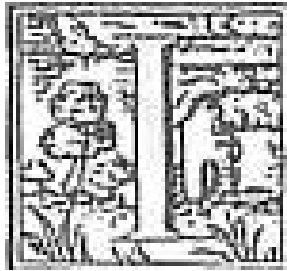


## I. Cervantes and the *Libros de caballerías*

La caterva de los libros vanos de cavallerías . . . I, 38, 29-30

Lo primero que hizo fue ir a ver sus libros . . . I, 108, 10



IN THE PROLOGUE TO Part I of *Don Quixote*, we are told that "si bien caigo en la cuenta, este vuestro libro . . . es una invectiva contra los libros de cavallerías" (I, 36, 31-37, 3), that Cervantes has "la mira puesta a derribar la máquina mal fundada destes cavallerescos libros" (I, 38, 4-5). Part I ends with a long discussion of the books of chivalry, spread over several chapters; Part II begins with a discussion of chivalric literature, and Cide Hamete tells us in the concluding sentence of the work that "no ha sido otro mi desseo que poner en aborrecimiento de los hombres las fingidas y disparatadas historias de los libros de cavallerías" (IV, 406, 8-11). The *libros de caballerías*, we learn in the first chapter, are the source of the protagonist's knowledge of knight-errantry (I, 53, 5-12), and the premise of the whole book is his desire to become a knight-errant, a perfect one at that (I, 351, 6-8). His identification with the books, so far as chivalry is concerned, is total.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore appropriate for us to begin our study of *Don Quixote* by examining Cervantes' relationship with this genre.

How well did Cervantes know the *libros de caballerías*, which by consensus of

<sup>1</sup> He refers to them frequently, and wants to imitate his favorite, Amadís, "en todo lo que pudiere" (I, 375, 2); "tenía a todas horas y momentos llena la fantasía de aquellas batallas, encantamientos, sucessos, desatinos, amores, desafios, que en los libros de cavallerías se cuentan, y todo cuanto hablava, pensava o hazía, era encaminado a cosas semejantes" (I, 234, 26-32). Don Quixote, "quinta essencia de los cavalleros andantes" (II, 42, 32), "sabe de memoria todas las ordenanças de la andante cavallería" (III, 178, 16-17; similarly, III, 348, 11-12), for which reason he is the very "depósito y archivo" of them (III, 224, 7-10). See also the passages cited in note 9 to Chapter 4.

many characters in *Don Quixote* are a "sabrosa leyenda" (I, 343, 10)? The evidence is overwhelming that he knew them very well indeed, that he had, like the canon, read at least part of "todos los más que ay impresos" (II, 341, 2-3),<sup>2</sup> and received from them "algún contento" (II, 362, 19-20).<sup>3</sup> In no other work are the *libros* treated anywhere near as widely or deeply, nor does anyone even mention as many titles. The lengthy, eloquent, and passionate defense of the *libros*' potential by the canon (II, 343, 23-346, 23) is unique. Even with our imperfect knowledge of the chivalric sources of Cervantes' work, it is obvious that he had a broad, first-hand acquaintance, and was influenced by them extensively. Details from the *libros*, ranging from the insignificant Fonseca of *Tirante el Blanco* (I, 101, 20) to the sea-going tower of *Florambel de Lucea* (II, 342, 8-10), are alluded to.<sup>4</sup> Differences in quality between the books are perceived;<sup>5</sup> two of them, *Amadís de Gaula* and *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, receive high praise in the examination of Alonso Quixano's library (I, 96, 16-21 and 100, 3-18),<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>2</sup> Don Quixote had, similarly, "entera noticia" of the "historias" of "muchos y diversos cavalleros" (I, 200, 5-6; III, 48, 20-23); he had read "todas, o las más de sus historias" (III, 104, 1-2), "muchas" (I, 142, 18; II, 343, 20), "infin[it]as" (I, 278, 29), "todos quantos pudo aver dellos" (I, 50, 21-22). This sounds very much like a book collector; I have elsewhere argued that Don Quixote's library and bibliophilic disposition reflect those of his creator ("Did Cervantes Have a Library?").

<sup>3</sup> What is hard to apply to Cervantes in the canon's statement is the insistence that he had never been able to read even one from beginning to end; from the detailed comments found in *Don Quixote* we can conclude that Cervantes, at the very least, had read in their entirety *Amadís de Gaula*, *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, and *Tirante el Blanco*. The canon possibly alludes to two different periods of reading in his statement "quando los leo, en tanto que no pongo la imaginación en pensar que son todos mentira y liviandad, me dan algún contento; pero quando caigo en la cuenta de lo que son, doy con el mejor dellos en la pared" (II, 362, 17-22).

<sup>4</sup> *Florambel*, however, is not named, just as Cervantes does not give the title of "el otro libro donde se cuenta los hechos del conde Tomillas" (I, 210, 12-14), and mistakes the title of *Felixmarte de Hircania* (I, 97, 30-32; perhaps the first edition's error at II, 362, 6; correctly named at II, 83, 5-6). Similarly, the adventure told of the Caballero del Febo in Chapter 15 of Part I and those told of Cirongilio and Felixmarte ("El Cavallero de la Triste Guirnalda") in Chapter 32 also are not found in the books in question, and as the adventures have to date not been found in other books, they seem to have been invented to fit the needs of the narrative. (Compare the adventure attributed to Felixmarte at II, 84, 21-31 with the canon's criticism at II, 341, 23-342, 3, and that of Cirongilio at II, 84, 31-85, 16 with the fantasy Don Quixote tells to the canon, at II, 370, 20-371, 19.) Perhaps Cervantes was writing without his chivalric books at hand, or he did not feel the need for precision in his references to them.

<sup>5</sup> "Quál más, cuál menos, todos ellos son una mesma cosa" (II, 341, 5-6) implies that in some sense they are not all the same; also the reference to "el mejor dellos," quoted in note 3, implies that some are better than others.

<sup>6</sup> There is a third *libro de caballerias*, *Tirante el Blanco*, praised during the

Cervantes may be presumed, from the treatment of them in *Don Quixote*, to have had a favorable opinion about at least two others, *Belianís de Grecia* and the *Espejo de príncipes*.<sup>7</sup> He knew *Amadís* well enough to point out that a name is mentioned in it only once (I, 279, 6-11), which indicates that he had, like

examination of Don Quixote's library, but for quite different reasons. It is discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>7</sup>Besides the characters of *Amadís de Gaula*, the protagonists of these books are the only characters of Spanish *libros de caballerías* to write introductory sonnets to *Don Quixote*; the sonnets imply knowledge of the books' contents. There are many passages which suggest Cervantes' esteem for the action-filled *Belianís*: Don Quixote's deeds are compared with those of "los Amadisses, Esplandianes y Belianisses" (IV, 10, 28-29); to defeat the Turk, all that would be needed is "el famoso don Belianís o alguno de los del innumerable linage de Amadís de Gaula" (III, 39, 15-17); Don Quixote, according to the epitaph of Monicongo, surpassed "los Amadises" and "los Belianises" (II, 403, 12 and 15); "el afamado Don Belianís" (I, 100, 21-22), who "tuv[o] a [sus] pies postrada la fortuna" (I, 42, 12), is the knight many say to be the equal of Amadís de Gaula, although Don Quixote does not share that view (I, 351, 22-30). Amadís is *valiente*, and Felixmarte de Hircania *valeroso*, but Belianís is *invencible y valeroso* (I, 168, 13-19; compare with III, 46, 13-19). Nevertheless, Belianís suffered from excessive combats and wounds (I, 51, 9-13; I, 100, 23-26; III, 46, 13-19; the implication of his introductory sonnet, I, 42, 4-16, in which he declares his accomplishments in obtaining vengeance, on which see note 77 to Chapter 4). (Lilia F. de Orduna has promised a major article exploring what she says is extraordinary influence of *Belianís de Grecia* on *Don Quixote*; Howard Mancing has also addressed this issue in an as-yet unpublished paper.)

Regarding the *Espejo de príncipes*, referred to in *Don Quixote* by the name of its protagonist, the Caballero del Febo, since I published an edition of Part I of the work (Clásicos Castellanos, 193-98; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1975) I have been very hesitant about claiming that it had special importance for Cervantes. I am today convinced that he held it in higher regard than most of the other *libros de caballerías*. Besides the introductory sonnet, the procession at the duques' palace is linked to the *Espejo* by the appearance in it of a character from the book, the *sabio* Lirgandeo (III, 431, 7), who is also called for, together with *Amadís'* Alquife, by Don Quixote (II, 288, 1). Maese Nicolás, the barber, held the Caballero del Febo to be to be superior to Palmerín de Inglaterra and Amadís de Gaula, though there is irony in his praise, for he is compared, justly, to the inconstant and "nada melindroso" lover Galaor (I, 51, 25-32), and the praise of *Amadís* and *Palmerín de Inglaterra* found in the *escrutinio* and elsewhere clearly shows that Cervantes thought those books superior.

Nevertheless, the book is never attacked, as various others were (its mention in *El vizcaíno fingido* [IV, 103, 15] merely indicates that it was long), and the conclusion must be that Cervantes found it, despite its inconstant protagonist, commendable; probably he most admired the explicit morality found in Part I (see my edition, I, liii-lv), indeed the most extensive attempt to reform the *libro de caballerías* from within the genre. I think, therefore, that it is correct to

Alonso Quixano, read it with great care, and presumably more than once.<sup>8</sup> The majority of Don Quixote's adventures, such as, to mention one, that of the *rebuznadores* (Part II, Chapters 25 and 27), burlesque adventures in the *libros*; the language, style, and form of narration all show the *libros*' influence.<sup>9</sup> Such extensive knowledge inevitably implies first-hand acquaintance over some period of time, and this in turn implies that Cervantes enjoyed these books.

Yet at the time of the composition of *Don Quixote* Cervantes believed the *libros de caballerías* quite deficient. There are too many overt and implied criticisms of the *libros* in *Don Quixote*, criticisms which are consistent and compatible with each other, to allow for any other conclusion. The books could be good—"si me fuera lícito agora y el auditorio lo requiriera, yo dixera cosas acerca de lo que han de tener los libros de cavallerías para ser buenos," says the priest (II, 86, 30-87, 1)—but they aren't. On this point the narrators and the novel's most judicious characters, the priest, the canon, Diego de Miranda, all agree. The books are *mentirosos*, "tan lexos de ser verdader[o]s como lo está la

look to the *Espejo* as the most probable source for elements of the central adventure of the cave of Montesinos, more likely than other sources proposed by Clemencín (in his annotations), María Rosa Lida (see *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 141-42), Helena Percas de Ponseti (*Cervantes y su concepto del arte* [Madrid: Gredos, 1975], II, 452-63), and E. C. Riley ("Metamorphosis, Myth and Dream in the Cave of Montesinos," in *Essays on Narrative Fiction in the Iberian Peninsula in Honour of Frank Pierce*, ed. R. B. Tate [Oxford: Dolphin, 1982], pp. 105-19, at p. 107, n. 5).

<sup>8</sup> John Bowle called attention to this passage and verified its accuracy (*A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Percy*, p. 25).

<sup>9</sup> Investigation of this topic is very difficult. There are over 50 *libros de caballerías*, all of them long, most available only in their now-rare original editions; truly a *turbamulta* (II, 369, 1) and *mare magnum* (III, 356, 2). Their superficial similarity makes it especially challenging to reach valid conclusions about influence or sources. Nevertheless, the following studies, which do not claim to be exhaustive, may be consulted with profit: E. C. Riley, "El alba bella que las perlas cría: Dawn-Description in the Novels of Cervantes," *BHS*, 33 (1956), 125-37; Martín de Riquer, "La Technique parodique du roman médiéval dans le *Quichotte*," in *La Littérature narrative d'imagination* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961), pp. 55-69, and his studies cited in note 18, *infra*; Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer, *Der Sinn der Parodie im "Don Quijote"* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1963); R. M. Walker, "Don Quijote and the Novel of Chivalry," *New Vida Hispánica*, 12 (1964), 13-14 and 23; Howard Mancing, "The Comic Function of Chivalric Names in *Don Quijote*," *Names*, 21 (1973), 220-35, "Cervantes and the Tradition of Chivalric Parody," *FMLS*, 11 (1975), 177-91, and *The Chivalric World of "Don Quijote." Style, Structure, and Narrative Technique* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982); my own "Don Quijote y los libros de caballerías: necesidad de un reexamen" and "The Pseudo-Historicity of the Romances of Chivalry," in *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 131-45 and 119-29 respectively; Gregorio C. Martín, "Don Quijote imitador de Amadís," *Estudios Iberoamericanos* [Porto Alegre, Brazil], 1 (1975), 139-47; Marie Cort Daniels, "The Function of Humor in the Spanish Romance of Chivalry (1300-1551)," Diss.

mesma mentira de la verdad" (II, 361, 32-362, 1).<sup>10</sup> If they were used correctly, "para entretener nuestros ociosos pensamientos" (II, 86, 21-22), they could be reluctantly tolerated—the books themselves are "inocentes" (I, 96, 4-5; compare IV, 14, 23-25)—but many, including intelligent people, take them to be true. Even considered as *mentiras* they are not very good, the wise canon<sup>11</sup> points out (II, 341, 14-342, 30); many voices concur in calling the books *disparatados*.<sup>12</sup> Their monotony—"tanta mentira junta, y tantas batallas y tantos encantamientos, que quitan el juicio" (II, 86, 17-19)—is overwhelming. The canon complains at greater length of the books' monotony,<sup>13</sup> and adds a more serious charge: the books do not instruct readers (II, 341, 7-14; also II, 363, 29-32 and 364, 31). In addition, they are deficient in their language and

Harvard, 1976, who proposes that the literary self-consciousness and playing with conventions characteristic of *Don Quixote* have precedent in the chivalric works of Feliciano de Silva (a small portion of Daniels' dissertation was published as "Feliciano de Silva: A Sixteenth-Century Reader-Writer of Romance," in *Creation and Re-Creation: Experiments in Literary Form in Early Modern Spain. Studies in Honor of Stephen Gilman*, ed. Ronald E. Surtz and Nora Weinerth [Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 1983], pp. 77-88); Sydney Cravens, "Feliciano de Silva and his Romances of Chivalry in *Don Quijote*," *Inti*, No. 7 (Spring, 1978), pp. 28-34; and Eduardo Urbina, "Sancho Panza y Gandalin, escuderos," in *Cervantes and the Renaissance. Papers of the Pomona College Cervantes Symposium, November 16-18, 1978*, ed. Michael D. McGaha (Easton, Pennsylvania: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), pp. 113-24. The popular essay of Martín de Riquer, "Cervantes y la caballerisca," *Suma cervantina*, pp. 273-92 (in English translation, pp. 895-913 of the Ormsby-Jones-Douglas translation cited in the introduction to this book), is accurate in its basic theses.

