fa hom gardar desser sobtat, e ansia fa procurar larnes et la messio ã es mester a la honor de cauayleria."<sup>50</sup> The conclusions of the authors are entirely different, Hugnes dwelling on the mystical and spiritual and Ramon Lull on the worldly --- but the methods of reasoning toward the significance are the same.

With these two arms for a beginning Ramon Lull, divorcing himself from the preparations or preliminaries, turned to the meaning of the arms and trappings, so that his fifth part is a most complete treatise on the symbolism of Medieval armor.

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49. Delécluze: op. cit., p. 80.

50. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXIV, lines 1083- 1091.

#### IV. Origin and Meaning of Miles and Chevalier.

The horseman of Roman times, who was the predecessor of the chevalier of the Middle Ages was called Miles and the institution the Militia. Gautier tells us however that "entre la militia des Romains et la chevalerie du moyen âge, il n'y a réellement de common que le métier militaire considéré au point de vue le plus général".<sup>51</sup> Gautier gives one of the chief differences between the chevalier and the Roman miles, that is, that the service of the latter was compulsory. Gaston Paris also makes note of a difference. In speaking of l'Alexandre of Alberic, a French author of the XIIth century he says: "il...traduisait milites par chevaliers sans se douter de la différence qui existait entre ces deux termes."<sup>52</sup>

The Roman expression for creating a miles was "qu'on là revêtu du cinglum militare".<sup>53</sup> Vegetius in his work De Re Militari on the Roman miles gives the oath the new recruit must take: "Nam incturis in

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51. Gautier: op. cit., p. 19.

52. Gaston Paris: La Littérature Française au Moyen Âge. Paris, 1890, p. 75.

53. Compare with this the expression: "el que en buen hora çinxo espada." Menéndez Pidal: op.cit., cauallero, p. 566.

cute punctis milites scripti, cum matriculis inseruntur, iurare solent; et ideo militiae sacramenta dicuntur. Iurant autem per Deum et Christum et sanctum Spiritum et per maiestatem imperatoris, quae secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est et colenda. Nam imperator cum Augusti nomen accepit, tamquam traesenti et corporali Deo fidelis est praestanda denotio, inpendendus peruigil famulatus. Deo enim uel privatus uel militans seruit, cum fideliter eum diligit qui Deo regnat auctore. Iurant autem milites omnia se strenue facturos, quae praeceperit imperator, numquam deserturos militiam nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana republica".<sup>54</sup>

And so with the oath and the description of the ceremony of initiating the new miles very similar to that of the earlier, simpler chivalry, the words came to mean the same, miles and chevalier.

DuCange gives for a definition of miles: "apud scriptores inferioris aetatis, is potestimum dicitur, qui militari angulo accinctus est, quem vulgo Chevalier appellamus".<sup>55</sup> La Curne de Ste. Palaye says: "La Chevalerie é toit proprement le métier des armes,

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54. Flavius Vegetius Renatus: Epitoma Rei Militaris. Lipsiae, 1885, p. 38, line 16 -- p. 39, line 6.

55. D. DuCange: Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis. Vol. IV. Paris, 1845, p. 396, Miles.

militia...Faire chevalerie répond au latin militare".<sup>56</sup>

F. Warre Cornish speaks of the word militare in this connection, which in Low Latin meant feudal service and signified to the knight the spirit which was to guide all his actions.<sup>57</sup> He gives the origin of the English word knight from "Cniht, Anglo-Saxon word used before the Conquest to mean a dependent holding land from one of the great vassals by knight service (militia) whether dubbed knight or not".<sup>58</sup> A. Giry in his article on Chevalerie speaks of the Latin word miles as corresponding to the French chevalier.<sup>59</sup>

La Curne de Ste. Palaye says also of the word chevalerie: "C'est d'abord la réunion des vassaux montés, des chevaliers; puis l'Eglise imagine d'imposer à la noblesselaique quelques-unes des règles militaires et religieuses qu'avaient acceptées les Hospitaliers et les Templiers; ce devient alors un honneru d'échanger le titre d'écuyer contre celui de chevalerie, comme à Rome d'abandonner la toge prétexte pour revêtir la toge virile".<sup>60</sup>

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56. La Curne de Ste. Palaye: Dictionnaire Historique de L'ancien Langage François, Vol. 34, Paris, 1877, p. 460, chevalerie.

57. Cornish: op. cit., p. 13.

58. Id., p. 29, note 1.

59. A. Giry: op. cit., p. 1137.

60. La Curne De Ste. Palaye: op. cit., p. 460.

Gautier also speaks of the vassi that in the IXth century asked the counts and high lords to protect them. These barons gave them land in exchange for military service. But the derivation of the word that thru the Middle Ages was connected with this institution of the feudal system was based on the fact that the warriors or vassi fought on horseback.

La Curne goes on to say of chivalry: "On a dit longtemps chevalerie, pour désigner la cavalerie; car la chevalerie étoit la noblesse, et il n'y eut longtemps que la noblesse qui combattit à cheval dans nos aemées"<sup>61</sup>  
Gautier speaks of the derivation of the word from "caballus" at first signifying a heavy horse then, since heavy horses were used to carry the full armed soldiers used to designate a horse of war.<sup>62</sup>

Thus the term miles that was used in Roman times to denote the drafted soldier, at first on foot then on horseback as cavalry replaced the legion, was applied in the early Middle Ages in the territory overrun by Germanic tribes to those who gathering around some powerful baron exchanged their services as warriors, on horseback of course, for land and protection. This

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61. La Curne de Ste. Palaye: op. cit., p. 460.

62. Gautier: op. cit., p. 16.

service was known as militia. In the growth of the vulgar languages, the Romance tongues, the name applied to this fighting man came from the Latin word for horse. So we find the Romance terms chevalier, caballero given to the Medieval soldier who had been called in the Latin language of the Middle Age, miles.

Oman says that "in the XIth century the important part of a continental army consists of warriors holding fiefs, either directly from the Crown or as sub-tenants, on condition of doing service on horseback. The chroniclers often speak of the whole mass of them as 'milites'".<sup>63</sup> This term then about 1080 included some non-noble horsemen. In the XIIth century the word miles was confined to the upper ranks of the military class. And in that same century it changed its meaning again, this time to refer only to those of the upper military class on whom knighthood had been conferred by some feudal superior. So miles and chevalier came to be synonymous to the Medieval mind even though the original meaning of the word miles in classical Latin was far removed from the denotation of the Romance chevalier.

For this reason Medieval writers looked upon Vegetius' De Re Militari as the source for all chivalry books. Jean de Meun in 1284 translated it into French under the title L'Art de Chevalerie.

Ramon Lull connects with Chivalry the idea of

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63. Oman: op. cit., p. 369.



the thousand: "Al començament con fo en lo mon vengut menyspreament de justicia per minuament de caritat, couench que iusticia retorna en son honrament per temor: e per ayso de tot lo poble foren fets milanaris, e de cascũ. M. fo elet e triat I home pus amable, pus saui, pus leyal e pus fortz, e ab pus noble coratge, ab mes densenyaments e de bons nodriments que tots los altres".<sup>64</sup>

Nothing of this meaning of the word chevalier or miles is found in Vegetius or in any books on the history of chivalry. But it seems to have been a popular tradition for mention of it is made in the Cronica General, altho the connection of the thousand is made in another sense as well: "Enpos esto mesuro otrossi Romulo cuemo se podrie guardar et deffeuder la cibdat et ensanchar en senorio, et tonio del comun mil mancebos de los que entendio que serien meiores darmas, et armolos, et fizolos caualleros, et partiolos por ordenes, et dio les sus noblezas por que fuessen buenos et guerreassen bien por la cibdat. Et llamo los milites desta polaura mil, por que eran tantos."<sup>65</sup>

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64. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. VII, lines 151-159.

65. R. Menéndez Pidal: Primera Cronica General composed under Alfonso el Sabio. Vol. I. Madrid, 1906, p. 85, col. 1, lines 34-42.

## Chapter I

## Ramon Lull and Vegetius

Altho Juan Manuel refers his readers to Vegetius as a source of material in connection with his Libre del Caballero y Escudero there is no reference in Ramon Lull to lead one to think that the IVth century writer had any influence whatever on his book of the knight. Vegetius' book De Re Militari, while at the time it was written it had nothing to do with chivalry but only with the horseman in warfare, by the XIIIth century was regarded as a source on chivalry as is shown by the translation of Jean de Meun, 1284, L'Art de Chevalerie. Its terms were translated into those of knighthood and the whole aspect of the book was changed to correspond to this medieval idea and ideal. Lull, a learned writer of the same period as Jean de Meun must have read Vegetius' work and have interpreted it in the same spirit as Jean de Meun. While there may be no conscious imitation yet there is some similarity, altho not so much nor as definite as in Juan Manuel. This may not argue a great influence for Vegetius' book yet undoubtedly it was the father of all books on chivalry, the warfare of the Middle Ages. Its ideas must have led up to the books on this subject just as the warfare of which it treats led up to feudal knighthood. The thoughts of Lull's Libre that may have been colored by the reading of the early writer

can be sketched briefly:

Courage is treated by both authors. However this virtue is one so thoroly connected with chivalry that it would be unusual to find it omitted in any book that deals with the soldier or the knight. Needless to say the peculiar Lullian technique of reasoning by conformity and discordance makes his style different from the simple statements of almost any author on the same subject and gives a more learned and argumentative tone to even his simplest statements.

The references to courage in Lull are frequent: "Si cauaylaria fos en força corporal mes que en força de coratge, seguiries que orde de cauayleria se concordas pus fortment ab lo cors que ab la anima, et si ho faes, lo cors hagra major nobilitat que la anima. On cõ nobilitat de coratge no pusca esser vensut ni apoderat per hũ home, ni per tots los homẽs qui son, et I. cors sia vensut per altre e pres lo maluat cauayler qui teni pus fortment la força del cors con fuig a la batayla e desempara son sēyor q̃ no fa la malues-tat e la fla q̃sa de son coratge, no usa del offici de cauayler ni es seruidor ni obedient al honrat orde de cauayleria qui fo començat per noblea de coratge",<sup>66</sup>

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Ramon Lull: op. cit., pp. XII-XIII, lines 461-473.

and again: "Si nobilitat de coratge ha elet cauayler sobre los homens qui li son dejus en seruitut, noblea de costumes e de bons nodriments se couenen a cauayler."<sup>67</sup>

Vegetius gives us to understand, too, that, altho as we know, the miles was drafted, yet those that were put to serve on horseback were chosen for courages as well as for physical attributes: "Et hoc est in quo totius rei publicae salus vertitur, ut tirones non tantum corporibus sed etiam animus praestantissimi diligentur".<sup>68</sup> Lull speaks of the necessity of other

virtues besides valor: "cor noblea de coratge no pograpujar en la anta honor de cauayleria sēs eleccio de virtuts e de bones costumes".<sup>69</sup> And Vegetius on the same subject and in connection with his statement of valor: "Inuentus enim, cui defensio prouinciarum, cui bellorum est committenda fortuna, et genere, si copia suppetat, et moribus debet excellere".<sup>70</sup>

Both Lull and Vegetius dwell on the great glory of founding communities or cities. Vegetius: "Idea potentissimae nationes ac principes consecrati nullani maiorem gloriam putauerunt quam aut fundare novas ciuitates aut ab aliis conditas in nomen suum sub quadam

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67. Id., p. XXVI, lines 1215-1218.

68. Vegetius: op.cit., p. 11, lines 6-8.

69. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXVI, lines 1218-1221.

70. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 11, lines 12-15.

amplificatione transferre. In quo opera clementia serenitatis tuae obtinet palmam".<sup>71</sup> Lull: "Officio de cauayler es auer viles e ciutats per tenir dretura a les gents e per congregar e ajustar fusters en un lock, ferrers, cabaters, drapers, mercaders e los altres officis que pertanyen al ordonament daquest mon, e qui son necessaris a conseruar lo cors a ses necessitats. On se los cauaylers per mantenir lur offici son tan be logats quẽ son senyors de castells e de viles e de ciutats: si destrubir viles, castells, ciutats creman, taylor los arbres, les plantes, e auciure lo bestiar, et robar los camins era offici et orde de cauayler, obrar e edificar casteyls, forses, viles, ciutats, deffendre lauradors, talayes tenir a camins segurs, e les altres coses sẽblants a aq̃stes serieu desordonament de cauayleria: et si aço era en axi lo raho p̃ la qual cauayleria es atrobada seria una cosa mateixa ab son desordonament et son còtrari."<sup>72</sup> Thus both have the same attitude toward the establishment of towns by great nobles or princes. The practise in Lull's time is probably traceable to the custom that is spoken of in Vegetius. In his time the ruler or prince had the right and the honor for then the Emperor of the Roman state was the all powerful. When after

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71. Id., p. 128, lines 11-15.

72. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XIV, lines 551-568.

the break up of Charlemagne's empire feudalism held sway with its multitude of feudal barons all striving to maintain their equality of rank and none yielding to a higher power than to the knight or feudal baron, for nearly all feudal barons were knights, fell the responsibility and honor of building up the towns and communities.

It seems most unusual that back as far as Vegetius in the IVth century there is a suggestion of the relation of the clergy to chivalry. Vegetius says: "Nam cum easdem expensas faciat et diligenter et negligenter exercitus ordinatus, non solum praesentibus, sed etiam futuris saeculis proficit, si prouisione maiestatis tuae, imperator Auguste, et fortissima dispositio reparetur armorum et emendetur dissimulatio praecedentum".<sup>73</sup> Lull gives the relations of the priest and chivalry: "Molts son los officis que Deus ha donats en est mon a esser seruit per los homẽs: mas tots los pus nobles, los pus honrats, los pus acostats dos officis q̃ sien en est mon, es offici de clergue et offici de cauayler; e per ayso la major amistat que sia en est mon deuria esser entre clergue e cauayler. On eu axi cõ clergue no segueix lorde de clerecia con es contra lorde de cauayleria, en axi cauayler no mante orda de cauayleria con es contrari e desobedient als

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73. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 37, lines 17-22.

clergues, qui son obligats a amar e a maintenir lorde de cauaylaria".<sup>74</sup> The quotation from Vegetius while it does not directly speak of the priesthood nevertheless refers to the very earliest beginning of the surveillance of chivalry by that body. Jean de Meun translates Vegetius into French. "Car comme il conveingne faire uns meismes despens pour ost bien et diliganment ordené, empereres augustus, il ne pourfite pas sans plus a ceans de nostre temps, mais a cians qui sont nés a venir, se la fors ordenance des armes(est)rapareillie et la nonchalance de nos ancesseurs amendee par la pourveance de la seignourie".<sup>75</sup> In this translation seignourie may mean the clergy or it may mean the learned class. However this all goes to show that the Latin word which undoubtedly meant the learned class came to mean in Romance the clergy, for the learned class of the Middle Ages --- what was it but clergy? Thus appears the similarity of the two citations.

There is some similarity in the characteristics of the caballero as given by Lull and the miles according to Vegetius but nothing that could show any influence of the earlier writer. Vegetius gives the age: "incipientem pubertatem ad dilectum cogendam nullus

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74. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. X, lines 322-333.

75. Jean de Meun: L'Art de Chevalerie, translation of De Re Militari of Vegetius. Paris, 1847, p. 44.

ignorat",<sup>76</sup> the stature, the region, and the locality that make the best knight. Lull makes mention of age: "Edat couinent se coue a noueyl cauayler, cor si es trop joue lescuder quis vol fer cauayler no pot hauer apreses los nodriments qui pertanyé a scuderaus que sia cauayler: e no pora tant be remembrar ço q̃ promet a la honor de cauaylaria si es en infantesa fet nouel cauayler. E si les cuder es veyl e ha debilitat de son coro e vol esser cauayler, enans q̃ fos veyl feu inperia a cauayleria, etc."<sup>77</sup> Lull discusses bodily attributes: "En quant natura corporal, aytant honrada es natura en los arbres et en les besties conen los homens: mas per la nobilitat danima rahonable q̃ participa tant solament ab lo cors del home, per ayso natura ha major virtut en cors huma q̃ en cors bestial...<sup>78</sup> Home cõtret o massa gros, o qui haja attre defallimēt en son cors p̃ lo qual co pus que usar de offici de cauayler, no deu esser en lorde de cauaylaria... E tāt es noble cauaylaria et auta en son honrament, que riquesa ni nobilitat de cor ni de linatge no abasta a scuder qui sie affoylat en alcun membre".<sup>79</sup> There is little similarity to the above in Vegetius' statements

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76. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 8, lines 10-11.

77. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XVIII, lines 762-770.

78. RamonLull: op. cit., p. XIX, lines 806-

79. Id., p. XX, lines 869-872 and 874-877.



as to the physical characteristics of the soldier. Lull stresses more the mind and reason of the knight. Vegetius describes minutely all bodily qualities: "Si ergo necessitas exigit, non tam staturae rationem conuenit habere quam virium....Sed qui dilectum acturus est uehementer intendat, ut ex uultu, ex oculis, ex omni conformatione membrorum eos eligat, qui implere ualeant bellatores. Namque non tantum in hominibus sed etiam in equis et conibus uirtus multis declaratur indiciis, sicut doctissimorum hominum disciplina conprendit....Sit ergo adulescens Martio operi deputandus uigilantibus oculis, erecta ceruice, lato pectore, umeris musculosis, ualentibus brachiis, digitis longioribus, uentre modicus, exilior clunibus, suris et pedibus non superflua carne distentis sed neruorum duritia collectis. Cum haec in tirone signa deprehenderis, proceritatem non magno opere desideres. Utilius est enim fortes milites esse quam grandes".<sup>80</sup> There is no similarity of phrasing nor of idea in these two descriptions. Vegetius gives a detailed and accurate account of each physical trait to be desired while Lull gives a general idea of physique with much explanation and comparison. He looks more to the mind and lineage than to the kind of eyes, etc. This difference may be a measure of the growth of the ideal of

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80. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 9, line 19- p. 10, line 20.

the knight from Vegetius' time to Lull's. Mere strength was now tempered by reason and skill.

The idea of nobility was inherent in chivalry in Lull's time: "Si per bellesa de faysôs ni per grã cors cordat, per rosses cabeyls, ni per mirayl en horsa, escuder deu esser adobat a cauayler, de bell fijil de pages e de bella fēbra poras fer escuder e cauayler: e si ho fas, autiquitat de linatge hōrat desonres e mēysprees (and as Lull argues, this could not be, so it is proved that nobility of lineage is consistent with knighthood)".<sup>81</sup> In Vegetius we even find the idea of nobility connected with the miles. This seems rather unusual that such should be so with drafted soldiers. But the rank of the miles as previously explained was superior to that of the common foot soldier, so the requirements were higher: "Iuuentus enim, cui defensio prouinciarum, cui bellorum est committenda fortuna, et genere, si copia suppetat, et moribus debet excellere".<sup>82</sup> Again Vegetius says: "Sciendum autem est in una legione decem cohortes esse debere. Sed prima cohors reliquas et numero militum et dignitate praecedit. Nam genere atque institutione litterarum iuros electissemos quaerit. Haec enim suscipit aquilam, quod praecipuum signum in Romano est semper exercitu et totius legionis insigne....haec caput est legionis, ab hac, cum pugnandum

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81. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XVIII lines 780-788.

82. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 11, lines 12-15.

est, prima acies incipit ordinari".<sup>83</sup> This shows the beginning of the analogy of the fighter on horse-back and nobility.

The miles of the IVth century had to learn to write and to count: "Sed quoniam in legionibus plures scholae sunt, quae litteratos milites quaerunt, ab his, qui tirones probant, in omnibus quidem staturae magnitudinem, corporis robur, alacritatem animi conuenit explorari, sed in quibusdam notarum peritia, calculandi computandique usus eligitur".<sup>84</sup> How different the chevalier's education in Lull's time: "En aqueyl dia (the day of the dubbing) cone esser fet sermo en lo qual sien recõptats los XIII articles en los quals es fundada la fe, et los X manaments, e los VII sacraments de la sancta esgleya, e les attres coses qui pertanyen a la fe. E lescuder deu fort remembrar totes estes coses, perço que sapia acordar lo offici de cauayleria ab les coses qui pertanyen a la sancta fe catholica".<sup>85</sup> Nothing is said in Lull in regard to the knight's being able to read or write altho Leon Gautier thinks that the majority of the chevaliers were educated to this extent.<sup>86</sup>

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83. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 39, lines 6-16.

84. Id., p. 53, lines 1-6.

85. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXI, lines 929-936.

86. Gautier: op. cit., p. 143-148.

In regard to the practise and training of the miles and the chevalier there is little difference. Vegetius tells us: "Deinde militaris alacritas, saltus et cursus ante temptandus est, quam corpus aetate pigrescat. Velocitas enim est quae percepto exercitio strenuum efficit bellatorem...Neque enim parua aut leuis aro uideatur armorum, sine equitem sine peditem sagittarium uelis inbuere sine scutatum, armaturae numeros amnes omnesque gestus docere, ne locum deserat, ne ordines turbet, ut missile et destinato ictu et magnis viribus iaciat, ut fossam ducere, sudes scienter figere nouerit, tractare scutum et obliquis ictibus uenientia tela deflectere, plagam prudenter uitare, audacter inferre".<sup>87</sup> There is a similar discussion in Lull on training altho the arms of the centuries are different and the warfare has narrowed from the army to the single combat. Lull describes the practise: "Cauayler deu correr cauayl, bornar, lansar a taulat, anar ab armes, torneys, fer taules radones, esgremir, cassar cers, orces, senglars, leons e les altres coses sēblants a aquestes q̄ son offici de cauayler".<sup>88</sup>

The only qualities that Vegetius stresses are valor, lineage and kindness of heart: "ut tirones non

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87. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 8, line 13: p.9, line 12.

88. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.XI, lines 396-400.

tantum corporibus sed etiam animis praestantissimi diligentur...et genere, si copia suppetat, et moribus delet excellere".<sup>89</sup> Lull on the other hand mentions a wealth of qualities. This would seem to show the evolution of the miles, drafted into service and fighting en masse, to the chevaliers, fighting alone, each for his own glory, and that of his faith: "Don en axi cõ totes aquestes usances denunt dites pertanyen a cauayler quant alcors, en axi justicia, sauiesa, caritat, leyaltat, veritat, humilitat, fortitudo, speransa e spertesa, e les altres virtuts semblants a aqstes pertanyen a cauayler quant a la anima".<sup>90</sup> Lull stresses nobility of courage too as spoken of at the beginning of this chapter.

Lull has a belief in the superiority of skill. His statement to this effect is almost the same as those made by Vegetius who was so much impressed by this fact that he mentioned it numerous times: "In omni enim conflictu non tam prodest multitudo quam virtus",<sup>91</sup> "Nam quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles proelium cupit, ita formidat indoctus,"<sup>92</sup> and again: "Amplius iuuat uirtus quam multitudo".<sup>93</sup> Lull gives the

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89. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 11, lines 6-8 and 14-15.

90. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.XI-XII, lines 405-410.

91. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 12, lines 15-16

92. Id., p.59, lines 5-6.

93. Id., p.122, line 3.

same thought: "cor mes batayles son vencudes per maestria e per seny que per multitud de gents, ni de guariments, ni de cauaylers".<sup>94</sup>

The nobility of the horse among beasts is maintained by both authors. Vegetius says in enumerating the contents of his chapters: "equorum nobilitate profecerit,"<sup>95</sup> and Lull: "E cor cauayl es la pus nobla bista e la pus couinent a seruir home".<sup>96</sup> Mention has already been made of the attitude of the superiority of men fighting on horseback among the Romans after their adoption of cavalry and earlier than that, among the Goths. It may be that the idea of the nobility of the horse is an outgrowth of this belief or it may be that it fostered this belief.

