

II. The Ideal *Libro de caballerías*:

The *Bernardo*

Una higa para todos los golpes que fingen de Amadís
y los fieros hechos de los gigantes, si hubiese en España
quien los de los españoles celebrase.

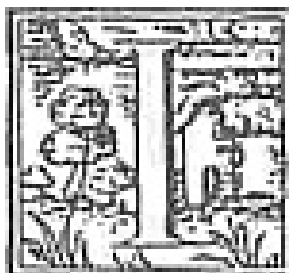
Luis de Zapata, *Miscelánea*¹

¿Quién mereció la gloria, el nombre y opinión traída
de la famosa antigüedad, como Bernardo del Carpio?

Fernando de Herrera, *Anotaciones*²

Mala la huvistes, franceses,
en essa de Roncesvalles.

A romance quoted in
Don Quixote, III, 125, 26-27³



IN HIS PROLOGUES and dedications, Cervantes frequently discussed his literary projects; in every case in which we can test these statements, they are accurate. In the prologue to *La Galatea*, "otras [obras] offresce para adelante de más gusto y de mayor artificio" (I, L, 10-11), "empresas más altas y de mayor importancia" (I, xlviiii, 7-8), and he certainly went on to provide those. At the end of Part I of *Don Quixote*, he said that if that work achieved its goal, "se animará a sacar y

¹ Chapter 11; page 81 of the edition of Isidoro Montiel (Madrid: Castilla, 1949). Cervantes' "lectura muy cuidadosa" of the unpublished *Miscelánea* is discussed by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Don Luis Zapata o el sentido de una fuente cervantina," in his *Fuentes literarias cervantinas* (Madrid: Gredos, 1973), pp. 109-82.

² *Obras de Garci Lasso de la Vega con anotaciones de Fernando de Herrera*, in *Garcilaso de la Vega y sus comentaristas*, ed. Antonio Gallego Morell, 2nd edition (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), p. 554. The quotation is found in a lengthy exaltation of the Spaniards' prowess in arms, in response to the scorn in which, as Herrera says, the Italians held them. Herrera's well-known *Anotaciones* were a basic source for Cervantes for literary history, theory, and patriotism, and will be referred to further.

³ "Bernardo del Carpio soy/ espanto de los Paganos/ honra y prez de los Christianos/ pues que de mi esfuerzo doy/ tal exemplo con mis manos./ Fama, no es bien que las calles/ mis hazañas singulares/ y si acaso las callares/ pregunten a Roncesvalles/ qué fue de los doze pares." (Montemayor, *La Diana*, pp. 174-75.)

buscar otras [obras], si no tan verdaderas, a lo menos, de tanta invención y passatiempo" (II, 402, 10-12), and he did that as well. In the prologue to the *Novelas exemplares* Cervantes stated that readers would first see "con brevedad dilatadas, las hazañas de don Quixote y donaires de Sancho Pança," then the *Trabajos de Persiles*, and finally the *Semanas del jardín* (I, 23, 18-20); he went on to publish within two years Part II of *Don Quixote*, followed by the *Persiles*. In the dedication of the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*, he said that Don Quixote had "calçadas las espuelas en su segunda parte para ir a besar los pies a V.E Luego irá el gran *Persiles*, y luego *Las semanas del jardín*, y luego la segunda parte de *La Galatea*, si tanta carga pueden llevar mis ancianos ombros" (I, 11, 12-14 and 19-22). *Don Quixote* followed immediately afterwards, and in it, he said in the prologue, "esperes el *Persiles* que ya estoy acabando y la *segunda parte de Galatea*" (III, 32, 5-6), and in the dedication that he would finish the *Trabajos de Persilis y Sigismunda* "dentro de quatro meses, *Deo volente*" (III, 34, 12); six months later he is dead, having finished the *Persiles*.

In the dedication of his last published work, Cervantes said that in addition to the second part of *La Galatea* and the *Semanas del jardín*, he was writing the "famoso *Bernardo*," and of the two latter works there only "quedan en el alma ciertas reliquias y assomos" (I, lvi, 16-18). No one has ever questioned the accuracy of these statements, and, as already stated, the references to a continuation of *La Galatea* are accepted as an indication that he had written at least part of it. Editors of *Persiles* have even ventured some speculations on the *Semanas del jardín*, presumed to be of the stories-within-a-framework type: "al estilo del *Decamerón*, quizás," speculates Avalle-Arce.⁴ Yet no one has made any comment at all on Cervantes' *Bernardo*. Let us consider what sort of work it was.

First of all, of which *Bernardo* did Cervantes write? It must have been the Spanish medieval hero Bernardo del Carpio; there was no other Bernardo anywhere near as widely known in Golden Age Spain. That *Bernardo* as a title could only refer to Bernardo del Carpio is confirmed by the title of Balbuena's epic on him (*Bernardo*, published in 1624).⁵ There is no doubt that it was about Bernardo del Carpio that Cervantes wrote.

⁴ In his edition of the *Persiles* (Madrid: Castalia, 1969), p. 46, n. 10. I have presented a different hypothesis in "Un fragmento de las *Semanas del jardín*," *Anuario de Filología*, 2 (1985), in press.

⁵ Balbuena's *Bernardo* is easily accessible only in the edition of Cayetano Rosell, *Poemas épicos*, I, BAE, 17 (1851; rpt. Madrid: Atlas, 1945), 139-399, although there is an unpublished critical edition by Margaret Kidder, "A Critical Edition of *El Bernardo* of Bernardo de Balbuena," Diss. Illinois, 1937; some fragments from the edition of Rosell are reproduced, with notes, by Frank Pierce in *The Heroic Poem of the Spanish Golden Age: Selections* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1947), pp. 167-231, who also cites an edition of San Feliu de Guixols, 1914. Recent studies are those of Gilberto Triviños, "Nacionalismo y desengaño en *El Bernardo* de Balbuena," *Acta Literaria* [Concepción, Chile], 6 (1981), 93-117, and "Bernardo del Carpio desencantado por Bernardo de Balbuena," first published in *Revista Chilena de*

Bernardo del Carpio was in Golden Age Spain the "arquetipo del héroe hispano."⁶ His historicity would have been assured by his presence not only in the works of the

Literatura, No. 16-17 (October, 1980-April, 1981), pp. 415 ff. (according to *Sumario actual de revistas*, No. 40, July-December, 1980, p. 183), then reprinted in *CA*, No. 236 (May, 1981), 79-102; also Felix Karlinger, "Anmerkungen zu *El Bernardo* (libro nono) von Bernardo de Balbuena," in *Aureum Saeculum Hispanicum. Beiträge zu Texten des Siglo de Oro. Festschrift für Hans Flasche zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl-Hermann Korner and Dietrich Briesemeister (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), pp. 117-23; and Maxime Chevalier, "Sur les éléments merveilleux du *Bernardo* de Balbuena," in *Études de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offerts à Jules Horrent à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire* ([Tournai]: Gedit, 1980), pp. 597-601. Some earlier studies are cited by Juan Bautista Avall-Arce, *La novela pastoril española*, pp. 225-26.

Balbuena's *Bernardo* was dedicated, curiously enough, to the Conde de Lemos, Cervantes' patron, in 1609 (see John Van Horne, "*El Bernardo*" of *Bernardo de Balbuena*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 12, No. 1 [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1927], p. 23). Even more curious is that it bears a highly neo-Aristotelian prologue written in 1615-16. (In the prologue, p. 140, it is stated that "de diez [años] que se le concedieron de privilegio, son ya pasados más de los seis." The original *privilegio*, later renewed, was from July of 1609 [Van Horne, p. 22].) Balbuena, however, was at that time in Mexico, and the work itself was written in the sixteenth century. (In the prologue, p. 140, he says that the work was completed a little less than twenty years previously [i.e., about 1596], and that it was begun in "aquella primera edad, con los bríos de la juventud y la leche de la retórica"; Balbuena, so far as is known, was born in 1568.)

Alfonso Pardo Manuel de Villena, Marqués de Rafal, in his *Un mecenas español del siglo XVII. El Conde de Lemos. Noticia de su vida y de sus relaciones con Cervantes, Lope de Vega, los Argensola y demás literatos de su época* (Madrid, 1911), scarcely mentions Balbuena (p. 253), but he does not mention at all two other names connected with both Lemos and Cervantes, Gerónimo de Passamonte (see "Cervantes, Lope, and Avellaneda," p. 182) and Cristóbal de Mesa (see "Cervantes and Tasso Reexamined," p. 310).

⁶ Esther Lacadena, *Nacionalismo y alegoría en la épica española del XVI: "La Angélica" de Barahona de Soto* (Zaragoza: Departamento de Literatura Española de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 1980), p. 196. The *Cid*'s dominance over other medieval Spanish heroes, today taken for granted, is actually a fairly recent position. Prior to the publication of the poem we know as the *Cantar de mio Cid* in the later 18th century, the image held of him was less idealized, as we see, for example, at I, 258, 8-13. (The two examples of that earlier tradition best known today are the *Mocedades de Rodrigo* and Corneille's *Cid*; see Barbara Matulka, *The Cid as a Courty Hero*.) The modern canonization of him is indeed inseparable from the *Cantar*, first recognized as a masterpiece by Southey, Schlegel, and their contemporaries (see Manuel Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana* [ed. Martín de Riquer and Joaquín Molas, Barcelona: CSIC, 1959], Chapter 1, especially pp. 75-76). In Spain it does not antedate Milá y Fontanals and to an extent even Menéndez Pidal.

leading contemporary historians, Garibay, Morales,⁷ and Mariana,⁸ as well as in the chronicle published by Ocampo in literature, besides the poem of Balbuena, Bernardo was the subject of epics by Nicolás Espinosa (*Segunda parte de Orlando*, 1555), Francisco Garrido de Villena, translator of Boiardo (*El verdadero suceso de la famosa batalla de Roncesvalles*, 1555), Agustín Alonso (*Historia de las hazañas y hechos del invencible cavallero Bernardo del Carpio*, 1585), Luis Barahona de Soto (*La Angélica*, known as *Las lágrimas de Angélica*, Part I, 1586),⁹ and Suárez de Figueroa (*España defendida*, 1612);¹⁰ he played "un rôle de choix" in the *Lyra Heroyca* of Francisco Núñez de Oria (1581),¹¹ and is also found in numerous ballads. Bernardo del Carpio was the protagonist of plays of Juan de la Cueva (produced in Seville in 1579, published in 1588),¹² Cervantes himself, and two of Lope de Vega *Carpio*,¹³ who when young made much of

⁷ Used by Cervantes as a source for *La Numancia* (Astrana, III, 331); Mariana's history at that time had not yet been published. The Cardenal Sandoval y Rojas had been a student of Morales; I have not been able to see the dissertation of Rafael Láinez Alcalá, "Aportaciones para la biografía de D. Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Arzobispo de Toledo," mentioned by Astrana, V, 358.