<sup>10</sup> Also I, 97, 22-28; II, 83, 31; II, 87, 20; II, 341, 23-342, 21; II, 362, 19 (reflected at II, 364, 13); II, 401, 2.

<sup>11</sup> "Este señor ha hablado como un bendito y sentenciado como un canónigo," is the comparison made by a common *labrador*, with no irony apparent (IV, 332, 6-8).

<sup>12</sup> I, 37, 6-7; I, 52, 9-10; I, 97, 29; II, 83, 31-32; II, 86, 6; II, 341, 10-11 and 17; II, 346, 22; II, 362, 15; II, 369, 7; II, 401, 2; IV, 398, 5; IV, 406, 10; similarly, I, 59, 19-21. (Note also the comparison with the "conocidos disparates" of the *comedia*, II, 347, 9.) *Disparates* are of course what Don Quixote's chivalric words and acts are called (I, 90, 3; II, 376, 13; III, 49, 22; III, 221, 24), and the title of Calderón's lost play on him is *Los disparates de Don Quixote* (cited by Russell, "Funny Book," p. 319).

<sup>13</sup> "¿Cómo es possible que aya entendimiento humano que se dé a entender que ha avido en el mundo aquella infinidad de Amadis, y aquella turbamulta de tanto famoso cavallero, tanto emperador de Trapisonda, tanto Felixmarte de Ircania, tanto palafren, tanta donzella andante, tantas sierpes, tantos endriagos, tantos gigantes, tantas inauditas aventuras, tanto género de encantamientos, tantas batallas, tantos desafortados encuentros, tanta bizarría de trajes, tantas princessas enamoradas, tantos escuderos condes, tantos enanos graciosos, tanto villete, tanto requiebro, tantas mugeres valientes, y, finalmente, tantos y tan disparatados casos como los libros de cavallerías contienen?" (II, 362, 1-17; more briefly at II, 368, 32-369, 2).

structure.<sup>14</sup> The enthusiasts of the *libros* are either ignorant (Dorotea,<sup>15</sup> Juan Palomeque), lead unproductive lives, supported by loans and *trampas*,<sup>16</sup> misuse their talents (the *primo* of Part II, Chapter 22, "muy aficionado a leer libros de cavallerías" [III, 277, 25-26]), or are crazy (Don Quixote). Their champion, the protagonist, is out of touch with reality, and we are told that not only did the chivalric books cause his madness, chivalry is the only topic he is crazy about.<sup>17</sup>

That one man could both know the *libros* well and attack them is not at all impossible. Martín de Riquer has suggested one explanation: that Cervantes read the *libros* early in his life.<sup>18</sup> This suggestion is a plausible one; other authors, such as Juan de Valdés and Fernández de Oviedo, also read the *libros* when young, yet left us evidence of their later distaste for them.<sup>19</sup> The chivalric books were, to some extent, young people's literature.<sup>20</sup>

Early reading is also suggested by the fact that Cervantes knew early works of the genre. The most obvious example, although not the only one, is *Tirante el Blanco*, a work with which he was well acquainted, whose lone

<sup>14</sup> I, 50, 22-51, 8; I, 97, 10; I, 98, 4; II, 342, 31-343, 9.

<sup>15</sup> Dorotea is a fan of the *libros* (II, 34, 29-32; II, 61, 30-31), but does not know the elementary fact that Osuna is not a seaport (II, 54, 23-24; II, 61, 32-62, 2), nor can she tell Micomicona's story without slips.

<sup>16</sup> The *duques*; see III, 372, 7-8 and IV, 119, 29-30.

<sup>17</sup> II, 361, 21-23; IV, 55, 4-9.

<sup>18</sup> In the introduction to his near-inaccessible edition of the Spanish translation of *Tirante el Blanco* for the Asociación de Bibliófilos de Barcelona (Barcelona, 1947); material extracted from this introduction was used in his "Introducción a la lectura del *Quijote*," pp. vii-lxviii of the Labor edition of *Don Quixote* (1st edition, 1958), and then in *Cervantes y el "Quijote"* (1960), revised as *Aproximación al "Quijote"* (second edition with this title, Barcelona: Teide, 1970). Riquer is also the author of a lengthy, well-written entry on *Don Quixote* in the *Diccionario literario* of González Porto-Bompiani, 2nd edition (Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1967-68).

<sup>19</sup> For Valdés, see *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 11. Oviedo is the author of a *libro de caballerías*, *Claribalte*, first published in 1519 when he was 41, although written earlier; in his much later *Memorias* or *Quinquagenas* he was to attack severely the *libros* and other fiction (references in *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 10, n. 5 and p. 47, n. 30).

<sup>20</sup> This is, admittedly, not the impression *Don Quixote* gives, because the focus is on a single, older reader, and their public, in the book, is portrayed as spanning all age groups. Obviously the books were read by the mature as well as by the young, yet I believe the average age would have been younger than with, say, epic poems. Those who speak of the dangers of the *libros*, of which examples are offered in notes 64 and 65 to this chapter, repeatedly mention their effects on young readers. Juan Páez de Castro, *cronista real*, said in his *Memorial de las cosas necesarias para escribir historia* that the historian should not write for those who "como niños se divierten con libros de caballerías" (quoted by Benito Sánchez Alonso, *Historia de la historiografía española* [Madrid: CSIC, 1941-50], II, 11).

In addition to the youthful readers Valdés and Oviedo, referred to in the

Castilian and final Iberian edition is dated 1511.<sup>21</sup> It is more likely that early works would have been read at an early date.

It is also possible that Cervantes, like the canon, both read these books and came to reject them when a mature man. For several reasons this is more likely. Cervantes leaves us no evidence of such reading in his early works (*La Galatea*, comedias, and *poemas sueltos*).<sup>22</sup> His comments on the *libros* are detailed and penetrating, as well as passionate; it is hard to accept them as recollections of youthful reading, and his knowledge of early works of the genre can be better explained as the knowledge of a collector and bibliophile.<sup>23</sup>

The *libros de caballerías* were works which appealed to those who followed, or would like to follow, the life of arms. Whether this was the desire of the young Cervantes we do not know, although his studies with López de Hoyos<sup>24</sup> and

preceding note, and Loyola, to be mentioned shortly, Santa Teresa read them as a girl (see *infra*, p. 24), and the deeds of the famous captain Fernando de Ávalos, marqués de Pescara, "se atribuían, bien o mal, al noble ardor y estímulos de la gloria que había criado en su pecho la lección frecuente de historias de caballerías en sus juveniles años" (Nicolás Antonio, cited by Diego Clemencín in the prologue to his edition of *Don Quixote*, p. 992b of the reprinting by Ediciones Castilla, 2nd edition [Madrid, 1966]).

<sup>21</sup> From the discussion at I, 101, 11-30, it is clear that Cervantes used the Castilian translation, and not the Italian translation published in 1538 and reprinted in 1566.

<sup>22</sup> Aside from *Don Quixote*, he only refers to them at the end of *El vizcaíno fingido*; there is also a reference to Galaor, Amadís' brother (named five times in *Don Quixote*: I, 51, 26-32; I, 173, 17; I, 279, 7; II, 403, 13; III, 57, 18-20) in one of the texts of "La tía fingida" (III, 276, 10), and the "donzellas de Dinamarca" who visit Carriazo at night ("La illustre fregona," II, 311, 16-312, 24) are those of *Amadís*, II, 9.

<sup>23</sup> See "Did Cervantes Have a Library?"

<sup>24</sup> A full study of this humanist, "cathedrático del Estudio desta villa de Madrid," as he described himself (Luis Astrana Marín, *Vida ejemplar y heroica de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* [Madrid: Reus, 1948-58], II, 180) is very much in order. There is abundant material: his publications, his will and other documents, and his activities as *ensor de libros*, references to which are found in Volume 13 of Simón Díaz's *Bibliografía de la literatura hispánica* (Madrid: CSIC, 1984). (Simón does not mention Hoyos' prefatory letter to the *Lyra Heroica* of Francisco Núñez de Oria [1581], cited by Maxime Chevalier, *L'Arioste en Espagne* [Bordeaux: Institut d'Études Ibériques et Ibéro-Américaines de l'Université de Bordeaux, 1966], p. 209.) For an introduction, see Américo Castro, "Erasmus en tiempos de Cervantes," *RFE*, 18 (1931), 329-89, revised in *Hacia Cervantes*, 3rd edition (Madrid: Taurus, 1967), pp. 222-61, and Astrana, II, 164, 171-73, 176-82, 207-08, and III, 129-33 and 263-68. (Under the direction of Joseph Jones, Astrana's biography has been helpfully indexed by Phyllis S. Emerson [Lexington: Erasmus Press, 1978]; my thanks to Jones for this reference.)

service in Italy to the Cardenal Acquaviva<sup>25</sup> would suggest otherwise. What is undeniable is that Cervantes showed sympathy for soldiers and pride in his military service as a mature man; it was his injury, desire to return to Spain, and captivity, rather than any change of heart, which led him to abandon his career as a soldier.<sup>26</sup> In his subsequent employ as provisioner for the Armada and tax collector, in which as a civilian he continued his support for Spain's military forces,<sup>27</sup> he was frequently away from home.<sup>28</sup> Travelling around southern Spain, he might well have found himself *ocioso*. Someone extremely fond of reading (I, 129, 27-29) would have turned to that occupation, as well as writing,<sup>29</sup> to fill idle hours; travelers often carried reading material with them, and *libros de caballerías* were a part.<sup>30</sup> Not only is reading in Cervantes' works

<sup>25</sup> Acquaviva was "de muchas letras," and "gustó mucho de algunos cortesanos [of Madrid] de ingenio" (Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, escrita e ilustrada con varias noticias y documentos inéditos pertenecientes a la historia y literatura de su tiempo* [Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1819], p. 14).

<sup>26</sup> For his desire to return to Spain, see Astrana, II, 448.

<sup>27</sup> "Su desseo es a continuar siempre en el seruiçio de V. M.," we find in Cervantes' famous *Memorial* to Felipe II seeking "un officio en las yndias" (Astrana, IV, 456). His enthusiasm can also be seen in a letter sent to him in 1588 by his superior Antonio de Guevara: "vuestra merced procure juntar toda la cantidad [de trigo] que pudiere sin rigor y sin tratar de querer sacarlo de quien no tuviere trigo, porque esto no es justo, de manera que se haga sin ningun ruido ni queja, aunque no se junte toda la cantidad" (Astrana, IV, 263; for the background, see Astrana, IV, 241 and Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos documentos cervantinos*, in his *Estudios cervantinos* [Madrid: Atlas, 1947], pp. 175-350, at p. 343).

<sup>28</sup> "How many times in his life Miguel was to make the ten-day trip from the center of Spain to the capital city of Andalusia [Seville]!" (Richard L. Predmore, *Cervantes* [New York: Dodd, Mead, 1973], p. 125). He traveled so much, around Andalucía on business, between his wife's home in Esquivias and his own residences in Madrid and Valladolid, to say nothing of his foreign adventures, that biographers tend to point out when he stayed put rather than the reverse.

<sup>29</sup> Cervantes of course was writing *La Galatea* while awaiting news of possible jobs, according to his letter to Eraso (Astrana, VI, 511-12), and in the prologue to the *Ocho comedias* he stated that he returned to writing plays when he returned to "mi antigua ociosidad." Also, *libros de caballerías*, according to Pero Pérez, were written by "ingenios ociosos" (II, 86, 1).

<sup>30</sup> Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo has reminded us that travelers read not just in the evening, but while traveling, although he speaks of "pocket editions," physically much smaller than the large *libros de caballerías* ("Camino de Trento. Cómo se viajaba en el Siglo XVI," in his *Opúsculos histórico-literarios* [Madrid: CSIC, 1951], III, 212-26, at p. 220). These books, however, were also read by travellers, as we find in Alonso de Horozco's *Vergel de oración* (Seville, 1544): "El libro que habla de Dios, siendo pequeño, quiebra las manos en tomándole; y los libros vanos llenos de mentiras, pesando un quintal, se van leyendo, segun yo vi algun dia, quando van por los caminos" (quoted by Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Don Quijote*, "nueva edición crítica" [Madrid: Atlas, 1947-49], IX, 60). An old story told

primarily a rural activity and that of *libros de caballerías* historically so,<sup>31</sup> the

of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the diplomat and author, says that he took with him on his mission to Italy a copy of *Amadis de Gaula*, and that this book, together with *Celestina*, comprised his entire stock of reading material for the trip; the anecdote is found in Francisco de Portugal's *Arte de galanteria*, of 1670, quoted by Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (1920; rpt. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 80, and more completely and with slightly different orthography by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, edición nacional, 2nd edition (Madrid: CSIC, 1962), I, 372, n. 1. Menéndez Pelayo calls the anecdote "no muy comprobada" (I, 372) and "poco segura" (III, 391, n. 2), and Ángel González Palencia and Eugenio Mele, *Vida y obras de don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de don Juan, 1941-43), III, 240, do likewise, as Mendoza took a whole library with him to Italy. Still, that the anecdote was told reveals something. Tomás Rodaja, the future *licenciado* Vidriera, selected books to take as reading on his trip to Italy.