In regard to the kind of instruction the young knight should have, both authors agree that those old and skilled in the same arts the young man uses should teach him, in other words he needs a soldier or a knight for his teacher. Lull in his heavy philosophical discourse says: "Qui ama orde de cauaylaria cone que en axi com aquell qui vol esser fuster ha mester maestre qui sie fuster, e aquell qui vol esser sabater cone q̄ hara maestre qui sie sabater en axi qui vol esser cauayler: cor en axi es descouinent cosa que scuder aprena lorde de cauaylaria daltre home mas de home q̄

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94. Ramon Lull: op.cit., p. XXVIII, lines 1305-1308.

95. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 124, lines 12-13.

96. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. VII, lines 162-164.

sia cauayler..."<sup>97</sup> There is similarity of a kind in the following from Vegetius: "Iuniores quidem et noui milites mane ac post meridiem ad omne genus exercebantur armorum. Veteres autem et eruditi sine intermissione semel in die exercebantur armis. Neque enim longitudo aetatis aut annorum numerus artem bellicam tradit, sed, post quanta uolueris stipendia, inexercitatus miles semper est tiro. Armaturam, quae festis diebus exhibetur in circo, non tantum armaturae, qui sub campidoctore sunt, etc".<sup>98</sup>

In speaking of the things the young knight should know the differences of period and of miles and chevalier are most exemplified. Vegetius would teach the

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97. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. IX, lines 253-261.

98. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 56, line: 23 - p. 57, line 7. This reference from Vegetius speaks of the daily practise of the soldiers and of the daily practise of the field-masters. The interpretation of this as the instruction of the young by those well-skilled is found in the phrase "qui sub campidoctore sunt" and the following lines that explain that these field-masters practise daily too. This infers that they are seasoned warriors, well skilled in the arts of war. This however is a little outside of the literal material given, perhaps.

young man to run, to swim, to hold the shield, to get out of ditches and over obstacles, to use armor, to use the pike, to throw the javelin, to draw the bow, to throw stones, to use leaden bullets, to mount the horse, to carry a burden etc.<sup>99</sup> These things are so common to the knighthood of the Middle Ages that they are beneath the mention of Lull. He takes them for granted and concerns himself more with good customs and the seven virtues.<sup>100</sup> He even speaks of the less importance of usage in arms to other usages: "Usan çà de cauayler de guarnir e de combatre nos cone tant fortment ab lo offici de cauayleria con fa usansa de raho e de enteniment e de ordonada volûtat, cor mes batayles son vençudes per maestria, etc."<sup>101</sup>

Riches and honor seem to have been the guerdon of the soldier in the IVth and in the XIIIth centuries both. Vegetius urges the soldier to study the usage of arms and battle: "non tantum gloriosa victoria sed etiam amplior praeda, quem ad opes ac dignitates ordo militiae et imperatoris indicium consuevit euehere".<sup>102</sup> Lull does not mention riches but they are implied in his long discourse as to the honor of the chevalier:

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99. Id., chap. IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, p. 13-21.

100. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXVI, line 1221-1226.

101. Id., p. XXIX, lines 1302-1308.

102. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 59, lines 14-16.



"Deus ha honrat cauayler, et lo poble ha honrat cauayler, segons ques recomptat en est libre: dõcs cauayleria es honrat offici e molt necessari a bõ regiment del mon: e per ayso cauayler per totes estes rahons e per moltes daltres deu esser honrat per les gents. Si Rey, e princep, e senyor de terra deu esser cauayler, cor sens que no hagues la honor qui pertany a cauayler no mareix esser princep ni senyor de terra, donchs los cauaylers deuen esser honrats per los Reys e per los alts barons: cor en axi con los cauaylers fan star honrats los Reys et los alts senyors sobre los altres homens, en axi los Reys els barons deuen tenir honrats los cauaylers sobre los altres homens".<sup>103</sup>

Lull's book while as I have shown has some of the ideas of the ancient De Re Militari yet it is evident there is no conscious imitation as there is in Manual and as that author acknowledges. If Lull had read the Latin author he reflects little of the style or content. Lull uses a philosophical style peculiarly his own, a little irksome at times when he tries to prove in protracted reasoning the most fundamental relationships. As to the content if Lull has absorbed any of the ideas, and even that seems questionable from the above analysis -- only a few are sufficiently similar to admit of imitation; they are: the glory of founding cities (which in itself is not unusual but it is odd that it

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103. Ramon Lull: op. cit., pp. XXXII & XXXIII, lines

should be included in both books of chivalry), the supervision of the learned class over the usages of chivalry, the superiority of skill over number, the nobility of the horse, the need of a wise man as teacher for the young soldier, and the honor attached to the institution of the warring class --- if Lull did takd<sup>e</sup> these ideas from Vegetius he modified them so much to fit the methods and knowledge of his own century, that the only influence of the IVth century writer seems to be in suggesting to Lull subjects that should not be left out in a book of this kind.

While, as has been stated in a previous chapter, there is little new in the discussion of the symbolism of arms and the investiture of the knight yet Lull's own personality and style make his book different from any other book on the Medieval knight. No one used a system of reasoning to give the qualities and characteristics of chivalry. The other books that are under discussion De Re Militari and Libro del Caballero y Escudero have a style essentially far removed from Lull. They are simple, direct and forceful while Lull is complicated, reiterative and argumentative in his discourse.

## Chapter II.

## Juan Manuel and Vegetius.

Juan Manuel mentions in his Libro del Caballero et del Escudero a book from which he is claimed to have taken material, a book of Vegetius'. This book, of the IVth century, Epitoma rei militaris or De Re Militari is a treatment of the art of warfare in ancient times. Oman says Vegetius belongs to the time of Valentine II not to that of Valentine III: "In the days of the latter the whole military system had so far gone to pieces that it is incredible that even an archaeologist like Vegetius should have described it in the terms he used".<sup>105</sup> The book was of about the time 388-392 and is not an absolutely true history of warfare of his times because, Oman says, he described things as they ought to be and not as they were. It, like the book of Lull and the book of Juan Manuel, was written for the instruction of a youth, in this case the young emperor Valentinian.

The emperor has been regarded from ancient times as having divine powers. Augustine in the IVth century first introduced the practise and idea of the divine right of kings. Vegetius, who wrote De Re Militari, at the same time Augustine lived and wrote, has included this in his book: "Nam imperator cum Augusti

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105. Oman: op. cit., p. 17, note 1.

nomen accepit, tamquam praesenti et corporali Deo fidelis est praestanda deuotio, inpendendus peruigil famulatus. Deo enim uel priuatus uel militans seruit, cum fideliter eum diligit qui Deo regnat auctore".<sup>106</sup> Juan Manuel includes in his book of chivalry the same idea now thoroughly established by the practise of ten centuries: "ca los reyes son en la tierra en lugar de Dios y las sus voluntades son en la mano de Dios",<sup>107</sup> and "pero porque Dios puso en el mundo los reyes et los señores para mantener las gentes en justicia et en derecho et en paz, les acomendó la tierra para hacer esto".<sup>108</sup> There is little doubt that Juan Manuel was influenced by Vegetius in this. There is the possibility, of course, that this might have been in his work anyway because of the medieval idea of the divine right of kings, yet it seems more probable that Juan Manuel placed it in his work because of what he found in the earlier author.

Juan Manuel does not devote any space to speaking of the things the young knight should know, such as throwing the lance, carrying the shield, etc. as does Vegetius at great length, in fact he devotes from his IXth to his XVth chapters exclusively to these war-time arts and the training of the young soldier in them.

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106. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 38, line 21-p.39, line 3.

107. Juan Manuel: Libro del Caballero y del Escudero. B.A.E. Vol.LI, Madrid, 1884, p.235, column 2, lines 28-29.

108. Id., p. 255, col. 2, lines 25-27.

The qualities of the knight are of no similarity at all in the two works. Vegetius deals with the miles, Juan Manuel with the caballero, and the thousand years between is everywhere evident. Outside of the physical features of the man Vegetius stresses valor, lineage and kindness of heart: "In this the well-being and the safety of the state depend on electing soldiers not only for their physique but also for their valiant hearts and minds....The youth that are elected to defend the country and to take part in battles and adventures of fortune ought to surpass the others in lineage and virtue".<sup>108</sup> Another reference to prestige of lineage is found in Vegetius' description of the soldiers making up the first legion: "In one legion there ought to be ten companies. And the first exceeds all others in the number of horsemen and in dignity, since it requires very valiant men, chosen both for lineage and for culture. This company receives the eagle, the most noble banner of the Roman host".<sup>109</sup> The qualities that Juan Manuel mentions: "vos diré que la(la caballería)puede home haber et guardar con la gracia de Dios et con buen seso et con vergüenza".<sup>110</sup> There is nothing like Vegetius in

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108. Translation of Vegetius: op.cit., p.11, lines 6-9 and 12-15.

109. Id., p. 39, lines 6-13.

110. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 236, col.2, lines 25-26.

this nor in the way Juan Manuel presents his facts and discussions of the qualities he has mentioned.

Another evidence of the difference between the miles and the chevalier, spoken of so often before, is in the training each must go thru. And there is no parallelism in the material nor in discussions found in the two authors. The Roman soldier was chosen when young: "Et quidem, si antiqua consuetudo servanda est, incipientem pubertatem ad dilectum cogen- dam nullus ignorat...Deinde militaris alacritas, sal- tus et cursus ante temptandus est, quam corpus aetate pigrescat,"<sup>111</sup> and the preparation: "Diligenter ig- itur lectis iunioribus animis corporibus praestantibus, additis etiam exercitiis cotidianis quattuor uel eo am- plius mensuum, iussu anspiciisque inuictissimi princi- pis legio formatur".<sup>112</sup> In Juan Manuel's time the idea was that when the boy was about seven he should be put in the home of some very wise knight and should go thru the stage of page and of squire to one already in the order before he could be a chevalier. Manuel mentions the education to be gained from living in the homes of wise lords. Altho he does not speak of it in direct relation with chivalry yet he gives this as the

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111. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 8, lines 9-14.

112. Id., p. 38, lines 13-16.

source of the learning of the hermit: "Et como quiera que yo nunca leí nin aprendí ninguna sciencia, só mucho anciano é guarecí en casa de muchos señores, oí departir á muchos homes sábios".<sup>113</sup> As the hermit had been a caballero, his education must have been that of the caballero, therefore, in this way Manuel refers to the custom of the youthful candidate for knighthood being educated in the homes of the wise, older knights: "Et bien cred que para los legos non ha tan buena escuela en el mundo como criarse home et vevir en casa de los señores; ca y se ayuntan muchos buenos et muchos sábios, et el que ha sabor de aprender cosas por que vala mas, en ningun logar non las puede mejor aprender!"<sup>114</sup> A direct reference to age in regard to education: "Et como quiera que el castigo con premia non lo han mester los señores que son de gran sangre sin on en quanto son mozos á lo mas fasta en catorce años, pero den de adelante ésles mas mester que fasta entonces que estén con ellos homes buenos et cuerdos et leales porque los consejen en tal guisa que mantengan los buenas costumbres en que fueron criados".<sup>115</sup>

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113. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 240, col. 2, lines 11-14.

114. Id., p. 240, col. 2, lines 14-19.

115. Id., p. 244, col. 2, lines 50-57. About the age of twelve years according to Gautier the youthful baron was attached to the service of a chevalier. F. Warre Cornish gives this age as fourteen years. Gautier

There is a wide range of progress between the soldier who was trained in the usage of arms for four months and the one who had been trained for his position all his life, seven years of learning in the arts and gallantries of knighthood and in moral and religious education for chivalry and seven years in the active practise and use of arms under one who had reached a high state of perfection in the art of warfare.

