

Cervantes and the *Histories* of Paolo Giovio: Translators and Truths

SUSAN BYRNE

AN EARLIER STUDY HIGHLIGHTED certain connections between the Spanish translation of Italian historian Paolo Giovio's *Elogia* and the works of Miguel de Cervantes,¹ among them Giovio's semi-apocryphal Muley Hamet and his completely fictional father Zidamet in relation to Cervantes's Cide Hamete Benengeli; an historically real, and quite irate Spanish soldier turned historian possibility for "other historians" having named Cervantes's protagonist Quesada/ Quijada; a poet Andrés de Angulo who clarifies the reference to two persons by that name in *El coloquio de los perros*; and a poem written by Cervantes's friend Gregorio Silvestre,² in which we hear the the first person poetic voice of Charles V praise himself, then Giovio and his pen, verses echoed at the end of the 1615 *Quijote* with Cide Hamete's pen praising itself and Cervantes's protagonist.

The introductions and interpolations by the same translator to another work by Italian historian Giovio, his monumental *Histories*,³ offer a pos-

1 Byrne 2007a. That study highlighted various connections (family and friends) between Cervantes and Baeza. Recent documents published by Sliwa also show that the jurist's brother, Rodrigo de Baeza, is the signature notary and/or witness on just about all of the documents signed over a period spanning 20 years by the Cervantes's uncle, Andrés, in his position as mayor of Cabra (Sliwa).

2 Sabor de Cortazar and Lerner identify Silvestre as the author of a poetic gloss in the *Quijote* (II, 18, 580, n. 18), and Eisenberg includes a volume of Silvestre's verse among the probable library he reconstructs for Cervantes.

3 The full title of Baeza's translation: *Paolo Iovio añadido con doze libros que hasta agora faltavan de todas las cosas succedidas enel mundo enestos cinquenta años de nuestro tiempo: en que se escriuen las victorias del inuicfissimo emperador don Carlos, dende que començo a reynar en España, hasta que prendió al Duque de Saxonia. Escrita en lengua Latina por el doctissimo Pavlo Iovio Obispo de Nochera, traduzido de Latin en Castellano por el Licenciado Gaspar de Baeza.* On quoting the text, I leave the original orthography, but do add accents.

sible model for Cervantes's interrupted history and layering of narrative voices in *Don Quijote*.

Like the *Elogia*, the *Histories* have a decidedly unique literary flair. Giovio didn't write a dry, dispassionate retelling of events, nor a chronicle that conformed to the image-building standards of the powerful⁴ but, rather, stories filled with information gleaned from interviews with returning soldiers and emissaries.⁵ Sometime around 1548, "Giovio became a disciple of Lucian and began adopting the methods of Greek eyewitness historiography" (Zimmerman 23), and he "probed insistently among captains and courtiers to uncover 'the real truth of events and plans'" (Preface x). Giovio saw that: "the humanists had no interest in history and the diplomats and generals had no interest in writing, leaving him the opening he wanted" (24), and he conceived his *Histories* as "a piece of chorography, or political geography, a mélange of geography, natural history, history, social customs, literature, and religion...the mirror necessary for whoever wishes to see and clarify the where, how, and when of events" (66).

This approach to historical detail and narration gives Giovio's *Histories* a lively, journalistic tone and multiple narrative voices, including prominently his own as a sort of interested party through whom all the others speak. The historian allows history's participants a certain narrative freedom as he filters their voices into his story line and vouchsafes for their veracity, although he also simultaneously introduces doubts and outright caveats on some "truths" of the information he transmits.

Giovio's Spanish translator, sixteenth century jurist Gaspar de Baeza, adds yet another voice, commenting and adapting the *Histories* as he translates them. Baeza is the reader-translator-writer of a history full of characters also found in Cervantes' *Don Quijote*: Preste Juan de las Indias, the Emperor of Trapisonda, Cachadiablo, Manicongo,⁶ Rodamonte. The *Histories* tell of heroes like Diego García de Paredes, whose melancholy

4 Zimmerman (1972) tells of Giovio refusing to make changes requested by Charles V, despite the latter's threats.

5 In Giovio's own words: "and living in that Roman light, in the home of all nations, it was easy to seek the illustrious friendship of great commanders as a means of satisfying my urge to know the real truth of events and plans" (cited by Zimmerman, p. 24, note 30). His sources were varied: "Giovio was ahead of most Europeans in his knowledge of the Turks, gained from extensive reading and questioning of travelers and merchants" (29).