As is so often the case, the most tantalizing yet perplexing evidence is that provided in *Don Quixote* itself. The "maletilla vieja cerrada con una cadenilla" (II, 83, 1) of Juan Palomeque's guest sounds very much like a suitcase of Cervantes, since it contained not just *libros de caballerías* and true history, but manuscript compositions of Cervantes. The mention of the title "Novela de Rinconete y Cortadillo" (II, 334, 17-18) meant nothing to readers in 1605, and suggests instead an attempt to incorporate reality into literature; recall that it was in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares* that Cervantes spoke of his "obras que andan por ahí descarriadas, y, quizá, sin el nombre de su dueño" (I, 21, 5-7), and in the Porras MS, in which Cervantes' texts were indeed found without any author indicated, there was a text of "Rinconete."

<sup>31</sup> There are two pieces of evidence in favor of urban consumption of the *libros*: copies were rented (note 62, *infra*) and in the *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano* of Juan Arce de Otálora we find that "en Sevilla dizen que ay oficiales que las fiestas a las tardes llevan un libro dessos a las gradas y le leen y muchos moços y oficiales y trabajadores que avian de jugar o reñir o estar en la taberna se van allí a oír" (*Romances of Chivalry*, p. 161).

However, the evidence of rural consumption is at least as strong: a great many copies were shipped to the more rural New World, Avellaneda stated that reading of "libros de cavallerías [es] tan ordinaria en gente rústica y ociosa" (I, 8, 12-13), and the *libros* are not found in urban libraries to the extent their urban publication would suggest. Documentary evidence on the latter point has been assembled by Bartolomé Bennassar, *Valladolid au Siècle d'Or. Une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris-The Hague: Mouton, 1967). Bennassar (p. 517) points, correctly, to Valladolid as a center of printing of *libros de caballerías*; in Valladolid there were published editions—in some cases the first or only edition—of *Tirante el Blanco*, *Felixmarte de Hircania*, *Cristalián de España*, *Florisel de Niquea*, *Lepolemo*, the *Espejo de príncipes*, II, *Policisne de Boecia*. However, after studying 46 inventories of books owned in Valladolid during the period 1536 to 1599 (see pp. 528-29), he comments on how the "romans de chevalerie" had "peu de place dans ces bibliothèques" (p. 519). The conclusion must be that the books published in Valladolid were read outside of Valladolid, i.e., in smaller towns or rural estates.

association between the reading of *libros de caballerías* and *ociosidad* is made six times in *Don Quixote*<sup>32</sup> and is also supported by external evidence.<sup>33</sup> Surely there was little other amusement to be had in Écija, or Castro del Río, or, for that matter, Esquivias.<sup>34</sup>

If Cervantes, as I believe, had a considerable library of these as well as other books, he would have accumulated it after his return to Spain in 1580; this coincided with a wave of publication of editions of the *libros*.<sup>35</sup> Biographers have often wondered what was occupying Cervantes' mind during those years in the 1590's and later 1580's when he was not writing;<sup>36</sup> a reasonable conjecture is that he was reading.

<sup>32</sup> I, 50, 13-15; II, 81, 9; II, 86, 21-27; II, 341, 1-2; II, 353, 20; II, 361, 28.

<sup>33</sup> See the passage from Arce de Otálora quoted in note 31; that from the 1555 petition to the *cortes* quoted in note 65, *infra*; Alonso de Fuentes, *Suma de filosofía natural* (1547), cited by Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete, "Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española," in *Novelistas anteriores a Cervantes*, II, BAE, 33 (1854; rpt. Madrid: Atlas, 1950), pp. v-c, at p. xxiii, n. 2; and Juan de Mariana, *Historia de España*, Book VIII, Chapter 3 (quoted by Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 63). Antonio de Guevara, in the dedication to Carlos V of his *Libro del emperador Marco Aurelio con el Reloj de príncipes* (cited by Riquer in the first introduction mentioned in note 18), associated *libros de caballerías* with "pasar el tiempo"; from reading the *Espejo de príncipes* its author Ortúñez thought that Martín Cortés could "pasar el tiempo y huir de la ociosidad, que es madre de todos los vicios" (I, 20, 18-20).

<sup>34</sup> Esquivias was the home of his wife and her family, and the closest thing to a "home base" that Cervantes had; Castro del Río and Écija were an Andalusian town and small city of little cultural importance where Cervantes stayed for extended periods on crown business. According to Tomás González, *Censo de población de Castilla en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1829), pp. 235, 335, and 346, Castro del Río had 1152 *vecinos* (heads of households) in 1587, Écija had 6958 in 1588, and Esquivias 200 in 1571. Cervantes coincided briefly in Écija with Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa when the latter was its *corregidor*; this has been noted because the presence of two literary figures in the town was so unusual (Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos documentos cervantinos*, in *Estudios cervantinos*, p. 338). On the cultural life of Esquivias, where, because of its location between Madrid and Toledo, theatrical companies passing through produced religious plays at Corpus Christi, see Jaime Sánchez Romeralo, "El teatro en un pueblo de Castilla en los siglos XVI-XVII: Esquivias, 1588-1638," in *Diálogos hispánicos de Amsterdam*, No. 2: *Las constantes estéticas de la 'comedia' en el Siglo de Oro* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1981), pp. 39-63; with caution, one can use the article of Gregorio B. Palacín, "Cervantes y Esquivias," *RomN*, 10 (1969), 335-41, which contains helpful information but goes beyond the evidence in maintaining that Esquivias was the town of Don Quixote.

<sup>35</sup> "Who Read," in *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 103; also see Bennassar, *Valladolid au siècle d'or*, p. 517.

<sup>36</sup> When his *ingenio* was not just "estéril," but "*mal cultivado*" (I, 29, 9). This would also be when, according to the prologue to the *Ocho comedias*, he "dex[ó] la pluma."

Whenever he obtained his extensive knowledge of the *libros*, Cervantes, like the canon, thought them defective. We can, then, accept as sincere the statements of purpose quoted at the beginning of this chapter. To be sure, there are subordinate themes in *Don Quixote*, such as the importance of truth and that of marriage, but these are intimately related to the *libros'* deficiencies, as will be discussed later. In Part II especially, Cervantes seems interested in taking advantage of readers' interest in the *locuras* of Don Quixote and *sandeces* of Sancho (IV, 65, 4-5) to give them "mucha Filosofía moral" along with the "mucho entretenimiento lícito" (III, 15, 4-7). Yet the greater freedom he permitted himself is because the *libros* were already weakened because of his Part I,<sup>37</sup> and both the moral philosophy and the entertainment are still just what, according to the canon, the *libros* did not offer.

So I propose that we take Cervantes at his word. In support of this position several arguments can be made. One is that the importance of intention is stressed in the text: what Sancho most needs to be a good governor is "buena intención," declare both the canon and Don Quixote (II, 375, 14-15; III, 405, 16-17); "mis intenciones siempre las enderezo a buenos fines," says Don Quixote (III, 391, 2-3).<sup>38</sup> An author who repeatedly refers to his characters' intentions must have reflected on his own, and, when lies are attacked even more frequently, as they are in other of his works as well,<sup>39</sup> we have strong reason to believe Cervantes was telling the truth about his.

Cervantes, furthermore, was an exceptionally literal-minded writer, and other, more limited statements about the interpretation he wanted readers to have are completely reliable. I can not improve on the formulation of Oscar Mandel: "Perhaps, as has sometimes been suggested, Cervantes entertained opinions about religion and the state which he dared not publish."<sup>40</sup> But where

<sup>37</sup> This is what Cervantes believed (IV, 406, 6-13), and there is basis for his belief. See p. 18 (n. 44) and n. 48, *infra*.

<sup>38</sup> I have collected over 50 references to characters' intentions in Cervantes' works.

<sup>39</sup> E.G., in "El casamiento engañoso," whose whole theme is the destructive power of deception, "viva la verdad y muera la mentira" (III, 143, 9-10).

<sup>40</sup> This suggestion is surely correct; on the king, Mauricio, a character who has much in common with Cervantes (Chapter 5, note 62), says "las verdades de las culpas cometidas en secreto, nadie ha de ser osado de sacarlas en público, especialmente las de los reyes y príncipes que nos gobiernan; sí que no toca a un hombre particular reprehender a su rey y señor, ni sembrar en los oídos de sus vasallos las faltas de su príncipe, porque esto no será causa de enmendarle, sino de que los suyos no le estimen" (*Persiles*, I, 96, 18-28). That Cervantes felt that governors (i.e., below the king) were not all responsible is discussed in Chapter 5.

There is much in Cervantes' works to suggest that he was not in agreement with many aspects of contemporary Catholicism; as José Luis Abellán shrewdly points out, the word "Christian" appears 179 times in *Don Quixote*, but "Catholic" only 24 (*El erasmismo español*, 2nd edition, Colección Austral, 1641 [Madrid: Espasa-

speech was not treasonable, Cervantes meant what he said. Few authors dot their *i*'s more painstakingly than he. When Sancho commits a malapropism, someone—and, if no one else, then Cervantes himself—lets us know that Sancho has just 'made a funny.' When Sancho governs his isle wisely, we have a steward to tell us so, in case we do not notice. When a trick is played on Don Quixote or when Don Quixote has one of his delusions, Cervantes immediately comes to our rescue: 'Now the truth of the matter . . . is this' (I, 21). His occasional attempts at irony . . . are ponderous. He explains his jokes as innocently as he congratulates himself on his genius. If Don Quixote does not mistake an inn for a castle, Cervantes points out that he has not mistaken an inn for a castle. He cannot disguise his glee over the success of Part I . . . . Whenever Don Quixote discourses on life and letters, a chorus applauds his wisdom; and whenever Sancho is being delightful, someone tells us that he is delightful. The fact that he is using a lot of proverbs is carefully noted. In

Calpe, 1982], p. 267). The two threats of excommunication (Astrana, IV, 176, 182, 197-201), to which Cervantes never referred, must have had some impact on him; we are informed that such does not worry Don Quixote at all (I, 257, 29-258, 13). The recommendation to Don Quixote that he read the Bible (II, 363, 13-17) is suspicious (who could and should read the Bible, and in what way, was a major theological issue in the sixteenth century), and the visit to Rome which concludes the *Persiles* is remarkably skimping in treatment of religious material. There is a striking contrast between the respectful treatment of the *ex votos* to Mary (*Persiles*, II, 48, 3-49, 13) and the critical treatment of those to saints (III, 119, 8-19).

It would seem that Cervantes was doubtful about the contribution made by many of Spain's monasteries and convents, whose lax adherence to their founding principles was the subject of a series of reform projects within the church, and whose proliferation and in some cases wealth was a national issue, although a dangerous one to discuss openly. The comparison of *frailes* with *caballeros* in Chapter 8 of Part II, including the statement that "es mayor el número de los religiosos que el de los cavalleros" (III, 120, 16-17), is quite daring; there is a biting overtone to the observation that *religiosos* are "gente medrosa y sin armas" (I, 252, 29). (For further discussion, see Chapter 2, p. 72.)

Cervantes seems to attack monastic institutions in "Rinconete y Cortadillo," in which the religiosity and good life of the thieves is stressed; they enter an "order" directed by a superior, which is compared by Rincón to assuming an "hábito honroso" (I, 254, 13), change their names upon doing so, carry out "oficios" (I, 258, 27), and have a novitiate (I, 262, 24-25); to work in the house of Carrizales, which is explicitly compared with a convent or monastery ("El zeloso extremeño," II, 170, 6-8), women also had to pass "un año de noviciado" and make "profesión en aquella vida, determinándose de llevarla hasta el fin de las suyas" (II, 166, 29-168, 11). Several passages support the attack on monastic chastity found at I, 365, 3-23: the "honestidad/ que en las santas celdas mora" is undermined by the *baile de la chacona* ("La illustre fregona," II, 306, 25-32); Cristina, in *El viejo zeloso*, asks for "un frailecico pequeñito con quien yo me huelgue" (*Comedias y entremeses*,

short, not to call more witnesses than we need, Cervantes 'conditions' us to accept what he affirms."<sup>41</sup>

IV, 150, 17-18); and a book is described as "honesta como un fraile novicio" ("La illustre fregona," II, 310, 24; a similar passage in *La guarda cuidadosa*, IV, 63, 12-17). There are also suggestions that vows of poverty are also indifferently observed: the *frailes* who carry parasols and ride enormous mules, as big as camels (I, 120, 12-16; I, 122, 7-8), calm mounts at best (I, 251, 8-10), and the "religioso muy gordo" of "El licenciado Vidriera" (II, 110, 4), scarcely seem dignified. "Los señores clérigos . . . pocas vezes se dexan mal passar" (I, 259, 9-10; I, 255, 29-31, in which they are ironically called "buenos señores"); "algunos dineros, especialmente entre frailes y clérigos, que avía más de ocho, hizieron" ("Las dos donzellas," III, 27, 30-28, 1). Without details, there are suggestions of a negative attitude toward most *frailes* in *El rufián dichoso*: "poder ser cortesanos los frailes, es cosa clara" (*Comedias y entremeses*, II, 63, 11-12); "¡En fin, son frailes!" (II, 100, 12); "merece ser Papa tan buen fraile" (II, 101, 30).

