

## Fiction and Reality in Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula*: An *hidalgo*'s Perception of Reward for Services Rendered to the Crown

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### Introduction

The earliest print edition of the *Amadís de Gaula* is that of Zaragoza 1508.<sup>1</sup> However, as Avallé-Arce (1991) and others have shown, the author, the *regidor*<sup>2</sup> of Medina del Campo, Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, reworked an earlier text.<sup>3</sup> His source might have been similar to the four fragments pertaining to Book III from around 1420 that Rodríguez Moñino published (207-215).<sup>4</sup> These fragments, in turn, constitute a later recension of what we call the *Amadís primitivo*. There is debate about when that first text was written. On the early end of the spectrum, Avallé-Arce (1991) dates it to the period of Sancho IV from 1284-1295, the dawn of Castilian artistic prose (vol.1, 41).<sup>5</sup> The *terminus post quem* is 1344 when allusions to Amadís begin to appear. In the original, the hero's first cousin, Agrajes, kills king Lisuarte;<sup>6</sup> Amadís kills his brother Galaor<sup>7</sup> and later dies at the hand of his son, Esplandián. One learns in Montalvo's sequel to the *Amadís*, which he called *Las Sergas de Esplandián*, that the hero's death devastates his wife, Oriana: "Y sabido por Oriana, se despeñó de una ventana abajo. Mas no fue así..." (ch. 29, 435). The narrator's last remark ("mas no fue así") is Montalvo's recognition that he has altered the plot.<sup>8</sup> The poet Pero Ferruz (circa 1360-79) from Alcalá de Henares refers to Amadís's death in the verses from the *Cancionero de Baena*, "Amadys el muy fermoso / [...] / que le Dyos dé santo

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<sup>1</sup> Ramos (1994) believes that the *Amadís* was published earlier, perhaps in Seville in 1496. See also 2015, p. 370, where he gives a stemma for its earliest printed transmission.

<sup>2</sup> In his Glossary, Lunenfeld defines the *regidor* as "senior urban councilor" (xi) and the *regimiento* as the "principal municipal governing council" (xi).

<sup>3</sup> Cacho Bleuca considers the possibility of a Portuguese original for the *Amadís de Gaula* but says that there is no medieval Portuguese text that one can identify. On the other hand, he says that the theory of a Castilian origin sits on more solid footing because of the existence of fragments in Castilian as well as Montalvo's own work and allusions to its fame and popularity in other medieval texts (see 1987, vol. 1, 57-67 for the Portuguese theory and 67-72 for the Castilian origin).

<sup>4</sup> See also Lapesa and Millares Carlo on the fragments published by Rodríguez Moñino.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the date of the *Amadís primitivo*, Fogelquist says that "creemos que podemos fijar hacia 1295 la fecha más temprana en que pudo haberse escrito el *Amadís* más antiguo. Aunque podemos establecer 1344 como fecha más tardía de la redacción del primer *Amadís*, por la alusión de Castrogeriz en el *Regimiento de príncipes*" (200). Juan García de Castrogérez's translation (or *refacimiento*, as Avallé-Arce calls it; 1990, 95) of Giles of Rome's *De Regimine principum* (from circa 1280) was done "poco antes de 1350" according to Avallé-Arce (1990, 94-95). Place says that "there is nowhere any reference to the *Amadís* before 1345-50" (523). F. Gómez Redondo says that the primitive text may have consisted of two rather than three books and that "tendría vigencia en un arco de fechas que iría de 1311 (nacimiento de Alfonso XI) a 1385." He assesses the state of scholarship on the *Amadís primitivo* in the section titled "Los textos y las primeras versiones del *Amadís*" in his article "La literatura caballerescas castellana medieval." Ramos (2015) pushes back the date of the first Amadís to "some years earlier" than 1345-1350 and he provides extensive bibliographic references on the *Amadís primitivo* (368-369).

<sup>6</sup> Avallé-Arce suggests that Agrajes is the perpetrator of Lisuarte's murder because Montalvo underscores the *saña* that dominates his character (see Book IV, Chpt. 111, vol. 2, 459, n.205).

<sup>7</sup> As Avallé-Arce observes, Montalvo tacitly alludes to this scene from the primitive *Amadís* in Book III, chpt. 78 (vol. 2, 256, n. 514).

<sup>8</sup> A similar acknowledgement of modifications to the Amadís tradition is the narrator's comment: "no como fue [...] mas como a la orden del libro conviene" (vol. 2, 572-573).

poso” (342)<sup>9</sup> and Montalvo himself alludes to the primitive denouement at the end of Book IV: “por muchos que más no saben será dicho que el hijo mató al padre” (vol.2, 708).<sup>10</sup>

When Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo began to rework the chivalric novel, probably around the time of the Fernando and Isabel’s campaign to take Granada (1482-1492),<sup>11</sup> he removed the tragic ending and added an elaborate culmination in Book IV that included a world war that pitted Amadís and his allies, including Germany, France and Greece, against Great Britain and the Roman Empire. At the same time, a third party made up of Arcaláus, the Arabs, and a faction of disgruntled nobles waited in the woods to attack the winner of that epic battle. The catalyst that sparked this war was Amadís’s rapture of Oriana as she was being delivered to marry Patín, emperor of Rome. However, preceding the hero’s intervention in Oriana’s arranged marriage, deep divisions between Amadís and the British king Lisuarte had grown out of the latter’s refusal to grant concessions to the nobles of his court for their service. In particular, at the end of Book II, Amadís made a request on behalf of Galvanes sin Tierra that the king marry Madasima to Galvanes and give the couple the Ínsola de Mongaça as their *señorío* (vol.1, 716). The king refused and dramatic events developed from that moment forward. The transformation in Lisuarte’s character from monarch who honored the knights of his court to tyrant deaf to the voices of reason, divided his kingdom, and the division rippled through a substantial part of Europe and the Mediterranean. The late-thirteenth or fourteen-century work that Montalvo inherited ended in tragedy, with clear didactic message for courtly lovers: carnal love leads ultimately to the death of those involved, including regicide, parricide, fratricide, and suicide (Avalle-Arce, 1991, vol. 1, 54). For reasons that we hope to elucidate here, Montalvo decided to take the novel in a new direction: he unwound the tragic ending in Book III by introducing the dispute over the Ínsola de Mongaça at the end of Book II; subsequently, he made substantial modifications to Book III, and added a new Book IV.<sup>12</sup> This much has been well established by Avalle-Arce (1990).<sup>13</sup> In Book IV Montalvo maintains the universal themes of honor and fame; however, this paper will argue that he raises the profile of the theme of unacknowledged service. Given that the author was a noble in close contact with the Catholic Monarchs, his version of this chivalric romance seems to hold a message for his contemporaries: when the Crown does not reward the service of nobility, chaos and war is the result. Effectively, Castilla had witnessed the results of discontent among the nobility throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, perhaps culminating in the civil war preceding Isabel’s coronation.