6 In Cervantes' text, Monicongo.

causes him to lose his mind from time to time and throw rocks at people (VIII, 4, 57v-58r),⁷ reminding the reader of Cervantes' Cardenio, who is with the manchegan knight when the same Diego García de Paredes' story is found at the inn (I, 32).⁸ Giovio's work describes the dubbing of knights "con las palabras ordinarias y cerimonia militar conviene a saber hiriéndole ligeramente el ombro siniestro con una espada desnuda" (XV, 12, 127v).⁹ The Turks hang the heads of their fallen enemies from palm trees "para con la novedad de tan terrible espectáculo entretener los ojos de su señor cuando passase por allí y representarle la victoria que avían ganado" (XVII, 8, 143v), as do Roque Guinart's men as they wait for their leader in Part II of *Don Quijote*, although Sancho finds first not the heads, but "árboles [que] estaban llenos de pies y de piernas humanas" (II, 60, 854). Like Cervantes' protagonist, gran capitán Gonzalo Hernández de Córdoba goes out "quebrando los molinos" (V, 2, 52r)¹⁰ although this last, in Giovio's *Histories*, is an addition by translator Baeza (see *infra*).

Stylistically, Giovio's Latin prose has been described as stilted although the reader would never guess that from the Spanish translation.¹¹ Baeza's

7 For Giovio's *Histories*, I cite from the Baeza translation, to (Book, Chapter, Folio).

8 All quotes from and references to *Don Quijote* are to the Sabor de Cortazar and Lerner edition, to (volume, chapter, page), or (volume, section, page) for non-chapter materials.

9 Martínez Olmedilla comenta el episodio: "al proceder el ventero a dar *la negra orden de la caballería* a Don Quijote, dícele: "... que todo el toque de quedar armado caballero consistía en *la pescozada y en el espaldarazo*", lo cual histórica y legalmente era exacto; pues cítanse repetidos ejemplos de caballeros armados sin otra ceremonia que la indicada por el mesonero" (20). Martínez Olmedilla author doesn't specify where those examples are to be found.

10 A possible model for Don Quijote's fight against the windmills? Both, in "quebrando molinos" are also breaking a very specific law on the books in Spain. See Byrne 2007b.

11 A comparison of two different Spanish translations of the *Histories* makes clear that much of the linguistic prowess in Baeza's translation is due to his own writing skills. Villafranca's 1562 translation is more like a dry history, much as Zimmerman describes Giovio's Latin: "The effect in modern English of a literal translation of Giovio's highly idiomatic Latin is stilted verbosity" (Preface x). However, also as described by Zimmerman, Giovio's Italian sounds like the Castilian of Baeza and Cervantes: "too eclectic and undisciplined for the crafters of literary Italian... Giovio aimed at the spontaneity of everyday speech. His grammar was basically Tuscan, but compounded with intentional grammatical infractions and extraneous linguistic elements that made for a free-flowing, indeed, effervescent, medium" (Zimmerman 136-37). In Italian, the historian mixes registers, and uses ideosyncratic expressions including "Spanish expressions and occasional Gallicisms... Proverbs and proverbial locutions added earthiness to his style and reinforced its deliberate anticlassicism" (137).

lexical choices sound like Cervantes, with references to the “chusma de villanos” (XVII, 2, 137r), “la canalla del pueblo” (XIII, 5, 98r) “el vulgo (que no sabe refrenar sus apetitos, ni tener paciencia en los dolores)” (XIII, 5, 98r); there are multiple asides and parenthetical references, some found in Giovio’s Latin original but others added by Baeza, who also adds particular structural touches, like opening tables with lists of references, in which he says that his own additions to the history are “señalado con una letra del a.b.c. en la margen...” (Tabla de las Batallas), while keeping Giovio’s sign-off on his prologue, “Vale.” We hear the echo in Cervantes’ Prologue to the *Quijote*, with its complaint of a lack of “acotaciones ...[and] anotaciones” in the margins, and tables ordered “por las letras del A B C” and its signoff “Vale” (I, Prologue, 8, 9, 13).

Baeza’s reference to the ABC, to point out the “added part” of the *Histories*, takes us to chapters 1–8 of the 1605 *Quijote*, where Cervantes’ first narrative voice posits itself as the reader-writer of the protagonist’s history. Faced with its interruption right in the middle of the battle between Don Quijote and the *vizcaíno*, he tells us that “the second author”: “no quiso creer que tan curiosa historia estuviese entregada a las leyes del olvido, ni que hubiesen sido tan poco curiosos los ingenios de la Mancha, que no tuviesen en sus archivos o en sus escritorios algunos papeles que deste famoso caballero tratasen” (I, 8, 77). He thinks that at the least: “ya que no estuviese escrita, estaría en la memoria de la gente de su aldea y de las a ella circunvecinas” (I, 9, 82). As we know, he doesn’t find the missing history in the memory or notes of the neighbors but, rather, in the Toledo marketplace and written in Arabic, needing to be translated.