Chivalry or the militia according to vegetius was a very honored state and he urges the soldier to study and practise the usage of arms and of battles

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gives the age at which a squire could be made knight as twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, seventeen and nineteen, but he says fifteen was the age of majority among the Germans. He says however that "au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les vingt et un ans sont généralement de rigueur" (Gautier: op. cit., p.185). The age of twenty-one according to Cornish was fixed as the age of majority "carrying with it the right of the duel and the conditions of admission to knighthood". Juan Manuel does not make it clear in his work at what age the young squire was made knight but it seems probable from the above quotation that he would become squire at the age of fourteen for the stay in the homes of the wise señores must have been until fourteen years.



not only for victory but for the praise, the riches and dignities that will be conferred on him by the military orders and by the emperor: "Cui contingit non tantum gloriosa victoria sed etiam amplior praeda, quem ad opes ac dignitates ordo militiae et imperatoris indicium consuevit euehere".<sup>116</sup> The idea of honor is inseparable with chivalry in Juan Manuel: "Alo que me preguntastes cuál es mas honrado estado entre los legos....vos digo que el mayor é mas honrado estado que es entre los legos es la caballería. Ca como quier que entre los legos ha y muchos estados,.... la caballería es mas noble et mas honrado estado que todos los otros...Et otrosi porque desta órden et deste estado son los reyes et los grandes señores".<sup>117</sup> Thus the idea of honor in the state of chivalry is common to both quotations but the early writer does not show honor as inherent in the militia but as given individually for brilliant service by the rulers. Juan Manuel's book evidences the inherent nobility and honor of the whole state of knighthood.<sup>118</sup> Because of

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116. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 59, lines 14-16.

117. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 236, col.1, lines 17-29.

118. This shows the progress of the institution: from the honoring of the individual of the warring caste to the honoring of the entire class, the development being aided by the opportunity of every knight for honor since he fought in single combat in chivalry whereas in the

the difference of the soldier and the knight there is little opportunity here for Juan Manuel to borrow and his statements about the honor of the knight seem to have arisen quite naturally out of the general customs and attitude of his own times. Juan Manuel is like Vegetius tho in the very first part of his introduction in speaking of writing his book that the valuable material of ancient books will not be lost and that it will be accessible. Vegetius: "Antiquis temporibus mos fuit bonarum artium studia maridare litteris atque in libros redacta offerre principibus, quia neque recte aliquid inchoatur...in hoc opusculo nec uerborum concinnitas sit necessaria nec acumen ingenii, sed labor diligens ac fidelis, ut, quae apud diuersos historicos uel armorum disciplinam docentes dispersa et inuoluta celantur, pro cetilitate Romana proferantur in medium"<sup>119</sup>

Juan Manuel begins: "Porque dicen todos los sabios que la mejor cosa del mundo es el saber, tienen que todo lo que home puede facer para lo acrescentar mas, que si lo dejan de facer que una de las cosas que lo mas acrescenta es meter en escripto los cosas que fallan, porque el saber et las buenas obras puedan seer mas

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militia he was part of a unit. Honor would attach to each one of the class in single combat and then become dissociated with the class as a whole.

119. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 4, lines 1-3 and p. 5, lines 1-5.

guardadas et mas bevadas adelante".<sup>120</sup> He speaks of putting in his book some things he has found in another book not so much that they were true but that they seemed to him very excellent and he held "que era mejor de las escribir que non de las dejar caer en olvido".<sup>121</sup> Juan Manuel here shows an influence that may have been of Vegetius but it is true that nearly all medieval writers introduced the subject matter of their books in some such fashion because most medieval writers took from ancient books and were little original. However it is known that Juan Manuel read Vegetius and even mentions him in this Libro del Caballero so it is quite probable this is a real trace of the Latin author.

Again Juan Manuel shows some influence of Vegetius in his enumeration of the reasons for the necessity of judgment. He names such things as: "como debe començar la guerra et la contienda, non la pudiendo excusar, et cómo se parará á ella desque la hobiere comenzado. Et cómo excusará de la començar sin su mengua ó sin su vergüenza, et cómo saldrá della guardando estas cosas. Et otrosi como debe guerrear quando hobiere él mayor poder que su contrallo ú este lo hobiere mayor que él. Et cómo debe facer quando cercare el lugar muy fuerte ó non tanto, ó cómo se debe defender

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<sup>120</sup>. Juan Manuel: op. cit., Intro. lines 1-13.

<sup>121</sup>. Id., Intro. lines 13-14.

si fuere cercado. Et cómo debe parar hueste si hobiere de lidiar ó con mas ó con mejores que los suyos, et cómo si los suyos fueren mas ó mejores. Et otrosí .... cómo debe levar la gente cabdellada por el comino, et non tener las cosas en poco. Et otrosí como debe posar la hueste, et como la debe aguardar desde ferere posada".<sup>122</sup> Some of these Vegetius names in his enumeration of the material he treats in his Liber III: Qui modus esse debeat exercitus<sup>123</sup> and "Quemadmodum acies debeat ordinari, ut in conflictu reddatur inuicta"<sup>124</sup> may be said to be included in Juan Manuel's: "Et otrosí el seso le mostrará cómo debe levar la gente cabdellada por el camino". "quanta sit seruanda cautela, cum uicinis hostibus monetur exercitus"<sup>125</sup> finds correspondence in: "Et otrosí cómo debe posar la hueste, et cómo la debe aguardar desde fuere posada-- "Quae et quanta consideranda sint, ut intellegatur, utrum superuentibus et insidiis an publico debeat Marte conflagi",<sup>126</sup> "Quibus remediis uirtuti uel dolis hostium resistatur in acie"<sup>127</sup> and "Quot generibus

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122. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 237, col.1, lines 34-49.

123. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 62, line 1.

124. Id., p. 62, line 22-23.

125. Id., p. 62, lines 8-9.

126. Id., p. 62, lines 13-15.

127. Id., p. 63, lines 8-9.

pugna publica committatur et quomodo etiam qui inferior numero et uiribus est ualeat obtinere",<sup>128</sup> must have been the basis for "Et otrosí cómo debe guerrear quando hobiere él mayor poder que su contrallo, etc". (And: "Et cómo debe parar hueste si hobiere de lidiar ó con mas, etc".) "Quemadmodum idoneus locus eligatur ad pugnam"<sup>129</sup> may have suggested: "Et cómo debe facer quando cercare el lugar muy fuerte o non tanto, etc".

The reasons for enumerating all of these points are by no means identical. Vegetius is giving his reader a conception of the material of his third book. Juan Manuel is depicting the high advantage to the knight of a sense of judgment. But notwithstanding the difference in purpose of presentation the capitulations are virtually the same and Juan Manuel probably thought to name all of these angles of military operation because of having read a similar list in Vegetius.

So altho Juan Manuel mentions Vegetius in his work and has been generally conceded to have taken from the Latin author a close inspection of his Libro del Caballero y Escudero does not show a very great

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128. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 63, lines 10-12.

129. Vegetius: op. cit., p. 62, line 21.

amount of borrowed material. It seems that the enumeration just mentioned is the most patent evidence of appropriation. The only idea that is put in unchanged is that of the Emperor as the representative of God on the earth. This was such a common idea of Juan Manuel's time and fits in so naturally with the other matters under discussion in the first chapter of his book, God and the clergy, that it would be rather stretching the issue to say that this was taken from Vegetius.

In looking at the reference to Vegetius in Libro del Caballero it is found that Juan Manuel does not say that he puts in his book what he found in Vegetius. Instead he refers his reader to the ancient author:

"Pero si vos quisierdes saber todo esto que me preguntastes de la caballería complidamente, leed un libro que fizo un sábio que dicen Vegecio, et y lo fallarédés todo". This does not say he took anything from the ancient author. However he does say in his introduction, after the reference to material from a book that is undoubtedly Lull's: "Et otrosí puse y algunas otras razones que fallé escriptas". This last statement moreover, comes after he has explained that he is putting in his book material that he found, that it might be better kept.

In reading both books there seems at first to be similarity, yet upon careful examination the exact points of likeness fail to materialize. About the only thing that can be said in regard to the two is that

Juan Manuel must have been influenced, in making up his book, to speak of some of the same matters because quotations can be found upon the same subjects but times and customs had changed so the material on these subjects had changed. Vegetius undoubtedly gave him a suggestion of some things that should not be omitted in a book of this kind but the type of his work for the instruction of the squire is quite different from Vegetius'. He seems to have used the same style of presentation and of material that is in his Libro de los Estados, that is, a resumé by question and answer of a wide variety of general subjects of information. Vegetius' book was for instruction in the art of war. Juan Manuel's purpose was the general education of the young warrior along every line. The latter really devoted very little space to the details that have to do with chivalry alone. Vegetius could very well be read, as Juan Manuel suggested, as a supplementary text because the material is very little repeated.

## Chapter III.

Various Opinions as to the Similarity  
of Juan Manuel and Ramon Lull.

The Libre del Orde de Cauayleria is one of the few relatively non-religious works in the mass of Lull's writings. It has historical value because of its portrayal of life of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries. It is the doctrine of the perfect knight and completes the ideal pedagogical unfolding, by the author, in the Blanquerna and in his other works.<sup>130</sup> Menendez y Pelayo attributes great influence to it: "No es menos curioso el cuadro novelesco del libro, que tuvo la fortuna de ser imitado sucesivamente por D. Juan Manuel y por el autor de Tirante el Blanco".<sup>131</sup> He explains however the difference in the story: "La obra, al parecer, no está completa en ninguno de los dos códigos existentes, puesto que falta la vuelta del escudero y el cumplimiento de su promesa. No así en el libro de D. Juan Manuel, donde el escudero vuelve y recibe las instrucciones del caballero anciano, y asiste a su muerte, y le da devota sepultura".<sup>132</sup>

Menendez y Pelayo thinks the book idealistic: "Nunca ha sido interpretada la caballería con mas alto

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130. M. Menendez y Pelayo: Orígenes de la Novela, Vol. I, Madrid, 1905. p. XXVIII.

131. Ibid.

132. Menendez y Pelayo: op. cit., p. LXXIX.



é ideal sentido".<sup>133</sup> A statement of Gaston Paris would lead one to believe that he thought differently however. Altho he grants the exceeding fineness of Lull's knight, yet he says: "Le sentiment qui le dirige est constamment et très décidément aristocratique; ce qui est digne de remarque chez un homme qui prêche si énergiquement le détachement des choses humaines."<sup>134</sup> There is in Lull, as Gaston Paris has remarked, a somewhat mundane attitude in matters of chivalry. While he emphasizes the spiritual qualities of his perfect knight yet he dwells much on the worldly riches and honors, the earthly show and the rewards of this life, as well as of that to come.

There has been, it seems, a difference of opinion as to the originality of Juan Manuel's book on the Caballero y Escudero. M. Aguiló y Fuster accuses him most unconditionally of robbing from Lull: "En lo catorzen segle la gentil ploma de Don Juan Manuel, gran saltejadora de les obres de Ramon Lull, se apodera dest tractat y feusel seu sens anomenar a son autor".<sup>135</sup>

Menendez y Pelayo's statement about the similarity of the works does not agree with this. He says: "La influencia del infante don Manuel ha sido exagerada

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133. Menéndez y Pelayo: op. cit., p. LXXIX.

134. Gaston Paris: Histoire Litteraire de la France, Vol. XXIX. Paris, 1885, p. 366.

135. Ramon Lull: op. cit., Introduction by M. Aguiló y Fuster.

en los términos...El Libro del Caballero y del Escudero, que el nieto de San Fernando compuse 'en una manera que dicen en Castiella fabliella', tiene por modelo en sus primeros capítulos el Libro del Orde de Cauayleria, y el mismo D. Juan Manuel confiesa esta imitación, aunque sin nombrar á Lulio: 'Yo, don Johan, fijo del Infante don Manuel, fiz esto libro, en que puse algunas cosas que fallé en un libro, et si el comienzo dél(es)verdadero o no, yo(non)lo sé, mas que me paresció que las razones que en él se contenian eran muy buenas, tove que era mejor de las scrivir que de las dexar caer en olvido. E otrosi puse y algunas otras razones que fallé scritas, et otras algunas que yo puse, que pertenescian para seer y puestas. En efecto la sencillísima fábula novelesca es casi la misma en ambas obras, si bien debe advertirse que habiéndose perdido un enorme trozo del libro castellano(desde el capítulo IIIal XVII), no es posible apreciar las variantes de detalle que pudo introducir el nieto de San Fernando".<sup>136</sup> Granting the similarity of the stories Menéndez y Pelayo then discusses the doctrines of the two authors: "En estas instrucciones doctrinales hay mucha semejanza, pero no identidad ni mucho menos".<sup>137</sup>

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136. Menendez y Pelayo: op. cit., p. LXXXVI-LXXXVII.