⁸ In Pedro Mantuano's *Advertencias a la Historia de Juan de Mariana* (Milán, 1611), there is found an attack on the historicity of Bernardo; it is summarized by Georges Cirot, *Mariana historien* (Bordeaux, 1905), pp. 271-72. This was one of the sections of Mantuano's *Advertencias* censored from it before the 1613 Madrid reprinting of the work was permitted (Cirot, p. 191, n. 1), so it is questionable whether Cervantes read it, and it did not move Mariana, a reviser of his own published work (Cirot, pp. 179-88, 221-24), to make any changes in his treatment of Bernardo in subsequent editions. Mantuano also attacked the exemplary qualities of the figure of Bernardo in a letter, published by Cirot, p. 193, n.

⁹ His role is hard to appreciate on the basis of Part I alone, but fragments of Part II and allusions in Part I permit us to understand how central he was to the work as a whole. See Alfred Triolo, "Bernardo del Carpio and Barahona de Soto's *Las lágrimas de Angélica*," *KRQ*, 14 (1967), 265-81, and Lacadena, pp. 342-56.

¹⁰ Aside from Balbuena's poem, and José Lara Garrido's edition of *Las lágrimas de Angélica* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981), there is no modern edition of any of these texts. A 1557 edition of the poem of Espinosa is included on HCS, Reel 33 and BPLC, Reel 15.

¹¹ Maxime Chevalier, *L'Arioste en Espagne*, p. 206. López de Hoyos wrote a prefatory letter to Núñez's book (p. 209).

¹² *Comedia de la libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio*, ed. A. I. Watson, Exeter Hispanic Texts, 8 (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1974). Cueva's use of the legend is studied by Watson in his *Juan de la Cueva and the Portuguese Succession* (London: Tamesis, 1971), Chapter 6, and by David Burton, "Juan de la Cueva's Dramatization of the Spanish Legend of Bernardo del Carpio," Diss. University of Kentucky, 1983; abstract in *DAI*, 45 (1984), 1127A.

¹³ *Las mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio*, which may be read in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 17, BAE, 196 (Madrid: Atlas, 1966), 1-48, and *El casamiento en la muerte*, in the same volume, pp. 49-93. The latter is studied by Michael D. Triwedi, "Posthumous Marriage: Literary Precedents for a Scene in Lope de Vega," *BCom*, 24 (1972), 45-47.

and was mocked for his alleged descendance from Bernardo.¹⁴ He was also the topic of plays of Lope de Liaño (*Bernardo del Carpio en Francia*), Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón (*El Conde de Saldaña* and its second part, *Los hechos de Bernardo del Carpio*), and the unknown author of the second part of Lope's *Bernardo del Carpio*.¹⁵

Bernardo was so popular because he was an extremely patriotic figure, organizer and leader of resistance to the Carolingian invaders: he was the Spanish counterpart to Roland, whom, according to Spanish legend and the epics mentioned, he slew in Roncesvalles. Created in the Middle Ages,¹⁶ his revival in the later sixteenth century is part of the little-studied awakening of interest in national history, a result of the Spaniards' military and

A descendant of Bernardo also appears in the last canto of Lope's little-known *Hermosura de Angélica*.

¹⁴ Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope*, pp. 170-71 of the edition of Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, III (Madrid, 1922), p. 188 of the edición nacional, III (Madrid: CSIC, 1949), and p. 124 of the edition in BAE, 195 (Madrid: Atlas, 1966); and Alfred Morel-Fatio, "Les Origines de Lope de Vega," *BH*, 7 (1905), 38-53. (Related is Marcel Bataillon, "Urganda entre *Don Quijote* y *La pícaro Justina*," first published in *Studia Philologica. Homenaje . . . a Dámaso Alonso*, I [Madrid, 1960], 191-215; reprinted in Bataillon's *Varia lección de clásicos españoles* [Madrid: Gredos, 1964], pp. 268-99.) The sonnet alluded to by Menéndez Pelayo, together with several others attacking Lope, can be found in Góngora's *Sonetos*, ed. Biruté Ciplijauskaitė (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1981), pp. 495-96 for this sonnet.

Menéndez Pelayo's studies of the two plays of Lope (pp. 109-95, 122-214, 81-143, respectively, of the three editions referred to) are a good introduction to Bernardo del Carpio in Golden Age Spain, although he did not know the second part of Lope's play, mentioned in the following note, and had no access to the epics of Garrido de Villena and Alonso. To them should be added the information he presented in *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, edición nacional, VI (Madrid: CSIC, 1944), 155-89.

¹⁵ The plays of Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón may be consulted in *Dramáticos posteriores a Lope de Vega*, ed. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, I, BAE, 47 (1858; rpt. Madrid: Hernando, 1924), pp. 79-95 and 97-110 respectively. Of that of Lope de Liaño I have found no recent edition; however, it may be found, as may all be plays so far mentioned, in the microfilm series *Spanish Drama of the Golden Age* (New Haven: Research Publications, 1971?); see the index of José M. Regueiro (New Haven: Research Publications, 1971). The second part of Lope's *Bernardo del Carpio* was reprinted from a *suelta* in the "nueva edición" of Lope's works, III (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1917), 645-79; S. Griswold Morley and Courtney Bruerton said of this play "si la escribió originalmente Lope, ha sido refundida en parte," and "tal y como se conserva el texto, no es de Lope" (*Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega*, trans. María Rosa Cartes [Madrid: Gredos, 1968], p. 425).

¹⁶ The article of William J. Entwistle, "The *Cantar de gesta* of Bernardo del Carpio," *MLR*, 23 (1928), 307-22 and 432-52, that of Albert B. Franklin, III, "A Study of the Origins of the Legend of Bernardo del Carpio," *HR*, 5 (1937), 286-

religious expansion. It also reflects Spain's sixteenth-century rivalry with France: "Sous les règnes de Charles-Quint et de Philippe II, on l'a justement dit, 'rien ne paraissait plus actuel que l'histoire de Bernardo del Carpio';¹⁷ perhaps, in the figure of an attractive young leader, illegitimate relative of

303, and the book of Jules Horrent, *La "Chanson de Roland" dans les littératures française et espagnole au moyen âge*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 120 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951), will probably supply the *curioso* with as much, or more, than he or she wishes to know about the Bernardo(s) known to the Spanish Middle Ages, and references to other scholarship. The debate concerning the origins of the Bernardo legend has not ended, however; more recent items are the article of Ramón d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "El comte Bernat de Ribagorça i la llegenda de Bernardo del Carpio," *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, III (Madrid: CSIC, 1951), 463-87, that of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "La historiografía medieval sobre Alfonso II," in his *Miscelánea histórico-literaria*, Colección Austral, 1110 (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1952), pp. 41-78, that of Angelo Monteverdi, "Rinaldo di Montalbano e Bernardo del Carpio a Roncisvalle," *Coloquios de Roncesvalles (1955)* (Zaragoza: Institución Príncipe de Viana, Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1956), pp. 263-76 (I would like to thank David Hook for this reference), the discussion of literary material in the *Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, ed. Rafael Lapesa, Diego Catalán, Álvaro Galmés, and José Caso, Vol. I of Menéndez Pidal's *Romancero hispánico* (Madrid: Gredos, 1957), J. G. García, *Bernardo del Carpio* (Oviedo, 1960), cited by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "El sondeable misterio de Nicolás de Piamonte (Problemas del *Fierabrás* español)," in his *Relecciones de literatura medieval* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1977), pp. 95-134, at p. 129, n. 36, the article of Diego Catalán, "El Toledano romanzado y las *Estorias de los fechos de los godos* del siglo XV," in *Estudios dedicados a James Homer Herriott* ([Madison]: University of Wisconsin, 1966), I, 9-102, at pp. 39-44 (my thanks again to Alan Deyermond), the articles of Erich von Richthofen, "Relaciones franco-hispanas en la épica medieval," in *Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1964), pp. 483-94 (on which see Márquez Villanueva, "El sondeable misterio," p. 130, n. 36), and "Analogías histórico-legendarias inadvertidas en las tradiciones épicas medievales de España, Francia, y los países germánicos," *Prohemio*, 3 (1972), 373-407 (reprinted with only minor changes in the section dealing with Bernardo in his *Limites de la crítica literaria* [Barcelona: Planeta, 1976], pp. 123-93; my thanks to Alan Deyermond), Vicente José González García, "Bernardo del Carpio y la batalla de Roncesvalles," pp. 185-95 of *VIII Congreso de la Societat Rencesvalls* ([Pamplona]: Institución Príncipe de Viana, Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1981), and Chapter 1 of D. G. Pattison's book, *From Legend to Chronicle: The Treatment of Epic Material in Alphonsine Historiography* (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1983). Still worth reading for its influence is Chapter 3 of *De la poesia heroico-popular castellana* of Milá y Fontanals, himself author of an epic on Bernardo.