Similarly, translator Baeza faced a problem: Giovio’s *Histories* had been “interrupted” by the sack of Rome,¹² and the actions of two Spanish soldiers, one of whom, notably, was a *vizcaíno*:

... seys libros desta primera década se perdieron. Pero el auctor confia de su memoria que los podrá tornar a sacar de sus borradores, si tuviere vida para ello. Porque al tiempo del saco de Roma Herrera Cordobés y Antonio de Gamboa Vizcayno Capitanes de infantería atormentaron los sachristanes de sancta María de la Minerva, y buscando todo los escondrijos, hallaron una arca herrada, en que el auctor tenía escondi-

¹² On May 6, 1527, when Rome was attacked by a combination of Spaniards and Germans (Imperial forces). Giovio fled with Pope Clement to the villa on Monte Mario “that Raphael had designed” for the latter (Zimmerman 83–85).

das cien libras de plata labrada, y los libros de sus historias. El capitán Gamboa [el vizcaíno] contento con la plata, arrojó los libros como presa inútil.¹³ Pero el Herrera, que no era nada necio, tomó parte de los libros, conviene a saber los que estaban escriptos en pergamino, y cubiertos de cuero colorado, y no curó de los que estaban escriptos en papel, y así se perdieron siendo hechos pedazos. El capitán Herrera truxo al auctor al castillo de Santángel los libros que tomó para que se los pagasse. Y el Papa movido de sus lágrimas [de Giovio] dio a Herrera por ellos un beneficio, que procuraba aver por muerte de un sacerdote de su tierra. Puso el auctor aquí la summa destos seys libros que se perdieron, para que los lectores sufran con más paciencia la falta de estar la historia interrumpida, y para que los que la quisieren suplir sepan la orden y successo de cada cosa. (V, *Summa*, fol. 51r, emphasis added)¹⁴

Giovio's hope, to be able to recoup from his memory and notes the sections destroyed, was not realized, and the interrupted history was published, in Giovio's 1550 (Vol. I) and 1552 (Vols. I and II) editions, and in Baeza's 1562 (2 vol.) translation, with only brief recaps of the missing chapters.

Four years after that first edition of his translation, Baeza published a second edition of what was now a two volume work of more than eight hundred pages. In this 1566 second edition, he tells his reader how he recouped the lost sections:

En esta segunda impresión el Licenciado Gaspar de Baeza en gracia de los virtuosos, y especial por honra de la nación española, para que se vea que Paulo Jovio no encubrió su valor y hazañas: sino lo escribió largo con la calidad que ellas merecen. Suplió [Baeza] la brevedad... siguiendo el consejo del mismo Paulo Jovio que... dize que nadie le culpe de la brevedad, porque lo que falta en estos libros, lo tiene largamente escripto en las vidas de los varones illustres, y que de allí se

13 Interestingly, on speaking with Sansón Carrasco about intercalated stories in his own history, Don Quijote says: "La historia es como cosa sagrada porque ha de ser verdadera; y donde está la verdad, está Dios en cuanto a verdad; pero no obstante esto, hay algunos que así componen y arrojan libros de sí como si fuesen buñuelos" (II, 3, 489). The protagonist is speaking of writers of histories, as opposed to finders of written works, but the use of 'arrojar' seems worthy of note.

14 The *Summa* are the recaps of the missing chapters, added by Giovio and translated by Baeza in the first edition.

puede tomar. Y assí los lectores tengan por cierto, que en todo quanto va añadido, no ay una sola palabra, que no sea a la letra sacado de Paulo Jovio en el libro de los varones illustres, y en los Elogios. Pero entienda que solamente va añadido lo que toca a los españoles, assí para que sus hazañas tan di[g]nas de ser celebradas bivan largo tiempo insertas en esta grave historia, como para que cesen las querellas de los que viendo abreviadas las hazañas de los españoles dicen que Paulo Jovio fue su enemigo.... (V, introduction following *Summa*, fol. 51r)¹⁵

Baeza assures his reader that historian Giovio was not an enemy of the Spaniards, nor did he try to cover up their worth and deeds, and the translator wants to put a stop to such complaints. So he has restored the missing sections, but only those parts that involve the praiseworthy deeds of Spaniards, taking it “letter by letter” from Giovio’s other works, including the semi-apocryphal *Elogia*, which Baeza apparently takes as fully consistent with history.¹⁶ In his introductory materials (*Tabla de las batallas*), the translator-jurist also justifies why history is not a waste of his time, apparently in response to critics who so alleged:

Ahora algunos, que tengan por cosa ajena de mi profesión escribir historia. Y cierto se engañan: porque de más que todas las ciencias son unas, es certísimo que ninguna cosa hay que tanto acreciente la prudencia humana como la historia, pues los juristas bien saben que para la gobernación de la república y ejercicio de las leyes es necesaria prudencia. El jurisconsulto Modestino abrevió la historia de la Aeneida de Virgilio. Celio Antipatro jurisconsulto escribió largamente historia. Alciato varón doctísimo en derechos ilustró las historias de Cornelio Tácito. Zazio jurisconsulto escribió sobre las epístolas de Cicerón.