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<sup>9</sup> In other words, “que descanse en paz”, from “Desir de Pero Ferrús a Pero Lopes de Ayala” (*Cancionero de Baena*, no. 305).

<sup>10</sup> The complete quote is as follows: “Pasó esta cruel y dura batalla, así como ya habéis oído, entre Amadís y su hijo, por causa de la cual algunos dijeron que en ella Amadís de aquellas heridas muriera, y otros que del primer encuentro de la lanza, que las espaldas le pasó. Y sabido por Oriana, se despeñó de una ventana abajo. Mas no fue así, que aquel maestro Elisabat le sanó de sus llagas” from *Las Sergas de Esplandián*, edition Gayangos, ch. 29, 434-435.

<sup>11</sup> Cacho Bleuca and Avalle-Arce place Montalvo’s decision to continue the earlier text during the war against Granada (see Cacho Bleuca, 1987, vol. 1, 76-81). Avalle-Arce believes that Montalvo simultaneously wrote the *Amadís* and *Las Sergas* (“todo ello me ahinca la sospecha de que *Amadís* y *Sergas* alternaron su redacción”; 1989, 23) and that in 1502 he was still writing (1989, 30).

<sup>12</sup> Avalle-Arce (1990) masterfully analyses each of the four books of the *Amadís* and attempts to disentangle Montalvo’s contributions from those of earlier authors.

<sup>13</sup> See the index for quick reference to Montalvo’s changes and additions to the *Amadís de Gaula* (457-458).

### Conocimiento y desconocimiento del servicio

In the *Amadís de Gaula*, Lisuarte is the king of Great Britain. At his highest point in the novel, which Little (135) says occurs in Book I, ch. 39, Lisuarte's court is host to a large entourage of the most honorable knights in the world such as Arbán de Nogales, Angriote de Estravaus, don Cuadragante, Amadís, brothers Galaor and Florestán and first cousin Agrajes, among many others too numerous to name. These famous knights-errant win battles against tyrants who misuse their power to dominate the weak and helpless. As they gather in London, Lisuarte's fame and honor grow, and his court attracts new knights as well as beautiful women from around the world.

As a king who had it all, Lisuarte was ripe for a change in fortune. In fact, the narrator admonishes the reader that as man basks in glory, his weakness opens the door to arrogance and makes the mind forgetful of giving thanks to God. In Lisuarte's case, "por el desagradescimiento y desconocimiento de aquel Señor, por él fue otorgado a la Fortuna [...] escuresciese esta gloria tan clara en que estaba el su corazón" (vol.1, 388). Hence, due to his thanklessness, God permits that *asechanzas de fortuna*<sup>14</sup> surround king Lisuarte (vol.1, 389) and bring him down through the mechanism of the *don en blanco* (also called *don contraignant*). These were open-ended promises that Lisuarte made from the arrogant belief that nothing was beyond the knights of his court. The motif appears frequently in books I and II, but by the time one reaches Book IV the motif has all but disappeared, as observed by Carmona: "en el último libro [...] el motivo tiende a desdibujarse y desaparecer" (520). This is because of Montalvo's reorganization of the primitive text. Instead of the *don en blanco* as tragic flaw, Montalvo introduces the motif of the ministers who resent the rise of Amadís because it threatens their influence at court. At the end of Book II, Gandandel y Brocadán tell king Lisuarte that Amadís plans a coup d'état: "son metidos en vuestra tierra tan apoderadamente y con tanta afición de los vuestros naturales que otra cosa no parece sino ser en su mano de se alçar con la tierra como si derecho eredero della fuese," (vol. 1, 711).<sup>15</sup> In an apostrophe ("¡O reyes y grandes señores que el mundo governais...!" vol.1, 712), the narrator highlights the havoc that corrupt ministers wreak at court and reprimands Lisuarte for paying heed to such people.

Lisuarte's turn against Amadís manifests itself at the end of Book II after the hero defeats Ardán Canileo who had usurped power in the Ínsola de Mongaça and imprisoned two of Lisuarte's most loyal vassals, Arbán de Nogales and Angriote de Estravaus (see vol.1, ch. 61, 687 ff.). With Amadís's victory against Ardán, these two vassals return home, much to the benefit of Lisuarte. At the same time, as part of the arrangement before the combat between Ardán and Amadís, Lisuarte took Madasima and her twelve maidens as hostages. Rather than free them upon the conclusion of the battle, as Amadís requests, Lisuarte threatens to chop her head off if she does not turn over her palaces on the the Ínsola de Mongaça, which is her *heredad*. With the help of Galvanes, Amadís and the knights of the Ínsola Firme rescue Madasima and force Lisuarte to give Mongaça to Galvanes and Madasima as a vassal kingdom.

It would seem that Montalvo designed this episode to bring to the forefront the theme of service without recompense, which is alluded to in Agrajes' comment regarding the Mongaça episode: "Bien nos dais, señor, a entender que si alguna cosa no valemós por nosotros, que

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<sup>14</sup> Another similar reference to *acechanzas de fortuna* is "la fortuna movable quiere con sus asechanças cruelmente ferir" (vol. 1, 377).

