

⁶⁴ For López Pinciano's comments on the *libros*, see *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 11-12. The influence of López Pinciano on Cervantes has been argued and examined by Jean Canavaggio, "Alonso López Pinciano y la estética literaria de Cervantes en el *Quijote*," *AACer*, 7 (1958), 15-107, and E. C. Riley,

Cervantes's Theory of the Novel; I have strengthened the case in "Cervantes and Tasso Reexamined," and to some extent in the present book. Another theoretician nearly as important for Cervantes, Miguel Sánchez de Lima, has not been studied. In his *Arte poética en romance castellano* (1580) Sánchez coincides with Cervantes on many points, among them the importance of following rules, the large number of authors who do not, the poverty of poets, that many called poets do not deserve the name, the difference between appearance and reality, the abundance of *Alisnjeros* who plague the influential, the superiority of previous times, the plague of "canciones, y dichos inhonestos" (p. 30 of the ed. cited), and the existence of Spanish authors who are as good as the classics. Here is Sánchez de Lima's comment on the *Alibros de caballerías*, taken from the edition of Rafael de Balbín Lucas (Madrid: CSIC, 1944), pp. 42-43, which will serve as an example of the attacks on the genre: "Que dire mas dela Poesia? sino que es tan prouechosa ala Republica Christiana, quanto dañosos y perjudiciales los libros de cauallerias, que no siruen de otra cosa, sino de corromper los animos delos mancebos y donzellas, con las dissoluciones que en ellos se hallan, como si nuestra mala inclinacion no bastasse, pues de algunos no se puede sacar fruto, que para el alma sea de prouecho, sino todo mentiras y vanidades: y pesame en extremo de ver la corrupcion que en esto se vsa, por lo qual se deuia escusar, y tambien por ser mas el daño que dellos resulta ala republica, que no el prouecho, pues no se puede seguir ninguno, porque en los mas dellos no se halla buena platica, pues toda es antigua: tampoco tienen buena Rhetorica, y las sentencias son muy pocas, y essas muy trilladas, ni ay enellos cosas de admiracion, sino son mentiras de tajos y reuses, ni doctrinas de edificacion ni auisos de prouecho."

⁶⁵ Italics mine. It continues: "como los mancebos y doncellas por su ociosidad principalmente se ocupan en aquello, devanécense y aficiónanse en cierta manera a los casos que leen en aquellos libros haber acontecido, así de amores como de armas y otras vanidades; y aficionados, cuando se ofrece algún caso semejante, danse a él más a rienda suelta que si no lo oviesen leído: y muchas veces la madre deja encerrada la hija en casa, creyendo la deja recogida, y queda leyendo en estos semejantes libros, que valdría más la llevase consigo." The document was published by Clemencín in the introduction to his edition.

⁶⁶ Scholars have identified many comments hostile to the *Alibros*, although they would form such a dismal anthology that no one has cared to reprint them all in one collection; those known a generation ago are analyzed by Riquer in the first introduction cited in note 19. (For references to criticisms other than those mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, see *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 10, n. 5.) It is true that many of these writers were opposed to other types of secular literature, including the poetry of Garcilaso, pastoral works such as *La Diana*, "coplas y farsas de amores y otras vanidades," as the 1555 petition put it, and especially *Celestina*--anything which might encourage illicit relations between the sexes, or as Sebastián de Córdoba put it, "obras...profanas y amorosas que son dañosas y noscivas mayormente para los mancebos y mugeres sin esperiencia" (*Garcilaso a lo divino*, ed. Glen R. Gale [Madrid: Castalia, 1971], p. 83). Still, *Alibros de caballerías* were the primary target, in part because of their popularity, and also because the love they endorsed was much more earthy and less contemplative than that of such an author as Garcilaso.

⁶⁷ Thus the attitudes of Juan Palomeque (II, 84, 19-85, 18), and Don Quixote (Part I, Chapter 49).

⁶⁸ See Justina Ruiz de Conde, *El amor y el matrimonio secreto en los libros de caballerías* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1948). This is precisely the case of Dorotea (II, 17, 30-22, 27), whose reading of the *Alibros* has already been noted (p. 00); it is also that of Clavijo and Antonomasia, in the story told in Chapter 38 of Part II.

⁶⁹ "Que los libros de caballerías son incitadores de la sensualidad es, sin duda, la crítica que aparece con más frecuencia en los autores graves" (Riquer, "Cervantes y la caballerescas," in *Suma cervantina*, p. 283).

Pornographic writings, whose affinity with other types of unrealistic literature has been pointed out several times (J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* [New York: Doubleday, 1954], p. 112; Angela Carter, *The Sadeian Woman and the Ideology of Pornography* [New York: Harper and Row, 1978], p. 20; John Gordon, *The Myth of the Monstrous Male, and other Feminist Fables* [New York: Playboy, 1982], p. 180), hold a position to some extent comparable to that of the *Alibros de caballerías* in Golden Age Spain. The following statements have been made about both genres: they are especially harmful to young people; they affect people's behavior for the worse (although defenders say for the better), and appeal to the prurient interest. They present fantasies as fact, and can mislead those who have not the wisdom and experience to perceive this; in particular, they present women as more lascivious than they are. Better pornography/*Alibros de caballerías* might be acceptable, but what we have is terrible, and should be prohibited. Existing works were written by hack authors, and are monotonous and boring; there are better things to read, and it is puzzling that such "bad" works are so popular.

Both have at times been prohibited, but the prohibitions have been less than totally effective. (See notes 80 and 93, *infra*.) Both have had their defenders, and their devoted readers, first the economically privileged, then those of more limited resources.