The activist Jesuits seem to have met with Cervantes' approbation ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 177, 12-178, 9); the charged undertone to the passage praising them (see Bruce Wardropper, "Cervantes and Education," in *Cervantes and the Renaissance*, pp. 178-93, at 186-88) would seem to be a reaction more to the system of values they imparted than to the order itself. Beyond them, Cervantes seems to have had a good word only for the discipline and silence of the *cartujos* (I, 169, 11-15; III, 231, 27-30), and for the ascetism and persuasive power of the *descalzos* ("no le harán creer otra cosa frailes descalços," II, 85, 26-27; similarly, III, 359, 23-24 and IV, 121, 13-14; *El rufián dichoso*, III, 105, 30-31). Still, when Cervantes' sister Luisa had taken vows in the *carmelitas descalzas*, in a convent only a few houses from the family home in Alcalá (James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. A Memoir* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913], p. 6; Astrana, I, 443-59, especially p. 450), and his brother-in-law Antonio de Salazar was a *fraile* (Fitzmaurice-Kelly, p. 160; Astrana, III, 435 and VI, 399; his order is unknown), Cervantes' scanty treatment of monks and nuns is striking.

We also find suggestions that some priests were less than virtuous; Sancho's statement "bien predica quien bien vive, y yo no sé otras thologías" (III, 262, 28-29), receives Don Quixote's clear approval, and Don Quixote's capacity to be a theologian or a preacher is pointed out on three occasions (III, 94, 9-12; III, 276, 20-23; III, 347, 28-30); the *eclesiástico* at the *duque's* palace is as negative a character as there is in the book, and Sancho's use of a "cura de aldea" as a standard of wisdom (IV, 238, 10) seems sincere. For further commentary and references to Cervantine passages mentioning *religiosos*, with reservations only about the *direct* influence of Erasmus (for, among other considerations, one must consider Mondragón as a possible intermediary; see Chapter 6, note 48), one may consult Américo Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, 2nd edition by Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas (Barcelona-Madrid: Noguer, 1972), Chapter 6; Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, trans. Antonio Alatorre, 2nd edition (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966), pp. 784-99; and Abellán, pp. 266-81.

<sup>41</sup> "The Function of the Norm in *Don Quijote*," *MP*, 55 (1958), 154-63, at p. 157.

That Cervantes' purpose was indeed to attack *libros de caballerías* is also supported by the unanimous and well-documented reactions of his early readers, some of whom had access not just to the text of *Don Quixote*, but to Cervantes himself. Among these are the authors of both *aprobaciones*: "cumpl[e] con el acertado asunto en que pretende la expulsión de los libros de Cavallerías, pues con su buena diligencia mañosamente a limpiado de su contagiosa dolencia a estos reinos," says Valdivielso (III, 17, 21-25); "su bien seguido asunto para extirpar los vanos y mentirosos libros de Cavallerías, cuyo contagio avía cundido más de lo que fuera justo," says Márquez Torres (III, 19, 11-14), whose *aprobación* may well have been written by Cervantes himself.<sup>42</sup> Avellaneda said that Cervantes "no podrá, por lo menos, dexar de

<sup>42</sup> This was suggested by Cervantes' first biographer, the eighteenth-century Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar, *Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, ed. Antonio Mestre, Clásicos Castellanos, 172 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972), pp. 56-57. Mayáns did what no one has done since: he compared the *aprobación* with other texts of Márquez Torres, and stated that the language was not at all the same. His suggestion was attacked, with superficial reasons, by Navarrete, *Vida*, pp. 491-93; that the style of Márquez Torres, in the *aprobación* of 1615, does not resemble at all his style in a book of 1626, is explained because "se dejó llevar de la corriente de los escritores del mal gusto que triunfó después de la muerte de Cervantes" (p. 493).

Mayáns' suggestion is well-founded. It was typical of Cervantes to disguise self-praise (see Chapter 4, note 146), and every point made in Márquez' *aprobación* is one made separately by Cervantes:

No hallo en él cosa indigna de un  
christiano zelo ni que disuene de la  
decencia devida a buen exemplo . . . Su  
decoro y decencia

Su bien seguido asunto para extirpar  
los vanos y mentirosos libros de  
Cavallerías.

cuyo contagio avía cundido más de lo  
que fuera justo,

como en la lisura del lenguaje  
castellano,

no adulterado con enfadosa y  
estudiada afectación . . .

guarda con tanta cordura las leyes de  
reprehensión christiana,

que aquel que fuere tocado de la  
enfermedad . . . se hallará, que es lo  
más difícil de conseguirse, gustoso y  
repreñado.

En toda ella no se descubre, ni por  
semejas, una palabra deshonesta, ni  
un pensamiento menos que católico  
(III, 68, 20-22)

Llebad la mira puesta a derribar la  
máquina mal fundada destes  
cavallerescos libros, (I, 38, 4-5)

aborrecidos de tantos y alabados de  
muchos más(I, 38, 6-7)

a la llana, con palabras significantes,  
honestas y bien colocadas (I, 37, 25-  
26)

toda afectación es mala (III, 331, 30)

el averme reprehendido en público, y  
tan ásperamente, ha passado todos los  
límites de la buena reprehensión (III,  
389, 20-22)

el fin mejor que se pretende en los  
escritos, que es enseñar y deleitar  
juntamente (II, 344, 32-345, 2)

confessar tenemos ambos un fin, que es desterrar la perniciosa lición de los vanos libros de cavallerías."<sup>43</sup> Tirso, Faria y Sousa, Calderón, Gracián, Matías

Bien diferente han sentido de los escritos de Miguel de Cervantes assi nuestra nación como las estrañas . . . España, Francia, Italia, Alemania y Flandes

Dígalo Portugal, Barcelona y Valencia, donde se han impresso, y aun ay fama que se está imprimiendo en Amberes, y a mí se me trasluze que no ha de aver nación ni lengua donde no se traduzga (III, 62, 9-13)

El grande emperador de la China . . . me escribió una carta . . . porque quería que el libro que se leyese [en su colegio] fuesse el de la historia de don Quixote (III, 33, 15-22)

En estos como en los estraños reinos (IV, 406, 3.

General aplauso

General aplauso (III, 400, 19)

Certifico con verdad . . . La verdad de lo que . . . digo

Hundreds of examples; see my "Un fragmento de las *Semanas del jardín*,"

Apenas oyeron . . . quando . . .

Apenas oyó . . . quando (III, 37, 15; III, 306, 25-26; IV, 247, 25-26). Numerous other examples; see "apenas" in Ruiz-Fornells' concordance.

La *Galatea*, que alguno dellos tiene casi de memoria la primera parte desta

Verá . . . fin de la *Galatea*, de quien sé está aficionado vuesa Excelencia (*Persiles*, dedication)

Era viejo, soldado,

Lo que no he podido dexar de sentir es que me note de viejo y de manco, como si . . . mi manquedad huviera nacido en alguna taberna . . . El soldado más bien parece muerto en la batalla que libre en la fuga (III, 27, 16-27)

hidalgo y pobre . . . Siendo él pobre, haga rico todo el mundo . . .

Estoy muy sin dineros (III, 34, 2-3)  
See Chapter 6.

Toca los límites de lisongero elogio . . .

Si a los oídos de los príncipes llegasse la verdad desnuda, sin los vestidos de la lisonja (III, 55, 26-28)

El pico del adulator

Será forçoso valerme por mi pico (*Novelas exemplares*, prólogo)

Marquéz Torres' *aprobacion* is studied, though without taking a position on Cervantes' intervention in the composition of it, by Elias Rivers, "On the Prefatory Pages of *Don Quixote*, Part II," *MLN*, 75 (1960), 214-21; it is mentioned more approvingly by E. C. Riley in "Cervantes and the Cynics ('El licenciado Vidriera' and 'El coloquio de los perros')," *BHS*, 53 (1976), 189-99, at pp. 194-95.

<sup>43</sup> I, 8, 10-12. Occasional yet striking parallels between the continuations of

de los Reyes, Bartolomé de Góngora, Luis Galindo, and other seventeenth-century writers refer to *Don Quixote* as an attack, a successful attack at that, on *libros de caballerías*.<sup>44</sup> The book's first French and Italian translators do the same,<sup>45</sup> as do previous students of the *libros de caballerías*.<sup>46</sup>

I would finally suggest, in support of seeing *Don Quixote* as an attack on *libros de caballerías*, the fact that despite two centuries of study, no consensus has developed for any alternative authorial purpose. Such has, however, been eagerly sought. It may be a step toward order in Cervantine studies to examine some reasons why Cervantes' clear statements of intent, unproblematical to his contemporaries, have encountered considerable modern resistance.

Explicit statements of authorial intent are, in the first place, quite out of fashion. While many would agree that literature should be, in some sense,

Cervantes and Avellaneda have long been recognized as indicating that one of them had contact with the other's work in advance of publication (see my "Sancho's *Rucio* and the Date of Composition of *Don Quijote*, Part II," in *Studies in the Spanish Golden Age: Cervantes and Lope de Vega*, ed. Dana Drake and José A. Madrigal [Miami: Universal, 1978], pp. 21-32, at pp. 26-27; this is the revised English original of an article first published in translation in *NRFH*, 25 [1976], 94-102). It must be added, however, that Avellaneda was more interested in attacking Cervantes than *libros de caballerías*.

<sup>44</sup> Daniel E. Quilter, "The Image of the *Quijote* in the Seventeenth Century," Diss. Illinois, 1962, pp. 88-90. The comment of Matías de los Reyes may be read in Carroll B. Johnson, *Matías de los Reyes and the Craft of Fiction*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 101 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 220; that of Bartolomé de Góngora in his *Corregidor sagaz*, ed. Guillermo Lohmann Villena (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1960), p. 136; that of Luis Galindo in Rodríguez Marín's "nueva edición crítica," VIII, 269.

<sup>45</sup> "Sa lecture (si on la met à profit[]) sauuera la perte du tēps, que plusieurs consomment à feuilleter les Romans fabuleux . . ." (Oudin, 1625 edition of Part I, "Au roy," unpagged); "Opera gustosissima, e di grandissimo trattenimientto à chi è vago d'impiegare d'ozio in legger battaglie, desfide, incontri, amorosi biglietti, et inaudite prodezzi di Cavalieri erranti" (Franciosini, 1622 ed., title page of Part I).

<sup>46</sup> "Con tan pestíferos materiales, pudo el Autor del Amadís de Gaula hatraher los idiotas a su lectura. Y de ese Libro como de un Caballo troyano, salió toda la canlla de la descendencia de Amadis. Y si Dios y Cervantes no hubiesen atajado ese chorrillo, aun oy se multiplicarian esos ineptos, y perniciosos Libros" (Martín Sarmiento, first historian of Spanish literature and author of the first study of a *libro de caballerías*, "*Amadís de Gaula*," pp. 87-132 of his *Noticia de la verdadera patria (Alcalá) de él [sic] Miguel de Cervantes*, written in 1761 and first published by Isidro Bonsoms, Barcelona: Álvaro Verdaguer, 1898, at p. 103; this is the same study presented as unpublished by Barton Sholod, "Fray Martín Sarmiento, *Amadís de Gaula* and the Spanish Chivalric 'Genre,'" *Studies in Honor of Mario A. Pei* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972], pp. 183-99). For the similar position of Riquer, see note 18; for that of Clemencín, the introduction to his edition of *Don Quixote* (cited in note 20), a fine piece of writing well worth rereading.

didactic, and that great literature is always so, we like subtle messages, and prefer to figure them out for ourselves, as if a book were a puzzle. It is life itself from which we want to draw lessons, and a novelist's authority is derived from what he or she has lived, not from thought or reading. We want a slice of life presented to us, and we will, if we choose, extract something of benefit from it; the most we will admit is to be gently guided to an interpretation. The respect for wisdom, for authority, for reason, and for the written word is, for better or worse, much more tenuous than in Cervantes' day. An author telling us what his text means assumes a position of superiority, which is not the role we want an author to play.

More important, however, has been the evolution of literature since 1600. As the *libros de caballerías* have long since disappeared—since the eighteenth century no one reads any of them without reading Cervantes first—every modern reader comes to *Don Quixote* with a perspective different from that of Cervantes and his contemporaries.<sup>47</sup> As the nature and attractions of that genre are remote, and its alleged defects a dead issue, readers have found other

<sup>47</sup> In the eighteenth century Thomas Percy, first modern collector of *libros de caballerías*, pointed out that the disappearance of *libros de caballerías* affected the reading of *Don Quixote*, and warned of possible permanent loss of meaning: "As the taste for these Old Books of Chivalry is, in our days, entirely exploded, it does not happen that one reader in five hundred has ever seen a line in any of those books: and consequently all the fine ridicule of *Cervantes* must be lost upon them, and the wittiest passages of all, appear obscure and unintelligible:—Now an attempt to supply this deficiency I am persuaded would be very acceptable to the World and becomes every day the more necessary, as those old Romances become the more scarce & difficult to be met with: Those books will in a short time be totally lost & forgotten, for who will reprint a book, which nobody will read; and when this happens, the finest strokes in *Don Quixote* will be involved in impenetrable Obscurity.—Now it would be a very acceptable Work, & the Admirers of wit & humour would have great obligations to any capable Person, who would give himself the Trouble to read over carefully all those Volumes of Trash, in order to select & rescue from Oblivion the particular passages & incidents, which are immediately pointed at in *Don Quixote*" (p. xi of the letter to Lockyer Davis, cited in the introduction, note 19).