<sup>15</sup> One questions whether this quote might be an allusion to the relationship between Álvaro de Luna and Juan II. The former was the king's predilect servant, whose good services caused resentment among other factions of the court.

nuestros servicios, según son gradescidos, poco nos aprovechan” (vol.1, 716-717). Lisuarte’s lack of *gradescimiento*, which here suggests more than words of thanks, contrasts with the Prologue’s mention of rightful *galardón* for service in the war against Granada which “no quedará [en olvido] ante la su real majestad, donde [su majestad] les tiene aparejado el galardón que por ello merecen” (vol.1, 128). Up to this point in the novel (ch.62), the term “servicio” referred primarily to service in the context of courtly love, service to God, service to a guest or companion, acts performed for the benefit of another, or vassalage (i.e., Amadís is in the service of the queen). These senses of service without any mention of reward constitute about 90% of the 99 occurrences of the word “servicio” in the first two books. The remaining 10% associate a service with thanks, including a reward of some kind. For example, Lisuarte’s comment to Barsinán, “yo lo agradezco mucho y lo galardonaré” (vol.1, 391); a complaint that don Amor does not reward those that serve him (ch. 46); and a warning to Durín, Amadís’s squire, that he not undercut his good service with foolishness (“No queráis zaherir el servicio [...] en tal guisa que os no lo agradezcan”, ch. 54). With this last admonition, one begins to perceive a consistent association between service and reward. Apparently, an act of service is connected to an expectation of *conocimiento*, *gradescimiento*, *galardón*, or *merced*, as manifested by the frequent use of these words or their derivatives. For example, regarding Lisuarte before his corruption: “hubo muy gran placer con ellos y con su servicio y mucho lo agradeció” (vol.1, 658); in a second example, Abradán, an old knight, says that “si yo he hecho algún servicio a los caballeros andantes, que con este solo galardón me tengo por satisfecho” (vol.1, 652). Perhaps the first reference to *desagradescimiento* is found in Briolanja’s episode, about whose origin Avalle-Arce says: “no puede quedar duda de que Briolanja nunca perteneció al texto del *Amadís* primitivo” (1990, 166). Oriana’s confidant, Mabilia, complains that her lady is cruel to Amadís despite the fact that his many services to her warrant a kinder disposition. And so she threatens to leave: “gran yerro sería servir a quien tan mal conoce y agradece los servicios” (vol.1, 672). In Mabilia’s comment, the theme of *mal conocimiento* (‘unacknowledged service’) is introduced into the novel, and it is in an episode that likely stems from Montalvo’s pen. Montalvo seems to suggest that service, including in the context of courtly love, incurs a debt on the part of the recipient. In fact, the word “deuda” appears once in the first two books, and twelve times in the final two books, which more acutely reflect Montalvo’s contribution. Agrajes emphasizes the need to acknowledge service in Book IV, after Amadís, forever loyal to his future father-in-law, has turned the tide of Lisuarte’s battle with the Arab king in favor of the British. He says, “señor cormano [...] este acorro que havéis fecho a este rey, quiera Dios que os sea mejor gradeçido que los pasados” (vol.2, 515). Moreover, Agrajes believes that the ills that Lisuarte has suffered are a consequence of the king’s ungratefulness: “la pérdida y el daño sobre él ha venido, que así ha plazido a Dios que sea, porque su mal conocimiento lo mereçía” (vol.2, 515). Agrajes suggests that a king’s duty to God is to recognize the service of his subjects.<sup>16</sup>

Besides Agrajes’ outburst at the close of Book II cited above and in Book IV, there are numerous moments in the latter part of the *Amadís* that associate service to one’s lord with an expectation of *agradescimiento*. Don Galvanes echoes his nephew Agraje’s sentiment stating that “muy poca fuerça los servicios en sí tienen cuando son fechos a aquellos que los no saben gradescer, y por esto los hombres deven buscar donde bien empleados sean” (vol.1, 717).

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<sup>16</sup> The topic of unrecognized service resurfaces in a conversation that Agrajes has with Oriana, who Amadís has just rescued en route to marry Patín. Agrajes tells Oriana that Lisuarte treats them as if they were enemies: “como si de servidores que éramos le fuéramos enemigos [aun] sabiéndose la honrra que nuestros servicios le daban” (vol. 2, 328).

Subsequently, at the outset of Book III as they pack up and leave Great Britain for Amadís's *Ínsola Firme*, Brian de Monjaste and Gavarte de Valtemoroso complain that Lisuarte has forgotten their services: "diziendo que pues el rey, olvidando los grandes servicios que le fizieran, assí los tractava y estrañava, desi que no se maravillasse si tornados al contrario pesasse en mayor cantidad lo por venir que lo passado; y levantando sus tiendas, recogida toda su compañía, en el camino de *Ínsola Firme* se pusieron" (vol. 2, 9-10). In light of Lisuarte's lack of acknowledgement of their service, they renounced their vassalage. In another scene, the Romans claim that they are not interested in treasures, but rather to subjugate and command those that possess treasures (vol. 2, 17). The narrator comments that this sort of power "no se puede essecutar sin cavalleros de gran pres y que mucho valgan, y que con muy gran amor a sus señores sirvan por los beneficios y honrras que dellos hayan recebido" (vol. 2, 17). In other words, the nobles of a royal court serve their lord because of the honors and benefits bestowed on them. Count Argamón, also upon his exit from Lisuarte's court, warns the king that his royal highness has been blessed with good fortune due to common sense and the will of God, and that now, instead of giving thanks, he is tempting fate and angering God: "hombre tan cuerdo y que tantas buenas venturas por el querer de Dios ha avido y por el vuestro buen seso: en lugar de le dar gracias por ellos queries le tentar y enojar" (vol. 2, 254). The count warns that the arrogance of omitting to give thanks could lead to the unraveling of his good fortune: "catad que muy presto podría fazer que la Fortuna su rueda rebolviese" (vol. 2, 254). It is the same message that the narrator directs to Lisuarte mentioned above. For his part, Amadís states that an errant knight's gain for service is honor and glory: ("esperando y desseando más la gloria y fama que otra alguna ganancia que dello venir pudiesse (vol. 2, 318). However, in conversation with his adopted father, don Gandales, Amadís confesses that, in truth, he too expects that the recipient of his service make concessions upon request: "si yo supiera que tan desagradecido me havía de ser de cuantos servicios fechos le tengo, que no me pusiera a tales peligros por le servir" (vol. 2, 15).<sup>17</sup> These words come as reaction to Lisuarte's refusal to heed Amadís's request to free Madasima. There is no doubt that Amadís pursues honor and fame, but at the same time, he has become accustomed to using that social capital to impart his will. Lisuarte displays resentment for Amadís's power when he says that Amadís was once just a knight errant but today he has "a su mandar toda la flor de los grandes y pequeños que en el mundo son" (vol. 2, 539).