¹⁷ Horrent, *La "Chanson de Roland"*, p. 526. A different political application of the figure of Bernardo was made by Juan de la Cueva; see the book of Watson cited in note 12 to this chapter.

the king, a parallel to Don Juan de Austria was seen.¹⁸ Bernardo's resurrection was especially a Spanish response to the fictitious glorification of French heroes in the very popular poems of Ariosto and Boiardo; the first of the epics on Bernardo, that of Espinosa, was the *Segunda parte de Orlando [furioso], con el verdadero suceso de la famosa batalla de Roncesvalles, fin y muerte de los doze Pares de Francia*, and was published as a companion volume to editions of the Spanish translation of Ariosto.¹⁹ As Espinosa says in his *dedicatoria*, he wrote the work because "[vio que eran] tan cantadas las hazañas de los Pares de Francia, por los famosos Conde Descandiano [Boiardo], y Ludovico Ariosto, hinchando el mundo de sus heroicos hechos: y que estaban sepultados en el olvido nuestros Españoles, que a éstos, y muchos más en la nombrada lid de Roncesvalles vencieron y sobraron."

Cervantes, however, found the sixteenth-century works dealing with Bernardo, in which he is presented much as Amadís and other literary knights-errant, quite deficient. In the *escrutinio de la librería*, while the works dealing with "estas cosas de Francia" are, like *Belianís*, to be held in quarantine until "con más acuerdo se vea lo que se ha de hazer dellos,"²⁰ the epic poems

¹⁸ Bernardo's counterpart Roland was similarly an illegitimate relative of Charlemagne; he is called bastard at I, 107, 13.

¹⁹ On the political (anti-French) implications of the national hero Bernardo del Carpio in the second half of the sixteenth century, see José Lara Garrido, "Poesía y política. A propósito de *Las lágrimas de Angélica* de Luis Barahona de Soto," in *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Moderna. Siglos XVI-XVII*, II (Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1978), 117-23, Chevalier, *L'Arioste en Espagne*, especially Chapter 2, Triviños, "Nacionalismo y desengaño," and Chapter 4 of the monograph of Lacadena.

²⁰ In the superficially impressive but meaningless oath of Loaisa, he swears on "todo aquello que en su prohemio encierra la verdadera historia de Carlomagno" ("El zeloso estremeño," II, 224, 20-21), again an attack on literature of this sort.

The opposition to these works in Spain coincided with a growing recognition among historians that a fundamental source on the Carolingian presence in Spain, the pseudo-Turpin chronicle, was not historically accurate. Juan Sedeño, in his *Summa de varones ilustres* (1551; I have used the edition of Toledo: Juan Rodríguez, 1590), criticizes the account of Turpin (fol. 53^r). As late as 1605, however, Juan Fernández de Velasco, *condestable de Castilla*, used it as a source in his *Dos discursos en que se defiende la venida y predicación del apóstol Santiago en España* (Valladolid, 1605). Mariana attacked Velasco for this, calling the Turpin chronicle a "libro de caballerías, indigne d'être nommé par un personne grave" and saying that Velasco had used "textes notoirement apocryphes" (taken from George Cirot, *Mariana historien*, p. 67); Mariana was in turn unfairly attacked by Pedro Mantuano for the same reason (see Cirot, p. 213). According to Adalbert Hämel, *Überlieferung und Bedeutung des Liber Sancti Jacobi und des Pseudo-Turpin*, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1950, Heft 2 (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1950), in a later treatise Mariana called the pseudo-Turpin "totus ex fabulis et mendacio est compactus"

Bernardo del Carpio and *Roncesvalles* "han de estar en las [manos] del ama y dellas en las del fuego, sin remisión alguna" (I, 99, 15-24).²¹ Bernardo was, then, a logical subject for Cervantes, interested in Spanish heroism and in the improvement of literature; it is worth mentioning as well that Bernardo was the son of the count of Saldaña, and Cervantes attended the Academia

(p. 61) and "sine iudicio ex aliis fabulosis libris" (p. 62). (It is at about the same time, the later sixteenth century, that Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* was discredited, according to John J. Parry and Robert A. Caldwell, "Geoffrey of Monmouth," in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages. A Collaborative History*, ed. Roger Sherman Loomis [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959], pp. 72-93, at p. 72.)

There is no study of the use of Turpin in the sixteenth century, but he is mentioned (according to indexes) 18 times in the *Orlando furioso* and 54 in the *Orlando innamorato*, and is not just a source but a character in the *Morgante* of Pulci. Besides Agustin Alonso, mentioned in the following note, the French author of the *Chronica llamada Triumpho de los nueve más preciados varones de la Fama* (transl. Antonio Rodriguez Portugal, Alcalá, 1585), stated that "dexando todas las otras chrónicas delas historias y hechos de Carlo Magno, yo me atengo a la chrónica que el buen hombre y confessor suyo el arçobispo Turpin de Reyns escrivió y dexó en memoria, como más verdadero y cierto escriptor y chronista de sus hechos: y quiero lo seguir como más verdadero de todos" (fol. 158^v); shortly thereafter we find such gems as "Cómo el Apóstol Santiago apareció al emperador Carlo Magno, amonestándole que passasse en España" (fols. 161-62). Lope, in the prologue to *La hermosura de Angélica*, said that "traduxe de Turpino estos pequeños cantos" (cited by Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, II, 32). Precedent for Lope's deception is that of Boiardo, who declared falsely that his poem was a translation of the pseudo-Turpin ("tradutto da la verace cronica de Turpino"); some sixteenth-century authors may have taken this claim literally and spoken of Turpin while using only Boiardo.

²¹ These poems, like those of Ariosto and Boiardo, are to be understood as dealing with "estas cosas de Francia."

In the case of Agustin Alonso's *Historia de las hazañas y hechos del invencible Cavallero Bernardo del Carpio* (Toledo: Pero López de Haro, a costa de Juan Boyer, 1585), it would seem possible that Cervantes objected so strongly because Alonso claimed that he had improved in accuracy over the *libros de caballerias*, "haziendo yo . . . (según el precepto de Horacio) las cosas fingidas tan cercanas a las ciertas . . . Aunque de semejantes libros [las historias de los príncipes valerosos] se pudieran en todo tiempo aver escripto tantos que tuvieran bien en que ocuparse los curiosos, no contentándose con esto el ingenio de los que desean saber y enseñar a otros, inventó otra manera de historias adornadas con estilo y erudición, fingiendo varios successos de fortuna y valentia en algún valeroso cavallero del nombre que le ponian. Y aunque a muchos ha parecido negocio impertinente si los libros que desto tratan tienen ingenio y arte, no sólo no merecen tal nombre pero con justo titulo grande alabança por ser por ventura de más provecho que los que tratan de particular historia, porque ésta dize del cavallero qual fue, y el libro que con razón se dize de cavallerias pinta al cavallero

(literary club) de los Nocturnos, sponsored by Diego Gómez de Sandoval, the contemporary count of Saldaña.²²

Now, what was this *Bernardo* that Cervantes wrote about the deeds of Bernardo del Carpio? Was it a play? This possibility must be rejected, for several reasons. The mention of the "famoso *Bernardo*" together with the *Semanas del jardín*, plus Cervantes' statement "todavía me quedan en el alma ciertas reliquias y assomos," suggest that the *Bernardo* was a book-length work, not a play. Cervantes had already written a play dealing with Bernardo del Carpio, *La casa de los zelos y selvas de Ardenia*, an argument against his writing another. There is much to suggest that Cervantes was not writing any drama at all after 1605, much less as late as 1616; why should he, if producers were no longer interested in his works (*Adjunta al Parnaso*, 124, 31)? The list of his completed works found at the beginning of *Viage del Parnaso*, IV, is chronological, and implies that his *comedias* were earlier than *Don Quixote*. In the prologue to the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses*, in which *La casa de los zelos* was published, he described his latest attempt at writing drama as "algunos años ha," and this would seem to indicate more than two or three years.²³

qual deve ser, y si estas dos cosas quisiésemos procurar en un subjecto, ninguno se hallaria como el que tenemos entre manos. Aviendo de tratar del Invicto Bernardo del Carpio cuyos hechos fueron de manera, que quando las historias se ocuparan en esso, huviera poca necesidad de fingir otras cavallerias." ("A . . . Diego Fernando de Alarcón" and "Al Benigno Lector," unnumbered preliminary pages).

Alonso's improvement over *libros de caballerías* was modest. He declared that he based himself on the chronicle of "Turpin de Rana, el qual yo llevo/ Por norte principal, y por mi guia" (fol. 79^v).

²² Willard F. King, *Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el siglo XVII*, Anejo 10 of the *BRAE* (Madrid, 1963), p. 46. An "Oda al Conde de Saldaña" was published by Aribau in *Obras de Cervantes*, [I], BAE, 1 (1846; rpt. Madrid: Atlas, 1944), 712-13; this attribution was called "contestable" by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Cervantes*, p. 205, n. 1, and attacked by Astrana, V, 553. On Saldaña, see Astrana, VI, 13, n. 1, Gareth A. Davies, "Luis Vélez de Guevara and Court Life," in *Antigüedad y actualidad de Luis Vélez de Guevara*, Purdue University Monographs in Romance Languages, 10 (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1983), pp. 20-38 and *A Poet at Court. Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza (1586-1644)* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 18-23, and Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, "Un olvidado poema de Luis Vélez de Guevara," *Revista de Bibliografía Nacional*, 2 (1941), 91-176.

²³ Since in the dating of Cervantes' plays *cada cual tira por donde le parezca*, I will risk my comment. Since none of his *comedias* reflects the influence of López Pinciano—they do not have a *simple*, for example, whose significance is mentioned in Chapter 4—and since they do not reflect the ideas on drama embodied in Chapter 48 of Part I, and in view of the treatment of them in *Viage del Parnaso*, IV, they must be, with only a few possible exceptions, earlier than 1605. Also supporting this position is the consensus of everyone but Cervantes that they

Was it, then, a poem? This possibility is nearly as remote as that of a play. A poem on Bernardo would have had to be an epic poem, and by 1605 five epic poems had been written about him, three published (those of Alonso, Espinosa, and Garrido de Villena), one partially published (that of Barahona de Soto),²⁴ and one unpublished (that of Balbuena); "la abundancia de las cosas, aunque sean buenas, haze que no se estimen" (III, 32, 1-3). Furthermore, verse was not Cervantes' preferred form; he did not write much of it, and felt that writing it was difficult;²⁵ he criticizes his own verse

are his poorer work; if his best is *La Numancia*, and it is unquestionably early, how can we say his poorer plays are later ones?