¹⁵ Giovio passed away in December, 1552 (Zimmerman 261). The *Histories* were in demand from the start, with four editions in Latin in Italy, seven in northern Europe, twelve in Domenichi’s Italian translation, four in a French translation, and one each in German and Spanish (Zimmerman 263). Actually, in 1562, there were two different Spanish translations published, one in Valencia by a medical doctor, Antonio Ioan Villafranca and the other in Salamanca by jurist Gaspar de Baeza.

¹⁶ The above reference to Gonzalo Hernández “quebrando los molinos” is from Baeza’s “recovered” sections. The missing books comprised the years 1517–1527 (books 19–24) and 1498–1512 (books 5–10).

Plutarcho filósofo escribió divinamente historia. El sancto Hierónimo escribió historia de varones ilustres. La historia del rey don Juan escribió el doctor Carvajal.

Baeza's inclusory view of history (the *Aeneid*, Plutarch, the *Elogia*, etc.) is impressive, and his point, that jurisprudence demands prudence, which one learns from history, leads to Spanish dictionary definitions of prudence, which start to use discretion as a synonym in 1606;¹⁷ Cervantes' did so one year earlier, in his prologue to the 1605 *Quijote*: "Por Dios, hermano, que agora me acabo de desengañar de un engaño en que he estado todo el mucho tiempo que ha que os conozco, en el cual siempre os he tenido por discreto y prudente en todas vuestras acciones" (I, Prólogo, 9).¹⁸ Towards the end of that Prologue, the same friend advises the author to write his history in such a way that "... el discreto se admire de la invención, el grave no la desprecie, ni el prudente deje de alabarla" (I, Prólogo, 13). The discrete admire, and the prudent praise... in parallel synonymous phrases, we hear cervantine preceptives for a history which will be real, or at the least verisimilar, according to the prudent and discrete reader. This implies that history's names and details, whether factual or fictive, do not have to be excised by the writer, and two of those names labeled "fabulosos" by Cervantes' editors have real, proven existence in Giovio's *Histories*.

In his prologue to the 1605 *Quijote*, Cervantes' friend tells the author that, lacking sonnets, epigrams and elogias for his work, on inventing them he should relate them somehow (ahijándolos) to Preste Juan de las Indias or to the Emperor of Trapisonda (I, Prólogo, 10), both of whom, as he's heard, were famous poets.¹⁹ Cervantes' editors gloss the references with

¹⁷ "FONTECHA 1606: *fronesis*, prudencia, discreción, sabiduría." Cited in the *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico del español: (S. XVI-1726)*, referring to Alonso Ruyzes de Fontecha, and his *Diccionario de los nombres de piedras, plantas, frutos, yerbas, flores, enfermedades*, published in 1606 as part of a volume titled *Diez privilegios para mugeres preñadas*.

¹⁸ In Giovio's words, the historian needs "judgment and eloquence" (Zimmerman, 267, citing from Giovio's *Ischian dialogue*), and the Italian historian uses the Latin *prudencia*, "which to contemporaries connoted practical wisdom in conducting affairs" (267).

¹⁹ Trapisonda is mentioned again, when the narrator tells us that Don Quijote imagines he will be granted the empire of Trapisonda in recognition of his valor (I, 1, 31). The second mention of Preste Juan is when the cura, speaking with the barbero, likens the libros de caballerías to Milesian tales, that is, "cuentos disparatados," given that the caballeros can be in Lombardia today, then tomorrow in "tierras del Preste Juan de las Indias" (I, 47, 419).

actual place names,²⁰ but deny a real existence to the characters themselves, saying that both are “personajes fabulosos” frequently mentioned in the libros de caballerías, although Avalor-Arce does point out that the former has been linked “con la personalidad del emperador de Etiopía” (58, notes 8 and 9).²¹ In Giovio’s *Histories*, both are real, and both do have a connection to the world of letters.

For the Emperor of Trapisonda, the story begins with Caloyanes, the Christian King of Trapisonda, who for political gain marries his daughter Despina to the moor Usuncasano, on the condition that he allow her to continue practicing her Christian faith. Their daughter Marta, also raised by her mother as a Christian, marries Harduel, who gains followers by publishing a new interpretation of Mohammed’s law.²² Usuncasano’s son Jacob succeeds his father, fears Harduel’s power, and sends men to kill him, which they do, “thus freeing Jacob’s heart of its vain fear” (XIII, 5, fol. 98r). But Harduel’s disciple Tequel escapes, and becomes a hermit in caves along the river Euphrates known by the inhabitants as “cabezas rojas,” which will also become his nickname.²³ He lives there alone, away from human conversation and occupied in high contemplation of divine things. For the shepherds and laborers who come to know him there, he seems more than human, and he answers their questions as would a prophet; the fame of his saintliness and wisdom extends widely (“infinito”) and, at some point, against his wishes, the curious bring him to towns and cities to show him

20 “*Trapisonda o Trebisonda*: capital y nombre de una de las partes del imperio bizantino, situada en la costa sur del Mar Negro; es la antigua Trapezus, fundada por los griegos hacia el siglo VIII a. C. Conoció el esplendor bajo el emperador Adriano y fue saqueada por los godos. De su mención abundante en las novelas de caballerías y el *Quijote* procede la acepción vulgar de *trapisonda*: *bullá, riña con voces, embrollo* y sus derivados (*trapisondista*, etc.).” (I, Prólogo, 10).