In a subsequent scene, Amadís suffers insomnia because the sorcerer, Arcaláus, has manipulated the Arab king to gather an army of six allied kings to attack Great Britain (vol. 2, 75). Amadís is aware that the British forces are greatly outnumbered because many of the reputable knights have left to join him at the *Ínsola Firme*. Reason dictates that he should not intervene on Lisuarte's part "según le fuera desagradecido y havía mal parado a los de su linaje" (vol.2, 78). Lisuarte is a thankless king who punishes those who have served him and therefore he deserves to fall; however, his defeat would entail Oriana's loss of the lands that she stands to inherit. In the end, Amadís enters the battle with his father, Perion de Gaula, disguised in white armor, and tilts the battle in Lisuarte's favor.

Montalvo's narrator delivers another lesson about kingship through Amadís's brother, Florestán, who stops short of killing Lisuarte in battle out of respect for his former lord.

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<sup>17</sup> The granting of concessions or "mercedes" is a common topic in the *Amadís*. Regarding Esplandián as the ideal monarch, the narrator says that he was "más liberal, más conoçido a los suyos, faziéndole mercedes..." (vol. 2, 303); Agrajes says that the knights of Amadís's clan never asked Lisuarte for concessions except the *Ínsola de Mongaça*: "por nosotros nunca merced le fue pedida [a Lisuarte] si no fue la *ínsola de Mongaça* para mi tío don Galvanés" (328).

However, when Lisuarte regains the upper hand in the battle, Florestán becomes badly injured and falls prisoner. The narrator says that due to Florestán's "gran simpleza" (vol. 2, 66), he refused to harm Lisuarte when he had the chance ("teniéndolo en su poder"; vol. 2, 67) and, subsequently, "fue la batalla vencida" in favor of Lisuarte (vol. 2, 67). In this case, the British king is moved to sympathy upon recalling Florestán's previous service: he had stuck out his head to stave off a blow from Gadancuriel destined for Lisuarte; moreover, that same day he ceased his attack out of respect for his former king: "dexó de herir por virtud" (vol. 2, 67). But the king's sympathy does not signal a change in moral character: the narrator says that Lisuarte tends to Florestán's wounds more out of a desire to console his right-hand man, don Galaor, who is grieving the grave condition of his brother Florestán, than from compassion for the injured: the narrator says Lisuarte had little "sabor de mandar poner remedio a aquellos caballeros por le ser contrarios" (vol. 2, 66). In other words, he would have preferred to let Florestán die. In short, the lesson that the reader gathers is that a vassal should not stop short of finishing off a thankless lord, because when the tides are turned, the lord won't act out of sympathy, but out of self-interest.

Montalvo contrasts this relationship between Lisuarte and Florestán with that of the emperor of Rome and his subject Floyan. The similarity in their names (Florestán-Floyan) calls us to compare their situations. As Floyan sees Amadís charging toward the emperor of Rome in battle, he intervenes to protect the emperor (as did Florestán above), but is mortally wounded in the skirmish (vol. 2, 460). At the end of the battle, Montalvo says that this emperor enjoyed the loyalty of his subjects despite his arrogance: "ahunque este emperador de su propio natural fuesse sobervio y desabrido, por la cual causa con mucha razón los que estas maneras tienen deven ser desamados, era muy franco y liberal en fazer a los suyos tantos bienes y mercedes que con esto encubría muchos defectos" (vol. 2, 465). The message is clear: this monarch was loved by many despite his defects because of his generosity, so much so that they were willing to die for him in battle as did Floyan. In short, the narrator closes Florestán's episode mentioned above by highlighting Lisuarte's thanklessness, whereas the battle in which the emperor of Rome dies ends with praise for the emperor due to the concessions he grants his subjects.

Yet Montalvo's praise for the emperor is not without limits. After the Roman emperor's death and the coronation of the new emperor, named Arquisil, the narrator moralizes the reader against seeking out the favors of bad monarchs, because their favoritism can turn against the recipient at any moment. As example, he says that the successor to the imperial throne of Rome provided much good service to the emperor Patín but got little in return: "muchos señalados servicios hizo en honrra de su corona imperial y en lugar de aver conoscimiento dello le traxo desviado, casi desterrado y maltratado (vol. 2, 530). The narrator explains that his refusal to acknowledge the prince's service was due to fear that Arquisil's "virtud y buenas mañas [...] le avian de quitar el señorío" (vol. 2, 530), which seems to double the relationship Amadís-Lisuarte.<sup>18</sup> As point of contrast, Arquisil is seen as a model ruler precisely for his display of gratefulness. After the death of Patín, Amadís placed him on the imperial throne and Arquisil tells Amadís and Oriana that he will never forget it: "nunca se fará sino lo que su voluntad y vuestra fuere" to which Oriana responds, "esso consiento yo quanto al buen gradeçimiento

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<sup>18</sup> Gandandel tells Lisuarte regarding Amadís that it is "en su mano de se alçar con la tierra como si derecho eredero della fuese," vol. 1, 711; cited above). One recognizes in Rome a parallel situation to the one that led to the disintegration of the British court: Lisuarte was afraid that Amadís's virtue and skill had gained him so much favor among his subjects that he would one day depose the king.

vuestro” (vol. 2, 541).<sup>19</sup> “Gradeçimiento” appears again as a principal characteristic of the ideal ruler.

In a subsequent episode, Avalor-Arce (1991) points out Montalvo’s moralization specifically related to service rendered and its acknowledgement (vol. 2, 330, note 43). Amadís has received favors from Grasinda, niece of the king of Bohemia, in the form of a ship with crew and provisions for a year including a valuable physician (Elisabad),<sup>20</sup> and he does not feel that he has sufficiently repaid his “deudas”: “no pensava que pagadas fuessen” (vol. 2, 330). Thus, he feels obliged to serve her further because he has contracted a “deuda conoçida que se paga” that requires on his part what he calls “gradeçimiento” (vol. 2, 330).

The same idea of debt for service is mentioned by the king of Bohemia, who has charged his son with preparing a float of ships to aid Amadís such that “con todo nuestro estado le paguemos la deuda que él con su persona sola nos dexó” (vol. 2, 400).<sup>21</sup> His son, Grasandor, is more than happy to see that his father has not forgotten Amadís’s service: “qué descanso tan grande recibe mi corazón [...] en ver el conoçimiento y gradeçimiento que de las cosas pasadas por él hechas vos, señor, tenéis” (vol. 2, 400). The best of kings recognize “deuda” and show “conoçimiento y gradeçimiento.” On the other hand, the narrator points to Lisuarte as a very fortunate king who has lost the respect of his people due to his “mal conoçimiento” (vol. 2, 310). In a subsequent moralization, the narrator repeats the same idea: Amadís has done “grandes y provechosos servicios” (vol. 2, 501) on behalf of Lisuarte, but when payback time comes, he sees only “el mal conoçimiento y gradescimiento que dél hubo” (vol. 2, 501).