A person who believed that pornography reflected reality (in support of which much specious evidence could be cited), and tried to live his life in accordance with it, would probably meet the same fate as Alonso Quixano.

⁷⁰ This book, written by Jerónimo de San Pedro and recipient of a municipal (Valencian) subvention (Francisco Martí Grajales, *Ensayo de un diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de los poetas que florecieron en el reino de Valencia hasta el año 1700* [Madrid, 1927], p. 429), was allegedly published in Valencia in 1554, although no one has ever reported having seen a copy, and the work is known only through the edition of Antwerp of the same year. On it, see George Ticknor, who is the last person to have set eyes on Volume II, in his *History of Spanish Literature*, sixth American edition (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891), I, 257-60, and Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, I, 449-51; the unpublished Part III of the work, which these scholars find mysterious, would probably have dealt with the *Iglesia militante*, and might have something to do with the *Carolea* of Gerónimo Sempere (Valencia, 1560), identified by Ticknor (I, 257, n. 10) and Pascual de Gayangos ("Discurso preliminar," *Alibros de caballerías*, I [no more published], BAE, 40 [1857; rpt. Madrid: Atlas, 1963], pp. iii-lxii, at p. lvii, n. 3) with San Pedro.

Treatment of other books is complicated because there has been no survey of Spanish prose or narrative verse literature *Aa lo divino*. The *Historia y milicia cristiana del caballero Peregrino*, of Alonso de Soria (Cuenca, 1601), is studied by Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, "Una posible fuente de

\$AEI Criticón\$B de Gracián," \$AArchivo Teológico Granadino\$B, 25 (1962), 7-21; on the \$ACaballero del Sol\$B of Pedro Hernández de Villalumbrales (Medina del Campo, 1552) see Gayangos, "Discurso preliminar," pp. lviii-lix, and Thomas, p. 128. The \$ACaballero asisio\$B or \$APoema de San Francisco y otros Santos de su Orden\$B of Gabriel de Mata (Bilbao, 1587-89), had of the chivalric only the title and a typically chivalric woodcut on the title page; Jaime de Alcalá's \$ACavallería christiana\$B (Valencia, c. 1515), the only one of these books to have more than one edition, is not a \$ALibro de caballerías\$B, although the author expresses the desire to attract readers of the \$ALibros\$B (see my comment in \$ARomances of Chivalry\$B, p. 46, n. 29bis). The \$ACavallero Venturoso\$B of Juan Valladares de Valdelomar, to be mentioned again shortly (p. 00), certainly has something in common with this type of book. I have not seen the verse \$ACaballero de la Clara Estrella\$B of Andrés de la Losa (\$ABatalla y triunfo del hombre contra los vicios. Enel qual se declaran los maravillosos hechos del Cavallero dela clara Estrella\$B, Sevilla: Bartolomé González, 1580), the \$ALibro del cavallero christiano\$B of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza (Antequera, 1577; Sainz Rodríguez, p. 12, n. 11), nor the \$ACantos morales\$B of Gabriel de Mata (Valladolid, 1594), which according to Menéndez Pelayo "pertenece enteramente al género alegórico caballeresco a lo divino" (I, 452).

⁷¹ \$AObras completas castellanas\$B, ed. Félix García, O.S.A., 4th edition (Madrid: Católica, 1967), I, 406.

⁷² Ed. P. Félix García, I, Clásicos Castellanos, 104 (Madrid: La Lectura, 1930), 55-74.

⁷³ These statements are from the \$Alicencia\$B (p. vii in the reproduction of the second edition of Sancha [1783] in the series Textos Medievales, 38 [Valencia, Anubar, 1970]). For Pineda's criticism of the \$ALibros\$B, see Glaser, pp. 401-02, and for additional information on the \$APasso honroso\$B, see NN41 in my bibliography, \$ACastilian Romances of Chivalry in the Sixteenth Century\$B.

⁷⁴ Ed. José Amor y Vázquez, BAE, 232 (Madrid: Atlas, 1970), p. 10.

⁷⁵ Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, \$ABibliografía madrileña\$B (Madrid, 1891-1907), I, 197.

^{75A} Quoted from Pérez Pastor, I, 322-23; the same text, with significant variants, in Tubino, p. 190.

⁷⁶ Juan Boyer brought out, in 1586, the first edition of the fictional \$AEspejo de caballerías\$B since 1551, and the 1583-86 edition of the \$AEspejo de príncipes\$B; Boyer was also the publisher of Agustín Alonso's \$AHistoria de las hazañas y hechos del invencible Cavallero Bernardo del Carpio\$B (1585), discussed in the following chapter. Benito Boyer published in 1563 the last Castilian edition of \$APrimaleón\$B.

⁷⁷ For earlier works of this sort, see \$ARomances of Chivalry\$B, pp. 39-40.

⁷⁸ The chronicle of the Gran Capitán is of course of one of the books found in the suitcase; Don Quixote's defense of the historicity of chivalry, in Chapter 49 of Part I, reflects the reading of the \$APasso honroso\$B and the \$ACrónica de Juan II\$B. Fray Luis, Cervantes said through Callope, "yo reverencio, adoro y sigo" (\$ALa Galatea\$B, II, 230, 28). Cervantes never mentions Pérez de Hita or his work, but his contact with it is very likely; Astrana (VII, 123) has proposed that Pérez de Hita is the "zapatero de obra prima" of \$AParnaso\$B, 37, 11-13, a work in which "romances moriscos," such as are found in the book of Pérez de Hita, are also attacked (101, 24-29). That Cervantes knew the \$ACaballería celestial\$B, prohibited shortly after its publication, is no more than a possibility, and he was opposed to mixing "lo humano con lo divino" (I, 37, 12-14); however, he did know San Pedro's \$ACarolea\$B, praised at I, 106, 13-18.