A generation previously Martín Sarmiento had said the same: "Quiso ridiculizar los libros de caballerías y no lo hiciera con acierto y gracia si antes no los hubiese leído y se hubiese familiarizado con ellos: así usa de nombres propios, de voces caballerescas y del estilo y espresiones que idénticamente se hallan en aquellos libros y con especialidad en los cuatro libros de *Amadís de Gaula*. Y como esos libros y los que siguieron son ya muy raros y muy pocos los han leído, por eso son muy pocos los que pueden leer a *D. Quijote* con toda el alma que en él puso Cervantes. Por esta razón no sería mal recibido el que algún curioso se dedicase a comentar la historia de *D. Quijote* con notas literales. No piense en eso el que no leyese antes a *Amadís* y a otros libros semejantes." (*Conjetura sobre la Ínsula Barataria*, cited in Francisco María Tubino, *El "Quijote" y la estafeta de Urganda* [Seville: La Andalucía,

values in the text, which it of course has. This modern reading has then been projected backwards, onto the author: i.e., if *Don Quixote* is not fully described as an *invectiva* against *libros de caballerías*, a position which which most modern readers would agree, the author therefore did not *intend* for it to be such. *Libros de caballerías* were such poor literature—a conclusion drawn from the comments on them in *Don Quixote*—that Cervantes would not have used his talents to attack them; such would have been a trivial goal, unworthy of a great author. The chivalric books did disappear after *Don Quixote*;<sup>48</sup> therefore they were already moribund, and Cervantes would not have been flogging what is sometimes referred to as a dead horse. This is, however, an error in literary history.

In part, the error derives from an inadequate appreciation of the importance of *libros de caballerías* in sixteenth-century Spain.<sup>49</sup> These books were the favorite pleasure and escape reading of an age with much more limited opportunities for diversion than today. They not only reflected values, they helped to shape them, and with the exception of scholarship, there is no part of sixteenth-century Spanish culture to which they are not relevant.<sup>50</sup> The chivalric books told idle and future soldiers that it was more enjoyable and

1862], p. 22; almost the same text in Sarmiento, *Noticia*, pp. 135-36.) Sarmiento's position was not the official one. As Tubino points out, the first scholarly editor, John Bowle, who was heavily influence by Percy, went on to do what Sarmiento had recommended and provide chivalric annotations in his edition; the Academia de la Lengua, in preparing its much better known and recently reprinted 1780 edition, decided that such annotations were unnecessary (Armando Cotarelo Valledor, *El "Quijote" académico* [Madrid, 1948], pp. 14-15).

<sup>48</sup> With only one exception, no *libros de caballerías* were published after *Don Quixote* until the nineteenth century; that exception, the Zaragoza, 1617-23 edition of the *Espejo de príncipes*, may be explained in part as a negative reaction to *Don Quixote*, especially Part II. (See my "Cervantes, Lope, and Avellaneda.")

<sup>49</sup> The following discussion of *libros de caballerías* in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spain represents a considerable refinement of that in *Romances of Chivalry*, Chapter 4.

<sup>50</sup> There has never been a full history of Spanish fiction, and the last survey, or "bosquejo" as the author calls it, is from 1854; it is Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete's "Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española." Here is his comment on the role of *libros de caballerías* in Spanish society: "El libro de caballerías debe considerarse como la novela de costumbres de la edad media: las exageraciones están en los hechos que refiere, no en las ideas que enuncia; y aun en materia de hechos, no todos los que ahora nos parecen inverosímiles dejaban de tener ejemplos en la vida real de aquellos tiempos. Cuando vemos en la crónica de don Juan II de Castilla caballeros, cuya existencia no es dudosa, irse por esos mundos buscando aventuras, deseando encontrar con quién medir el esfuerzo de su potente brazo en los torneos, y damas a cuyas plantas rendir los trofeos de su victoria; cuando vemos a un sugeto tan grave como Diego de Valera . . . andar convertido de corte en corte en un matasiete; cuando vemos pasos de armas como

manly to defeat enemies by arms than by words, and supported the continued identification of non-Christians as enemies and evil persons.<sup>51</sup> They stressed the pleasant, and minimized the unpleasant side of traveling to little-known parts of the world, and supplied the names "California" and "Patagonia," then quite little-known places indeed.<sup>52</sup> Carlos V was a great fan of them,<sup>53</sup> and he

el del Puente de Órbigo [a reference to the *Passo honroso*; see *infra*, note 73] donde centenares de caballeros de todos los países acudieron a romperse las cabezas y magullarse el cuerpo, por si era más o menos hermosa una dama, a quien la mayor parte de ellos no conocía; cuando todavía un siglo después miramos a Carlos V desafiar a singular batalla a Francisco I [of France], exponiendo sus reinos a quedar huérfanos [see Pero Mexía, *Historia del emperador Carlos V*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1945), pp. 508-21]; y cuando, lo que es más extraño, se nos presenta Felipe II, el príncipe de genio menos poético y especulativo que hubo jamás, haciendo en los regocijos con que le festejaron los estados de Flandes el papel de caballero andante [see Daniel Devoto, "Folklore et politique au Château Ténébreux," in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance. II. Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), pp. 311-28, and Devoto's main source, Juan Calvete de Estrella, *El felicísimo viaje del príncipe don Felipe* (1552), Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 2ª época, 7-8 (Madrid, 1930)], admiramos la verdad de estos libros y reconocemos su influjo. Al presente nos es imposible formar una idea cabal del que recíprocamente ejercieron estos libros en las costumbres y las costumbres en ellos . . . . Grandes cosas tenían que hacer aquellos siglos; el impulso debía de ser proporcionado. Sin la excitación febril que promovieron por aventuras, ¿hubiera habido muchos que confiándose a unos frágiles maderos se hubiesen entregado al Océano, sin norte ni guía en busca de nuevas regiones, ni se hubiesen expuesto a las hambres y peligros que experimentaron por explorarlas, ni a acometer con pocas docenas de hombres imperios poderosísimos?" (pp. xxii-xxiii).

<sup>51</sup> See *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 44, 65, and 70.

<sup>52</sup> Ruth Putnam and Herbert I. Priestley, *California: The Name*, University of California Publications in History, IV, 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1917), pp. 293-365, and María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, "Para la toponimia argentina: Patagonia," *HR*, 20 (1952), 321-23, commented on by Marcel Bataillon, "Acerca de los patagones: Retractatio," *Filología*, 8 (1962 [1964]), 27-45.

<sup>53</sup> While there has been fairly extensive treatment of the chivalric in fifteenth-century Hispanic culture (e.g., the studies of Martín de Riquer [cited in my *Castilian Romances of Chivalry . . . Bibliography*, pp. 98-99]; Jole Scudieri Ruggieri, *Cavalleria e cortesia nella vita e nella cultura di Spagna* [Modena: STEM Mucchi, 1980]), there is no overview of the chivalric in the Spanish sixteenth century. I have cited some of the source material in *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 40-42, p. 70, n. 28, and p. 113; Tubino has other sources, pp. 192-95, and see note 50, *supra*. The ten years that Juan de Valdés said he spent in "palacios y cortes" reading *libros de caballerías* (*Diálogo de la lengua*, ed. Cristina Barbolani de García [Florence: D'Anna, 1967], p. 96) almost surely included time spent in the court of Carlos V. R. O. Jones has suggested, in an unpublished lecture, that Carlos' abdication and retirement to the Monastery of Yuste may have been modeled on the abdication of Lisuarte and his retirement to

was not just Cervantes' favorite among Spain's rulers<sup>54</sup> but Spain's most powerful and expansionist ruler ever. The books' considerable influence on literature—*crónicas de Indias*,<sup>55</sup> epic poetry, the pastoral,<sup>56</sup> the novels called picaresque<sup>57</sup>—has yet to be adequately explored.<sup>58</sup> They were read by future saints: the young Loyola, before founding that quasi-military, mobile, practical-minded order of "soldiers of Christ," the Jesuits, was "muy dado a leer

the castle of Miraflores, in the *Sergas de Esplandián*. (My attempts to locate this lecture have been unsuccessful; see D. W. Cruickshank, "Some Aspects of Spanish Book-Production in the Golden Age," *The Library*, 5th series, 31 [1976], 1-19, at p. 19, and R. O. Jones, *A Literary History of Spain. The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry* [London: Benn, 1971], p. 56.)

<sup>54</sup> See II, 212, 22-25; *Persiles*, I, 320, 9-12; the poems celebrating Carlos praised during the "escrutinio de la librería" (I, 106, 12-18). Cervantes rarely mentions any other ruler, although Felipe II is praised in the early *Çerco de Numancia* (*Comedias y entremeses*, V, 124, 32).

<sup>55</sup> "Una reacción contra el fondo y contra la forma de esos libros se observa en el florecer que ahora inicia la prosa, principalmente en manos de los historiadores de las cosas de Indias (maravillas reales opuestas a las fantasías caballerescas)," said Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "El lenguaje del siglo XVI," in his *La lengua de Cristóbal Colón*, Colección Austral, 280, 3rd edition (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, 1947), pp. 49-87, at p. 65; an example of a chronicle partly an answer to and replacement for *libros de caballerías* is examined by Stephanie Merrim, "'Un mare magno e oculto': Anatomy of Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*," *REH-PR*, 11 (1984), 101-19. Covarrubias (s.v. "fábula") draws a comparison between the *libros* and the *crónicas de Indias*: "Los que avéys leydo las Corónicas de las Indias, cosa que passó ayer, tan cierta y tan sabida, mirad cuántas cosas ay en su descubrimiento y en su conquista, que exceden a quanto han imaginado las plumas de los vanos mentirosos que han escrito libros de cavallerías, pues éstas vendrá tiempo que las llamen fábulas y aun las tengan por tales los que fueren poco aficionados a la nación Española y para evitar este peligro, se avía de aver defendido que ninguno las escriviera poéticamente en verso, sino conservarlas en la pureza de la verdad con que están escritas, por hombres tan graves y tan dignos de fe, sin atavío, afeyte, ni adorno ninguno."

<sup>56</sup> On influence of *libros de caballerías* on Montemayor, see Maxime Chevalier, "*La Diana* de Montemayor y su público en la España del siglo XVI," in *Creación y público en la literatura española*, ed. J.-F. Botrel and S. Salas (Madrid: Castalia, 1974), pp. 40-55.

<sup>57</sup> See my "Does the Picaresque Novel Exist?" *KRQ*, 26 (1979), 203-19.

<sup>58</sup> This is a huge topic. *Lazarillo de Tormes* as an antichivalric hero has now become a commonplace (for references, *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 47, n. 31). The prolific Feliciano de Silva played an important role in the introduction of the pastoral into fiction (see Sydney P. Cravens, *Feliciano de Silva y los antecedentes de la novela pastoril en sus libros de caballerías* [Chapel Hill: Estudios de Hispanófila, 1976]). Epic poetry of the Spanish Golden Age is itself such an immense topic that its relationship to the *libros de caballerías* is all but unexamined (a few notes are offered in the dissertation cited in note 38 to Chapter 2).

libros mundanos y falsos, que suelen llamar de caballerías,"<sup>59</sup> and the great

<sup>59</sup> Quoted from his *Autobiografía* (taken from dictation), ed. Cándido de Dalmases, S.I., in his *Obras completas*, 4th edition (Madrid: Católica, 1952), p. 92. The chivalric element in Loyola's early life is so important that it was once proposed that Cervantes was thinking of Loyola when creating Don Quixote (Bowe, *A Letter to Dr. Percy*, p. 50). The full passage from Loyola's autobiography, explaining the origin of his religious calling, reads: "y porque era muy dado a leer libros mundanos y falsos, que suelen llamar de caballerías, sintiéndose bueno, pidió que le diesen algunos dellos para pasar el tiempo; mas en aquella casa no se halló ninguno de los que él solía leer, y así le dieron un *Vita Christi* y un libro de la vida de los Santos en romance." Loyola's love was obviously chivalric. (The person to whom his affections were directed is to this day unknown; however, all three of the candidates proposed, according to the annotations of Dalmases, p. 92, n. 7, are women associated at other times with the chivalric books; see *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 42 and 114-17.) Despite reading the *Vita Christi* and the *Vida de los santos*, he still thought "en las cosas del mundo que antes solía pensar. Y de muchas cosas vanas que se le ofrecían, una tenía tanto poseído su corazón, que se estaba luego embebido en pensar en ella dos y tres y cuatro horas sin sentirlo, imaginando lo que había de hacer en servicio de una señora, los medios que tomaría para poder ir a la tierra donde ella estaba, los motes, las palabras que le diría, los hechos de armas que haría en su servicio. Y estaba con esto tan envanecido, que no miraba cuán imposible era poderlo alcanzar; porque la señora no era de vulgar nobleza: no condesa, ni duquesa, mas era su estado más alto que ninguno destas" (p. 92).

Loyola's *vela de las armas*, inspired by that of Esplandián in Book IV of *Amadís de Gaula*, is his best known chivalric act: "Y fuese su camino de Monserrate, pensando, como siempre solía, en las hazañas que había de hacer por amor de Dios. Y como tenía todo el entendimiento lleno de aquellas cosas, *Amadís de Gaula* y de semejantes libros, veníanle algunas cosas al pensamiento semejantes a aquéllas; y así se determinó de velar sus armas toda una noche, sin sentarse ni acostarse, mas a ratos en pie y a ratos de rodillas, delante el altar de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, adonde tenía determinado dejar sus vestidos y vestirse las armas de Cristo" (p. 100). A further example of chivalric behavior (see *Don Quixote*, I, 58, 10-11; I, 83, 11-13; I, 323, 14-15; and *Espejo de príncipes*, III, 41, 12, note) is allowing one's mount to choose the direction of travel: "Un moro [dijo] tales cosas de Nuestra Señora . . . que . . . le venían deseos de ir a buscar el moro y darle de puñaladas por lo que había dicho; y perseverando mucho en el combate destes deseos, a la fin quedó dubio, sin saber lo que era obligado hacer . . . Y así, después de cansado de examinar lo que sería bueno hacer, no hallando cosa cierta a que se determinase, se determinó en esto, scilicet, de dejar ir a la mula con la rienda suelta hasta al lugar donde se dividían los caminos; y que si la mula fuese por el camino de la villa, él buscaría el moro y le daría de puñaladas; y si no fuese hacia la villa, sino por el camino real, dejarlo quedar" (pp. 99-100). (The same information, occasionally with additional detail, in Pedro de Rivadeneira's life of Loyola, in *Obras escogidas* of Rivadeneira, BAE, 60 [1868; rpt. Madrid: Hernando, 1927], pp. 14b, 17a, and 18a.)