If Montalvo proposes that *gradeçimiento* is a virtue possessed by the ideal ruler, then Amadís himself, as ruler of the Ínsola Firme, should also display gratitude to his vassals. It becomes clear in Book IV that Amadís is the most powerful lord in the world. The Roman emperor pays him homage, as do the Bohemian and the Bizantine emperors; he’s defeated the Arabs, and at one point has imprisoned Arcaláus, the leader of forces of evil; Lisuarte expresses confoundment as to how a poor knight errant came to dominate the whole world, as cited above. Perión of Gaula, Amadís’s father, tells his son that the knights of his court put their lives on the line for him in times of difficulty, so in good times he should reward their good service: “te les mostrar muy gradeçido” (vol. 2, 544). Amadís heeds his father’s advice and the recompense comes immediately in the form of marriages and “grandes señoríos” (vol. 2, 545) taken from defeated lords: don Cuadragante gets “el señorío de Sansueña” (vol. 2, 547) and don Bruneo de Buenamar gets “el reino del rey Arávigo” (vol. 2, 547); his brother Florestán gets “la isla de Cerdeña” and “todo el señorío de Calabria” (vol.2, 547) as a begged concession from Arquisil.<sup>22</sup> In my view, the episode in which the knights of the Ínsola Firme receive wives and royal concessions (545-597) functions as the denouement to the preceding four books and the pages that follow may be characterized as a transition to the coming *Sergas de Esplandián*. The final

<sup>19</sup> In contrast to her father, Oriana understands the need for recompense of service, and assures the knights of the court of Ínsola Firme that she recognizes their efforts and looks forward to “gualardonarlo” (vol.2, 309).

<sup>20</sup> Amadís refers to the time he spent being cured of his wounds at Grasinda’s palace, as well as to the “nave basteçida de marineros que os serán mandados y de viandas que para un año basten. Y daros he al maestro que os curó que se llama Elisabad” (vol.2, 152-153). Amadís was particularly indebted to Grasinda for Elisabad who would save his life after his battle with the Endriago.

<sup>21</sup> Grasandor expresses the same to Amadís upon his arrival at Ínsola Firme. Finally, he says, “el rey mi padre y yo podemos pagar algo de aquella gran deuda en que nos dexastes” (vol.2, 407).

<sup>22</sup> See also vol. 2, pp. 596-597, where Arquisil takes leave of Amadís from the Ínsola Firme to return home to Italy with don Florestán, “rey de Cerdeña y que luego le entregaría todo el señorío de Calabria como lo él mandó [i.e., Amadís].”

chapters set the stage for the passing of the torch from Amadís to Esplandián. Thus, at what one might construe as the effective end of Amadís's romance, Montalvo portrays the hero as a just ruler who recognizes service and grants concessions; everyone gets their piece of the pie. What in the *Amadís primitivo* was a didactic warning against carnal love, has been modified in the fashion of a mirror of princes with theme that admonishes rulers to fulfill their obligation to reward good service. This message would have apparently been directed at the monarchs of the latter half of the fifteenth century, particularly the Catholic Kings.

### **Fiction and Reality in the *Amadís***

In order to guide the reader toward apprehension of this message, Montalvo creates a link between the fantasy world of romance, replete with giants and dragons, and the realities of the Spain of his day. Sales Dasí sees such a connection and calls it a “vínculo primario entre realidad y ficción” (138) and he goes on to say that Montalvo's interest in Amadís may have been to use fiction as a means to propagate a social system to which he belonged (the privilege associated with lower nobility), one that was struggling to maintain its power (156). There are many moments in which a contemporary would see the reality of turn-of-the-fifteenth-century Castile in the pages of Montalvo's fiction, and it is convenient to point out a few of them. Montaner Fruto's excellent article on heraldry in the *Amadís* suggests that the textual space Montalvo dedicated to coats of arms stands out as an expansion of the primitive text and reflects their popularity during Isabel and Fernando's time (560-561). Furthermore, heraldry reflects the theme of *gradeçimiento* because the Catholic Monarchs granted their favorite knights the right to wear certain emblems as reward for good service, for example, “en señal e memoria de los dichos servicios que nos heziste en la dicha Guerra [de Granada]” (Montaner Frutos, 551). In description of monuments, Little says that Amadís's castle on the Ínsola Firme resembles the Castle of La Mota in Medina del Campo in which Isabel and Fernando stayed (131). Furthermore, as Avalor-Arce points out (vol. 2, 243, note 483), Lisuarte celebrates *cortes* to decide Oriana's fate in the British port of Tagades, well-known in Spain at that time as destination for Castilian wool and agricultural products. In a nod to the political situation at the end of the fifteen-century, Montalvo conveys Spanish superiority over Italo-Roman military culture by denigrating the arrogance of the Roman emperor. According to Avalor-Arce, such bantering against Rome would have been impossible in an earlier era (vol. 2, 121, note 235). Furthermore, still in the Italian sphere, Montalvo arranges for the Duke of Calabria, Salustanquidío, Patín's messenger, to be beheaded at the hand of Agrajes (vol. 2, 296). It is noteworthy that this character is Montalvo's creation (vol. 2, 120, note 233) because during Montalvo's time as *regidor* of Medina del Campo,<sup>23</sup> the Duke of Calabria was imprisoned there (1502), and it is likely that he personally knew the duke because one of his responsibilities as *regidor* was to administer justice (Salvador, 277). Montalvo's choice of the Duke of Calabria for the role of ambassador links the historical reality of turn-of-the-sixteenth-century Castile with the world of fantasy and serves as another wink to Spanish superiority over Italy. Furthermore, there is reference in Book IV to the end of the Catholic Kings' campaign against Granada. Bruneo de Bonamar and don Cuadragante have laid siege to the impregnable city of Califán, “cabeza” of the kingdom of Landas (vol. 2, 683), belonging to the Arab king who is imprisoned in Amadís's Ínsola Firme. They see no way to penetrate the defenses, except if there were to be internal strife,