137. Menendez y Pelayo: op. cit., p. LXXXVI-LXXXVII.

Menéndez y Pelayo calls attention to another author who thought Juan Manuel a copyist of Lull, D. Francisco de Paula Canalejas, "malogrado profesor... que tuvo el mérito de llamar por primera vez la atención sobre estas semejanzas y relaciones de Raimundo Lulio y D. Juan Manuel".<sup>138</sup> Canalejas says: "..... pero sí debo indicar que el comienzo, los personajes y el asunto del libro del escudero y del caballero de D. Juan Manuel, es exactamente el mismo que el del beato Raimundo Lulio. También en el libro Castellano un Rey muy amado é que facia muchas buenas obras, manda facer unas Cortes, también va á ellas un jóven escudero, también se duerme en el camino y dormido lo encuentra el antiguo caballero, ahora ermitaño, que se dedica en la soledad á la contemplacion de las cosas divinas. (Canalejas either imagines these circumstances of the encounter or else had access to another version since lost.) En el libro Catalan y en el Castellano el ermitaño alecciona é instruye al escudero revelando cuanto toca al cumplimiento de sus deberes religiosos, políticos y sociales. En órden, en método, en abundancia oratoria, existirá toda la diferencia que es natural entre la espontánea y casi improvisada composicion de Raimundo Lulio y la animada y corregida del escritor castellano; pero en la concepcion, en el propósito, en los medios artísticos escogidas para

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138. Menendez y Pelayo: op. cit., p.LXXXVI, note 1.

desarrollarlo hay no solo semejanza sino identidad perfecta (this is the sweeping statement of plagiarism of which Menéndez y Pelayo spoke)".<sup>139</sup>

The opinion of Gaston Paris as to the similarity of the two works corresponds very closely to that of Menéndez: "M. Aguilo remarque, dans la préface, qu' au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle D. Juan Manuel 's'est approprié ce traité et l'a fait sien sans en nommer l'auteur'.... Cela n'est pas absolument exact: le Livre du Chevalier et de l'Écuyer de D. Juan Manuel diffère beaucoup du traité de Lulle, et, comme on peut s'y attendre de la part d'un tel auteur, est bien autrement original, ... mais il est vrai que K. Juan Manuel et Martorell (in Tirant le Blanc) ont absolument reproduit le début du livre de Raimond".<sup>140</sup>

Altho agreeing as to the similarity of the narrative thread of the books Menéndez y Pelayo and Gaston Paris disagree about the story as produced by Juan Manuel. G. Paris, after stating that N. Juan Manuel and Martorell have absolutely reproduced the beginning of the book of Ramon Lull, continues: "Chez l'un comme chez l'autre, un écuyer, se rendant à la court d'un roi pour y être fait chevalier, s'endort sur son cheval, qui le conduit près d'une fontaine au bord de laquelle il trouve un vieux chevalier devenu ermite, et

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139. F. De P. Canalejas: Raimundo Lulio y Don Juan Manuel. Revista de España: May, 1868, p. 122.

140. Gaston Paris: op. cit., p. 364.

celui-ci l'entretient des devoirs et des prérogatives de la chevalerie, et le prépare à entrer dans le monde en lui donnant les conseils de sa vieille expérience!"<sup>141</sup>

This is not, however, the story as given in Juan Manuel because most of the story is on the sheets of manuscript that are lost. Menéndez y Pelayo speaks of this incomplete account: "Lo que tenemos del principio se reduce á lo siguiente: "Dise en el comienzo de aquel libro"<sup>142</sup> que en una tierra avia un Rey muy buena et muy onrado et que fazia muchas buenas obras, todas segun pertenescia á su estado ...Acaesció una vez que este Rey mandó fazer unas cortes, et luego que fue sabido por todas las tierras, vinieron y de muchas partes muchos omnes ricos y pobres. Et entre las otras gentes venia y un escudero mancebo, et commo quier que él non fuesse omme muy rico, era de buen...Aquí queda el relato, y cuando volvemos á encontrar al caballero y al escudero es en plena plática sobre el oficio y orden de la caballería".<sup>143</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo is exact in his version of the introduction. We do not have the rest of the story. According to Juan Manuel himself the section that is lost contained a discussion

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141. Gaston Paris: op. cit., p. 364.

142. Aquel libro refers to Ramon Lull's Libre del Orde de Cauaylería.

143. Menéndez y Pelayo: op. cit., p. LXXXVII.

om: "porqué consiente Dios que los buenos hayan mucho mal, et los malos mucho bien. Et cuáles son las cosas que el rey debe facer para que sea buen Rey et mantenga bien á si et á su regno et á su estado...Entonces respondivos yo(yo is the hermit)...primeramente á lo que me preguntastes qué cosa es Dios et por qué consiente que los buenos hayan mucho mal et los malos mucho bien, et cuáles son las cosas que el rey debe facer para que sea buen rey et que mantenga bien así et á su reino at á su estado. (The manuscript continues at this place; that is, most of the discussion of kings is available)".<sup>144</sup>

These, however, would scarcely occupy thirteen chapters. It seems probable that the discussion of God would take one chapter, a discussion of why he would allow the good to have much evil and the evil much good would occupy a second chapter and the discussion of what kings should do to be good kings would take up a third. This leaves ten chapters unaccounted for and in some of these chapters he must certainly have given a very extended account of the meeting of the squire and the hermit. The beginning of the third chapter would argue in this direction. His story, though, must have been much more detailed than that of Lull. The part of the story that is in the available

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<sup>144</sup>. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 240, col. 2, line 48, and p. 241, col. 1, lines 6-13.

manuscript of Juan Manuel is quite extensive. It is taken up in the Introduction and Chapter III, again in chapters XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, and XXXI. With this wealth of detail added in Juan Manuel's story, that is, the knighting, the return to the hermitage, the illness of the hermit, the young knight's journey to his own country and return, the new lessons, the death and burial of the hermit, it is probable that the beginning similar to that of Lull was amplified and enriched with a multitude of details. Ramon Lull was very bitter against the knights and the chivalry of his times. Symptoms of decadence were manifested in the XIIIth century, when Lull lived. He says about the knights: "Les chevaliers fuerent mis dans le monde pour le tenir en paix; mais nous voyons que ce sont eux qui excitent les guerres, tuent les hommes, ravagent les villes et les châteaux, coupent les arbres et les plantes, font veuves les femmes, et détroussent sur les routes. Qui donc dans le monde fait autant de mal que les chevaliers? Que celui qui veut voir des hommes superbes, pleins de vaine gloire, injurieux, moqueurs, rabageurs, destructeurs, regarde les chevaliers; car, dans l'ordre des chevaliers, it y a plus de telles gens que dans les autres ordres. Qui, beaucoup de chevaliers sont les exécuteurs du diable; aucun état n'a autant d'hommes prêts à faire le mal. Si quelqu'un m'objecte que je ne dis pas la vérité, il pourra trouver dans sa consci-

ence qu'il en est ainsi; el le trouvera aussi dans la bouche des pauvres gens qui sont leurs sujets".<sup>145</sup>

His Libre del Orde de Cauaylería, written at the beginning of the decay of the institution, was to purify knighthood and to recall its followers to its religious and moral significance. Lull says himself in his introduction to Libre del Orde: "On con aquest libre sia fet per retornar la deuocio e la leyaltat e lordonamēt que cauayler den haver en tenir son orde... quardats lo, e car lo tenits si amats lorde de cauayleria".<sup>146</sup>

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145. Cited by Gaston Paris: op. cit., p. 229-230.

This is a translation from Ramon Lull's Liber contemplationis in Deum.

146. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.vi, lines 126-132.



## Chapter IV

## Comparison of Juan Manuel and Ramon Lull.

Altho Juan Manuel does not mention Lull in his book he refers to him: "Por ende yo, don Johan...fiz este libro en que puse algunas cosas que fallé en un libro...Dice en el comienzo de aquel libro que en una tierra habia un rey muy bueno, etc".<sup>147</sup> There is no doubt, of course, that this refers to Lull (as has been mentioned before) and because of this scholars have thought that Juan Manuel's whole book was a plagiarism of his predecessor. A close inspection of the two shows, however, that this is not the case.

They have many similar ideas, Chivalry at the time of Juan Manuel (1282-1347) was but little advanced beyond that of Lull who wrote during the last part of the XIIIth century. Lull speaks of the training of the young knight-to-be: "La sciencia e la escola de lorde de cauayleria es que cauayler fassa a son fiyl mostrar de caualcar en son jouent, cor si linfant en son ionêt no apren...E per aço lo cauayler de u sots-metre son fiyl a altre cauayler per aço que aprenga a taylor e a guarnir, e les altres coses q̃s pertanyen a la honor de cauayler".<sup>148</sup> He declares strongly in

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147. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p.235. Introduction lines 8-17.

148. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. VIII, line 241 - p.IX, line 252.

favor of a knight for a teacher: "en axi qui vol esser cauayler cone que haia maestre qui sie cauayler"<sup>149</sup> and thinks it not only fitting but necessary that knight-hood have its books of instruction and its schools:

"En axi cõ los juristes, els metges, els clergues han sciencia e libre, et oen la liço, e aprenen lur offici per doctrina de letres tant es honrat e alt lorde de cauayler, que no tant solament abasta que al escuder sia mostrat lorde de cauaylaria p̄ pensar de cauayl, ni per servir senyor, ni per anar ab eyl en fet darmes, ni per altres coses semblants a aquestes, hoc encara seria couinẽt cosa que hom del orde de cauaylaria faes scola, e ã fos sciencia escrita en libres, e que fos art mostrada, axi con son mostrades les altres sciencies".<sup>150</sup> That the knight should have some religious training is evidenced: "Tot cauayler deũ saber les VII virtuts qui son rail e començament de totes bones custumes, et son vies e carreres de la celestial gloris perdurable".<sup>151</sup>

Juan Manuel's precepts reflect the same ideas as Lull's. He does not say directly as does Lull that the youth should be put in charge of a knight nor does he mention a school. He represents the hermit-knight as having gained his education by living in the homes

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149. Ramon Lull: op.cit., p. VIII, line 241-p.IX line 252.

150. Id. p. XXVI lines 261-272.

151. Id. p. XXVI lines 1223-1226.

of noble lords and declares that there is no better school in the world for laymen than to grow up and live in the house of the great barons.<sup>152</sup> As every castle was a school for squires and pages this description corresponds to that of Lull.

Juan Manuel brings into his book as does Lull a discussion of the fourteen articles of the faith, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, and the mortal sins.<sup>153</sup> But he does not attach them to the ceremony of conferring knighthood. He discusses them as part of what the sensible man should know, in his long discourse on what is man. The similarity to Lull in this is natural as the explanation of these points was anything but new, having been a favorite theological topic in the great mass of literature during the Middle Ages. Lull puts these points in as connected with chivalry, for they are to be recounted in the sermon of the mass on the morning of the adoubement with the exception of the seven virtues and those he places among the customs that belong to the knight. Nothing could be more logical. But Juan Manuel brings his discussion into his Libro del Escudero arbitrarily for there is nothing that suggests them nor do they have any special relation to the subject under discussion. This argues imitation on Juan Manuel's part, not in

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152. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 240, col 2, lines 11-19.

153. Id. p. 246, col 2, line 40 - p. 247, col.1, line 41.

idea but in material. It seems that he felt that his book would not be complete without this theological dissertation since Lull's book on chivalry included it.