⁷⁹ Such a failure was to be anticipated: "Tenemos oy día mayor copia de libros castellanos que nunca. Han sido compuestos de nuevo, como traducidos de latín y griego, tan sabrosos por su buen decir al gusto del que los leyese, y tan provechosos al que se quisiese aprovechar dellos, que visto lo que pasa de los de cavallerías es más que ceguedad la nuestra" (Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Instrucción y camino para la sabiduría*, in his *Obras* [Alcalá, 1546], fol. xv).

⁸⁰ Irving Leonard, *Books of the Brave* (1949; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1964), pp. 81-85, who observes (p. 85) that all of these prohibitions were issued in the absence of Carlos V, by the queen or by the future Felipe II. It was Francisco Rodríguez Marín who formulated and then documented the hypothesis that the prohibitions were repeated precisely because they were not being honored (*El "Quijote" y Don Quijote en América* [Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1911]; reprinted in his *Estudios cervantinos*, pp. 93-137). Note the justification, in a 1543 *Acédula*, for preventing the

Indígenas from reading the books: "De llevarse a las dichas Indias libros de romance y materias profanas y fábulas, así como son libros de *Amadís* y otros desta calidad de mentirosas historias, se siguen muchos inconvenientes, porque los indios que supieren leer, dándose a ellos, dexarán los libros de sana y buena doctrina y leyendo los de mentirosas historias, deprenderán en ellos malas costumbres e vicio; y demás desto, de que sepan que aquellos libros de historias vanas han sido compuestos sin haber pasado así, podría ser que perdiesen el abtoridad y crédito de nuestra Sagrada Scriptura y otros libros de doctores santos, creyendo, como gente no arraigada en la fee, que todos nuestros libros eran de una abtoridad y manera" (Archivo de Indias, 158-2-4, as published by José Toribio Medina,

Biblioteca Hispano-Americana [Santiago de Chile: The Author, 1898-1907], VI, xxvi-xxvii).

⁸¹ P. E. Russell, "Secular Literature and the Censors: A Sixteenth-Century Document Re-Examined," *BHS*, 59 (1982), 219-25, at p. 221. *Amadís* was spared, however, because its "amores" were "muy castos."

⁸² Agustín G. de Amezcua y Mayo, *Andanzas y meditaciones de un procurador castellano en las Cortes de Madrid de 1592-1598* (Madrid, 1945); at pp. 190-91 of the reprint in his *Opúsculos histórico-literarios*, III, 173-211.

⁸³ "En la Corte no habla un solo autor, traductor, ni editor que se atreviera a poner manos en libros de caballerías" (Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, I, xiii-xiv). The reasons for this are not hard to see: the first semi-official censor, Alejo Venegas, was virtually the initiator of the attacks on the *libros* (see my "An Early Censor: Alejo Venegas," in *Medieval, Renaissance and Folklore Studies in Honor of John Esten Keller* [Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980], pp. 229-41); he was succeeded by Juan López de Hoyos, whose hostility to chivalric fiction, to be presumed in any event from his Erasmian outlook (see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 615-23 and 733-34), is seen in his censoring to the point of occasional unintelligibility a work which dealt with the purportedly true chivalry of such figures as Hector, Arthur, Charlemagne, etc., the *Crónica llamada el Triunpho de los nueve más preciados varones de la Fama* (Alcalá: Juan Iniguez de Lequerica, 1585). In his *Aprobación*, López de Hoyos explains that he had "cotejado las historias Divinas y humanas, para ajustar los vocablos al uso presente, y a la pulicia Cortesana. Hecho hecho con el mejor término que he podido: porque como el autor [Antonio Rodríguez Portugal] es Portugués, quiero dezir, que la traduxo de lengua Francesa, en que ella está compuesta, tiene la lengua bárbara y sin stilo, y en algunas impropiedades muy licenciosa. Va repurgado de todo: y para ello fue importante la diligencia, y que no se passasse folio sin ir muy mirado lo borrado, o mejorado. Va de modo, que el impressor lo verá con facilidad, y emendará, como va apuntado, y quitará lo que va testado. Con lo qual es una muy exemplar obra, para afficionar a la cavallería a honestos exercicios y obras heroicas, y se puede y deve imprimir como tal."

It may be because of this unofficial prohibition of *libros de caballerías* in Madrid that Part I of *Don Quixote* was published without *licencia* or *Aprobación*, an unusual event on which Pérez Pastor comments (*Bibliografía madrileña*, II, 85); Part II, making up for this lack, had three such documents. It is certainly for this reason that so many continuations and reprints were published in nearby Alcalá.

⁸⁴ I.E., the new books *A Olivante de Laura* (dedicated, significantly, to Felipe II), and *A Febo el Troyano* were published in Barcelona, and *A Rosián de Castilla* in Lisbon; it was typical to publish outside of Castile things which could not be published within it, such as Luis Zapata's *A Arte poético* (Lisbon, 1592), unpublishable not because of its content but because of Zapata's poor relationship with the crown.