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<sup>23</sup> Sales Dasí reports that there were eleven *regidores* besides Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo: Pedro de Mercado, Gutierre Rodríguez, Sancho Días, Diego del Castilo, Rodrigo de Bobadilla, Fernán Pérez de Meneses, Diego Ruiz de Montalvo, Pedro de San Andrés, Alonso Nieto, Cristóbal de Bobadilla, and Álvaro de Lugo (438).



which they could exploit by playing one side against the other. Through negotiations between the giant Balán and the imprisoned Arab king, Amadís's allies manage to subjugate the city by promising to free the Arab king and allow him to rule over a small part of his former kingdom (vol. 2, 686-688). The allusion would seem to be to the Alhambra of Granada as the impenetrable palace, and the competing factions of Muley Hacen and his son Boabdil, ally of the Catholic Monarchs, the latter of whom turned over the Alhambra and received an estate in Laujar de Andarax, las Alpujarras.<sup>24</sup> In short, this brief list of examples seeks to illustrate the way in which Montalvo "mirrors and critiques the social and historical realities of his lifetime" (Little, 129).<sup>25</sup> The readers who perceive their world in the *Amadís* are more apt to decode one of Montalvo's important messages: that monarchs bear a responsibility to acknowledge and reward the service of vassals.

### Vicissitudes in the Life of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo

These remarks beg the question posed by Sales Dasí: "¿Sería Garci Rodríguez un enamorado de la causa monárquica o tal vez sería uno de esos posibles descontentos?" (135). Before one considers this question, it is convenient to review some details of his life. It seems certain that Montalvo had close and personal contact with Fernando and Isabel (Sales Dasí, 154; Salvador, 279-280). The Catholic Kings knighted Montalvo (Little, 129) and Del Val Valdivieso says that the office of *regidor* was gained by royal appointment (133). If, as people suggest, Isabel treated Medina del Campo as her personal city,<sup>26</sup> then she would be well acquainted with Montalvo before appointing him. With respect to Fernando el Católico, Montalvo may have known him as an infante in Aragón during his youth through his father, as suggested by Salvador (251). It may have been there in Aragón, through his paternal connection, that he encountered ideas circulating among Aragonese nobles who rejected the absolute power of the Crown.<sup>27</sup> As a member of lower nobility, carrying out his duties as *regidor*, he would have begun to experience the oppression of an ever-growing central authority, perhaps incarnated in the figure of *corregidor*. According to Lunenfeld, the office of *corregidor* was created to fulfill a supervisory role, combining the functions of mayor and judge (p. x). Medina del Campo received its first *corregidor* in 1475-76 (Lunenfeld, 210), about the same time as other municipalities in the region such as Valladolid, Zamora, Salamanca, Ávila, Segovia, all in 1475.<sup>28</sup> This year corresponded to a moment in Montalvo's life, probably when he was around thirty, when he was beginning his career as *regidor*,<sup>29</sup> and becoming aware of the ins and outs of local politics. From that moment forward, Montalvo would have observed how the Crown asserted itself into local governance, at the expense of the *regidores*. Furthermore, as Isabel consolidated her reign

<sup>24</sup> The Nasrid king Muhammad III abandoned the estate for Fez, Morocco the following year.

<sup>25</sup> This does not necessarily imply that he perpetuates the ideology spread by the Catholic Kings, as Mérida Jiménez suggests (185); at least not in Books I-IV of the *Amadís*. More prominence is given to the Christian faith of the hero in the sequel, *Las Sergas*.

<sup>26</sup> According to Del Val Valdivieso, Isabel received the city from her brother Enrique IV on November 15, 1468 (1986, 242). "Isabel cuidó de Medina del Campo con verdadera complacencia como si se tratase de una propiedad privada [...], asegurando en lo posible su prosperidad" from Luis Suárez Fernández, *Los Reyes Católicos: fundamentos de la Monarquía*, Rialp, 1989, pp. 264-265.

<sup>27</sup> In effect, they elected their own king, Iñigo Arista, and invested him with limited powers (Nieto Soria, 2002, 246). See also, Nieto Soria's "El 'poderío real absoluto' de Olmedo (1445) a Ocaña (1469): La monarquía como conflicto."

<sup>28</sup> See Lunenfeld's "Table of Castilian corregimientos," pp. 196-218.

<sup>29</sup> Salvador Miguel (277) says that Montalvo started his career as *regidor* by 1476.

around 1480, she made ever more use of a *corregidor* to oversee the governance of *regidores* such as Montalvo with near yearly appointments of different *corregidores* (Lunenfeld, 134). One can infer that Montalvo as *regidor* would resent the sudden appearance of a new authority above him that allowed for the crown to meddle in local politics. The new regime apparently did not trust the administrative abilities and loyalties of the lower nobility that governed the municipalities.

At heart, Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo was a man of arms. Alonso Cortés says that “desde su más tierna edad siguió la noble carrera de las armas” (434) and that he participated in the defense of Alhama as “caballero e hidalgo” (437).<sup>30</sup> According to Cáseda Teresa, Montalvo may have participated in the Granadan Campaign in the “cuadrilla de San Juan y Santiago” since his name appears with title as *regidor* and *hidalgo* (332). Salvador Miguel suggests that he may have gained military experience during his time in Aragón or during the civil wars preceding Isabel’s accession to the throne in 1479 (258). Little more is known about the extent of his combat experience, but perhaps the best evidence of the author’s familiarity with war is the *Amadís* itself where Montalvo minutely describes the soldier’s psychology (vol. 2, 322), provides infinite battle details (for example, vol. 2, 493), and speaks in the voice of an old soldier, as noted by Avalle-Arce (vol. 2, 318, n.28). So, what did Montalvo receive for his service as a man of arms and administrator of the queen’s favorite place of residence?