Rafael Lapesa comments on the chivalric and military origin of the Jesuits,

reformer and mystic Teresa de Jesús, "inquieta y andariega," as she was described by a contemporary,<sup>60</sup> was as a girl a devoted reader.<sup>61</sup> The chivalric books were far too expensive, at least in the first half of the sixteenth century, for the lower class, but when poor and illiterate people heard them read aloud,

calling Loyola "caballero andante a lo divino" (p. 195), in "La *Vida de San Ignacio* del P. Ribadeneyra," *RFE*, 21 (1934), 29-50; I have used the reprint in *De la Edad Media a nuestros días* (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), pp. 193-211. According to P. Sabino Sola, S.J., "En torno al castellano de San Ignacio," in *En el centenario Ignaciano, 1556-1956*, número extraordinario of *Razón y Fe* (enero-febrero, 1956), pp. 243-74 (known to me only through Robert Ricard, "Anexo sobre el lenguaje y estilo de San Ignacio," in his *Estudios de literatura religiosa española*, trans. Manuel Muñoz Cortés [Madrid: Gredos, 1964], pp. 168-72, at p. 168), Loyola, a Basque, learned correct Spanish from reading *libros de caballerías*.

<sup>60</sup> Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "El estilo de Santa Teresa," in his *La lengua de Cristóbal Colón*, pp. 128-50, at p. 130.

<sup>61</sup> In her *Vida*, Teresa wrote, referring to her mother, "era aficionada a libros de cavallerías y no tan mal tomava este pasatiempo como yo le tomé para mí, porque no perdía su lavor, sino desenbolviémonos para leer en ellos, y por ventura lo açia para no pensar en grandes trabajos que tenia y ocupar sus yjos que no anduviesen en otras cosas perdidos; de esto le pesava tanto a mj padre, que se avia de tener aviso a que no lo viese. Yo començe a quedarme en costunbre de leerlos y aquella pequeña falta que en ella vi me començo a enfriar los deseos y començar a faltar en lo demas y pareçiamme no era malo, con gastar muchas oras de el día y de la noche en tan vano ejerçicio aunque ascondida de mi padre. Era tan en estremo lo que en esto me enbevía que si no tenia libro nuevo no me pareçe tenia contento" (Chapter 2; quoted by Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 59).

P. Francisco de Ribera, in his 1590 *Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, gives further details: "El demonio . . . puso su diligencia en estragar . . . los dones naturales que Dios había puesto en ella . . . por dos vías. La primera fue, haciéndola leer libros de caballerías, que es una de sus invenciones, con que ha echado a perder muchas almas recogidas y honestas, porque en casas a donde no se da entrada a mujeres perdidas y destructoras en la castidad, hartas veces no se niega a estos libros que hombres vanos, con alguna agudeza de entendimiento y con mala voluntad, han compuesto para dar armas al enemigo nuestro, y suelen hacer disimuladamente el mal que aquellas ayudadoras de Satanás por ventura no hicieran. Diose, pues, a estos libros de caballería, sino de vanidades, con gran gusto, y gastaba en ellos mucho tiempo; y como su ingenio era tan excelente, así bebió aquel lenguaje y estilo, que dentro de pocos meses ella y su hermano Rodrigo de Cepeda compusieron un libro de caballerías con sus aventuras y ficciones, y salió tal, que habría harto que decir de él. Sacó de este estudio la ganancia que se suele sacar, aunque ella no sacó tanto mal como otros, porque el Señor, que la tenía guardada para tan grandes cosas, no la dejaba de la mano sino poco. Comenzó a traer galas y olores, y curar sus cabellos y manos, y desear parecer bien, aunque no con mala intención, ni deseando jamás ser ocasión a nadie de ofender a Dios." (Ed. P. Jaime Pons [Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1908], pp. 99-100.) According to the introduction

they were just as enchanted as the nobles.<sup>62</sup> The books were addicting, which

of Pons, p. xiii, "Hay que hacer constar aquí, para honra de tan verídico narrador, que ni uno solo de los datos algo importantes que él [Ribera] nos suministra ha sido corregido ni rectificado por sus sucesores; y los que pretendieron corregirle han caído lastimosamente en el error. Por manera que, aun en los casos en que las indicaciones suministradas por él son algo generales y poco precisas, jamás se hallan en contradicción con los datos más concretos que nos ha aportado en nuestros días el descubrimiento de documentos contemporáneos."

The influence of the young Teresa's chivalric readings upon her subsequent spirituality and writings is controversial, as is the broader question of the origin of Spain's sixteenth-century spiritual and mystical flowering. She herself and her Carmelite followers would have denied any influence. Alfred Morel-Fatio found the influence only in occasional through striking phrases: "il paraît évident que Thérèse s'est appliquée à ne rien écrire qui rappelât sa vie et ses occupations mondaines" ("Les lectures de Sainte Thérèse," *BH*, 10 [1908], 17-67, at pp. 19-20); Robert Ricard called it "une influence diffuse et lointaine" ("Le Symbolisme du *Château intérieur* chez sainte Thérèse," *BH*, 67 [1965], 25-41, at p. 30). Gaston Etchegoyen, *L'Amour divin: essai sur les sources de sainte Thérèse* (Bordeaux: Feret, 1923), is more positive: Teresa acquired through the *libros* the taste for reading which stayed with her the rest of her life and her first impulse to literary creativity (pp. 44-45). "Les romans de chevalerie ont eu sur elle une influence psychologique . . . et une influence littéraire qui apparaît surtout dans le symbolisme guerrier du combat spirituel et du *Château intérieur*" (p. 46); Cristóbal Cuevas García points to the castle of Miraflores, in *Amadís*, as a source for Teresa's image of the interior castle ("El significante alegórico en el castillo teresiano," *Letras de Deusto*, No. 24 [julio-diciembre, 1982], 77-97, at pp. 93-96). Etchegoyen also points to the *libros* as a source for Teresa's imagery of gold and jewels (p. 269).

Etchegoyen suggests broader influence of the *libros de caballerías*: "si l'on se borne à la conception de l'amour dans les romans de chevalerie et dans les traités spirituels du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, on observe d'intéressantes analogies de fond et de forme" (p. 46); "la lecture des romans de chevalerie est moins défavorable qu'on ne le croirait à la genèse des sentiments mystiques" (p. 67, n. 2). Following up this lead and in part based on the case of Teresa, Pedro Sainz Rodríguez has proposed that the chivalric books were a contributing influence to sixteenth-century Spanish mysticism ("El problema histórico del misticismo español," *ROcc*, 15 [1927], 323-46, at pp. 335-37; *Introducción a la historia de la literatura mística en España* [Madrid: Voluntad, 1927], pp. 201-03). E. Allison Peers called this an unlikely cause ("Notes on the Historical Problem of Castilian Mysticism," *HR*, 10 [1942], 18-33, at p. 26); however, Helena Percas de Ponseti has collected, for the first time, a series of parallels between chivalric and mystical imagery and language (*Cervantes y su concepto del arte*, II, 479-502). The topic is certainly worthy of further study.

<sup>62</sup> During the reign of Carlos V, the expensive *libros* were read primarily by the court and nobility. Later in the sixteenth century, with the loss of royal patronage (Felipe II, after accession to the throne in 1555, was relatively uninterested in chivalric or other secular literature), their readership broadened

explains both their abundance and part of their danger.<sup>63</sup>

The great popularity of the *libros* was accompanied, almost from the beginning, by opposition to them. It was not a question of the literary defects found by such theorists as Sánchez de Lima and López Pinciano,<sup>64</sup> but rather

considerably. Books were rented (*Romances of Chivalry*, p. 162; *Guzmán de Alfarache*, II, iii, 3, p. 351 of Volume II of the edition of Benito Brancaforte (2nd edition, Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), and read to illiterates (*Romances of Chivalry*, p. 161). There must have been some sort of used book trade in Madrid and the other large cities, if no more than stalls in the market, and if the well-to-do gave discarded clothes to their pages and other servants, why not unwanted books as well? Some copies might well have been transmitted by the sort of mechanism Juan Palomeque illustrates; he obtained his because they were left by their owner at his inn.

The ultimate step in this process is that chivalric literature has ended up today as something for children, who, historically, never get the culturally new. (Whatever innovation one cares to mention—books, radio, television, bicycles, dentistry—, it is first enjoyed by adults, and made available or handed down to children only after adult needs are satisfied. Much of traditional children's literature, which is frequently chivalric or otherwise medieval, is discarded adult literature; literature written especially for children is a quite recent development. One implication is that today's children resemble, at least in their ability to handle written texts, the adults of previous centuries, who often acted as children, something few historians, I believe, would care to dispute. Another is that literature has made much progress; in Cervantes' terms, it is more verisimilar, with more sophisticated *provecho*.)

<sup>63</sup> *Discreción*, according to Cervantes, was no protection from this addiction. They were dangerous even to the *discretos*: Diego de Miranda, who seems afraid of them, banishes them from his house, the priest (Chapter 6 of Part I) is not far from that view, and according to the canon, men who are "dotos y discretos" can still be "apasionados desta leyenda" (II, 346, 19-20). That Alonso Quixano, who in his will tries to keep his niece from any contact with them, is *discreto* makes the waste of his talents caused by the books even greater.

<sup>64</sup> 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*," *ACer*, 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 *lisonjeros* 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 *libros de caballerías*, taken from the edition of Rafael de Balbín Lucas (Madrid: CSIC,

of the books' social effects: the *libros de caballerías* were perceived as dangerous. "*Está muy notorio el daño que en estos reinos ha hecho y hace a hombres mozos y doncellas . . . leer . . . Amadís y todos los libros que después dél se han fingido de su calidad y letura,*" said the 1555 petition of the *cortes* unsuccessfully requesting that not just the publication but the reading of the books be prohibited.<sup>65</sup> The harm caused by the *libros* was the subject of much comment by serious writers.<sup>66</sup> They distracted readers from the essential task of saving their souls, and not only took up time which could have been occupied with historical or religious reading, but with their fictions made that type of reading

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 provechosa 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 provecho, sino todo mentiras y vanidades: y pesame en estremo de ver la corrupcion que enesto se vsa, por lo qual se deuia escusar, y tambien por ser mas el daño que dellos resulta ala republica, que no el provecho, 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 provecho."

<sup>65</sup> 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, ansí 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.

<sup>66</sup> Scholars have identified many comments hostile to the *libros*, 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, *libros 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.

seem uninteresting.<sup>67</sup> The books downplayed established wisdom and authority and encouraged adventure over study and individual quests over socially organized enterprise; in an unintellectual way, they were stories of alienated youth. Worst, *libros de caballerías* glamorized love, and encouraged sexuality separated from reproductive intent. In the *libros*, parental or institutional approval was not necessary for marriage and subsequent sexual delight; a marriage could be contracted before God, with a servant as solitary witness.<sup>68</sup> Even such a secret marriage was portrayed as optional.<sup>69</sup> Cervantes was hardly the first to feel that the *libros de caballerías*, "perjudiciales en la república" (II, 340, 31), "en daño de las buenas costumbres" (III, 200, 20), popularizers of a "nuevo modo de vida" (II, 362, 26-27), should be done away with.

Neither was Cervantes the first to take measures against the *libros*. One avenue followed was the composition and publication of alternative reading; this goes far beyond the well-known case of the *Cavallería celestial* and other

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

<sup>68</sup> 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 *libros* has already been noted (p. 8); it is also that of Clavijo and Antonomasia, in the story told in Chapter 38 of Part II.

<sup>69</sup> "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 caballería," 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 *libros 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/*libros 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.

*libros de caballerías a lo divino*.<sup>70</sup> Fray Luis de León wrote and published his *De los nombres de Cristo* (Salamanca, 1583) as a substitute for "la lección de mil libros, no solamente vanos, sino señaladamente dañosos, los cuales, como por arte del demonio, como faltaron los buenos, en nuestra edad, más que en otra, han crecido"; this is a clear allusion to the chivalric books.<sup>71</sup> Malón de Chaide, in the prologue to his *Conversión de la Magdalena*, reveals even more clearly the same purpose.<sup>72</sup>

Much history and historically-oriented literature was written with the

<sup>70</sup> 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," *Libros 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 *a 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 *El Criticón* de Gracián," *Archivo Teológico Granadino*, 25 (1962), 7-21; on the *Caballero del Sol* of Pedro Hernández de Villalumbres (Medina del Campo, 1552) see Gayangos, "Discurso preliminar," pp. lviii-lix, and Thomas, p. 128. The *Caballero asisio* or *Poema de San Francisco y otros Santos de su Orden* 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 *Cavallería christiana* (Valencia, c. 1515), the only one of these books to have more than one edition, is not a *libro de caballerías*, although the author expresses the desire to attract readers of the *libros* (see my comment in *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 46, n. 29bis). The *Cavallero Venturoso* of Juan Valladares de Valdelomar, to be mentioned again shortly (p. 37), certainly has something in common with this type of book. I have not seen the verse *Caballero de la Clara Estrella* of Andrés de la Losa (*Batalla y triunfo del hombre contra los vicios. En el qual se declaran los maravillosos hechos del Cavallero dela clara Estrella*, Sevilla: Bartolomé González, 1580), the *Libro del cavallero christiano* of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza (Antequera, 1577; Sainz Rodríguez, p. 12, n. 11), nor the *Cantos morales* of Gabriel de Mata (Valladolid, 1594), which according to Menéndez Pelayo "pertenece enteramente al género alegórico caballeresco a lo divino" (I, 452).