Both authors speak of the perils of the knight, Juan Manuel several times: "La gracia de Dios ha mes-ter el caballero, como aquel que toma estado, en que un dia nunca puede seer seguro...et ha de guardar et de defender el cuerpo et el alma de los peligros en que anda cada dia, mas que ningun home de otro mayor estado",<sup>154</sup> and again he speaks of this: "Et, hijo, bien creed que en todos los estados de los homes non hay ninguno segund razon en que los homes sean mas aparejados para non vevir mucho, como es el estado de caballería. Et esto por razon de los grandes trabajos é de los grandes peligros que ha en él mas que en nin-gun otro estado",<sup>155</sup> and a direct reference: "la ca-ballería es estado muy peligroso et muy honrado".<sup>156</sup> Lull does not lay so much stress on the dangers but he does mention them: "q̃ en axi con cauayleria per nobil-tat de coratge te fa haver ardiment et fa menysprear los perills per ço que cauaylaria pusques honrar, en axi orde de cauaylaria coue que faça amar saueia e

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154. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 236, col. 2, lines 23-28.

155. Id. p. 254, col.1, lines 31-36.

156. Id. p. 236, col. 2, lines 21-22.

seny, etc".<sup>157</sup> The last part of this shows in what a different connection Lull speaks of danger. He is proving by his method of reasoning that wisdom and judgment are necessary to chivalry. But Manuel is speaking on the subject of the perils themselves.

Both authors recognise the close relation of the knight and the clergy. Juan Manuel considers the highest state in the world, that of the clergy, and the highest lay state, knighthood. "A lo que me preguntastes cuál es el mas alto estado et mas honrado á que los homes pueden llegar en este mundo...tengo que el mas alto estado es el clérigo mis a cantano"<sup>158</sup> and "a loque me preguntastes cuál es mas honrado estado entre los legos...vos digo que el mayor é mas honrado estado que es entre los legos es la caballería".<sup>159</sup> But Juan Manuel does not speak directly of the relation of the two, However he reveals relation between the church and the knight: "et este estado(caballería)non puede haber ninguno por sí, si otro non gela da, e por eso es como manera de sacramento".<sup>160</sup> But he does not say it is a sacrament. Evidently it was later that it became the eight sacrament. Another relation to the Church: "Otro sí, el buen seso le es muy mester:

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157. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XIII, lines 499-506.

158. Juan Manuel: page 236, col.1, lines 1-8.

159. Id. p.236, col. 1, lines 17-22.

160. Id. p. 236, col.1, lines 29-31.

ca el seso le amostrará ...qué es lo que el caballero debe guardar a Dios, etc".<sup>161</sup> This is certainly very little after the spirit of Lull who emphasized at every turn the close relation between the priest whom he calls "lo cauayler spiritual"<sup>162</sup> and "lo cauayler terrenal"<sup>163</sup> for he says that the two most noble, the most honored and the most closely bound together offices in the world are those of the priesthood and of knighthood. Juan Manuel's statements given above are identical with this but as this was the general idea thruout the Middle Ages it is not strange that Juan Manuel should express it. Lull goes on to say that for this reason the greatest friendship in the world ought to exist between the clergy and the knight and just as the priest does not follow the order of clergy when it is against the order of chivalry so the knight should not follow the order of chivalry when it is against the clergy who are also obliged to love and maintain chivalry.<sup>164</sup> And again he expresses the relationship in speaking of the purpose of the knight to protect the faith against the infidel: "On en axi con nostro senyor Deus ha elets clergues per mantenir la sancta fe ab scriptus

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161. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p.236, col. 1, lines 29-31.

162. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.XXIII, lines 1015-1016.

163. Vide supra. note 75.

164. Ramon Lull: op. cit. p. X, lines 304-311.

e ab probaciõs necessaries, preycant aquella als infels ab tant gran caritat que la mort sie a ells desirable: en axi lo Deu de gloria ha elets cauaylers qui per forsa darmes vencen e apoderen los infels qui cada die punyen en lo destruiment de la sancta sgleya".<sup>164</sup> He further emphasizes the relation in speaking of the ten commandments, the fourteen articles, and the seven sacraments: "E les cuder deu fort remembrar totes estes coses, perço que sapia acordar lo offici de cauaylaria ab les coses que pertanyen a la sancta fe catholica".<sup>165</sup> He uses the two states in a comparison of a false oath: "En axi con intencio se desment en los clergyes qui s<sup>o</sup> elets a esser prelats ab simonia, en axi maluat escuder desment son voler e sa intencio c<sup>o</sup> vol esser caualler contra lorde de cauaylaria. E si clergue en tot quant fa es contra la preladia si ha en si simonis, escuder en tot quant fa es contra lorde de cauaylaria si a falso intencio ha lo offici de cauaylaria".<sup>166</sup>

From the foregoing it can be seen how little of the wealth of material in Lull dealing with chivalry was incorporated by Juan Manuel in his book on knighthood.

Both authors speak of the ceremony. But Lull's description is one of the most thorough treatises writ-

165. Id. p. XXI lines 934-936.

166. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XIX, lines 843-851.

ten during the time of chivalry. He devotes an entire section of his book to this subject. After taking up in detail the preliminaries and the mass, he says:

"Con lo prener ha fet so q pertany a son offici, a-  
dõco cone q̃ lo prícep o laut baro q̃ vol fer cauayler  
lescuder que demana cauayleria, haja virtut e orde de  
cauayleria en si mateix, p tal que puscha per gracia  
de Deu dar virtut e orde de cauayl'ria al escuder qui  
vol orde e virtut de cauayleria...Les cuder deuãt lau-  
tar se deu agenoylar, e que leu sos uyls a Deu cor-  
porals e spirituals, e ses mans a Deu. E lo cauayler  
li deu senyir lespaa a significar castetat e justicia.  
E en significança de caritat deu besar sescuder e do-  
nar li quexada, perço que sie membrant de so q̃ promet  
e del gran carrech a que sobliga, et de la gran honor  
q̃ pren per dorde de cauayleria".<sup>167</sup> Compare with this  
vivid and detailed picture the only part of Juan Man-  
uel that speaks of the adoubement: "Otrosí la caball-  
ería ha mester que sea y el señor que da la caballería  
et el caballero que la recibe, et la espada con que se  
face".<sup>168</sup>

The office of the caballero is, according to Lull:  
mantenir e deffendre la sancta fe catholica...mantenir er  
e deffendre senyor terrenal...mantenir terra...manten-

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167. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXII lines 989-994 and  
1008-1015.

168. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 236, col.2, lines 1-3.



ir vidues, orfens, homens despoderats...auer casteyl e cauayl per guardar los comins e per deffendre lauradors...aver viles e ciutats per tenir dretura a les gentes, etc... Traydors, ladres, robadors deuen esser encalçats per los cauaylers...Tenir gint son armes e manescalsir son cauayl es offici de cauayler".<sup>169</sup>

Juan Manuel says virtually the same thing: "ca los caballeros son para defender et defienden á los otros ..."<sup>170</sup> again in thinking of the need of good sense: "ca el seso le amostrará qué es lo que el caballero debe guardar a Dios et a su señor et a las gentes"<sup>171</sup> and "los caballeros por mucho que vivan, asaz han de facer en toda su bida en servir sus señores et ayudar sus amigos et defender á sí mismos et á los suyos, et en facer mal et daño é vengarse de aquellos de que ho-bieren recebido tuerto".<sup>172</sup> There would necessarily be similarity in a statement of the purpose and duties of a knight in any two books of chivalry written at the same period. In these we find they agree on the duty of the knight to defend the Church or God, to defend his overlord and the people(Lull goes into more detail as to what people, although Manuel explains too

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169. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.X-XVI, lines 299-300, 378-379, 417-418, 507-508, 549-552, 568-569, 647-648.

170. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 236, col.1, lines 26-27.

171. Id., p. 236, col.2, lines 39-43.

172. Id., p. 254, col.1, lines 9-13.

in the simple statement, to aid all who have received harm). Manuel does not mention anything about the necessity or glory of the knight founding cities or guarding the ways, both of which were sound basic duties of the institution of knighthood.

The three qualities that Juan Manuel stresses in relation to chivalry are the grace of God, good judgment, and modesty: "vos diré que la caballería puede home haber et guardar con la gracia de Dios et con buen seso et con vergüenza".<sup>173</sup> How very different this is to Lull's discussion of the qualities of the knight. Ramon Lull mentions all of the attributes necessary to the knight. Juan Manuel seems to think that the grace of God will suffice for nobility of spirit according to this: "La gracia de Dios ha mester el caballero, como aquel que toma estado, en que un dia nunca puede seer seguro, et la gracia de Dios lo ha de mantener en la honra que debe ganar por sus obras, et ha de guardar et de defender el cuerpo et el alma de los peligros en que anda cada dia".<sup>174</sup> Lull mentions nobility of spirit several times in connection with other virtues. Of course that is the first attribute of any knight: "Si cauaylaria fos en força

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173. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p.236, col.2, lines 25-26.

174. Id. p. 236, col.2, lines 26-32.

corporal mes que en força de coratge, seguiries q̃ orde de cauayleria se concordas pus fortment ab lo cors que ab la anima, et si ho faes, lo cors hagra major nobilitat que la anima...Si la menor nobilitat de coratge se couengues mils ab lorde de cauayleria que la major, concordaren se flaguesa e volpellatge ab cauayleria cõtra ardiment e força de coratge etc".<sup>175</sup>

Nobility of spirit is an all embracing term and includes numerous qualities it seems: "On si vols trobar nobilitat de coratge demanala a fe sperança, caritat, justicia, fortitudo, leyaltat, et a les altres virtuts, cor en aquelles sta noblea de coratge, e per aquelles noble cor de cauayler se deffen a maluestat e a engan e als enemidis de cauayleria".<sup>176</sup> Lull explains each of these cardinal virtues as they are called, their corresponding vices and, also, temperance and prudence. It may be from this that Juan Manuel got the idea of his exposition of each of the qualities he names. His reasoning is of a slightly different nature from Lull's, for instance Lull says of hope: "Esperançaes virtut quis cone molt fortment a offici de cauayler, cor per sperança remembren Deu en la batayla, a lurs cuytes e a lurs tribulacions; e pla speransa que han en Deu han s socors e ajuda de Deu, qui vens la batayla p raho de la

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175. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XII lines 461-465 and p. XIII lines 473-477.

176. Id. p. XVIII, lines 757-762.

sperança et confiãça que los cauaylers han major en lo poder de Deu ñ en lurs forces ni en lurs armes. Ab esperança es enfortit e reuengut coratge de cauayler: e sperança fa sofferre trebayls, e fa aventurar cauaylers en los perills en ques meten etc".<sup>177</sup> The grace of God in Manuel seems to correspond very nearly to Lull's hope: "La gracia de Dios ha mester el caballero, como aquel que toma estado en que un dia nunca puede seer seguro etc. Et la gracia de Dios le dará ayuda et le fará haber seso para facer fechos como debe, et le guiará que haya vergüenza de facer lo que non deba. Todas estas cosas nin otro bien ninguno non puede haber el caballero que duradero le sea nin que haya bien acabamiento sinon lo que hobiere por la gracia de Dios".<sup>178</sup> In these quotations the spirit of Manuel is the same as that of Lull and the main benefits of the belief in God are the same: to give him aid in battle since he fights for God and to bolster up his strength and courage for the many hardships he has to undergo.

Lull mention a wealth of other qualities for his knight, wisdom and judgment,<sup>179</sup> justice and humility,<sup>180</sup> peace,<sup>181</sup> and in a list that includes some of the above:

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177. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXVII, lines 1244-1256.

178. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 236, col. 2, lines 26-38.

179. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XIII lines 492-494.

180. Id. p. XVI, lines 677-680.

181. Id. p. XVII, lines, 692-697.

"justicia, saulesa, caritat, leyaltat, veritat, humilitat, fortitudo, speransa e spertesca, e les altres virtuts semblants a aq̃stes pertanyen a cauayler quant a la anima".<sup>182</sup> He gives another list: "Privadea de bons homés, leyaltat, veritat, ardiment, vera larguea, honestat, humilitat, pietat e les altres coses semblants a aquestes pertanyen a cauayler".<sup>183</sup> Lull also mentions nobility of birth which is not mentioned in Manuel as a necessary attribute of chivalry: "Paratge e cauaylaria se couenẽ es con cordẽ".<sup>184</sup> Lull has mentioned also generosity<sup>185</sup> which Juan Manuel mentions in connection with good judgment and makes an excuse for a long digression on the four grades of generosity and stinginess.<sup>186</sup>

There is no similarity in the two authors in the above nor is there any more of likeness on the subject of avarice. Lull: "Avaricia es vici q̃ deuayla sobre coratge a esser sots mes de les coses vils: hon per defayliment de noble coratge qui no deffen contra la avaricia noble cor de cauayler son los cauaylers cobeus e auars, e per la cobeia fan injurias et torts,

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182. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.XI, line 407-p.XII, line 410.