⁸⁵ Note the *Alicencia* (lightly modernized) for the publication in 1579 of Parts III and IV of *A Belianis de Grecia*, written at the request of Carlos V, as the book itself tells us, perhaps to facilitate issuing of documents: "Por quanto por parte de vos Andrés Fernández vezino dela Ciudad de Burgos, nos fue hecha relacion diziendo [que el] licenciado Hernández vuestro hermano difunto abogado que fue en esta nuestra corte, avla co[m]puesto la historia que dezlan de don Belianis de Grecia, que hera muy útil y provechoso para la cavallerla y cosas de guerra, y tenla avisos muy necesarios para bien hablar a los que no tienen experiencia, *Ay por nos sele avla dado licencia para imprimir la primera y segunda parte*, y hera assi quel dicho licenciado con mucho trabajo havla acavado la tercera y quarta parte que no hera de menos effecto que las demás, suplicándonos hos mandásemos dar licencia para poder imprimir la dicha tercera y quarta parte y privilegio por diez años o como la nuestra merced fuesse, lo qual visto por los del nuestro consejo, por quanto enel dicho libro se hizo la diligencia que la pregmática por nos agora nuevamente sobre lo susodicho fecha dispone, fue acordado que devlamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta para vos enla dicha razón & nos tuvimoslo por bien." (The passage from the prologue documenting Carlos' interest is reproduced by Thomas, p. 149.) Similarly suggestive is the *Alicencia* for the 1586 reprint of *A Cristalián de España*: "Por quanto por parte de vos doña Juana Bernal de Gatos, biuda, vezina de la villa de Valladolid, hija y única heredera de Beatriz Bernal, difunta, muger que fue del Bachiller Torres de Gatos, nos fue fecha relación que la dicha vuestra madre avla compuesto un libro intitulado don Cristalián de España, de que hizistes presentación, *Ajuntamente con un privilegio original dado a Christóval Pelegrín*, el qual lo cedió a la dicha vuestra madre *Ay otra vez se avla impresso con licencia y privilegio del emperador y Rey nuestro señor*, que está en gloria. Y porque avla muchos días que se avla cunplido y era pobre y padecía de necesidad nos pedistes y suplicastes os le mandásemos prorrogar y conceder por tiempo de veinte años o como la muestra merced fuesse" (lightly modernized from the quotation in the edition of Sidney Stuart Park of *A Cristalián*, dissertation, Temple University, 1981, p. 52).

In the Alcalá, 1580 and Medina del Campo, 1583 editions of the *A Espejo de príncipes*, the *Alicencia* says that "vos, Blas de Robles... hexistes presentación [de la segunda parte], y porque era útil y provechoso, nos pedistes y suplicastes os diéssemos licencia y facultad para le poder imprimir, juntamente con la primera parte, que antes con licencia nuestra se avla impresso" (cited in my edition of the *A Espejo de príncipes*, I, lxxii). The most curious of these legal documents, however, is that prefixed to the 1587 and 1588 editions of Part III of the *A Espejo de príncipes*. The errata statement of that volume is dated May 19, 1587; subsequently, and thus completely the reverse of normal practice, and only one day before the *Atasa* of June 13, 1587, we find the following document of June 12, 1587, giving the author permission to do what he had already done and already had permission to do, and ordering him to submit the book to an examination it had already had: "Por quanto por parte de vos, el licenciado Marcos Martínez vezino de la villa de Alcalá de Henares nos fue fecha relación, que *Acon licencia nuestra avlais impresso un libro* por vos compuesto, intitulado, Tercera parte de Espejo de Príncipes y cavalleros, del qual hizistes

presentación, y nos suplicates os mandássemos dar privilegio por veinte años, o como la nuestra merced fuesse.... Por la presente por os hazer bien y merced, \$Aos damos licencia\$B y facultad, para que por tiempo de diez años primeros siguientes, que corren y cuentan desde el día de la fecha desta nuestra cédula, podáis hazer imprimir y vender el dicho libro de que de suso se haze mención, y \$Adamos licencia\$B y facultad a qualquier impressor destos nuestros reinos que vos nombráredes, para que por esta vez le pueda imprimir, con que después de impresso, antes que se venda, le trayáis al nuestro consejo juntamente con el original que en él se vio, que va rubricado y firmado de Pedro çapata del Marmol escrivano de Cámara...para que se vea si la dicha impresión está conforme al original, o trayáis fe en pública forma, en como por corrector nombrado por nuestro mandado se vio y corregió la dicha impresión."

⁸⁶ Mary Cozad has informed me that she believes that the 1590 manuscript of \$ALidamarte de Armenia\$B was a copy prepared for typesetting. Perhaps the impossibility of publishing it explains its unusual printed title page (see her "Una curiosidad bibliográfica: la portada de \$ALidamarte de Armenia\$B (1590), libro de caballerías," \$ARABM\$B, 79 [1976], 255-59).

⁸⁷ Quoted in Pérez Pastor, \$ABibliografía madrileña\$B, I, 238. The work also reads (both quotes from page 2 of the second edition, Madrid, 1595): "Con qué descuido bivlan los hombres en esta parte: todo era escribir cosas prophanas: fábulas, libros de cavallerías, que aunque de los quatro de Amadís era opinión de viejos, que enseñavan un cortés trato y lenguaje, que deven usar los cavalleros (como han de guardar su palabra, y quán leales han de ser, con las demás cosas a este talle) por otra parte ésos con los demás andan llenos de mentiras sin tocar historia verdadera, ni dar documento que sea de alguna utilidad."

⁸⁸ \$AFlorisel de Niquea\$B and \$APrimaleón\$B were published in Lisbon in 1566; \$APalmerín de Inglaterra\$B (in Portuguese) in Lisbon in 1567; Part IV of \$AFlorisel\$B in Zaragoza in 1568; \$AAmadís de Grecia\$B and \$APrimaleón\$B in Lisbon in 1596 and 1598 respectively.