<sup>71</sup> *Obras completas castellanas*, ed. Félix García, O.S.A., 4th edition (Madrid: Católica, 1967), I, 406.

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

same orientation; it can easily be inferred from Pérez de Hita's *Historia de los vandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes*, commonly known as the *Guerras civiles de Granada*, and such a goal has been perceived behind the composition of histories of the New World (*supra*, note 55). However, the purpose is often explicitly stated. Juan de Pineda's abbreviation of the *Passo honroso* (Salamanca, 1588), "escrita con gran rigor de verdad," was written so that "los Caballeros de nuestro tiempo . . . quietassen de aventura tan peligrosa como la de los libros de caballerías fingidas,"<sup>73</sup> and Jerónimo Ramírez, in the prologue to the *Mexicana* of Gabriel Lasso de la Vega (Madrid, 1594), tells readers that the author "no ha querido perder el tiempo, celebrando fabulosas aventuras de caballeros incógnitos, como muchos lo han hecho."<sup>74</sup> Bernardino Mendoça published his *Comentarios . . . de lo sucedido en las guerras de los países baxos, desde el año de 1567 hasta el de 1577* (Madrid, 1592), so that "tengan [los soldados españoles] libros para poder dexar los de ficciones."<sup>75</sup> One of the reasons Juan Sánchez Valdés de la Plata wrote his *Corónica y Historia general del hombre* (Madrid, 1598), was "porque viendo yo, benignísimo y discreto lector, que los mancebos y doncellas, y aun los varones ya en edad y estado, gastan su tiempo en leer libros de vanidades enarboladas, que con mayor verdad se dirían sermonarios de Satanás, y blasones de caballería, de Amadi[s]es y Esplandianes, de los cuales no sacan otro provecho ni doctrina, sino en hacer hábito en sus pensamientos de mentiras y vanidades; que es lo que más codicia el diablo; y siendo tanta la afición que tengo a los que leen y quieren aprovechar en las escrituras, ha bastado para hacer esta obra, con la cual los aficionaré a leer en ella y en los autores que en ella alego, y los apartaré de las grandes vanidades y mentiras."<sup>75a</sup> It seems probable that even chronicles were revived and published with the goal of attracting the same category of readers. The *Crónica de Juan Segundo*, for example, bearing a typically chivalric title page, was published in 1591 for the first time since 1543; the publisher was Juan Boyer, who with his brother Benito had previously published several *libros*.<sup>76</sup> Much the same must

<sup>73</sup> These statements are from the *licencia* (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 *libros*, see Glaser (n. 92, *infra*), pp. 401-02, and for additional information on the *Passo honroso*, see NN41 in my bibliography, *Castilian Romances of Chivalry in the Sixteenth Century*.

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

<sup>75</sup> Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña* (Madrid, 1891-1907), I, 197.

<sup>75a</sup> Quoted from Pérez Pastor, I, 322-23; the same text, with significant variants, in Tubino, p. 190.

<sup>76</sup> Juan Boyer brought out, in 1586, the first edition of the fictional *Espejo de caballerías* since 1551, and the 1583-86 edition of the *Espejo de príncipes*; Boyer was also the publisher of Agustín Alonso's *Historia de las hazañas y hechos del invencible Cavallero Bernardo del Carpio* (1585), discussed in the following chapter. Benito Boyer published in 1563 the last Castilian edition of *Primaleón*.

be true of the *Crónica del Gran Capitán* (Seville, 1580 and 1582; Alcalá, 1584).<sup>77</sup>

One reader attracted somewhat by this alternative reading was Cervantes;<sup>78</sup> however, his case is not typical. There is no evidence that these publications supplanted chivalric reading except among those who were already of an intellectual or moral disposition.<sup>79</sup> It is not surprising, then, that those opposed to the *libros* felt the need to use legal measures against them. The books' shipment to the more vulnerable New World was prohibited in 1531 and repeatedly reaffirmed.<sup>80</sup> In the peninsula, the reading of the books was never

<sup>77</sup> For earlier works of this sort, see *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>78</sup> 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 *Passo honroso* and the *Crónica de Juan II*. Fray Luis, Cervantes said through Caliope, "yo reverencio, adoro y sigo" (*La Galatea*, 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 *Parnaso*, 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 *Caballería celestial*, 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 *Carolea*, praised at I, 106, 13-18.

<sup>79</sup> Such a failure was to be anticipated: "Tenemos oy día mayor copia de libros castellanos que nunca. Han sido compuestos de nuevo, como traduzidos de latín y griego, tan sabrosos por su buen dezir al gusto del que los leyese, y tan provechossos 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).

<sup>80</sup> 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 *cédula*, 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 *Amadis* 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 dotrina 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 dotores 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).

banned, as the 1555 *cortes* had requested, nor was there ever a blanket prohibition on their publication, as requested in 1555, recommended to the Santo Oficio by the Toledan Humanist Alvar Gómez de Castro, probably in the late 1570's,<sup>81</sup> and recommended to the *cortes* in the 1590's.<sup>82</sup> However, their publication was fraught with legal obstacles during the reign of Felipe II.

No *libros* at all were published in Madrid, which Pérez Pastor attributes to the hostility of the local ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>83</sup> New books had to be published outside of Castile,<sup>84</sup> and only reprints and continuations, which

<sup>81</sup> 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."

<sup>82</sup> Agustín G. de Amezúa 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.

<sup>83</sup> "En la Corte no había 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 Triunfo de los nueve más preciados varones de la Fama* (Alcalá: Juan Íñiguez 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. Helo 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 barbárica y sin stilo, y en algunas impropriedades 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.

<sup>84</sup> I.E., the new books *Olivante de Laura* (dedicated, significantly, to Felipe II), and *Febo el Troyano* were published in Barcelona, and *Rosían de Castilla* in Lisbon; it was typical to publish outside of Castile things which could not be published within it,

were evidently seen as less offensive, were published within it.<sup>85</sup> Even these were not given *carte blanche*: after 1564 the works of the licentious Feliciano de Silva were published in Zaragoza, Valencia, Bilbao, Évora, and Lisbon: any-

such as Luis Zapata's *Arte poético* (Lisbon, 1592), unpublishable not because of its content but because of Zapata's poor relationship with the crown.

<sup>85</sup> Note the *licencia* (lightly modernized) for the publication in 1579 of Parts III and IV of *Belianís 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, avía co[m]puesto la historia que dezían de don Belianís de Grecia, que hera muy útil y provechoso para la cavallería y cosas de guerra, y tenía avisos muy necesarios para bien hablar a los que no tienen experiencia, y por nos sele avía dado licencia para imprimir la primera y segunda parte, y hera así quel dicho licenciado con mucho trabajo había 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 previlegio 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 devíamos 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 *licencia* for the 1586 reprint of *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 avía compuesto un libro intitulado don Cristalián de España, de que hizistes presentación, juntamente con un privilegio original dado a Christóval Pelegrín, el qual lo cedió a la dicha vuestra madre y otra vez se avía impresso con licencia y privilegio del emperador y Rey nuestro señor, que está en gloria. Y porque avía muchos días que se avía 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 *Cristalián*, dissertation, Temple University, 1981, p. 52).

In the Alcalá, 1580 and Medina del Campo, 1583 editions of the *Espejo de príncipes*, the *licencia* 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 avía impresso" (cited in my edition of the *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 *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 *tasa* 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:

where but Castile. *Primaleón* was published twice in Lisbon and once in Bilbao, but not in Castile after 1563. *Lepolemo, el Cavallero de la Cruz*, similarly last appeared in 1563, with an false, undated colophon added to sheets printed then but distributed later.

Between 1564 and 1575 not a single *libro* was published in Castile, while after two editions of *Amadís* in 1575 and Parts III-IV of *Belianís* in 1579, a great wave of editions began in 1580, with two, three, or four publications a year. After 1588 this substantial wave of publication abruptly ended.<sup>86</sup> What the pattern suggests is not violent changes in public taste, but rather alternation of permission and prohibition. As Marco Antonio de Camos wrote in his *Microcosmia y gobierno universal del hombre cristiano* (Barcelona, 1592), "mejorado se ha el tiempo, en lo que toca a sacar a luz libros vulgares . . . Razón era que nos acatásemos algún día los que bivimos en la República Christiana, del mucho daño y poco provecho que estos libros, y otros tales hazen en ella."<sup>87</sup>

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that restrictions on publication of *libros de caballerías* meant that demand for them had disappeared; if anything, they indicate the reverse, and the fact that *libros* continued to be published as

"Por quanto por parte de vos, el licenciado Marcos Martínez vezino de la villa de Alcalá de Henares nos fue fecha relación, que *con licencia nuestra aviais impresso un libro* por vos compuesto, intitulado, Tercera parte de Espejo de Príncipes y cavalleros, del qual hizistes presentación, y nos suplicastes os mandásemos dar privilegio por veinte años, o como la nuestra merced fuesse . . . Por la presente por os hazer bien y merced, *os damos licencia* 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 *damos licencia* 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 corrigió la dicha impresión."

<sup>86</sup> Mary Cozad has informed me that she believes that the 1590 manuscript of *Lidamarte de Armenia* 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 *Lidamarte de Armenia* (1590), libro de caballerías," *RABM*, 79 [1976], 255-59).

<sup>87</sup> Quoted in Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, I, 238. The work also reads (both quotes from page 2 of the second edition, Madrid, 1595): "Con qué descuido bivían 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 éstos con los demás andan llenos de mentiras sin tocar historia verdadera, ni dar documento que sea de alguna utilidad."

usual outside Castile shows that there was still a demand for them.<sup>88</sup> Much additional evidence supports this: the *libros* retained considerable popularity at the beginning of the seventeenth century, to say nothing of the final years of the sixteenth, in which the idea of *Don Quixote* was probably born.<sup>89</sup> A Portuguese visitor to the Spanish capital (Valladolid) at the time *Don Quixote* was published makes many references to them;<sup>90</sup> Mateo Alemán refers, in Part II of *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1604), to the reading of *libros de caballerías*.<sup>91</sup> The continuing, even increasing protests of the moralists are themselves evidence of the *libros'* enduring appeal.<sup>92</sup> Documents concerning the book trade at the

<sup>88</sup> *Florisel de Niquea* and *Primaleón* were published in Lisbon in 1566; *Palmerín de Inglaterra* (in Portuguese) in Lisbon in 1567; Part IV of *Florisel* in Zaragoza in 1568; *Amadís de Grecia* and *Primaleón* in Lisbon in 1596 and 1598 respectively.

<sup>89</sup> 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 *Quijote*," 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, *Cervantes. A Memoir*, p. 110, is refuted by Astrana, V, 460-61, who, however, goes to inadmissible lengths in outlining the chronology of composition of *Don Quixote*.) "Engendrado," however, means no more than "conceived mentally" (the term is clearly used with that sense in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, I, 23, 13). The question is further confused by the association of *Don Quixote* with the accession of Felipe III in 1598 (as proposed below), and by widespread belief that *Don Quixote* began as a short work (the *primera salida*), later expanded (this latter thesis is reviewed skeptically by Erwin Koppen, "Gab es einen *Ur-Quijote*? Zu einer Hypothese der Cervantes-Philologie," *RJ*, 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*?", *Clavileño*, 6, No. 36 (November-December, 1955), pp. 1-11.

<sup>90</sup> Tomé Pinheiro da Veiga, *Fastignia 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: *Fastignia 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. Pantaleão, que os achou em hum Mosteyro de Calouros*.

<sup>91</sup> The passage is cited in note 62.

<sup>92</sup> 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.

end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries show the continued circulation of the *libros*.<sup>93</sup> Martín Sarmiento, the scholar closest to the time period, unambiguously stated that "por los años mil Seiscientos todos leían Libros de Cavallería" (*Noticia*, p. 135). That *Don Quixote* did not *completely* end the reading of the *libros*<sup>94</sup> is itself evidence of their popularity at the time it was published: they turn up in library inventories<sup>95</sup> and in the book trade<sup>96</sup>

<sup>93</sup> 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, *Reseña 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, 2ª 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.

<sup>94</sup> 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 había sido muy aficionado en su mocedad, habían 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," *NRFH*, 2 (1948), 239-64.

<sup>95</sup> Diego de Colmenares, the seventeenth-century historian of Segovia, had a

until some time later. Suárez de Figueroa advised against reading the *libros* in his *Passagero*, published in 1617;<sup>97</sup> Juan Valladares de Valdelomar still felt the need to offer alternative reading after *Don Quixote*;<sup>98</sup> Lope de Vega praised the *libros* in a dedication of 1620;<sup>99</sup> Salas Barbadillo lampooned in 1627 a "pobre y

copy of *Primaleón* (Encarnación García Dini, "Per una bibliografia dei romanzi di cavalleria: Edizioni del ciclo dei 'Palmerines,'" in *Studi sul "Palmerin de Oliva."* III. *Saggi e ricerche* [Pisa: Istituto di Letteratura Spagnola e Hispano-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," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 34 (1954), 374-91. Astrana (VII, 795) reports copies of "*Amadís de Gaula*, *Don Florisel de Niquea* (3.<sup>a</sup> parte), *Felixmarte de Hircania*, etc." in the library of Juan de Aguilar y Acuña, inventoried in 1644. As late as 1670, copies of *Primaleón* and *Palmerin de Oliva* were found in the library of Pedro Antonio de Aragón (Chevalier, *Lectura y lectores*, p. 44).