Like other soldiers in the Granadan wars, Montalvo may have dreamed that he would receive some small part of a *señorío*, as do the heroes of his novel. But the political plan of the Catholic Kings went in another direction. Ladero Quesada says that “los reyes evitaron otorgar nuevos señoríos de importancia: los que concedieron en el reino de Granada, después de la conquista, eran pequeños y pobres” (78). If nobles hoped for pensions in reward for military service, the reality was that the Reyes Católicos instead recovered rights, income, and towns that were previously *señoriales* and they took control of *maestrazgos* of the military orders which affected lower nobility, *comendadores*, *caballeros*” (Ladero Quesada, 78). Consequently, Ladero Quesada tells us that many of them felt resentment toward the crown of the Catholic Kings (82). Montalvo and others like him were experiencing the creation of a government order in which the monarchy assumed more authority at the expense of the power of intermediaries, *señores*, and local authorities, such as *regidores* (Ladero Quesada, 75). In this process, lower nobility lost on average 58% of its income privileges in the way of *mercedes* (Ladero Quesada, 76). Rather than lifting the standard of living of soldiers of lower nobility such as the *hidalgo* Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, the Granadan campaign made them poorer. The thrill of conquest that inspired Montalvo to urge the Catholic Monarch’s on as they departed Medina del Campo headed south may have dissipated considerably as the troops returned home empty handed.<sup>31</sup>

As a young man growing up,<sup>32</sup> Montalvo would have learned with dismay about Juan II’s decision in 1433, made in Medina del Campo, to the effect that *caballeros*, such as his father, would no longer be exempt from paying taxes even if they had in their possession a royal letter promising their exemption (“a pesar de que poseyeran cartas reales en que se les asegurase tal exención”; Nieto Soria, 247, n.30). Similar would be his reaction to news that Isabel and Fernando planned to reduce promised pensions as stated in the *Libro de las Declaratorias de*

<sup>30</sup> See Salvador Miguel (256) for information on the *padrón* dated from November 3, 1483.

<sup>31</sup> In chapter xcix of the *Sergas de Esplandián*, Montalvo writes enthusiastically about the war with Granada: “Aconsejarlesha que en ninguna manera cansasen ni dejasen esta santa guerra; pues que con ella sus vasallos serán contentos de les servir con sus personas y haciendas” (Gayangos, 500).

<sup>32</sup> Salvador Miguel gives 1445 as date *ante quem* for Montalvo’s birth (245).

*Toledo*: “se debía hacer suprimir las Mercedes dadas por el acto de voluntad o para salir de dificultades del momento...y moderar las mercedes concedidas por servicios pequeños” (Ortega Cervignón, 133). These *mercedes* were in the form of *juros*, which the RAE defines as “especie de pensión perpetua que se concedía sobre las rentas públicas, ya por merced graciosa ya, por recompensa de servicios.” Apparently, the reduction of such *mercedes* was to balance the books of the Crown: previously, Isabel and Fernando had 60 million *maravedises* promised and after the reductions barely 30 million (Ortega Cervignón, 134). As part of the effect of the reduction in *mercedes* on the recipients, Ortega Cervignón refers to the “rápido declive económico de la nobleza castellana” (135), a statement that would hold true for at least those nobles affected by the reductions.

Isabel and Fernando’s budgetary policy contrasted dramatically with their predecessor Enrique IV who lower nobility like the Montalvo family probably recalled fondly because he was prodigious in his granting of *mercedes* (Haliczer, 451).<sup>33</sup> Readers will remember Jorge Manrique’s reference to Enrique’s “dádivas desmedidas” from the *Coplas* (st. XIX). In what was specific to Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, the *Declaratorias* lists his name and says that the administration of the Catholic Monarchs reduced his *juro* from 20000 to 15000 *maravedises* (164-165), amounting to 25% less income. In reality, Montalvo fared well in the reductions compared to others in his village. Of the 1107 names listed in the document, nineteen are from Medina del Campo. Of these, six received no reduction; four lost between 30%-50%, and seven lost 100% of their *juro*.<sup>34</sup> These decisions were made by Isabel’s appointee Hernando de Talavera in consultation with the *mayordomo mayor*, or head of the Crown’s treasury. Incidentally, the title *mayordomo mayor* appears in the episode of the *Amadís de Gaula* where Arcaláus, Amadís’s eternal antagonist, and symbolic and practical leader of the forces of evil, offers his co-conspirator Barsinán the title of King of Great Britain, and reserves for himself the office of ‘Mayordomo Mayor’ (vol. 1, 390).<sup>35</sup> In this fashion Montalvo places the taxman in the realm of the corrupt and malevolent. If Montalvo’s 25% reduction were not enough, according to Cáteda Teresa, his father’s *merced* of 21565 *maravedises* was divided between him and his brother (332), implying that he would have substantially less income than his father. Cortés reports that Montalvo’s salary as *regidor* in the year 1490 was 3000 *maravedises*, which amounted to less than a third of his *juro* (438). Furthermore, Haliczer says that there was significant confusion in the Crown’s treasury such that *juros* were not always paid in a timely manner, if at all (Haliczer, 451).<sup>36</sup> Another document identified by Haliczer as the “Carta de declaración e pragmática sanción sobre las declaratorias de Toledo del año ochenta” states that “por vida” holdings of *juro*’s would no longer be perpetual, nor would they be transferable upon the death, but they would revert to the Crown (459). Thus, as Montalvo reached middle age, he

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<sup>33</sup> Matilla Tascón says that “Sin duda, fue Enrique IV quien otorgó más y mayores mercedes, y mejoró otras muchas en cantidad y clase,” (10). At the same time, Matilla Tascón publishes the law from 1480, promulgated in Toledo, by which Isabel and Fernando revoked the *mercedes* and *donaciones* that Enrique IV granted (41-43).

<sup>34</sup> The entries from Medina are as follows: 11, 62, 79, 132, 135, 156, 157, 174, 224, 375, 412, 528, 583, 586, 633, 660, 817, 845, 937.

<sup>35</sup> The *mayordomo mayor* collected a fee for every letter of payment by the treasury (Haliczer, 452). This tax system finds an echo in Chapter 128 of Book 4 (vol. 2, 612), where Balán, the intelligent giant, receives “muy grandes intereses” from the “mercaderes e otros infinitos” that come to the marketplace of fruits and spices. This may be an allusion to the trade fairs held in Medina del Campo during Isabel’s time. Montalvo expresses admiration at the wealth of the Lord from the levy of taxes on the merchandise, perhaps because it is wealth that he does not possess.

<sup>36</sup> According to Haliczer, at *cortes* held in 1451, 1453, and 1476, many *merced* holders complained that they only realized a fraction of their grant (455).

learned that his three children<sup>37</sup> might not receive the same pension privileges as he did. The record of *juros* was held in Medina del Campo (Haliczer, 455), so the *regidor* Montalvo was no doubt aware of what was happening. This is not to suggest that Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo became impoverished, but that it seems unlikely that the crown's policy of recompense made him any wealthier.