There are two contrary pieces of evidence, aside from the study of the texts of the plays themselves, which has given such confusing results. (See Bruce Wardropper's comment in "Comedias," p. 152, and the table of suggested dates included by Jean Canavaggio in *Cervantès. Un théâtre à naître* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977], p. 19.) The first of these is that in the *Adjunta al Parnaso*, 124, 29, Cervantes said that he had six *comedias* and six *entremeses*, whereas a year later he published eight of each. To my knowledge, no one interprets this to mean he wrote two *comedias* and two *entremeses* during that year; according to Rodríguez Marin, "para formar y abultar su libro arregló o terminó dos comedias y dos entremeses que tendria a medio escribir, quitados del telar desde hacia mucho tiempo" (p. 416 of his edition of the *Parnaso* [Madrid, 1935]). (It is a strange coincidence indeed that the number of plays he contracted to write in 1593, and is believed not to have written, was six; the contract may be found in Astrana, V, 29-31, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, p. 85, n. 1, and José Maria Asensio y Toledo, *Nuevos documentos para ilustrar la vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* [Seville, 1864], pp. 26-29.)

The second piece of evidence is "El engaño a los ojos," a play title mentioned in the prologue to the *Ocho comedias*. That it was apparently never completed speaks eloquently enough of Cervantes' interests in 1615 and 1616. Astrana (VII, 302, n. 1) has made the clever suggestion that the title was not that of a play Cervantes was writing or intended to write, but an attack on Lope's style of life, which Cervantes had already attacked in his ironic reference to Lope's "ocupación continua y virtuosa" in the prologue to the second part of *Don Quixote*. Astrana's interpretation would seem well founded, since the inspiration for the title, in the *Comedias* prologue, seems to be the challenge to Cervantes' skill from the "autor" described there as "escrupuloso" (see *Don Quixote*, III, 70, 10-12), "maldiciente," but gifted with an "ingenio" which obscured Cervantes': undoubtedly the person alluded to is Lope.

²⁴ It is not clear how much more of Barahona's poem than the published first part was written. See the discussion of Lara Garrido in his edition, pp. 567-68.

²⁵ Cervantes' works are full of references to deficient poets and poetry: *Don Quixote*, I, 320, 33-321, 11 (it is significant that Don Quixote does not write his letter in verse); III, 78, 31-79, 2; III, 204, 31-207, 25; IV, 13, 18-15, 7; IV, 201, 11-14; *El rufián dichoso*, II, 12, 28-14, 32; "Rinconete y Cortadillo," I, 288, 1-6; "El licenciado Vidriera," II, 92, 18-95, 1; "Coloquio de los perros," III, 242, 15-243, 14; the *Parnaso* and *Adjunta*.

through the words of the priest Pero Pérez ("más versado en desdichas que en versos," I, 104, 30-32), and may refer to it in his self-criticism in the *Parnaso* (14, 2-19; 16, 15-17).

Cervantes shows no interest in verse narration to parallel his great interest in the possibilities and deficiencies of existing prose writing. Pero Pérez is hostile to verse to the point of proposing its removal from *La Diana*, after which "quédesele en ora buena la prosa" (I, 103, 1). Cervantes' characters do not discuss the relative merits of the *Carlo famoso* (which has much of the chivalric) and the more restrained *Austríada*, the validity of the respective historical approaches to verse of Lucan and Tasso, or even the value of Garcilaso. Cervantes might well have seen the Spaniards as leaders, as indeed they were, in the development of literary prose, something native on which authors should focus rather than follow foreign models, something to be celebrated, even collected. Prose is a suitable medium for writing of heroes, the canon's speech implies. Cervantes was the author who realized the theoretical possibility of a prose epic, and it is impossible to accept that in the prologue of his great prose epic, he would casually mention the composition of a verse epic.

So we are left with the conclusion, quite in harmony with Cervantes' writing career and with the mention together with the *Semanas del jardín* and Part II of *La Galatea*, that the *Bernardo* was written in prose. There had been no book in prose on Bernardo del Carpio,²⁶ while chivalresque chronicles of the Cid, Fernán González, and King Rodrigo had been published in the sixteenth century. Was the *Bernardo* a work of history? This possibility, too, is doubtful. Cervantes was interested in history; he appreciated good historical writing, and read in it, probably widely.²⁷ He must have had some knowledge of contemporary historical method (search out sources, the closer in time to the events the better; reconcile differences, evaluating the sources' reliability;²⁸ if all else is equal prefer written sources over memory). But it is not in accord with Cervantes as we know him to imagine him writing a history, of which he has left us neither any text nor any reference to composition of such a work. And how, in Cervantes' day, was one to come up with historical information about Bernardo, in the detail needed to fill a book? What sources could one use? Materials older than the Alphonsine chronicle, a well-known version of which was the chronicle of Ocampo referred to

²⁶ An *Estoria de Bernaldo*, presumably a Latin prose work, existed in the thirteenth century, but was lost, probably before the end of the Middle Ages. On it, see Entwistle's article cited in note 16.

²⁷ There is obvious autobiographical implication in the statement of the canon that the reading of "valerosos hechos puede entretener, enseñar, deleitar y admirar a los más altos ingenios que los leyeren" (II, 363, 24-27).

²⁸ See III, 84, 19-22; III, 87, 16-20; and III, 302, 11-29.

above, were in Latin. The earliest chronicles, such as the *Silense* and *Najerense*, were unpublished and in many cases unknown; the most important pre-Alphonsine histories, those of Rodrigo Toledano and Lucas de Tuy, had only been published outside of Spain.²⁹ The earliest published historian, Lucas of Tuy, himself found the story of Bernardo an extremely confusing one,³⁰ and none of these potential sources presented more than highlights of Bernardo's life.

Historical writing, we should remember, did not have the prestige of literature, and thus it could not supply Cervantes with the acclaim he craved. While the psychic rewards would have been lower, and money, especially after obtaining support from the Conde de Lemos and the Cardenal Sandoval y Rojas,³¹ was surely not his sole motive,³² the responsibility of the

²⁹ The history of Rodrigo Toledano was first published completely in *Hispania Illustrata* (Frankfurt, 1603-08), Vol. II; before that in *Rerum hispanicarum scriptores* (Frankfurt, 1579); and another little-known incomplete edition was published with Nebrija's Latin history of Ferdinand and Isabela (Granada, 1545), according to Benito Sánchez Alonso, *Fuentes de la historia española e hispanoamericana*, 3rd edition (Madrid: Revista de Filología Española, 1952), item 56. That of Lucas Tudense, edited by Mariana, appeared in *Hispania Illustrata*, Vol. IV.

³⁰ For background, see the articles and book cited in note 16. The figure of *Bernardo*, the contradictions of which were also commented on by Esteban de Garibay (*Los XL libros del Compendio historial* [Antwerp, 1571, on HCS, 6], I, 425), is a challenging one even for modern scholars. Albert B. Franklin, III, says on the first page of his article: "A close examination of the ballads and chronicles treating of this hero and his story leaves the reader with a feeling of frustration resulting from the many contradictions and anachronisms in the earliest manifestations of it which still exist," and on p. 289: "The first examination of the story as here reproduced or as found in one or all of the chronicles astounds the reader with its naive anachronisms and historical unreliability." Jules Horrent makes the same statement: "Toutes les narrations conservées sur Bernardo del Carpio offrent la plus grave hétérogénéité. Aucune d'entre elles ne représente la forme première de l'histoire" (*La "Chanson de Roland,"* p. 462).

³¹ The support from Sandoval y Rojas is known only from the Prologue to *Don Quixote*, II. That of Lemos, Cervantes' *amparo* and *sustento* (III, 34, 6-7) is referred to more frequently; Rafal (pp. 255-67) has argued that it was probably a pension. M. Hermida Balado, while admitting that the help must have been significant, examines Lemos' assistance to other *ingenios* and concludes his treatment of Cervantes less enthusiastic than the latter's words would suggest (*Vida del VII. Conde de Lemos (Interpretación de un mecenazgo)* [n.p.: Nos, 1948], pp. 157-58). Cervantes' relationship with Lemos was previously discussed by Ramón León Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, I (only volume published, Jerez de la Frontera, 1901), pp. 535-37. Also dealing with Lemos are Otis Green, "The Literary Court of the Conde de Lemos at Naples, 1610-1616," *HR*, 1 (1933), 290-308, and Félix Fernández Murga, "El Conde de Lemos, Virrey-mecenas de Nápoles," *AION-SR*, 4 (1962), 5-28. Lemos' will and other documents were published by Astrana, VII,

historical writer is staggering, for he must tell events not just as they might or should have been, but as they really were.³³

But as a writer of literature, it would have been possible for Cervantes to

722-29, who also refers to (p. 729) but does not describe an inventory of Lemos' library; Astrana's source for references to these documents was Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Noticias y documentos relativos a la historia y literatura españolas*, *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*, 10-13 (Madrid, 1910-26), I, 318-19 and 378.

³¹ Cervantes obviously wanted to receive money from his writing; see II, 347, 3-25 and, for more elaboration on the financial side of his literary career, "Did Cervantes Have a Library?" Yet he puts in the mouth of Sansón, a "socarrón famoso" (III, 61, 15-20; III, 105, 7), "algo burlón" (IV, 153, 13), "perpetuo trastulo y regocijador de los patios de las escuelas salmanticenses" (III, 106, 14-15), a transparently false statement that the author of *Don Quixote* only looks for "interés." When an author cares about "dinero" and "interés," says Sancho, "maravilla será que acierte, porque . . . las obras que se hazen a priessa nunca se acaban con la perfección que requieren" (III, 75, 10-14). Note the greedy author Don Quixote meets at the print shop (IV, 296, 1-23), who expects to earn "por lo menos" 11,000 *reales* (1000 *ducados*) on 12,000 *reales* of sales (2000 copies at 6 *reales* each).