<sup>96</sup> Irving Leonard, who has most extensively studied the Spanish book trade in the early seventeenth century, was so impressed by the circulation of *libros de caballerías* after Cervantes that he questioned whether *Don Quixote* 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" (*Baroque Times in Old Mexico* [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).

<sup>97</sup> Quoted by Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 67.

<sup>98</sup> His religious *Cavallero Venturoso*, 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 *Selva de aventuras*, no las batallas fingidas del *Caballero del Febo*; no sátiras y cautelas del agradable *Picaro*; no los amores de la pérfida *Celestina*, y sus embustes, tizones del infierno; ni menos las ridículas y disparatas figas de *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 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 *censuras*, including one of Lope; all are dated in the first half of 1617 (p. 1).

<sup>99</sup> The passage (from the dedication of *El desconfiado*) is reproduced in the introduction to my edition of the *Espejo de príncipes*, I, L, 49. Lope's praise of the *libros* may be a reaction to Cervantes' attack; see my "Cervantes, Lope, and Avellaneda."

desvanecido hidalgo . . . , gran lector de libros de caballerías," and in his *Coronas del Parnaso*, published in 1635, a burlesque "perro caballero andante," Don Florisel de Hircania y Grecia;<sup>100</sup> numerous seventeenth-century plays were based on the chivalric books;<sup>101</sup> and Gracián attacked them as late as the *Criticón* (1653).<sup>102</sup> Obviously the *libros de caballerías* were far from dead at the time when *Don Quixote* was written. The intelligentsia scorned them, but then it always had. They were indeed "aborrecidos de tantos y alabados de muchos más" (I, 38, 6-7); only with hindsight is their demise predictable.<sup>103</sup>

It is easy to understand why those concerned about *libros de caballerías* would see the first years of the seventeenth century as especially dangerous ones: it seems that with the succession to the throne of the pleasure-loving Felipe III, restrictions established by his father, the austere Felipe II, were being removed. While no *libros* had ever been published in Madrid, and no new ones in Castile for almost 50 years, in 1602 there was published, *in the capital*, a brand-new work, *Policisne de Boecia*.<sup>104</sup> A number of short chivalric stories were also republished after 40 years during which they had not been issued.<sup>105</sup> Especially significant for *Don Quixote*, considering the references to the Marqués de Mantua in Chapters 5 and 10 of Part I, Jerónimo Tremiño de Calatayud's collection of three popular *romances* dealing with this figure was published in 1598 for the first time, in Castile, since 1563.<sup>106</sup>

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

<sup>101</sup> Those identified have been enumerated by Thomas, pp. 78-79, 116-17, and 126, and Adolfo de Castro, *Discurso 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*," *RCEH*, 5 (1981), 373-83.

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

<sup>103</sup> 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?

<sup>104</sup> 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.

<sup>105</sup> 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.

<sup>106</sup> *Romances* were a medium parallel in its function, for the poorer classes, to

So the popularity of *libros de caballerías* not only existed, but could well have been seen as particularly threatening at precisely the time at which Part I of *Don Quixote* was being written. Why, however, did Cervantes make the campaign against them his cause? There is no evidence outside the novel to show that he had observed, first-hand, the harmful consequences when "el vulgo ignorante venga a creer y a tener por verdaderas tantas necedades como contienen" (II, 362, 27-29), although such is an attractive speculation, and there is evidence that the *vulgo* did exactly that.<sup>107</sup> It is just as possible to argue,

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 *licencia* 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 *licencia* 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 apriesa," 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.

<sup>107</sup> Examples are cited by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo in "Cultura literaria de Miguel de Cervantes y elaboración del *Quijote*," first published in *RABM*, 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 *Celidón de Iberia* obviously refers to *libros de caballerías* 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 inventores dellas pretendieron, ninguno ay que leyendolas las vayan juzgando por no acontecidas, y por ajenas de verdad" (quoted in Frank Pierce, *La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro*, 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 ajenos 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 fuesen historias veras" (cited by Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 60-61).

gain without any external confirmation, that since the books could "turbar los ingenios de los discretos y bien nacidos hidalgos" (II, 362, 31-32), he had felt the books' harmful effects on himself. Yet there are other, well-documented explanations for Cervantes' desire to "deshazer la autoridad y cabida que en el mundo y en el vulgo tienen los libros de cavallerías" (I, 37, 19-21). These are Cervantes' interest in literature, his aspirations as a writer, and most of all, his religiosity, patriotism, and concern for truth.

No Spanish writer, before or after, has been as concerned about Spanish literature as was Cervantes. Even setting aside the extensive discussions of literature in *Don Quixote*, no one names as many authors nor, on such a scale, distinguishes the good ones from the bad. A book (the *Viage del Parnaso*) and a long poem included in a book (the "Canto de Calíope," in Book VI of *La Galatea*) are patriotic presentations of the many merits, and—in the former—occasional defects of Spanish literature. An attack on defective and dangerous literature is a logical endeavor for someone as interested in literature as he.

The "Canto de Calíope" and *Viage del Parnaso* are, of course, discussions of *poesía* (literature), including many prose works. Yet the *libros de caballerías* never presented themselves as literature, but as works of true history,<sup>108</sup> and on this topic Cervantes is especially firm. His passion for truth in history could not be more clearly expressed: "dev[en] ser los historiadores puntuales, verdaderos y no nada apasionados, y que ni el interés ni el miedo, el rancor ni la afición, no les hagan torcer del camino de la verdad" (I, 132, 26-29). History is not just "émula del tiempo, depósito de las acciones," and "testigo de lo pasado," it is also "exemplo y aviso de lo presente" and "advertencia de lo por venir" (I, 132, 30-133, 1; similarly, I, 178, 7-22). Lack of truth in history, then, deprives us of extremely valuable information. Distorting the truth is also an offense to God: "la historia es como cosa sagrada, porque ha de ser verdadera, y donde está la verdad está Dios";<sup>109</sup> thus the *libros de caballerías* are heretical, promulgators of religious error.<sup>110</sup> Considering the references to Spain's true heroes found in *Don Quixote* (II, 83, 32-84, 18; II, 363, 12-364, 2), we can conclude that Cervantes believed that reading *libros de caballerías*, false histories, was detri-

<sup>108</sup> See my "Pseudo-Historicity of the Romances of Chivalry," already cited.

<sup>109</sup> 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).

<sup>110</sup> I, 92, 32-93, 2; I, 96, 13-14; II, 83, 21-26; II, 362, 26. In *Don Quixote* 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 *Actas del Tercer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas* [Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1970], pp. 3-25); the accursed books (II, 398, 22) should be marked, like a heretic, with a

ntal to Spain's greatness, and what was detrimental to Spain's greatness was contrary to God's will.

Now, if Cervantes was a writer and knew what was needed to create a good *libro de caballerías* (the passage quoted on p. 37), and if he was particularly offended by the existing chivalric books, which deceitfully claimed historicity, why did he not combat them by writing his own? He could thus offer an alternative to those who were "apasionados desta leyenda" (II, 346, 19-20), filling the lack of "honesto entretenamiento" complained of by Diego de Miranda (III, 201, 21-26) and the canon (II, 353, 11-20; also II, 350, 32-351, 3). I believe that Cervantes did so.

Cervantine scholars have long suspected that the canon's famous description of the ideal, uncompleted *libro de caballerías* (II, 343, 23-346, 23) refers to a work already written. "Sería muy propio del sentido de humor de Cervantes y de su ingenio irónico, el proponer como futuro modelo literario, por boca del canónigo, una obra que ya tenía escrita," says Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce.<sup>111</sup> Since Schevill and Bonilla it has been understood that the canon is describing the *Persiles*,<sup>112</sup> and Avalle-Arce uses his speech to date the composition of Books I and II. Some of the elements mentioned by the canon are indeed found in the *Persiles*, in which we have *bárbaros*, shipwrecks, happy and sad events, astrology, and perhaps a few others on the list of chivalric ingredients. But where in it is

"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 *libros* devotion to women is substituted for devotion to God.

It is doubtful that Cervantes was aware of it, but the spread of *Amadís* 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," *Euphorion*, 29 [1928], 618-19; Rodríguez Marín, "nueva edición crítica," IX, 174; Thomas, pp. 198 and 217-18; *Romances of Chivalry*, p. 92, n. 6.) Américo Castro (*El pensamiento de Cervantes*, p. 61, n. 20) has already pointed out how the attacks on the *libros* coincide chronologically with the Council of Trent, which prohibited the clandestine marriages so typical of the *libros* (see Marcel Bataillon, "Cervantes et le 'mariage chrétien,'" *BH*, 49 [1947], 129-44; I have used the translation in *Varia lección de clásicos españoles* [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, *French Chivalry* [1940; rpt. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957], pp. 89 and 155). The whole story has not yet been reconstructed.

<sup>111</sup> "Los trabajos de *Persiles y Sigismunda, historia setentrional*," in *Suma cervantina*, 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.

<sup>112</sup> Their edition of the *Persiles*, I, vii. Stanislav Zimic, "El libro de caballerías de Cervantes," *Acta Neophilologica*, 8 (1975), 3-46, proposes that the canon refers to Cervantes' play *El gallardo español*.

the "capitán valeroso, con todas las partes que para ser tal se requieren"? Where the "príncipe cortés, valeroso y bien mirado"? The "bondad y lealtad de vassallos," the "grandeas y mercedes de señores," the "rencuentros y batallas"? And how can one say that the highly structured *Persiles* has an "escritura desatada," or that its main thrust is to show us "todas aquellas acciones que pueden hazer perfecto a un varón ilustre"? The *Persiles* is not a *libro de caballerías*, and it does not correspond to the canon's description.

There is a hint, early in *Don Quixote*, that Cervantes had the intention of writing a continuation of *Belianís de Grecia*. The protagonist's repeated desire to do so (I, 51, 16-20) would not, by itself, justify this suggestion. But in the examination of his library, the fate of a few books is postponed. One is *La Galatea*, for which "es menester esperar la segunda parte que [su autor] promete; quiçá con la emienda alcançará del todo la misericordia que aora se le niega, y entretanto que esto se ve, tenedle recluso en vuestra posada" (I, 105, 2-6). That Cervantes' intent is reflected here is shown by three later statements mentioning composition of Part II of this book (in the prologue to Part II of *Don Quixote*, and in the dedications to the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* and the *Persiles*). After a description of the improvements needed in *Belianís*,<sup>113</sup> the book is given exactly the same treatment: "se les da [las cuatro partes de *Belianís*] término ultramarino, y como se enmendaren, assí se usará con ellos de misericordia o de justicia; y, en tanto, tenedlos vos, compadre, en vuestra casa; mas no los dexéis leer a ninguno" (I, 100, 28-32).<sup>114</sup>

There is no evidence that Cervantes had in fact written any part of the continuation of *Belianís* that the above statement suggests.<sup>115</sup> It is not hard to arrive at a reason: the protagonists of the Spanish *libros*, "los Platires, los Tablantes, Olivantes y Tirantes, los Febos y Belianises," were fictitious, in

<sup>113</sup> "[Las quatro partes de *Belianís*] 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).

<sup>114</sup> 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 (*supra*, 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.

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

contrast with foreign chivalric heroes, the "nueve de la fama,"<sup>116</sup> "doze de Francia," and Knights of the Round Table, who were real, since their chivalry could be revived (I, 261, 23-27).<sup>117</sup> Such expertise, it must be added, is found in no other writer. The treatment of chivalry in *Don Quixote*, including the whole discussion between the canon and the protagonist about the historical foundation for chivalric literature, can only reflect first-hand research.

Cervantes' investigation also—logically—included the topic of Spanish chivalry; Spanish warriors were the modern equivalents of the great military leaders of antiquity (II, 363, 12-27), more valiant, presumably, than the unequal "doze pares de Francia,"<sup>118</sup> works dealing with which were also held in abeyance during the examination of Don Quixote's library (I, 98, 21-99, 19). The canon, responding to Don Quixote's defense of the historicity of chivalric literature, says that he cannot say "que no sea verdad algo de lo que vuestra merced ha dicho, *especialmente en lo que toca a los cavalleros andantes españoles*" (II, 367, 25-28). In contrast with Don Quixote's examples, however, which are of duels and *pasos* among Christians, entered into for amusement,<sup>119</sup> the canon cites

<sup>116</sup> According to the *Crónica llamada el Triunpho de los nueve más preciados varones de la Fama* (*supra*, 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.

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

<sup>118</sup> "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, *a 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 *han de ser o deven ser cavalleros valerosos, valientes y bien nacidos*" (II, 367, 29-368, 9).

<sup>119</sup> 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, *Cavalleros 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*

cases of "religión militar" (II, 368, 13), chivalric activity directed against the enemies of Christianity. After mentions of the Spanish military orders, Santiago, Calatrava, San Juan, and Alcántara (II, 368, 5-10), the canon concludes with the Cid and Bernardo del Carpio, the deeds written about which are very doubtful (II, 368, 13-16). Here, surely, a writer interested in chivalry, in arousing support to resist the continuing threat from Islam, and in truth and in setting the historical record straight could find a topic.<sup>120</sup>

There is, then, another candidate for the position of Cervantes' *libro de caballerías*, a book which "siendo de cavallero andante, por fuerça avía de ser grandíloqua, alta, insigne, magnífica," and, above all, "verdadera" (III, 60, 23-25). Of this book, in contrast with the continuation of *Belianís*, he did write at least part.

*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).

<sup>120</sup> 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 "Amadis" 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.