⁸⁹ Although much has been written on the chronology of composition of Part I, little can be said with confidence about it. The only firm evidence is that the most recent book mentioned in the "escrutinio de la librería" was published in 1591, and that, according to Cervantes' statement in the prologue to Part I, it was "engendr[ado] en una cárcel, donde toda incomodidad tiene su asiento y donde todo triste ruido haze su habitación" (I, 29, 13-15); this must be a reference to the Cárcel Real of Seville, in which he was imprisoned in 1597 for about three months. (Rodríguez Marín, in "La cárcel en que se engendró el

\$AQuijote\$B," Appendix III to his "nueva edición crítica," speaks of a new imprisonment in Seville in 1601 or 1602, but this episode, "not absolutely established" according to Fitzmaurice-Kelly, \$ACervantes. A Memoir\$B, p. 110, is refuted by Astrana, V, 460-61, who, however, goes to inadmissible lengths in outlining the chronology of composition of \$ADon Quixote\$B.) "Engendrado," however, means no more than "conceived mentally" (the term is clearly used with that sense in the prologue to the \$ANovelas exemplares\$B, I, 23, 13). The question is further confused by the association of \$ADon Quixote\$B with the accession of Felipe III in 1598 (as proposed below), and by widespread belief that \$ADon Quixote\$B began as a short work (the \$Aprimera salida\$B), later expanded (this latter thesis is reviewed skeptically by Erwin Koppen, "Gab es einen \$AUr-Quijote\$B? Zu einer Hypothese der Cervantes-Philologie," \$ARJ\$B, 27 [1976], 330-46). That some part of it existed in the 1590's is the most that can safely be asserted.

For an introduction to the debate on this topic, besides the article of Koppen, see Geoffrey Stagg, "Castro del Río, ¿cuna del Quijote?," *Clavileno*, 6, No. 36 (November-December, 1955), pp. 1-11.

⁹⁰ Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastiginia o Fastos geniales*, trans. Narciso Alonso Cortés (Valladolid, 1916), pp. 37, 49, 70-71, 88, 106, and 132. The original title of this work is itself chivalric: *Fastiginia ou Fastos Geniales tirados da tumba de Merlin, onde forão achados com a Demanda do Santo Brial, pello Arcebispo Turpim. Descubertos e tirados a luz pelo famoso lusitano Fr. Pantaleao, que os achou em hum Mosteyro de Calouros*.

⁹¹ The passage is cited in note 62.

⁹² Edward Glaser, "Nuevos datos sobre la crítica de los libros de caballerías en los siglos XVI y XVII," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 3 (1966), 393-410: "los ataques contra los libros de caballerías, lejos de disminuir, de hecho se multiplicaron durante las dos últimas décadas del siglo XVI" (p. 399). Glaser has several seventeenth-century examples.

⁹³ Irving Leonard, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies, with some "Registros" of Shipments of Books to the Spanish Colonies*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 16, No. 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933), pp. 213-371; José Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación española*, Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, No. 74 (Buenos Aires, 1940), Nos. 24 and 30. These sources document the extensive shipment of *libros de caballerías* to the New World, where they were prohibited, and, considering that fact and the close cultural links between the colonies and Spain during the colonial period, may be taken as indicating reading in the peninsula. *Libros de caballerías* are repeatedly found in inventories of peninsular booksellers; the fact that they were for sale indicates that potential purchasers existed (books for which there was no market would have been recycled for the considerable value of their paper). The inventory of Juan de Timoneda (1583) was published by José Enrique Serrano y Morales, *Resena histórica...de las imprentas que han existido en Valencia* (Valencia, 1898-99), pp. 548-59, and by E. Juliá Martínez, in his edition of the *Obras de Juan de Timoneda*, *Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles*, 2^a Época, 19 (Madrid, 1947), I, xl-li; that of Benito Boyer (1592) was published by Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo* (Madrid, 1895), pp. 456-62 (discussed in "Who Read the Romances of Chivalry?," in my *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 89-118, at p. 100, n. 23). The inventory of Cristóbal López (1606) has not been published, but Astrana (VII, 794) reports that it contained many *libros de caballerías*, so many that he soon gives up listing them.

⁹⁴ Obviously *Don Quixote* had some impact on the chivalric books. Cervantes himself says that it did (note 37, *supra*), many of his contemporaries confirm it (note 44, *supra*), and no new works were published (on the one reprint, see note 48, *supra*). Gayangos cites two pieces of evidence in support of the impact of *Don Quixote* on the *libros*: the first that a student in Salamanca found, on returning home in 1623, that his "libros de caballerías y otros de entretenimiento, a cuya lectura habla sido muy aficionado en su mocedad, hablan sido entregados a las llamas." The second is that "de varios pasajes de una curiosísima representación que los libreros del reino hicieron, en 1664, al consejo de Castilla, en solicitud de que se les dispensase del pago de alcabala, se deduce que la destrucción de libros caballerescos, verificada después de publicado el *Quijote*, fue enorme." (Both in Gayangos' "Discurso preliminar" to *Libros de caballerías*, I, BAE, 40 [1857; rpt. Madrid: Atlas, 1963], p. lx, n. 1; Gayangos' sources are apparently still unpublished.) Worth noting is the disappearance from his library, before his death, of the

libros de caballerías of the Inca Garcilaso; see José Durand, "La biblioteca del Inca,"

\$ANRFH\$B, 2 (1948), 239-64.