21 “Personajes legendarios con presencia frecuente en la literatura caballeresca” (Rico, CVC, *DQ*, Prólogo I, note 49); Rico notes that Reinaldos de Montalbán was crowned with the empire of Trapisonda (I, 1, note 44). Avalor Arce tells the reader: “El Emperador de Trapisonda es otro personaje fabuloso, mencionadísimo en los libros de caballerías. Trapisonda, Constantinopla, Tesalónica y Nicea fueron las cuatro partes en que se dividió el imperio griego hasta su caída”; “El Preste Juan de las Indias es un personaje fabuloso de inmensa popularidad en la Edad Media y cuyo origen la crítica ha identificado con la personalidad del emperador de Etiopía” (Avalor-Arce, I, I, 58, notes 8 and 9).

22 Marta will give birth to Hismael, who will come to be known as Hismael Sofi who, raised in the law of his mother and grandmother, honors the Christians and never reproaches their law.

23 “el qual después se llamó Cusselbas (que quiere dezir Cabeça roja)” (XIII, 5, 98r).

off; eventually all Armenia is filled with admiration for his fame. At some point along the way, King Caloyanes is killed and his "Empire of Trapisonda" reduced to no more than a province.²⁴

Giovio puts Trapisonda in the history books, says it was an empire, names the leaders and tells the story of their rise and downfall. The prophet-like character, taken despite his wishes to the contrary to towns and cities to spout wisdom sounds a little bit like Cervantes' Tomás Rodaja in *El licenciado Vidriera*, although the latter is not described as "saintly" by Cervantes, which conforms to another cervantine precept for history, that it not mix things divine and human: "ni tiene para que predicar a ninguno, mezclando lo humano con lo divino, que es un género de mezcla de quien no se ha de vestir ningún cristiano entendimiento" (I, Prólogo, 12). The topic of a Christian mother keeping her faith alive although married to a moor, and teaching her daughters to follow suit is not clandestine, as it tends to be in Cervantes's works (*la historia del cautivo*, *La espanola inglesa*). Although any one of these details, taken in isolation, would not suffice to connect the volumes, the numerous parallel points do begin to seem noteworthy.

Preste Juan de las Indias is given an even fuller treatment in the *Histories*, with author Giovio vouching for his real existence on the basis of informants, archives, histories, and a portrait. How he tells the story is, in itself, a structural tie to Cervantes' intercalated stories.²⁵ It starts with the

24 "Pero el Turco Mahometo confiando en tiros que llevaba de artillería (que eran nuevos y por esso terribles a los Persianos) rompió al rey Usuncasano en los campos de las Anseres cabo Tabenda (llamada oy Tocata) y con ellos destruyó después fácilmente a Caloyanes rey de Trapisonda, y redziendo en forma de provincia su imperio de Trapisonda, y de todo el mar mayor, hasta la isla de los Mengrelos, truxo lo a Constantinopla, y mató lo en la prisión" (XIII, 5, 98v).

25 Intercalated stories, identified as such by the historian as he narrates, are frequent in Giovio's work. On writing of Túnez: "Pues avemos llegado aquí pareceme que será conveniente contar en pocas palabras lo que he sabido del reyno de Túnez, y de las costumbres de los Moros. Porque como escribo historia, he sabido con la victoria del Emperador muchas cosas que mucho tiempo han sido sólo sabidos de mercaderes" (XXXIII, 6, 88v); "Pero bolveré primero a proseguir la historia Persiana interrumpida en su lugar, por ser necesario escrevirse así, por la variedad de los tiempos y lugares" (XVII, 1, 136r); "Fueron grandes y memorables las hazañas que los Españoles y Gonzalo Hernández hizieron en la guerra de Granada quando don Fernando rey cathólico ganó aquel poderoso reyno, las cuales no será molesto a los lectores que contemos brevemente para bolver luego al curso de la historia..." (V, 2, 52r). For Cervantes, thanks to Don Quijote's decision to become a caballero andante: "gozamos ahora en esta nuestra edad, necesitada de alegres entretenimientos, no sólo de la dulzura de su verdadera historia, sino de los cuentos y episodios della, que en parte no son

Turks en route to Suez, marching up the coast “hasta los confines de los reynos de David potentísimo rey de Ethiopia, a quien los nuestros llaman el Preste Juan” (XVIII, 5, 150v). Then follows:

Pues emos venido a hazer mención del Preste Juan, no me parece que será molesto a los lectores que (después de tantas sangrientas batallas y successos tristes de casi todas las cosas) haga aquí una digressión de materia más agradable para que descansen los cansados de leer. Será esta digressión grata, porque conterná la descripción de Ethiopia, para que las cosas que a muchos parece fábula sean tenidas por verdaderas y se escriban en verdadera historia. (XVIII, 6, 150v)

The historian recognizes the value of a break in the main action, so that those who are tired of reading of bloody battles and sad events might rest. Interestingly, he doesn't say “read or listen” – his assumption is a reader, and he mentions that the digression will also be welcome, in that things taken by many as “fábulas” will be shown to be “verdaderas,” as they will be written in a “verdadera historia.”²⁶ The context calls for the acceptance of ‘welcome’ for Baeza’s ‘grata’, given that the written history itself serves as proof of the truth of the tale it tells, a tautological reasoning that underscores the weight accorded to the printed word by contemporaries.

There is a very poetic description of Africa and its geography, including the “osadía grande” of the Portuguese in sailing the waters where the Indian Ocean “fights back” the waves of another, unnamed sea that “seems

menos agradables y artificiosos y verdaderos que la misma historia” (I, 28, 245). Rico adds in note: “Cervantes justifica la intercalación de relatos porque, aunque se apartan de la trama principal, se integran en la historia total articulándose en un solo hilo narrativo, como se dice en la frase siguiente” (I, 28, note 2), then cites: “la cual prosiguiendo su rastrillado, torcido y aspado hilo...,” and offers a long list of studies (317.2). Egido speaks of interrupted stories in the *Galatea*, the *Persiles* and in Heliodorus’ *Etiópica*, and says: “La técnica de la analepsis lo propiciaba, tan común como era en la novela de la época” (638, n. 30).

26 For an historian’s perspective of Europe’s preceptives v. writers of histories, see Montero Díaz, who points out that the precepts lagged behind, while the historians themselves broke new ground – a “splendid renovation of the genre” (xv) – on the basis of combined medieval-classical precepts and “the vivacity, realism and unheard-of inventiveness of the historians of the Indies, with their prodigious flexibility in coming to terms with new situations and unexpected problems” (xvi). See also Rolena Adorno (2000), Roberto González Echevarría (1990, 2006), Thomas Pavel (2003). For Cervantes’ (ab)use of the term ‘history’ see Castro (1925), Bell (1947), Guillén (1971), Wardropper (1965, 1980), Scholes (2006), Byrne (2007a), Rodríguez Pequeño (2008).

like another, different ocean" (XVIII, 6, 150v); in this last, we hear the historian filtering his informant's voice in as his own conjecture on that other, different ocean. Then we read that Preste Juan's kingdoms are full of riches, and that he lives in the richest part, called Sceva, which is very specifically located: "debaxo del Polo Antártico a veynte y dos grados" (XVIII, 7, 150r). There are details as to how long it takes to get there via different routes, and the variety of peoples: Guineos, Mandinga, Manicongo, with the particular characteristics of each. Together, the general name of the "vasallos del Preste Juan" is Abyssinians, and they are ingenious, with solemn customs; they govern themselves with very just laws "como los gentiles hombres Venecianos" and they celebrate the Christian rites, even as to the use of organs during Mass (XVIII, 7, 150r).

Finally, Giovio justifies the real existence of Preste Juan:

Pero porque quiero dezir brevemente algunas cosas de la nobleza del Preste Juan, y de su grandeza, y de las costumbres de su corte, y de sus exércitos, y de su aparato de guerra, y hazañas, y del nacimiento del Nilo y lagunas de la Luna, y de varios géneros de fieras, paréceme que será bien dezir de quién lo supe, porque los ignorantes no tengan por fábula lo que por testimonio de muchos es tenido por cierto y notorio. Pero yo quiero que todo el crédito desto se dé a los que (haziéndoles yo largas y curiosas preguntas) me las contaron. Entre los quales fueron Pedro Álvarez Portugués, el qual fue con don Rodrigo de Lima por embajador al Preste Juan... (XVIII, 7, 151v)

That first hand informant Pedro Álvarez came back to Rome and presented a gold cross from Preste Juan to Pope Clement but then, sadly, died although: "dexó escritos unos comentarios, en que por días cuenta todo su camino y sucessos" (XVIII, 7, 151v). In case the spoken and written testimony of Pedro Álvarez isn't enough for his reader, Giovio has a second source: "Después de Pedro Álvarez, Pedro Abissino hombre de gentil y prudente ingenio, que ha estado largo tiempo en la corte del Preste Juan me contó con gran humanidad y verdad las cosas notables de los Abissinos..." (XVIII, 7, 151v). Peter the Abyssinian now teaches that language, which is also found in certain "impressos en Roma con letras Chaldeas..." to "algunos curiosos" in Rome (XVIII, 7, 151v). Giovio follows by explaining the origin of the name Preste Juan, giving his reader the Abyssinian word, and its meaning:

Este gran rey de Ethiopía, y de los Abissinos, a quien los nuestros corrupto el vocablo llaman Preste Juan, es llamado de los suyos Belugian, sobre nombre antiguo de los Reyes sus passados, que quiere dezir perla de precio immenso y de excelencia incomparable. El que oy reyna se llama David, y por sobrenombre Atanadidinghel, que quiere dezir encienso de la virgen... (XVIII, 7, 151v)

There's a little bit about Preste Juan David's parents, and then his unquestioned nobility: "la incorrupta nobleza de su real sangre se prueba con testimonio de historias. Porque entre ellos la memoria de los successos y la decendencia y successión del linage real se pone por ley, fielmente por escrito" (XVIII, 7, 151v).²⁷ Again, the proof of the story is the written history, which is this case even takes on the force of law.

Preste Juan's real existence has been verified by a Portuguese and an Abyssinian, and attested to with the former's written diary; further, his language is found in the Chaldean letters of published works in Rome, and his nobility is codified as law in the written histories of his own people. If that's not enough, part of his kingdom includes the famous city Siene, celebrated by poets and known as the place in which "nacén las piedras de los Obeliscos" (XVIII, 9, 152r), and Giovio even has Preste Juan's portrait. He ends the history with the most recent information, and a description:

Queriendo publicar esta obra, supe que el Preste Juan David era muerto. Reynó después de salir de la tutela de su madre veyente y siete años, vivió quarenta y ocho. Fue hombre muy virtuoso, y de ingenio hábil para todo negocio de paz y guerra, y muy docto en letras, tanto que sabía Astrología. Tenía cuerpo mediano. La cara redonda de color de un membrillo tostado debaxo la ceniza. Los ojos vivos. Unos cabellos no motosos, como los Negros (según se puede ver de su retrato que yo tengo al vivo). (XVIII, 9, 152r)

²⁷ Translator Villafranca dedicates his version of the translated *Histories* to Charles V, and in his preliminary words to the monarch, he extols the importance of histories honoring heroes to all civilizations, saying that "among the kings of Ethiopia, commonly although erroneously called Preste Juan, there is a law that obliges all to read, for one hour each day, the histories and deeds of their antepasados" (image 2). I cite from the online edition of the Biblioteca de la Universidad de Valencia.

The prudent, discrete reader – faced with such overwhelming proofs: oral testimony, written archives, and even a painting – can't possibly doubt the real existence of the character. However, in case certain details seem less than verisimilar to the reader, all of the “historians” whose work is studied here: Giovio, Baeza and Cervantes – allow for that wiggle room, and, as reader-writers, offer their own caveats as to the verisimilitude of their sources.

In the same *Preſte Juan* chapters, Giovio introduces a point of doubt when it comes to the magical powers of the unicorn's horn. Gogia is part of *Preſte Juan's* reign, and among the animals found there are “leones coronados... pantheras, tigres, ossos, y puercos javalies... elefantes...dragones con alas... el camelo pardal, a quien los nueſtros llaman Grifo..,” and “el Monocerote, a quien los nueſtros llaman Unicornio” (XVIII, 8, 152v). There are a few “dizen” and “dízenme” intercalated as source references to verify the existence of the animals, and the fact of that existence is not called into doubt. However, when it comes to stories about the magical powers of the unicorn's horn against poison, Giovio first admits to having seen two of the horns sent as presents, then adds: “pero de la fuerza tan virtuosa deſte animal, yo no affirmo más de lo que la pública fama persuade a los que lo creen. Porque ninguno de los antiguos (que yo aya leydo) haze mención deſta admirable virtud del Unicornio, si no es Heliano griego” (XVIII, 8, 152v). Giovio makes his own doubts clear, but gives the reader the flexibility and responsibility to decide for himself.

Translator Baeza also warns his reader about certain caveats he takes with Giovio's works. In his *Al lector* to the *Elogia*, Baeza points out that the book is full of references to “fortuna y hado” but that no such things really exist, since all is God's will; he then proceeds to translate without changing those references, while adding disculpatory phrases: “su hado lo consumirá, o Dios no permitirá que pase a España” (*Elogia*, fol. 218v); the “or God will not allow...” is not in Giovio's Latin. As to the unicorn, Baeza includes the eulogium in his translated volume, but omits the round frame he provides for all other subjects,²⁸ and in the introductory materials includes two errata, one that “Folio.126.do dize Vnicornio a de dixer Rhinocerote” (Tabla).

Cervantes' Moorish translator similarly can't accept everything he reads in Cide Hamete's history; for example, a conversation between “Sancho Panza y su mujer Teresa Panza”:

28 “Puse al principio de cada Elogio vn cuadro redondo, para que el lector sufra mejor la falta del retrato verdadero” (Baeza, *Al lector*).