183. Id., p.XXXII, lines 1512-1515.

184. Id., p. XVIII, lines 788-789.

185. Id., p. XV, lines 627-632.

186. Juan Manuel: op.cit., p. 236, col.2, line 45 - p. 237, col. 1, line 27.

e fan se sots mesos e catins daquells bens que Deus los ha sots mesos. Fortitudo ha aytal costuma que no ajuda a negun son enamich, e si hom no li demana ajuda no vol ajudar a home...On cõ lo cauayler es temptat per la avaricia a enclinar son noble coratge a alcuna maluestat, desleyaltat, traycio, adonchs den recorrer a fortitudo en la qual no atrobara flaquea, ni volpellatge, ni despoderament, ni defallimẽt de socors et ajuda. E car ab fortitudo noble cor pot esser forts a vencer tots vicis auar cauayler, diable p que no es noble e forts de coratge per tal q̃ no sies sots mès a vils obres et a vils pensaments per avaricia?"<sup>187</sup>

Juan Manuel says of avarice: "La avareza es non dar lo que debe dar, nin dar lo que debe tener",<sup>188</sup> he then plunges on into detail as to the difference between generosity and stinginess.

There can certainly not be found any ground for charging imitation in the matter of the qualities of knighthood. Juan Manuel is fond of dividing his subject into tabulated parts and of discussing in this way each type or degree of the subject named. We find no model for this type of discourse in Lull's Libre del Orde.

Juan Manuel discusses judgment at great length

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187. Ramon Lull: op. cit., pXXIX, lines 1347-1371.

188. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 237, col.1, lines 2-3.

as necessary to a caballero to show him what he owes to knighthood, to his lord, to God and to the people, to show him what all these owe to him and to show him how to conduct himself in battles etc.<sup>189</sup> Lull discusses reason and discretion, which are the same as judgment, very briefly, emphasizing that they show the knight how to make use of deeds of arms and when to maintain the rules and arts of chivalry and that they keep him from following auguries which would be against God.<sup>190</sup> Juan Manuel's discussion as given above represents judgment as showing the knight how to conduct himself in battles. This is meant by Lull when he says: "On con Deus haja donada raho e discrecio a cauayler con sapia usar de feyt darmes".<sup>191</sup> Juan Manuel's reference to the knight's deportment toward knighthood, his overlord, his God and the people, and to his sharing of his fortunes, being a good companion and being generous are undoubtedly included in Lull's: "On con Deus haja donada raho e discrecio a cauayleria".<sup>192</sup> If Juan Manuel looked to Lull for his general idea in this he has improved and amplified the subject so much that scarce any likeness is left.

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189. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p.236, col.2, lines 38-45 and p.237, col. 1, lines 28-61.

190. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.XXXI, lines 1475-1504.

191. Id. lines 1475-1477.

192. Ibid.

He has on this subject done as has been noted in other connections, furnished a wealth of details that Lull does not even hint at.

Of augury both authors speak strongly and unfavorably. Lull in the connection mentioned above says of the knight who leaves discretion and reason behind and follows auguries: "E p aço aytal cauayler es cõtra Deu, e segons raho deu esser veuçut e sobrat per son enemich qui usa contra eyl de raho, e de discrecio, e de la sperança que ha en Deu. E si ayso no era en axi, seguir sia que auirs ne auarany, e anima sens raho, se conẽ guessen mils ab lorde de cauaylaria que Deu, discrecio, fe, sperança e gran nobilitat de coratge, e ayso es impossibil...E en axi con lo jutge daria falso sentencia si no jutjaua segons testimonis, et jutjana per auirs e avarany, en axi etc".<sup>193</sup>

Juan mentions augury and in exactly the same connection:

"Et, fiijo por estas maneras que vos he dicho me semeja que es muy bueno para los que usan vevir con razon et segund naturaleza. Mas los que usan vevir queriendo saber las cosas que son de venir, et ponen en ello su sperenza, et se guian por ello, así como los agoreros et los sorteros, ó adevinos, ó los que usan non por la arte de la estrelleria, mas por los jucios que non se pueden saber verdaderamente (this is the same as Lull's statement as to judges giving false sentence who judged

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193. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXXI lines 1482-1499.



by augury)...facen el contrari de lo que desuso es dicho, et non semejan á las piedras preciosas nin á las otras. (Manuel has just been comparing stones to man in their usefulness)".<sup>194</sup> And summing up the evils he says: "Ca, fijo, bien entendedes vos que el que quiere saber lo que es de venir por agüero ó por algunas de las maneras dichas, face muy grand tuerto á Dios (Lull has said this, that those who follow augury are against God)...Otrosí es mala manera de vevir et dañosa para él mismo et para su alma...Otrosí face des-poblamiento del mundo; ca esperando en lo quel ha de venir, non quiere usar de las cosas del mundo como debe. Otrosí face daño á todas las gentes etc".<sup>195</sup>

These last statements are another example of Juan Manuel's propensity for treating the subject with more detail than Lull.

One of the greatest boons of chivalry was the honor that thru the ages was attached to the order. This was derived from various sources. There was honor at first in belonging to it because only those of the noblest blood and the highest qualification could be chevaliers. Then there was the honor that grew out of the renoun and fame gained in battle and spread thruout the countries by Chansons de Geste, romances

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194. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p.253, col.1, line 55-col.2 line 7.

195.Id. p. 253, col. 2, lines 14-40.

or ballads. Therefore knighthood came to be the noblest lay office in the world. Lull says: "Mas tots los pus nobles, los pus honrats, los pus acostats dos officis q̃ sien en est mon, es offici de clergue et officici de couayler".<sup>196</sup> Juan Manuel says the same of chivalry: "vos digo que el mayor é mas honrado estado que es entre los legos el la caballería. Ca como quier que entre los legos ha y muchos estados...la caballería es mas noble et mas honrado estado que todos los otros."<sup>197</sup> In Lull we find the reference to the nobility of those admitted to the order and of the honor that is due to them: "Tant es alt e noble lorde de cauaylaria, que no basta al orde que hom lo faes de pus nobles persones, ni que hom li donas les puo nobles bisties, ni les pus honrades armes, ans couench que hom faes senyors de les gents aquells homens qui son en lorde de cauayleria",<sup>198</sup> and again: "Tant es noble cosa offici de cauayler, que cascũ cauayler deuria esser senyor e regidor de terra."<sup>199</sup> Another reference to the high honor: "Eleccio, ni cauall, ni armes, ni s̃yoria encara no abasta a la alta honor q̃ pertany a cauayler, ans cone que hom li do escuder e troter quil seruesquen,

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196. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.X, lines 324-327.

197. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p.236, col. i, lines 20-26.

198. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.VIII, lines 207-212.

199. Id. p. X, lines 345-347.

e qui pensen de les besties. E cone que les gents aren et cauen e traguén mal, perço que la terra leu los fruyts on viua caualler e ses besties; et que cauayler cauallch e senyoreig e haia ben, anança daquelles coses on sos homens han mal tret e malanaça".<sup>200</sup>

There is nothing in Juan Manuel as to the giving of land and labor to the knights as a sign of the esteem in which they are held. Lull speaks of the fact that the kings and the great lords belong to the order and holds that as a reason for honor: "Si Rey, e princep, e senyor de terra den esser cauayler, cor sens que no hagues la honor qui pertany a cauayler no mereix esser princep ni senyor de terra, donchs los cauaylers denen esser honrats per los Reys e per los alts barons".<sup>201</sup>

Juan Manuel parallels this as to the kings and great barons belonging to this order and more clearly states that as one reason for the honor attached to it: "la caballería es mas noble et mas honrado estado que todos los otros; ca...Et otrosí porque desta órden et deste estado son los reyes et los grandes señores".<sup>202</sup>

There is another minor point that both writers mention. In regard to the good that God may do to a person, Lull uses this philosophy: "la qual fortitudo vens membrant que Deu si fa be a I home o a molts, per tot so nos

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200. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. VIII, lines 220-228.

201. Id. p. XXXII, lines 1535-1540.

202. Juan Manuel: op. dit., p. 236, col. 1, lines 25-29.

203. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXIX, lines 1387-1391.

segueix que no pusca fer be a tu, con sia cosa que no si do tot quant ha, ni a tu no toyla res del teu".<sup>203</sup>

The discussion of the good and ill that befall men is in the missing part of Juan Manuel's manuscript so we can not know whether there are any statements similar to Lull's. We only know that Juan Manuel discusses why God consents that the good have much evil and the evil much good.

The introductions or the stories of both books are the greatest points of similarity. Their likeness has led to a false idea as to the extent of parallelism between the works. The parts of Juan Manuel's story that are found in Lull are: "en una tierra habia un rey muy bueno et muy honrado et que facia muchas buenas obras, todas segun pertenecia á su estado, et por mostrar la su nobleza facia muchas veces sus Córtes ajuntar, á que venian muchas gentes de sus tierras et de otras".<sup>204</sup> This is found in Lull; "En aquell tempo en la entrada del gran iuern sesdenench que un gran Rey molt noble e de bones custumes be habundos, hac manades corts".<sup>205</sup> Juan Manuel goes on to picture the popularity of the king and his court: "Et de que estaban con él, faciáles mucho bien, dando algo de lo suyo muy granadamente á los que lo debia dar, tan bien

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203. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. XXIX, lines 1387-1391.

204. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 235, lines 34-38.

205. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p.V, lines 30-33.

á los extraños como á los suyos. Et á toda la tierra en general daba buenas lecciones et buenos fueros, et mantenía et guardábales muy bien lo que habían de los otros reyes que fueron ante que él; et tanto bien les facía, que el amor que todos le debían así como á su rey et señor natural, acrecentaba él mucho por las sus buenas obras que á todas facía. Et por esta razón placía mucho á todos cuando por ellos enviaba. Et venían á él muy de grado cuando los había meester, también en tiempo de paz como en tiempo de guerra. Et tan amado era de sus gentes et de las extrañas, que tanto hicieron por servir et por le honrar, que en muy poco tiempo fué apoderado et enseñoreó á todas las regnos et tierras de sus comarcas. Et esto era con muy grand razón, ca los sus naturales eran seguros de haber dél buen galardón del servicio que facían, aun mas que non merecían. Et non recelaban que por ningún mezclador les venía ningún dapno sin grande desmerecimiento. Otrosí sabían que el que mal ó dapno en su tierra ficiera non podía en ninguna manera escapar dél sin grand pena. Et por estas cosas era muy amado et muy recellado. Et tan grand sabor habían las gentes del' servir, que non dudaban de poner los cuerpos et los haberes por levar su honra adelante. Et tenían que la muerte et la lacería en sus cuerpos les era vida et folgura. Et las gentes extrañas deseaban que diese Dios razón porque ellos guardando su lealtad pudiesen seer en el su señorío". 206

All of this corresponds to the simple statement in Lull: "e per la gran fama qui fon per la terra de sa cort".<sup>207</sup> Juan Manuel goes on with his story: "Así acaesció una vez que este rey mandó facer unas Córtes, et luego que fué sabido por todas las tierras, vinieron y de muchas partes muchos homes ricos et pobres. Et entre todas las otras gentes venia y un escudero mancebo; et como quier que el non fuese home muy rico era de bien..."<sup>208</sup> This is partly a repetition of Lull's paragraphs quoted above: "En aquell temps...e per la gran fama...hun assant scuder tet sol, en son palaffre caualcât, anana a la cort per esser adobat a nouehl cauayler."<sup>209</sup> This is all that is found in Juan Manuel and it is all taken from the paragraph of a few lines in Lull. Undoubtedly the lost part of the manuscript would give more of the Catalanian story. There is lost the story of how the squire happened to meet the hermit, of how the hermit came to be in this spot, and of how the hermit was persuaded to undertake the education of the squire, all of which is found in Lull. The end of Lull's story is found in Juan Manuel: "Estonces se despidieron llorando mucho con placer, et el home bueno aconmendóle á Dios et dióle su bendicion.