Cervantes surely felt that through his writing he was benefiting people. But that he sought fame and public approval is obvious. When he received it, he tells us so repeatedly (III, 70, 29-30, and the passages cited in Chapter 3, note 92). The canon, while admitting the legitimacy of financial reward for literary endeavor ("más gente atraerán," II, 347, 28-29; "ganancia," II, 348, 27; "el entretenimiento del pueblo," II, 353, 7), places it beneath fame in importance ("más fama cobrarán," II, 347, 29; "fama y renombre," II, 348, 26; "la opinión de los ingenios de España," II, 353, 8). Cervantes entered into a contract to write plays (cited in note 23, *supra*), by which he was to be paid only if each of them appeared to be "una de las mejores comedias que se han representado en España"; he complained that his portrait was not included at the beginning of the *Novelas exemplares*. Don Quixote's frequent references to fame obviously have authorial implications, and his desire to be recognized as a leader (the first to attempt to restore knight-errantry) seems much like Cervantes' pride in having been a leading author (i.e., the first to "novelar," the first to write a prose epic, "el primero que gozó el fruto de sus escritos enteramente, como desseava," IV, 406, 7-8).

What seems to have made Cervantes bitter is that both fame (i.e., pleasing the *discretos*) and financial reward (pleasing the *vulgo*) could not be obtained with the same work: "Bien sé," he says in the Prologue to *Don Quixote*, Part II, "lo que son tentaciones del demonio, y que una de las mayores es ponerle a un hombre en el entendimiento que puede componer y imprimir un libro con que gane tanta fama como dineros, y tantos dineros quanta fama" (III, 29, 2-7); "en el ejercicio de las armas . . . se alcançan, si no más riquezas, a lo menos, más honra que por las letras" (III, 309, 22-24).

³³ III, 64, 27-30; III, 68, 25-27. Here we have the key difference between history and literature: "a fee que no fue tan piadoso Eneas como Virgilio le pinta, ni tan prudente Ulisses como le describe Homero" (III, 64, 20-25).

improve on the existing works about Bernardo. He would have done this by presenting, as Homer and Virgil did³⁴ and the canon proposes (II, 344, 17-26), a model or "exemplo" for our behavior; this was another key advantage, as well as a responsibility, which the author of literature ("poeta") had over the historian. At the same time, however, Cervantes would have removed contradictions with historical truth, and make the invented or fictional portion verisimilar and believable.³⁵

So Cervantes' *Bernardo*, then, though historical in topic, was a work of prose literature. There are only two types of heroic prose literature known to Cervantes: the prose epic, and a subcategory of the epic, the *libro de caballerías*. On the basis of its content, which was crucial, and not the form, which was secondary, the *libro de caballerías*, which deals with heroic deeds, is an epic: "todos estos libros de cauallerias . . . no tienen, digo, diferencia alguna esencial que los distinga [de la épica]."³⁶ The words of the canon, comparing the *libro de caballerías* with the works of Homer and Virgil (II, 346, 6-12), show that this was Cervantes' view.

Yet not all epics are *libros de caballerías*; the epic, for López Pinciano, could treat other types of heroic actions than chivalric and military ones.³⁷ His most important example, for students of Cervantes, is Heliodorus. Heliodorus is an epic poet: "de Heliodoro no ay duda que sea poeta, y de los

³⁴ I, 352, 6-14; the passage cited in the previous note. About the success of Virgil in this area Cervantes obviously had some reservations: "la cueva donde el traidor y atrevido Eneas gozó a la hermosa y piadosa Dido" (IV, 115, 14-15).

³⁵ "Las historias fingidas tanto tienen de buenas y deleitables quanto se llegan a la verdad o la semejança della" (IV, 297, 11-14); "a quien [la fábula] conviene guissar sus acciones con tanta puntualidad y gusto, y con tanta verissimilitud, que, ha despecho y pesar de la mentira, que haze dissonancia en el entendimiento, forme una verdadera armonia" (*Persiles*, II, 100, 17-22). One of Cervantes' objections to the *comedia* was that it often failed to do this: "fundándose la comedia sobre cosa fingida, atribuirle verdades de historia y mezclarle pedaços de otras sucedidas a diferentes personas y tiempos, y esto, *no con traças verisimiles*, sino con patentes errores" (II, 350, 4-9).

³⁶ Alonso López Pinciano, *Philosophia antigua poética*, ed. Alfredo Carballo Picazo (1953; rpt. Madrid: CSIC, 1973), III, 166. This work has most recently been studied by Richard Aarre Impola, "The *Philosophia antigua poética* of Alonso López Pinciano Translated with an Introduction and Annotations," Diss. Columbia, 1972 (abstract in *DAI*, 35 [1975], 7867A-68A), and by Judy B. McInnis, "Allegory, Mimesis, and the Italian Critical Tradition in Alonso López Pinciano's *Philosophia antigua poética*," *Hispano-Italic Studies*, 1 (1976), 9-22.

³⁷ "La heroyca, como fábula épica, tiene también sus diferencias según la materia que trata, porque vnos poetas tratan materia de religión, como lo hizo Marco Ierónimo Vida y Sanazaro en El Parto de la Virgen . . . ; cantan otros casos amorosos, como Museo, Heliodoro, y Achiles Tacio; otros, batallas y victorias, como Homero y Virgilio, y esta especie se ha alçado con el hombre de heroyca, de

más finos épicos que han hasta agora escrito," says López Pinciano (III, 167), and Cervantes' *Persiles* was a work written following the model of Heliodorus (prologue to the *Novelas exemplares*). Therefore, the *Persiles*, to Cervantes, was an epic, on which point there is scholarly harmony. And here we have another argument against the *Bernardo* being a prose epic, for Homer was the only poet among the classics to write two epics. Virgil wrote one; Lucan wrote one; Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus each wrote one. So did Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso; Ercilla, Rufo, Virués, and Barahona de Soto, the native epic writers Cervantes most esteemed (I, 105, 9-30), wrote one apiece, and I question whether Cervantes would have wanted to break this unwritten rule by writing two epics. (Lope, of course, published his third in 1602.³⁸)

Even if we were going to admit that Cervantes would have written two epics, which would seem quite unlikely, we would have to accept that he wrote two quite different ones, which is even less plausible. The *Bernardo* had a historical origin, the *Persiles* an imaginary one; the *Bernardo* dealt with the deeds of a warrior, and the *Persiles* is the tale of the pilgrimage of a pair of lovers. The *Bernardo* was set in the early Middle Ages; the *Persiles* takes place in Cervantes' day.³⁹ How could Cervantes have used the epic in two such contrasting ways?

So if the *Persiles* was Cervantes' epic, the *Bernardo* was something else. We are left with the attractive and logical conclusion that the *Bernardo* was a *libro de caballerías*, the genre which is conspicuously absent in Cervantes' corpus, even though it was one he knew well, thought about, discussed, and believed

manera que, en oyendo el nombre 'heroyca,' se entiende por ella" (López Pinciano, III, 180).

For the variety of epic poems written in Golden Age Spain about topics quite foreign to the classical models, see the "Catálogo cronológico de poemas publicados entre 1550 y 1700," pp. 327-62 of the only study of the genre, Frank Pierce's *La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro*. A more extensive catalogue, though not limited to epic poems, is that of Cayetano Rosell, in *Poemas épicos*, BAE, 17 and 29 (1851-54; rpt. Madrid: Atlas, 1945-48), II, xix-xxvii. (As an illustration of the changing picture of Spanish literature, Rosell's words at the beginning of his "Advertencia" in Volume I are fascinating: "Poema verdaderamente épico, ninguno existe en nuestra literatura; es una verdad innegable, demostrada por todos los críticos, y por lo mismo no necesita de nuevas pruebas. Qué causas hayan podido dar lugar a este fenómeno, ni están bien averiguadas todavía, ni es fácil averiguarlas; unos alegan . . . el nativo temperamento de los españoles, dados más bien a los arrebatos de la fantasía que a la profundidad y formal cultivo del entendimiento . . .")

³⁸ On Lope's epics, with some helpful comments on the historical and unhistorically chivalric elements in Golden Age epics, see Charles Philip Johnson, "Lope de Vega's Contribution to the Spanish Golden Age Epic: An Evaluation," Diss. Florida State, 1974.

³⁹ On the complicated use of time in the *Persiles*, see Kenneth P. Allen, "Aspects of Time in *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*," *RHM*, 36 (1970-71 [1973]), 77-107.

could be much better than it was. Now, when we have an author who had begun but did not complete a *libro de caballerías*,⁴⁰ and when a wise character of that author has done the same, then I think we may safely take the character as a spokesperson for the author in this matter. So I do not hesitate to date the beginning of the composition of the *Bernardo* as prior to the composition of Chapter 47 of Part I of *Don Quixote*,⁴¹ and to affirm that Cervantes had by that time already written "más de cien hojas" (II, 346, 17). This was a goodly amount, as the "Novela del curioso impertinente," written "de muy buena letra" (II, 83, 3; II, 87, 29), only occupied eight *pliegos* (II, 87, 31).⁴²

The same evidence implies that, as was apparently his custom,⁴³ Cervantes had shown it to many, including the canon's "hombres doctos y discretos, apasionados desta leyenda" (II, 346, 19-20; adapted),⁴⁴ receiving "una agradable aprobación" (II, 346, 22-23),⁴⁵ but that he had set it aside. The canon's speech also suggests a reason: fear of the "confuso juicio del desvanecido vulgo, a quien por la mayor parte toca leer semejantes libros" (II,

⁴⁰ If it had been completed his widow would surely have sold it to a publisher. The six 1617 editions of the *Persiles* show the demand there was for Cervantes' works.

⁴¹ It may also be earlier than Chapter 32 of Part I, in which the priest affirms with such confidence that he knows "lo que han de tener los libros de cavallerias para ser buenos" (II, 86, 31-87, 1), to the examination of Don Quixote's library in Chapter 6 of Part I, or even to the idea of writing a burlesque attack on the genre.

⁴² A *pliego* was an *hoja* folded.