⁹⁵ Diego de Colmenares, the seventeenth-century historian of Segovia, had a copy of \$APrimaleón\$B (Encarnación García Dini, "Per una bibliografia dei romanzi di cavalleria: Edizioni del ciclo dei 'Palmerines,'" in \$AStudi sul "Palmerin de Oliva." III. Saggi e ricerche\$B [Pisa: Istituto di Letteratura Spagnola e Ispano-americana dell'Università di Pisa, 1966], pp. 5-44, at p. 31). Many were found in the library of Melchor Pérez de Soto, studied by Donald G. Castanien, "The Mexican Inquisition Censors a Private Library, 1655," \$AHispanic American Historical Review\$B, 34 (1954), 374-91. Astrana (VII, 795) reports copies of "\$AAmadís de Gaula, Don Florisel de Niquea\$B (3.^a parte),

\$AFelixmarte de Hircania\$B, etc." in the library of Juan de Aguilar y Acuña, inventoried in 1644. As late as 1670, copies of \$APrimaleón\$B and \$APalmerin de Oliva\$B were found in the library of Pedro Antonio de Aragón (Chevalier, \$ALectura y lectores\$B, p. 44).

⁹⁶ Irving Leonard, who has most extensively studied the Spanish book trade in the early seventeenth century, was so impressed by the circulation of \$Alibros de caballerías\$B after Cervantes that he questioned whether \$ADon Quixote\$B had had the impact on the genre that it sought to have and Cervantes and his contemporaries thought it did: "Cervantes' great masterpiece...had allegedly given the coup de grâce in 1605 to the protracted vogue of the romances of chivalry. This assumption, enjoying something of the sanctity of dogma, receives a disconcerting jar as the eye roves over this book list of half a century later" (\$ABaroque Times in Old Mexico\$B [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966; first published 1959], p. 94). "Cervantes' recent burlesquing of the fantastic adventures of these fictional supermen had not yet destroyed their vogue" (p. 120).

⁹⁷ Quoted by Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 67.

⁹⁸ His religious \$ACavallero Venturoso\$B, published for the first time by A[dolfo] B[onilla] y S[an] M[artín] and M[anuel] S[errano] y S[anz] (Madrid, 1902), offers "caballerías venturosas.... Verás aquí, discreto lector, en este caballero, su audacia y peregrinación peleando con los trances de la variable fortuna, unas veces en levantados puestos y otras en espantosos sobresaltos, como la nave ligera...en las furibundas olas del mar.... Y con particular estudio y deseo de aprovechar, me puse a considerar cómo podría abrir de par en par las puertas del relajado gusto de tantos vanos lectores.... Hallarás, pues, que como autor, sacerdote y solitario, no te pongo aquí ficciones de la \$ASelva de aventuras\$B, no las batallas fingidas del \$ACaballero del Febo\$B; no sátiras y cautelas del agradable \$APícaro\$B; no los amores de la pérfida \$ACelestina\$B, y sus embustes, tizones del infierno; ni menos las ridículas y disparatas figas de \$ADon Quijote de la Mancha\$B, que mayor [mancha] la deja en las almas de los que lo leen, con el perdimiento de tiempo" (pp. 8-9). The MS of this book bears three \$Acensuras\$B, including one of Lope; all are dated in the first half of 1617 (p. 1).

⁹⁹ The passage (from the dedication of \$AEI desconfiado\$B) is reproduced in the introduction to my edition of the \$AEspejo de príncipes\$B, I, L, 49. Lope's praise of the \$Alibros\$B may be a reaction to Cervantes' attack; see my "Cervantes, Lope, and Avellaneda."

¹⁰⁰ The first reference is to his \$AEstafeta del dios Momo\$B, ed. Alfredo Rodríguez (New York: Las Américas, 1968), p. 36; the second is to "La peregrinación sabia," from the \$ACoronas del Parnaso\$B (see pp. 34-48 of the edition of Francisco A. Icaza, Clásicos Castellanos, 57 [Madrid: La Lectura, 1924]).

¹⁰¹ Those identified have been enumerated by Thomas, pp. 78-79, 116-17, and 126, and Adolfo de Castro, \$ADiscurso acerca de las costumbres públicas y privadas de los españoles en el siglo XVII,

fundado en el estudio de las comedias de Calderón (Madrid, 1881), p. 75; one of these is studied by Ángel Valbuena Briones, "La influencia de un libro de caballerías en el castillo de Lindabrides," *SARCEHSB*, 5 (1981), 373-83.

¹⁰² Ed. Miguel Romera-Navarro, II (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), 35-36.

¹⁰³ Slavery would eventually have died out in the United States of its own accord, as it did in Latin America, but in 1860 how many could see that, and how many abolitionists would have cared to await it?

¹⁰⁴ This book is studied by P. E. Russell, "The Last of the Spanish Chivalric Romances: *Don Policisne de Boecia*," in *Essays on Narrative Fiction*, pp. 141-52, and previously by Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 54-56, and Astrana, V, 493-96.

¹⁰⁵ There was no Castilian edition of *Tablante de Ricamonte* since 1558, and none at all since that of Estella, 1564, yet it was reprinted in Seville in 1599 and Alcalá in 1604. The *Historia del cavallero Clamades* had not been published since 1562, but it appeared twice (Alcalá and Seville) in 1603.

Oliveros de Castilla, unpublished since 1554, appeared in 1604 in both Burgos and Alcalá. The first edition of *Flores y Blanca Flor* since 1564 was published in Alcalá in 1604; the first edition of *Pierres de Provenza* since 1562, in Zaragoza in 1602.

¹⁰⁶ *Romances* were a medium parallel in its function, for the poorer classes, to that of *libros* for those more prosperous: "a esas ficciones [libros de caballerías], sucedieron versos, coplas, y Cantares para que más se radicase en la Juventud, el error, la ociosidad, e ignorancia, y aun el vicio" (Sarmiento, *Noticia*, p. 102). Although patriotic scholarship has seen the *romancero* as central to Spain's identity ("¿Qué es el Romancero que la esencia de nuestra nacionalidad?," Astrana, VI, 497), it seems that Cervantes was opposed to its historical inaccuracies just as he was to those of the *libros*; see my "The *Romance* as Seen by Cervantes."