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206. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p.235, col.1, line 38-col.2, line 21.

207. Ramon Lull: op cit., p.V. lines, 33-34.

208. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 235, col.2, lines 22-27.

209. Ramon Lull: opl cit., p.V, lines 30-36.

El escudero fué para las Córtes, et andudo tanto por sus jornadas que llegó á aquel lugar do el rey facia sus Córtes. Et enderezó Dios así que, cuando él llegó á ver las Córtes, non eran partidas, et cuando mostró al rey la su razon porque viniera, et otrosí le contó la aventura que le acaesciera en el camino con el caballero ermitaño, tomó el rey et todos los que eran con él muy gran placer. Et entre cuantos y vinieron á aquellas Córtes fizo el rey mercedes muy señaladas, et tanto se pagó de las sus buenas maneras del escudero, quel' tovo consigo grand pieza de tiempo, et fízol' caballero, et despues enviólo á su tierra muy rico et muy honrado".<sup>210</sup> In Lull this was expressed in fewer words and with some differences. Lull's hermit gave the squire a book on chivalry to carry to court for the instruction of all squires. Juan Manuel's squire was the only one benefitted by all the teaching given in his book and the hermit's teaching was oral. Juan Manuel has added other details too; e.g., he portrays the ceremonies as almost over at the court due to the squire's delay and he finishes up the affair of the squire's adoubement and departure from the court. Ramon Lull does not attempt to finish his story. He takes the knight to the court to be dubbed, delivers the book to the king and there his introduction and his

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210. Juan Manuel: op. cit., p. 238, col.2, line 35 - p. 239, col. 1, line 2.

narrative as well cease. The ending of Lull's story is: "Lo cauayler dona sa benediccio al escuder (Juan Manuel has this) e l'escuder pres lo libre, e pres comiat molt denotament del cauayler, e puja en son palafre, e anassen a la cort, (Juan Manuel: "Llegó a aquel logar do el rey facia sus Cortes) e tench son cami molt alegrement. E sauia ment e ordonada dona e represêta aquest libre al molt noble Rey e a tota la gran cort, (Juan Manuel: "et cuando mostró al rey la su razon porque viniera, et otrosé le contó la aventura que le acaesciera en el comino con el caballero ermitaño, tomó el rey et todos los que eran con él muy gran placer) e sofferi q̃ tot cauayler qui am esser en orde de cauayleria lo pusque translatar, perço que a les vegades liga e recort lorde de cauayleria".<sup>211</sup> There is so much parallelism between these two tales that we can justly suppose that the missing manuscript carries on Lull's story very exactly. Juan Manuel shows imagination in connection with his narration and therefore has more description than Lull. Lull is able by a simple phrase to throw a whole picture before his reader. Juan Manuel sets to work on each subject as on a project to draw very minutely each detail of his picture. His discussions are longer without containing

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211. Ramon Lull: op. cit., p. VI, line 136 - p VII, line 145.



as much material. Lull is most condensed and so we have one of his sentences furnishing Juan Manuel subject matter for a whole chapter. (Compare the Introductions given above). Lull discusses exhaustively each subject he names. Juan Manuel does not adhere so closely to the matter under discussion but lets that serve as a point of departure and wanders off after some whimsical idea or some simile that has occurred to him. This he then catalogues under definite headings and puts forth rather elementary data on each heading. Examples of this are found in his exposition of franguesa, of cordura, of esfuerzo, of fechos, of muerte, of largura de vida and in his comparisons: that of the manners of living with the kinds of stones, that of the great lords with the sea, that of the judgments of God with the difficulty of understanding the things of the earth, that of man to the world, etc. Lull does not use comparisons in his book, in fact, he has very few figures of speech but, even at that, his style is not as direct as Juan Manuel's because he ponders his questions by means of a kind of philosophical reasoning that seems to prove every thing but is really no proof at all.

## Chapter V.

## Conclusion.

According to the evidence submitted above it appears that the charge of imitation of Lull by the young nobleman Juan Manuel was largely unfounded. There is very little that could even be suspected as plagiarism outside of the story and the borrowing of that is acknowledged by Juan Manuel. There are other evidences of similarity, it is true. Undoubtedly Juan Manuel had read the book of his predecessor and from that got a general idea of things not to be omitted from his treatise (for instance, the theological discussion of the fourteen articles, etc.). He put into his work a long dissertation of each of the qualities of knighthood he names and this may be because Lull gave a long discussion of the qualities of his knight, but there is almost no similarity in the discussions themselves. Juan Manuel does not treat of the beginning of Chivalry, as does Lull most naively,<sup>212</sup> and gives very little of the training (that which he does give is in an indirect fashion). Nor does he speak of the examination made of the squire before knight-  
ing.<sup>213</sup> He does not describe the ceremony of knight-

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212. Ramon Lull: op.cit., Part I.

213. Id. Part III.

ing<sup>214</sup> nor give the significance of the arms and trappings of the chevalier.<sup>215</sup> Juan Manuel does have much to say on the honor given to knighthood, a subject to which Lull devotes his last part, and he has something of the customs<sup>216</sup> as described by Lull, (in spirit rather than in form) altho there are two parts that may have been consciously imitated: augury and discretion. He has brought in the seven vices but does not give full comment on them nor on the seven virtues as does the Catalonian author. Juan Manuel gives some of the same material that is found in Lull's chapter on the manner in which the squire ought to receive the order of chivalry<sup>217</sup> but he gives only that of the fourteen articles of the faith, the ten commandments, the seven sacraments. He does not take up the most important part of this chapter, the description of the ceremony. The chapter of Lull that most influenced Juan Manuel is that on the order of chivalry and the offices of a knight. Juan Manuel may have taken from this his subject of the perils of knighthood, the relation of knight and priest, the purpose of chivalry, and the honor of chivalry and he may have gained here

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214. Ramon Lull: op. cit., Part IV.

215. Id. Part V.

216. Cf. Ramon Lull: op. cit., Part VI.

217. Id. Part IV.

a suggestion for his discussion of qualities.

That the story of Lull was copied by Juan Manuel there is no doubt altho part of this is lost.

The only subjects then in which a marked degree of similartiy can be found are honor, the perillous state of knighthood, the relation of the priest and the knight, and the purposes of the order. And it is small wonder that these should be alike for in a state as highly organized as chivalry the purposes would be quite definitely detailed. Moreover the books were written not more that fifty years apart and conditions were almost the same. It might easily be supposed that, if Lull had any influence on Juan Manuel, the qualities and customs of both books would be alike. But the lists of qualities are strikingly dissimilar and only in two isolated cases is a parallel line of discussion found, viz: those of discretion and of hope.

But this Castillian author of noble blood arranged his Libro del Caballero et del Escudero very differently from the Libre del Orde de Cauaylería. A glance at the material he takes up will show that his work is by no means a servile imitation of the Catalonian mystic. He discusses matters that have to do with general knowledge, not alone with chivalry. He attempts to explain God, the angels, paradise, Hell, the heavens, the elements, the planets, man, the beasts, the birds, the fish, the grasses, the trees, the metals, the sea, the earth. He is drawn aside in these explanations to

discuss other subjects such as the greatest grief and the greatest pleasure; deeds, good and bad, death, friends, judgments, states of man, punishment, wisdom, the manner of living; etc.

Lull has nothing of these theoretical discourses. He devotes his book to proving by a system of concordance and discordance (noted above) just what belongs to the state of chivalry and to the customs and life of a knight.

Juan Manuel's book may be called a guide to knowledge for all men of his period, and especially to the sons of great lords, whether or not they were bent on a knightly career (however nearly all of them were). His book is, as are most of the books of the Middle Ages, a compendium of knowledge. The Middle Ages, as a period, were peculiarly lacking in originality and resourcefulness and in individuality. The desire for knowledge among the ancients, the Greeks and Romans, is not found in the period from the IVth to the XIVth centuries. There was a neglect of the present life and a care for the future that was extremely detrimental to the progress in knowledge of the times. As a result of this attitude they attributed everything to God or to the devil and had a lack of confidence in themselves, or self reliance. They did not strive for new learning but attributed all phenomena to miracles and did not therefore make any scientific or original research but had in their own store of informa-

tion only that gained from reading the ancients. A favorite type of literary work of this time was the encyclopedia or compendium of knowledge found in earlier authors. Juan Manuel's book is more a work of this type.<sup>218</sup> His discussions of such matters as the beasts, the stones, the grasses, etc., are an attempt to pass on to the youthful squire the knowledge that he had gained from reading and from association with the learned men of his times. Juan Manuel's explanations are patently taken from his own store of information as is evidenced by their juvenile character, and show his own interests. He waxes fluent and enthusiastic on the subject of birds and we know that hunting and with it, the observation of these, must have been one of his favorite pastimes. The very elementary character of his knowledge of certain subjects is shown in his description of the stones, the exposition of his theory of the heavens, and other discussions. Undoubtedly he knew in general as much as any well-educated man of his time and he strives to put this knowledge into a book, that it may be accessible to any knight or lord of his century.

Juan Manuel's book is historically less significant, for Lull's work presents a clear and detailed picture of the best known phase of medieval life. The

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218. Vide supra, p. 71.

Castillian author, however, gives an idea of the extent of the knowledge and culture of his period, but does not portray with any degree of definiteness the social life and customs.

It seems most unusual that two books written at almost the same period and on the same general subject should be so wide apart in their treatment, content and spirit. Lull's and Vegetius' works are more nearly alike in content. Both are concerned in bringing to the reader a thorough knowledge of the subject with which they deal -- and they deal almost exclusively with that subject. Juan Manuel, instead, wrote a handbook of general information for the class of people he mentions in his title. It is, then, undoubtedly unfair to call him "great pilferer from the works of Ramon Lull" who "seized upon this treatise and made it his own without naming the author".<sup>219</sup> Just why Juan Manuel did not mention the name of the author from whom he took the story of his book is not known since he mentions Vegetius. But it may be that his reason for mentioning the latter was that his readers might use him for reference for further information.

Juan Manuel's likeness, however, to Vegetius is almost negligible. That he did incorporate a part of Vegetius in his work is known so there is no doubt that any similarities are evidences of the Latin author.

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219. Ramon Lull: op. cit., Introduction.

More points of parallelism can be found between Lull and Vegetius but there is no definite mention on which to base any presumptions as to Lull's using the older work. That the similarity between Lull and Vegetius seems more marked than that between Juan Manuel is due to their manner of treatment and to their purpose in composing their respective books. They are both written with an earnest desire to explain the conditions and regulations of their subject and of their time. The only part of identity between Juan Manuel's book Libro del Caballero et del Escudero and Lull's Libre del Orde de Cauaylería, then, is the story, the narrative thread that holds together all the mass of of information given in a didactic manner for the instruction of the reader. There are other parts that are similar but not identical and in only one or two cases is the similarity marked. Lull's book, like that of Vegetius before him, must have served later writers in suggesting an outline and a general trend of material. But Juan Manuel did not adopt the outline and altho his first few chapters (up to Chapter XX) follow the general trend, the remainder of his book is with very little exception entirely original and written in what seems to be his own favorite manner. It is quite similar in arrangement and nature to his Libro de los Estados and there seems to be more of similarity of material here that is found to the other author.



Libro del Caballero et del Escudero is something of the type of the ancient tale of Barlaam y Josephat but it has progressed so far from the original that the relation is little noticeable.

Ramon Lull's book has no vestige of the ancient apologue style of writing. It has more of the nature of a modern textbook, is more carefully divided and organized and could be more easily and regularly outlined than Juan Manuel.

There is so little similarity outside of the device that holds together the real content of each book that it seems odd that there could ever have been any doubt as to the true originality of the main content of Juan Manuel's chivalry book.

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