Llegando a escribir el traductor desta historia este quinto capítulo dice que le tiene por apócrifo, porque en él habla Sancha Panza con otro estilo del que se podía prometer de su corto ingenio, y dice cosas tan sutiles que no tiene por posible que él las supiese; pero que no quiso dejar de traducirlo por cumplir con lo que a su oficio debía... (II, 5, 496)

Cide himself expresses doubt with the truth of his own novel. Cervantes' unidentified narrative voice – maybe the second author, maybe that stepfather, Cervantes himself? – interrupts at the start of chapter 24 of the Second Part of the novel, immediately following on the Cave of Montesinos episode. He tells us that “the translator says” that when he got to this part of “the original of this great history by Cide Hamete” that he found notes in the margin, written in Cide Hamete’s own hand. Cide says he can’t be persuaded that the episode in the cave really happened as related by don Quijote, given that all the previous episodes were “contingibles y verisímiles” but that this one just does not offer any opening to take it as true, given that it falls so far outside of reasonable parameters. He knows that Don Quijote can’t have lied, given who and how he is, but he also says not to blame him if the adventure “seems apocryphal.” He ends his interruption with: “You, reader, you’re prudent, so you judge it as you see fit...” Again, the prudent reader will judge the truth of history.

Gioivo and Baeza offer historically verisimilar narrative nuggets that Cervantes took advantage of, and also a structural model for a translated history with a layering of multiple narrative voices, intercalated stories, an original written by a supposed enemy of the Spaniards and a promise to translate word by word by translators who proceed to add, delete, and comment en route. Cervantes adds the next layer of that first narrative voice who introduces all those elements, then hides behind them pulling the strings, that is, the second reader-writer of the truly verdadera historia, which, once it’s written down and accepted by the *vulgo*, takes on a certain force of law, like Preste Juan’s lineage claims, or the *Usatges* of Barcelona, which tell us that the city was founded and constructed prior to Rome, and that the proof of this law is found in the histories of Hercules.²⁹

29 “Celtiberæ, ad quam descendens cum vidisset locum ubi Barcanona erat, valde pulchrum, & deliciosum, Civitatem hercules ibi edificavit, quam ex Barca, nona barcinonam appellavit, Et sic tempore, quo Hercules predictus, renavit, aedificavit in Hispania Civi-

In 1597, Italian translator Giovambattista Giraldi published his translation of Giovio's *Life of Alonso da Este*, with a lengthy Commentary that further explored the family's ancestry. Giraldi repeatedly supports his facts as to genealogical ancestors and their acts with "historical" reference to Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.³⁰

Baeza was right: Giovio was not at all an enemy of the Spaniards. To the contrary, the historian and his translator gave a Spaniard named Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra a narrative nudge in the direction his first modern novel was to take.³¹ They should at least be a part of the mix when we talk about Cervantes, interrupted histories and translators.

YALE UNIVERSITY
susan.byrne@yale.edu

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tates Scilicet, Sibiliam, Tarraconam, Balagarium, et Barchinonam, usque ad hoc tempus, quo currit anno. Christi, Millesimo, cc lxxviii, sunt. anni duo Mille, trecenti.&octuaginta, quibus fuit civitas Barchinonae edificata. Et fuit antequam Roma construeretur. cccclx annis. Et haec civitas Barchinonae: fuit constituta ante adventum Christo. Dcclii.annis. Et capta Hispania fuit in eadem Rex per Herculem constitutus nomine hesperiam grecus. & ab eo voluit nominari hispaniam.& fuit hispania sub dominio grecorum, usque ad tempus sonsulum romanorum.... (números 11-13 fol.iii). See Usatges.

30 For example: "Io so bene, che alcuni historici, havendo raccontata la cosa, come ella passo, hanno taciuto il nome di Rinaldo; ma M. Ludovico Ariosto, la cui virtu nell'arte poetica, io ho sempre honorata molto, & la cui diligentia ho di continuo stimata, nel suo Orlando Furioso, e'l mio M. Gregorio in questa sua epitome, hanno honoratamente fatto mentione di questo generoso, & pio atto di Rinaldo, fondatisi ne gli scritti di quelli auttori, i quali essi conobbero, c'hanno favorito il vero" (35-36).

31 Martín Morán offers an overview of prior "habitual discussion" by cervantistas over the "necessity to uphold Cervantes' masterpiece as the prototype of the modern novel" and the novel's relationship to the idealism of the libros de caballerías and the realism of the picaresque (469). For Bravo Castillo: "son muy pocos los que discuten a Cervantes su paternidad de la novela moderna y su *status* de maestro indiscutible" y el *Quijote* es: "Novela que, al tiempo que ponía todo en cuestión, abría un enorme caudal de posibilidades al género, erigiéndose en prototipo del mismo" (134).

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