There were other factors in the life of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo that may have darkened his outlook of local government and the royal administration. Legal issues in which Montalvo is implicated emerge around 1487 and Sales Dasí informs us that residents of Medina del Campo complained to the monarchs about irregularities in the *regimiento* of the village (128). This case was still open in 1493 when effectively "ciertas irregularidades" are said to have been observed and nine *regidores* are accused, among whom is Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo (Sales Dasí, 128). As part of the penalty for their alleged abuse, Sales Dasí says that the *corregidor* planned to confiscate part of their patrimony (128-129). Not long after this, his name appears again in 1495 in a dispute between Montalvo and another important *regidor*, Pedro de Mercado, the details of which Cáteda Teresa, unfortunately, does not share. Later, on November 23, 1497, there is action taken (an "ejecutoria") on a case of adultery brought forth by Pedro de Aparicio of Mojados, Valladolid against our author; Cáteda Teresa (340) and Cortés (441) say that Montalvo was condemned for adultery and that he was to be exiled for two months ("dos meses cumplidos," Cortés, 441). In 1499 his name appears again as a plaintiff in a case dealing with the dowry of his widow (died late 1498-early February 1499). In this case Montalvo entered into dispute with Pedro de León, representative of one of the most important noble families of León (Cáteda Teresa, 341).

Finally, there is the case of the secret marriage described in great detail by Avalor-Arce (1989, 26-28), in which Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo *el Viejo* (the suffix distinguishes him from his younger nephew of the same name) may have participated on June 30, 1502.<sup>38</sup> Alonso de Fonseca wanted to marry his daughter doña María to his first cousin Pedro Ruiz de Fonseca, Capitán de la Guardia Real, in order to keep the *mayorazgo*<sup>39</sup> in the family. The planned marriage had the blessing of queen Isabel. However, doña María had been courted by the Marqués de Cenete, to whom she committed her heart, with the support of her mother, but her father joined queen Isabel in strong opposition. Avalor-Arce says that Garci Rodríguez may have officiated the secret ceremony in which the two were married, which greatly angered the queen.

## Conclusion

In short, the latter years of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's life were characterized by encounters with the law that led to fines and a temporary exile. His struggle to maintain local power obliged him to defend his interests against other nobles and *regidores*. He saw his income reduced and the security of his children's future pensions placed in doubt. This came despite his military service to the crown. Yet there is no doubt that Montalvo lavishes praise on the Catholic Monarchs in his work.<sup>40</sup> One wonders if his kind words do not come from prudence. He worked

<sup>37</sup> Pedro Vaca, Juan Vaca Montalvo, and Francisco Vaca (Avalor-Arce, 1989, 24).

<sup>38</sup> Avalor-Arce says that Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's nephew, of the same name, called *el Mozo* inherited the title of *regidor* solo upon the death of his uncle (1989, 26).

<sup>39</sup> Lunenfeld defines the *mayorazgo* as an entailed estate, or trust, used to pass on property intact to successive generations of heirs (p. x).

<sup>40</sup> Amezcua suggests that Montalvo's work, particularly *Las Sergas*, is written as a sort of political ad for the Catholic Kings with the purpose of gaining their favor: "para congraciarse con los Reyes Católicos, ha debido reforzar el elogio de la política regia, convirtiendo la obra en algo muy cercano a un panfleto político" (337).

closely with Fernando and Isabel and anything he did would not go unnoticed because he did not live in a faraway corner of the kingdom, but in Medina, the queen's city. Furthermore, he witnessed the creation of the formidable Office of the Spanish Inquisition in Medina del Campo on Sept. 27<sup>th</sup>, 1480, and the naming of the first inquisitors Miguel de Morillo y Juan de San Martín (Moraleja Pinilla, 101). By 1482, there was a tribunal in Medina del Campo and as pope Sixtus IV observed when he forbade its expansion into Aragón, "many true and faithful Christians, because of testimony of enemies, rivals, slaves and other low people—and still less appropriate—without tests of any kind, have been locked up in secular prisons, tortured and condemned" (Kamen, 49). Montalvo had declared enemies and as an intelligent politician he wrote favorably of the queen and proselytized Christian values, particularly in the *Sergas de Esplandián*.

In his lifetime, Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo witnessed a change in the socio-political order characterized by the economic and political decline of lower nobility. He belonged to the class of *hidalgos* who rose through the social and economic ranks thanks to their service to a lord during the Reconquista, and the royal concessions that followed. A well-known testament to this process is stanza 29 of Jorge Manrique's *Coplas*, where the poet states that in his role as knight, his father Rodrigo Manrique, a contemporary of Montalvo, earned income and vassals: "y en este oficio ganó / las rentas y vasallos / que le dieron." It might be that from Montalvo's perspective, the Catholic Kings did not adequately value the service of these sorts of knights. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that he adopted a protagonist, Amadís, who, like himself, is characterized as *virtuoso*, *honrado*, and *caballero*<sup>41</sup> and whose main conflict derives from a king's refusal to acknowledge his service. From the end of Book II through Book IV, corresponding to the part of the *Amadís* that most reflect the hand of Montalvo, the reader finds unusually frequent references to *conocimiento*, *gradescimiento*, and *galardón*, as we saw above. Good kings such as in Bohemia, Constantinople, Rome, and the Ínsola Firme over which Amadís rules, all explicitly show gratitude to their subjects. To highlight this message, during the denouement in Book IV, Amadís grants *señoríos* to the knights of his court. In contrast, the bad kings listen to corrupt advisors and refuse to acknowledge the service of the knights of their court. Principal among the reprehensible kings is Lisuarte of Great Britain, whose failure to recognize service leads to a breakdown of order in his kingdom with nobles that rebel against him as well as to his denigration and demise, and ultimately to world war. By introducing the theme of 'mal conocimiento' into the *Amadís*, Montalvo quietly reveals himself as member of a class of local *hidalgos* and *caballeros*, whose nobility, according to Accorsi, is not matched with a substantial enough estate (127), for the service that they provide to the Crown.

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<sup>41</sup> Cortés says that in the 1508 edition from Zaragoza, one reads that the book "fue corregido y emendado por el honrado e virtuoso caballero Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, regidor de la noble villa de Medina del Campo" (434).

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