⁴³ Thus the *Persiles*, "según la opinión de mis amigos ha de llegar al extremo de bondad possible" (*Don Quixote*, III, 34, 17-18).

⁴⁴ Who were these "hombres doctos y discretos" who read *libros de caballerias*, to whom the *Bernardo* was shown? There are only two names which come to mind, as there were not many such readers in the late sixteenth century. One is Luis Zapata, who shows from his *Miscelánea* considerable acquaintance with the *libros*, and whose works Cervantes obviously knew (see the article of Márquez Villanueva, cited in the first note to this chapter); Zapata, however, died in 1595. The other, chronologically more likely candidate is López Pinciano himself, certainly easily accessible to Cervantes in Valladolid; López Pinciano praised some books and shows evidence of direct contact with them (*Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 11-12). Cervantes was interested in literary theory; El Pinciano's book was the only comprehensive literary theory of Golden Age Spain. Cervantes' reading of El Pinciano's book was the "decisive event" (Riley, *Theory*, p. 12) in the formation of his literary ideas, and it is plausible that he would turn to El Pinciano for literary guidance.

⁴⁵ The word "famoso" used to describe the *Bernardo*, in the dedication of the *Persiles*, could also imply this. It is true that "famoso" could mean no more than "cosa buena, perfecta y que merece fama" (*Autoridades*), and it is used this way at III, 420, 15-17 ("dieron traça y orden de hazer una burla . . . famosa"), in the reference to those possibly "famosos poetas," "el Preste Juan de las Indias" and "el Emperador de Trapisonda" (I, 33, 27-30), in the mentions of an "olla de famosas

346, 30-347, 2),⁴⁶ confirmed by the *vulgo's* approval of defective *comedias* (II, 347, 3-25; II, 350, 10-12). Since it is only mentioned in the dedication of Cervantes' last-written work, we must assume that he kept the manuscript of his *Bernardo* for a long time and returned to it after an interval of many years, having in the meantime elevated the *vulgo's* taste by publishing *Don Quixote*.⁴⁷ This (keeping his manuscripts carefully, and returning to projects set aside) is just what he did with various other works.⁴⁸

Before delving into the putative contents of the *Bernardo*, there is one more point to examine: what Cervantes thought a *libro de caballerías* should be. If he

azeitunas" ("Rinconete y Cortadillo," I, 278, 19) and a "pedaço de jamón famoso" ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 191, 20), and in the headings of his published *comedias*. However, Cervantes does use "famoso" to mean not just deserving but having fame. Mauricio had "alcançado famoso nombre" as an astrologer (*Persiles*, I, 85, 4), the cave of Montesinos was "famosa" (III, 278, 9), because "maravillas . . . de ella se dezian por todos aquellos contornos" (III, 277, 22-23), and Don Quixote uses the word in this sense when he states his desire to become "eterno y famoso" (IV, 339, 6-7).

⁴⁶ Much the same reason is given in the prologue to *Don Quixote*, I, for his reluctance to publish the work: fear of "el antiguo legislador que llaman vulgo" (I, 31, 6-7), in whom have "autoridad y cabida . . . los libros de cavallerias" (I, 37, 19-21). Cervantes' scorn for the *vulgo* is reiterated on several occasions: "el vulgo mal limado y bronco," he calls it in the *Parnaso* (16, 14); "la mala bestia del vulgo, por la mayor parte . . . mala, maldita y maldiziente," in "La illustre fregona" (II, 325, 18-20). On the Cervantine definition of it, and for references to discussions of the concept in Golden Age culture, see my "Who Read the Romances of Chivalry?," in *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age*, pp. 89-118, at p. 107.

⁴⁷ There are two possible explanations that come to mind for Cervantes' late return to his *Bernardo*. The first is the controversial and ultimately unsuccessful proposal of 1614 that the warrior-saint Santiago, whose possible relation with Bernardo is discussed below, be deposed as patron saint of Spain, and replaced by the nun Santa Teresa (T. D. Kendrick, *Saint James in Spain* [London: Methuen, 1960], p. 20). A second possibility is the interest of the Conde de Lemos in Bernardo del Carpio; he was portrayed as descended from Bernardo del Carpio in Balbuena's *Bernardo*, dedicated to the Conde de Lemos in 1609 (Chevalier, *L'Arioste en Espagne*, p. 371). It could then have been a reaction of Lemos to the presentation of Bernardo in *La casa de los zelos*, published in 1615 and also dedicated to him, that led Cervantes to return to his *Bernardo*, mentioned in a dedication of 1616. In the same dedication Cervantes' mentions Lemos' interest in *La Galatea*, surely a factor, though not the only one, in his intention to continue it.

⁴⁸ The *Novelas exemplares*, everyone agrees, were written over a period of time, and the evidence that the *Persiles* and both parts of *Don Quixote* were so written is strong. From the prologue to the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* we know that Cervantes saved his manuscripts carefully, in a *cofre*. (Several *cofres* and *arcas* are found in the inventory of his bride's household goods, published by León Máinez, *Cervantes y su época*, pp. 241-44, and by Astrana, VII, 687-88; León says it was first published in Juan Antonio Pellicer's biography [Madrid, 1798].)

speaks of "un libro o fábula" (II, 341, 25-26) and "historias y libros" (III, 69, 5-6; the passage is reproduced *infra*, p. 109), Cervantes thought of a *libro* not just as a book, but as a *type* of book.⁴⁹ I have not found a discussion of the term used in this way, but many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books use *libro* in their titles, and all of them, aside from exceptions to be mentioned shortly, are works intended to communicate information to their readers, and thus logically ignored by literary theorists. These include the *Libro de la historia y milagros de Nuestra Señora de Montserrat* of Pedro de Burgos (1514), the *Libro de cocina* of Roberto de Nola (1525), the *Libro llamado Consulado de mar* (1539), the *Libro del arte delas Comadres, o madrinas, y del regimiento de las preñadas y paridas, y de los niños* of Damián Carbón (1541); the *Libro llamado Tesoro de virtudes* of Alfonso de la Isla (1543), the *Libro intitulado Los problemas* of Francisco López de Villalobos (1543), the *Libro de pestilencia curativo y preservativo* (1542), *Libro de experiencias de medicina* (1544), and *Libro de las quatro enfermedades cortesanas* (1544) of Luis Lobera de Ávila, the latter of which was among the books of Cervantes' father,⁵⁰ the *Libro de las meditaciones* of Saint Augustine (1550), the *Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (1549) and *Libro de la verdad* (1555) of Pedro de Medina, the *Libro de enfrenamientos de la gineta* of Eugenio Manzananas (1583), the *Libro del passo honroso* of Juan de Pineda (1588), the *Libro de las virtudes y propiedades maravillosas de las piedras preciosas* of Gaspar de Morales (1604), and many others.⁵¹

Books which used the word *libro* in their titles and were not *verdaderos* were attacked, sometimes severely. These include the *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio* (1527), *Libro llamado Relox de príncipes* (1529), and *Libro llamado Monte Calvario* (1545) of Antonio de Guevara,⁵² the Milesian antecedent of the *libros de caballerías*, Apuleius' *Golden Ass* (*Libro del Lucio Apuleyo del asno de oro*, Seville?, 1513?),⁵³ and the *Pícara Justina*, which, if it was a *libro*, at least had the decency to call itself a *Libro de entretenimiento*. But what would Cervantes have thought of the *Libro del esforçado cavallero Tristán de Leonís*? The *Libro del noble y esforçado*

⁴⁹ I have found references to "historias y libros" in the prologue to the *Espejo de principes*, I, 13, 16, and in that to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Sumario de la natural y general historia de las Indias* (1526; rpt. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1978), fol. a2^r.

⁵⁰ Rodríguez Marin, *Nuevos documentos cervantinos*, in his *Estudios cervantinos*, p. 332.

⁵¹ See "libro" in the *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* of Palau y Dulcet.

⁵² For the criticism of Guevara, see the comments and references of Márquez, *Fuentes literarias cervantinas*, pp. 189-91.

⁵³ Alejo Venegas del Busto, a predecessor of López de Hoyo as professor of the Estudio de Madrid, identified the work of Apuleius with the Milesian stories, and pointed to the *libros de caballerías*, which also used magic, travels, and illicit male-female relations, as their contemporary equivalent. See my introduction to the reprint of Venegas' *Primera parte de las Diferencias de libros que ay en el universo* (Barcelona: Puvill, 1983), pp. 27-30; also "An Early Censor: Alejo Venegas," p. 240.

cavallero Renaldos de Montalván? The *Libro del esforçado gigante Morgante y de Roldán y Reinaldos?* The *Libro del muy esforçado e invencible Cavallero de la Fortuna propiamente llamado don Claribalte?* El *Libro del invencible cavallero Lepolemo?* The *Libro del famoso cavallero Palmerín de Oliva, que por el mundo grandes hechos en armas hizo, sin saber cuyo hijo fuesse?* The *Libro del invencible cavallero Primaleón?*

He would have thought them sure to mislead the ignorant, who could scarcely be blamed for taking them as true, especially when they are accompanied by an often elaborate apparatus, describing how the manuscript was found and how it was translated, sometimes with separate prologues of the "author" and the "translator." The *libros de caballerías* had a common pretense, that of being factual, telling events that really happened; some even went so far as to call themselves *crónicas*.⁵⁴ We see in *Don Quixote* that many are deceived by this pretense.⁵⁵

Is this not the center of Cervantes' attack on the *libros de caballerías*, that they were not true but false? Is this not the sense in which their "máquina" is "mal fundada" (I, 38, 4-5), the reason why not just the books (Part I, Chapter 6; II, 362, 21-29) but the authors (III, 68, 25-27) should be burned? Are not their poor structure, bad language, and *fabulosos disparates* secondary? Even their immorality can be explained as a consequence of abandoning truth.⁵⁶

So Cervantes' *Bernardo* would contain true chivalric deeds, based on a historical character; the importance of reading about true chivalry is stressed in *Don Quixote* (II, 83, 30-84, 18; II, 363, 12-27). Not only would Cervantes' *Bernardo* deal with a true rather than fictional knight, this true hero was Spanish, remedying a serious deficiency in existing *libros de caballerías*, whose imaginary protagonists—*Amadís de Gaula*,⁵⁷ *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, *Belianís de*

⁵⁴ See my "Pseudo-Historicity."