The *romance* of the Marqués de Mantua was used as a children's text, as we find in Mateo Alemán and Rodrigo Caro (quoted by Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," I, 173). The *alicencia* for the 1598 edition is dated November 8, less than two months after the death of Felipe II. No copies of the 1598 edition are known, but the *alicencia* is reproduced in the 1608 reprint. (Bibliographical data from Juan Catalina García [López], *Ensayo de una tipografía complutense* [Madrid, 1889], p. 254, who gives the author's name as "Trebiño," and Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Diccionario de pliegos sueltos poéticos. Siglo XVI* [Madrid: Castalia, 1970].) This publication included the *romances* "De Mantua sale el marqués," "De Mantua salía aprieta," and "En el nombre de Jesús," all of which were included in the famous *Cancionero de romances* and derivative collections, none of which were published in Castile either.

¹⁰⁷ Examples are cited by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo in "Cultura literaria de Miguel de Cervantes y elaboración del

Quijote," first published in *ARBMB*, 12 (1905), 309-39, at p. 334, and reprinted in at least seven different collections, of which the most accessible is probably his *Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria*, edición nacional, I (Madrid: CSIC, 1941), 323-56, at pp. 350-51. (For other editions, see the bibliography.) The full text of Melchor Cano cited by Menéndez Pelayo, in which a priest is said to have believed that everything the "ministros de la república" permitted to be printed was true, is conveniently available in Mayáns y Siscar's *Vida*, pp. 33-34; another criticism is cited in my *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 160. The prologue to the chivalric epic poem

\$ACelidón de Iberia\$B obviously refers to \$Alibros de caballerías\$B when it points out that while some "aman las historias verdaderas...otros, y casi los mas, gustan en extremo de fabulas...ya que no se lean con el intento que los inuectores dellas pretendieron, ninguno ay que leyendolas las vayan juzgando por no acontecidas, y por agenas de verdad" (quoted in Frank Pierce, \$ALa poesía épica del Siglo de Oro\$B, 2nd edition [Madrid: Gredos, 1968], p. 238). Fernández de Oviedo wrote that "no sé yo con qué seso los que esto saben [que Dios aborrece la mentira] se ocupan en estos tractados viçiosos e noveleros e agenos de toda verdad que de pocos tiempos acá se componen e publican, e andan tan derramados e favorecidos, que sin ninguna verguença no falta quien los alegue y acote, como si fuessen historias veras" (cited by Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 60-61).

¹⁰⁸ See my "Pseudo-Historicity of the Romances of Chivalry," already cited.

¹⁰⁹ III, 69, 12-14; see also III, 49, 1-2, and III, 347, 20-22. Satan is of course the greatest liar: see III, 411, 17-21; "Coloquio de los perros," III, 214, 23-25; and the famous condemnation of "moros" (i.e., non-Christians) as people of whom "no se podía esperar verdad alguna" (III, 60, 26-61, 1).

¹¹⁰ I, 92, 32-93, 2; I, 96, 13-14; II, 83, 21-26; II, 362, 26. In \$ADon Quixote\$B the chivalric books are frequently condemned with religious imagery. The destruction of Don Quixote's library resembles an Inquisitorial act (apparently first pointed out by Wardropper, "Cervantes' Theory of the Drama," p. 219; expanded by Stephen Gilman, "Los inquisidores literarios de Cervantes," in \$AActas del Tercer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas\$B [Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1970], pp. 3-25); the accursed books (II, 398, 22) should be marked, like a heretic, with a "sanbenito" (III, 93, 8), and the authors sent to hell ("el centro del abismo," II, 400, 32-401, 2). As discussed in Chapter 5 of this book, in the \$Alibros\$B devotion to women is substituted for devotion to God.

It is doubtful that Cervantes was aware of it, but the spread of \$AAmadís\$B in France was attributed to the devil, who used this means of advancing Protestantism; at a later date this was expanded to the personal involvement of Luther, presumably so moved by the book to lust that he abandoned his vow of chastity and married a nun. (See Julius Schwering, "Luther und Amadis," \$AEuphorion\$B, 29 [1928], 618-19; Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 174; Thomas, pp. 198 and 217-18; \$ARomances of Chivalry\$B, p. 92, n. 6.) Américo Castro (\$AEl pensamiento de Cervantes\$B, p. 61, n. 20) has already pointed out how the attacks on the \$Alibros\$B coincide chronologically with the Council of Trent, which prohibited the clandestine marriages so typical of the

\$Alibros\$B (see Marcel Bataillon, "Cervantes et le 'mariage chrétien,'" \$ABH\$B, 49 [1947], 129-44; I have used the translation in \$AVaria lección de clásicos españoles\$B [Madrid: Gredos, 1964], pp. 238-55, at p. 28). The Council of Trent also prohibited chivalric combat, as is pointed out at IV, 210, 26-27, though in fact there was a long tradition of ecclesiastical opposition (see Sydney Painter, \$AFrench Chivalry\$B [1940; rpt. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957], pp. 89 and 155). The whole story has not yet been reconstructed.

¹¹¹ "\$ALos trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda, historia setentrional\$B," in \$ASuma cervantina\$B, p. 203, n. 8. Avalle-Arce also points out that it is in the same chapter that the already-written "Rinconete y Cortadillo" is mentioned.