⁵⁵ The obvious examples are the protagonist, in whose library the *libros* are not included with the *poesía* (literature) (I, 102, 8-9), and Juan Palomeque (II, 86, 7-19). There are hints that other of the minor characters of Part I who read the books, yet discuss them without noting their untruthfulness or otherwise criticizing them, viewed them that way as well. As the canon points out, it is the "vulgo ignorante" which comes to "tener por verdaderas tantas necedades como contienen" (II, 362, 27-29); as already mentioned in Chapter 1 (p. 31), there was concern that new world Indians would not be able to distinguish the fictions of the *libros* from the doctrine of more serious books.

⁵⁶ III, 68, 20-24; possibly also an implication of II, 362, 19.

⁵⁷ Despite the original meaning of *Gaula* (see Edwin Place, "Amadis of Gaul, Wales, or What?," *HR*, 23 [1955], 99-107), it was universally understood in Golden Age Spain to mean "France."

Grecia, and so on—were foreigners.⁵⁸ That the *Bernardo* was a literary rather than historical work was essential, for both Don Quixote and Juan Palomeque reject historical books as uninteresting reading; the critics of the *libros* confirm that this attitude was widespread. *Deleitar aprovechando* was the most universal literary principle in Golden Age Spain.⁵⁹ A *libro de caballerías* could, and should, do the same.

Although it has never been assembled in one place—the topic is not even mentioned in *El pensamiento de Cervantes*—, enough information is available about Cervantes' view of Spanish history to permit a partial reconstruction of his *Bernardo*. A logical starting point is his play *La casa de los celos*,⁶⁰ in which *Bernardo*, a knight-errant, is a central character. In this work one can already detect opposition to the medieval Spain portrayed by Boiardo,

⁵⁸ The Spanish *libros de caballerías* invariably used foreign heroes and foreign settings. This was pointed out in my "Pero Pérez the Priest and His Comment on *Tirant lo Blanch*," in *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 147-58, at p. 158.

⁵⁹ The most famous formulation of this principle in Cervantes' works is of course that of the canon: "el fin mejor que se pretende en los escritos, que es enseñar y deleitar juntamente" (II, 344, 32-345, 2). Bergançá also states that one should both "enseñar" and "deleitar" ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 163, 27-31), and the humanist *primo* who guides Don Quixote to the cave of Montesinos also praises books' "provecho" and "entretenimiento" (III, 278, 14-16; III, 279, 6-7). In the *aprobación* of Márquez Torres it is put thus: "Ha avido muchos que por no aver sabido templan ni mezclar a propósito lo útil con lo dulce han dado con todo su molesto trabajo en tierra No todas las postemas a un mismo tiempo están dispuestas para admitir las recetas o cauterios; antes algunos mucho mejor reciben las blandas y suaves medicinas, con cuya aplicación el atentado y docto médico consigue el fin de resolverlas" (III, 19, 28-20, 1 and 20, 15-20).

⁶⁰ This play has traditionally been the subject of scorn, "the least studied and least respected of Cervantes' comedias" (Edward H. Friedman, *The Unifying Concept: Approaches to the Structure of Cervantes' "Comedias"* [York, South Carolina: Spanish Literature Publications Company, 1981], p. 136). Riley called it a "very bad early play" (*Theory*, p. 23); Bonilla y San Martín a "prototipo de disparatado engendro" ("Un crítico desbocado," in his *De crítica cervantina* [Madrid, 1917], pp. 81-105, at p. 98); Schevill and Bonilla said that "el lector más benévolo reconocerá que Cervantes erró fundamentalmente" (Introduction to *Comedias y entremeses*, VI, [107]); Francisco Ynduráin said that "ni con la mejor voluntad hallamos rasgo que pueda salvar esta comedia de una repulsa total" and "cuando se quiere tomar el pulso a Cervantes como crítico de sí mismo y valorar sus opiniones sobre el teatro, no debe olvidarse que escribió *El laberinto [de amor]* y *La casa de los celos*, y, lo que es más grave, que las mandó a la imprenta" (introduction to *Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. II. Obras dramáticas*, BAE, 156 [Madrid: Atlas, 1961], pp. xxvi and xli); and the influential Menéndez y Pelayo perhaps began this series of comments by saying that "sólo la reverencia debida a su inmortal autor impide colocar esta obra entre las que él llamaba 'conocidos disparates'" (*Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope*, cited, together with the opinion of Cotarelo, by Francisco López

Ariosto, and the Spanish authors mentioned earlier in this chapter.⁶¹ There is repeated comment on the meaningless conflict among Christians and on the need for Bernardo to desist from adventures in France. Merlin recommends to him, in a lengthy speech, that he return to Spain, secure his father's freedom from prison, and use his chivalric abilities to a patriotic end:

Valeroso español, cuyo alto intento
de tu patria y amigos te destierra;
buelve a tu amado padre el pensamiento,

Estrada, "Una posible fuente de un fragmento de la comedia *La casa de los celos* de Cervantes," *Homenaje a Cervantes* [Madrid: Ínsula, (1947)], pp. 201-05, at p. 201; also on p. 333 of the edición nacional, VI [Madrid: CSIC, 1949]; and p. 97 of the edition in BAE, 233 [Madrid: Atlas, 1970]. However, it has been the subject of some reevaluation. Chevalier (p. 443) said that "nous trouvons en germe dans plusieurs des scènes pastorales de *La Casa de los Celos* des thèmes qui sont repris et développés dans le *Quichotte*," a viewpoint echoed by Stanislav Zimic ("Algunas observaciones sobre *La casa de los celos* de Cervantes," *Hispanófila*, No. 49 [September, 1973], pp. 51-58), who found it "un semillero de ideas y temas que maduran más tarde en otras obras cervantinas," and not at all "en contradicción con las ideas literarias expresadas por Cervantes en el *Quijote*"; Friedman stated that it "closely approximates *Don Quijote* in its examination of literary reality" (p. 136). On the meaning of the name, see Geoffrey Stagg, "Cervantes' 'Abode of Jealousy,'" *BHS*, 32 (1955), 21-24; on its symbolism, Joaquín Casaldueiro, *Sentido y forma del teatro de Cervantes* (Madrid: Gredos, 1966), pp. 56-76, and Jean Canavaggio, "Le Décor sylvestre de *La casa de los celos*: Mise en scène et symboles," in *Mélanges offerts à Charles Vincent Aubrun* (Paris: Éditions Hispaniques, 1975), I, 137-43. Finally, one must mention the dissertation of Morley Jennifer Hawk Marks, "*La casa de los celos* y *las selvas de Ardenia* by Miguel de Cervantes (Critical Study with a Modernized Annotated Edition): An Examination of the Cervantine Process toward the Concept of the *Quijote*," Temple University, 1981 (abstract in *DAI*, 42 [1982], 5140A).

⁶¹ In the canon's discussion of historical errors in the *comedia*, his example deals with this period of history, and specifically with errors in Christian warfare: "si es que la imitación es lo principal que ha de tener la comedia, ¿cómo es posible que satisfaga a ningún mediano entendimiento que, fingiendo una acción que passa en tiempo del rey Pepino y Carlomagno [i.e., the time of Roland, Roncesvalles, and the *entrée en Espagne*], el mismo que en ella haze la persona principal le atribuían que fue el emperador Eraclio, que entró con la Cruz en Jerusalén, y el que ganó la Casa Santa, como Godofre de Bullón, aviendo infinitos años de lo uno a lo otro; y fundándose la comedia sobre cosa fingida, atribuirle verdades de historia y mezclarle pedaços de otras sucedidas a diferentes personas y tiempos?" (II, 349, 26-350, 7). Although it is not stated, in the complaint that false miracles sung by *ciegos* detract from belief in true miracles (IV, 166, 17-21), it is possible that the "true" miracles whose credibility was undermined were those in support of Hispano-Christian military endeavor, such as the appearance of Santiago, told below.

a quien larga prisión y oscura encierra.
 A tal hazaña es gran razón que atento
 estés, y no en buscar inútil guerra
 por tan remotas partes y escusadas
 Tiempo vendrá que del francés valiente,
 al margen de los montes Pireneos,
 baxes la altiva y generosa frente
 Por ti tu patria se verá en sosiego,
 Buelve, buelve, Bernardo a do te llama
 un inmortal renombre y clara fama.
 (I, 152, 4-11, 13-16, and 22-23)

In *La casa de los zelos*, then, the young Bernardo leaves an unproductive and meaningless life outside of Spain, called back to undertake his true responsibility: the defense of his country. He will direct the resistance to the forces of Charlemagne, and "baxar la altiva y generosa frente" of the French "al margen de los montes Pireneos," i.e., he will kill Roland in Roncesvalles. Although we are told in *Don Quixote* that it is doubtful that Bernardo did all the deeds attributed to him (II, 368, 14-16), this is the only deed mentioned, one which evidently impressed the protagonist (I, 52, 19-23; I, 373, 23-25; III, 403, 5-11). Roland's fame and valor were gained falsely, by means of enchantments, and there is no resistance to true, God-favored "valentía."⁶² Because he was helped by God, Bernardo, not Claribalte or Primaleón, would have been truly "invencible."