¹¹² Their edition of the \$APersiles\$B, I, vii. Stanislav Zimic, "El libro de caballerías de Cervantes," \$AActa Neophilologica\$B, 8 (1975), 3-46, proposes that the canon refers to Cervantes' play \$AEl gallardo español\$B.

¹¹³ "[Las quatro partes de \$ABelianís\$B] tienen necesidad de un poco de ruibarbo para purgar la

demasiada cólera suya, y es menester quitarles todo aquello del castillo de la Fama y otras impertinencias de más importancia" (I, 100, 24-28).

¹¹⁴ This should be understood as a desire to continue Books I-II of *Belianís*, and not the commercially unsuccessful Parts III-IV, first published in 1579 although written at the request of Carlos V (*Asupra*, n. 85). (The published *Belianís* consists of *Libros* 1-2 and *Partes* 3-4.) Don Quixote "alabava en su autor aquel acabar su libro con la promessa de aquella inacabable aventura, y muchas vezes le vino desseo de tomar la pluma y dalle fin al pie de la letra, como allí se promete" (I, 51, 14-17); this is clearly an allusion to the end of Book II and not to Part IV. The episode of the "castillo de la Fama" which must be removed ("es menester quitarles todo aquello del castillo de la Fama y otras impertinencias de más importancia," I, 100, 26-28) is also found in Parts III-IV (see Clemencín's annotations). I would like to thank Lilia Orduna for her advice on this point.

¹¹⁵ In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, there is an unpublished continuation of *Belianís*, *La quinta parte de don Beleanis* [sic] *Ade Grecia y su hijo Velfloran. Con sus grandes echos* (MS 13138). It is obviously not Cervantine.

¹¹⁶ According to the *Crónica llamada el Triunpho de los nueve más preciados varones de la Fama* (*Asupra*, n. 83), the "nueve de la fama" were Mosés, David, Machabeo, Alexandre, Héctor Troyano, Julio César, Artús, Carlo Magno, and the crusader hero Gudofre de Bullón.

¹¹⁷ Another potential explanation for a decision not to write a continuation of *Belianís* is Cervantes' general opposition to continuations, discussed in Chapter 4.

¹¹⁸ "Quiero conceder que hubo doze Pares de Francia, pero no quiero creer que hizieron todas aquellas cosas que el arçobispo Turpín dellos escribe; porque la verdad dello es, que fueron cavalleros escogidos por los reyes de Francia, a quien llamaron pares, por ser todos iguales en valor, en calidad y en valentía, *Aa lo menos, si no lo eran, era razón que lo fuessen*, y era como una religión de las que aora se usan de Santiago o de Calatrava, que se presupone que los que la professan *Ahan de ser o deven ser* cavalleros valerosos, valientes y bien nacidos" (II, 367, 29-368, 9).

¹¹⁹ It should be kept in mind that to the extent that chivalry as understood by Don Quixote existed, it was always in imitation of literature erroneously believed truthful. See F. J. C. Hearnshaw, "Chivalry and its Place in History," in *Chivalry. A Series of Studies to Illustrate its Historical Significance and Civilizing Influence*, ed. Edgar Prestage (1928; rpt. New York: AMS, 1974), pp. 1-13; John Fraser, "Medieval Chivalry: Where and When?," in his *America and the Patterns of Chivalry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 37-40; Larry D. Benson, "The Tournament in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes and *L'Histoire de Guillaume Le Marechal*," in *Chivalric Literature. Essays on Relations between Literature and Life in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Larry D. Benson and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute of Western Michigan University, 1980), pp. 1-24, and the editors' introduction to that volume, pp. vii-ix; and Martín de Riquer, *Caballeros andantes españoles*, Colección Austral, 1397 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967), pp. 168-70. Preceding all of these is Huizinga's extensive treatment of the distance between the chivalric ideal and historical reality (*The Waning of the Middle Ages*, first published in 1924). However, the earliest statement known to me of the artificiality of chivalry is that of Sismondi, *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe* (first published in 1813): "We must not confound chivalry with the feudal system. The feudal system may be called the real life of the period of which we are treating, possessing its

advantages and inconveniences, its virtues and its vices. Chivalry, on the contrary, is the ideal world, such as it existed in the imaginations of the Romance writers. Its essential character is devotion to woman and to honour" (I, 76-77). "The more closely we look into history, the more clearly shall we perceive that the system of chivalry is an invention almost entirely poetical. It is impossible to distinguish the countries in which it is said to have prevailed. It is always represented as distant from us both in time and place; and whilst the contemporary historians give us a clear, detailed, and complete account of the vices of the court and the great, of the ferocity or corruption of the nobles, and of the servility of the people, we are astonished to find the poets, after a long lapse of time, adorning the very same ages with the most splendid fictions of grace, virtue, and loyalty. The Romance writers of the twelfth century placed the age of chivalry in the time of Charlemagne. The period when those writers existed, is the time pointed out by Francis I. At the present day, we imagine we can still see chivalry flourishing in the persons of Du Guesclin and Bayard, under Charles V and Francis I. But when we come to examine either the one period or the other, although we find in each some heroic spirits, we are forced to confess that it is necessary to antedate the age of chivalry, at least three or four centuries before any period of authentic history" (I, 79).

¹²⁰ To view the Cid as a knight-errant, as Cervantes apparently did, is historically a distortion, but from Cervantes' viewpoint a less serious one than might seem at first glance. He was portrayed much more chivalrically in the sixteenth century (see Barbara Matulka, "The Cid as a Courtly Hero, from "Amadís" to Corneille" [New York: Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1928]), but even as he appears in the "Cantar" published in the eighteenth century, he is a knight, traveling around Spain, accompanied by friends, having adventures.