Bernardo's deeds, however, would begin rather than end with the defeat of the French in Roncesvalles. The real issue was the Islamic threat to Christian Europe; as his squire says to him: "en España ay que hazer,/ moros

⁶² "Aquel bastardo de don Roldán me ha molido a palos Mas no me llamaría yo Reinaldos de Montalván si, en levantándose deste lecho, no me lo pagare, a pesar de todos sus encantamientos" (I, 107, 13-19); "Bernardo del Carpio . . . en Roncesvalles avía muerto a Roldán el encantado, valiéndose de la industria de Hércules, quando ahogó a Anteo, el hijo de la Tierra, entre los braços" (I, 52, 19-23). The scorn for the valor of foreign heroes, found also in the references in *Don Quixote*, Part I, to such incredible devices as an enchanted helmet (I, 285, 12), an anti-enchantment sword (I, 233, 15-18; II, 287, 21-23), and the "bálsamo de Fierabrás" which eliminated fear of death (I, 138, 20-139, 10), is clearly seen in the following statement of Don Quixote: "Si Roldán fue tan buen cavallero y tan valiente como todos dizen, ¿qué maravilla?, pues al fin era encantado, y no le podía matar nadie si no era metiéndole un alfiler de a blanca por la punta del pie, y él trahía siempre los çapatos con siete suelas de hierro, aunque no le valieron tretas contra Bernardo del Carpio, que se las entendió y le ahogó entre los braços en Roncesvalles. Pero dexando en él lo de la valentía a una parte, vengamos a lo de perder el juicio" (I, 373, 17-27).

tienes en fronteras,/ tambores, pitos, vanderas/ ay allá, ya puedes ver" (I, 147, 16-19). Castile, with a lion in one hand and a castle in the other, urges Bernardo to help the Spaniards defend themselves, without French assistance and rule:

¿Duermes, Bernardo amigo . . . ?
 Advierte que tu tío,
 contra todo derecho,
 forma en el casto pecho,
 una opinión, un miedo, un desvarío
 que le mueve a hazer cosa
 ingrata a ti, infame a mí, y dañosa.
 Quiere entregarme a Francia,
 temeroso que, él muerto,
 en mis despojos no se entregue el moro
 No mira que el decoro
 de animosa y valiente,
 sin cansancio o desmayo,
 que me infundió Pelayo,
 he guardado en mi pecho eternamente
 Ven, y con tu presencia
 infundirás un nuevo
 corazón en los pechos desmayados
 Te llevaré, Bernardo, al patrio suelo.
 Ven luego, que el destino
 propicio tuyo, encierra
 tú en tu brazo tu honra y mi consuelo.
 Ven, que el benigno cielo
 a tu favor se inclina
 . . . dentro en pocos años
 verás estrañas cosas,
 amargas y gustosas,
 engaños falsos, ciertos desengaños.
 (I, 224, 6-226, 5)⁶³

For information on Bernardo's further exploits we can safely turn to historians; Cervantes, a passionate defender of historical truth, would scarcely have created a *Bernardo* in conflict with historical knowledge. It must be noted, however, that Bernardo was from a period far back in the Middle Ages, and as stated before, what was known about him was limited to a few major events. In writing about Bernardo Cervantes thus had the "espacioso

⁶³ The last four lines of the quotation are directed toward another character, Marfisa, yet they are still a prophecy about Bernardo.

campo" the canon prized (II, 343, 24-29)⁶⁴ and which Juan Rufo found lacking in treating modern history.⁶⁵ There was much room for intelligent authorial invention without conflict with historical fact. This was a major critical problem, what William Nelson called "the dilemma of the Renaissance storyteller":⁶⁶ how to write literature without compromising truth. The solution, also recommended by López Pinciano,⁶⁷ is an ingenious one. The historian's difficulty becomes a novelist's opportunity.⁶⁸

From a historical perspective, the years in which Bernardo lived were essential ones for Spanish Christianity. It was Bernardo's first lord, Alfonso II, who began what Menéndez Pidal has termed "neogoticismo": the belief that the kings of Asturias were the inheritors of the Visigothic monarchy, and, therefore, the true rulers of the entire peninsula.⁶⁹ More important, it

⁶⁴ Cervantes stated this desire in the first person, in the prologue to *La Galatea*: "Los estudios [de la poesía] . . . traen consigo más que medianos provechos, como son . . . abrir camino para que, a su imitación, los ánimos estrechos, que en la brevedad del lenguaje antiguo quieren que se acabe la abundancia de la lengua castellana, entiendan que tienen campo abierto, fértil y espacioso, por el qual, con facilidad y dulçura, con gravedad y eloquencia, pueden correr con libertad" (I, xlvi, 2-15). The dog Bergança also could use a "largo campo . . . para dilatar tu plática" ("Coloquio de los perros," III, 241, 3-5).

⁶⁵ "En quanto al hecho de la verdad de las cosas que trato, forzosamente habrá diferentes opiniones, como las hay en todos los casos de que muchos deponen; lo que yo pude hacer fue en las evidencias estar a lo cierto, y en las dudas atenerme a lo verosímil, porque si ésta no fuera mi intención, más espacioso campo hallara para escribir, y más oportunidad para explicarme, en otros sugetos de invención, que en el de historia, y tan moderna . . . Antes de sacalle en público . . . consulté gravísimos tribunales, por cuyo aplauso y autoridad fui, no sólo conhortado, pero casi compelido a manifestarlo." (*La Austriada*, "Al lector," in *Poemas épicos*, II, 2.) Cervantes, whose praise of Rufo has already been mentioned, wrote a prefatory sonnet for this volume.

⁶⁶ William Nelson, *Fact or Fiction. The Dilemma of the Renaissance Storyteller* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

⁶⁷ He recommended a subject "ni tan antigua que esté olvidada, ni tan moderna que pueda dezir nadie éssó no pasó así" (III, 169), and followed his own advice in choosing the similarly remote hero Pelayo as subject for his epic *Pelayo* (Madrid, 1605).

⁶⁸ The historiography of this period is exceptionally confused, in part the result of deliberate mythification later in the Spanish Middle Ages, and may never be completely clarified; I have tried to rely on sources accessible to Cervantes, especially the best history of his day, that of Mariana. (Cirot, *Mariana, historien*, p. 331, points out that the reading of Spanish heroes prescribed for Don Quixote by the Toledo canon could be almost completely carried out on the basis of Mariana's history.) For a recent survey, see Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism. An Historical Overview* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), Chapter 1.

⁶⁹ As part of this revision, the metropolitan of Toledo was excommunicated and the Hispano-Catholic church reconstituted in Asturias; Mariana, however,

is also the moment at which the concept that the Moors should be expelled, that Spain should be "reconquered" by the Christians, was born.

As already stated, it was Bernardo who showed that Christian Spain was capable of undertaking such an enterprise without French assistance. Behind his skills as a warrior and leader of men was his moral virtue. In contrast with Roland, maddened and rendered ineffective as a warrior by Angelica, and in contrast with the polygamous Muslims, to whose interest in "garzones" Cervantes refers on several occasions,⁷⁰ Bernardo was a chaste hero. Courtly service of a lady is not mentioned in any of the ballads or historical texts, although he does marry; his lord and uncle, Alfonso II "el Casto," took chastity to such an extreme that he had no offspring.⁷¹ According to the history of the period, it was the licentiousness of King Rodrigo, and his sexual misconduct with La Cava, which had led to the conquest by the dissolute Arabs in the first place;⁷² the virtue of Ferdinand

attributes this to Alfonso III. On Spanish Gothicism, see the Appendix, note 16.

⁷⁰ "Entre aquellos bárbaros turcos en más se tiene y estima un mochacho o mancebo hermoso que una muger, por bellísima que sea" (IV, 307, 25-28); "hablé con don Gaspar, contéle el peligro que corría el mostrar ser hombre, vestile de mora" (IV, 308, 8-10); "fue uno de los más regalados garzones suyos" (II, 218, 20-21). (The topic is further developed in *La gran sultana*, *Los baños de Argel*, and *Los tratos de Argel*.) The accuracy of this portrayal is admitted by Albert Mas, *Les Turcs dans la littérature espagnole du siècle d'or* (Paris: Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, 1967): "La sodomie était fréquent chez les Turcs: ambassadeurs, historiens, voyageurs, captifs et pères de la Rédemption en ont parlé pour souligner que les adeptes de Mahomet qui la pratiquaient prouvaient ainsi que leur religion n'était pas la vraie" (II, 327).

⁷¹ A ruler's lack of heirs was always a serious problem; to invite such a situation by avoiding "cópula carnal," even with one's wife (Garibay, I, 420), is an excess of virtue. This lack of children was behind the reputed offer to *entregar* Spain to Charlemagne: "El rey don Alonso, cansado por sus muchos años y con guerras que de ordinario traía con los moros con mayor esfuerzo y valor que prosperidad, pensó sería bien valerse de Carlo Magno para echar con sus armas los moros de toda España. No tenía hijos; ofrecióle en premio de su trabajo la sucesión en el reino por vía de adopción" (Mariana, p. 205a; references to Mariana are to the edition of F[rancisco] P[i] y M[argall], I, BAE, 30 [1854; rpt. Madrid: Hernando, 1931]).

⁷² The licentiousness of King Rodrigo and its consequences is a common topic and the subject of a large literature, anthologized by Menéndez Pidal in his *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas*. *Rodrigo, el último godo*, Clásicos Castellanos, 62, 71, and 84 (Madrid: La Lectura, 1925-27; previously without the texts but with more notes in *BRAE*, 11 [1924], 157-97, 251-86, 349-87, 519-85, and 12 [1925], 5-38, 192-216); a line from a *romance* about him is quoted in *Don Quixote*: "Ya me comen, ya me comen/ por do más pecado avía" (III, 414, 8-9). For an introduction to the legend see Alan Deyermond, "The Death and Rebirth of Visigothic Spain in the *Estoria de España*," *RCEH*, 9 (1985 [1986]), 345-67.

and Isabela gave them success.⁷³ Military and political setbacks are the consequence of sin;⁷⁴ moral purity, especially sexual abstinence, is rewarded by victory.⁷⁵

We can, in sum, point to Bernardo del Carpio as the principal reason why "prósperamente y casi sin ningún tropiezo procedían en tiempo del rey don Al[f]onso las cosas de los cristianos con una perpetua, constante, igual y maravillosa bonanza" (Mariana, p. 206a). As the initiator of the "reconquista," in turn an inspiration for the Crusades, he would have been one "que ha sido la salud no sólo de un reino, sino de muchos" (III, 93, 1-2), even one whose deeds meant more than those of the "doze Pares de Francia" and "Nueve de la Fama," taken together (I, 91, 13- 14).

An important part of the improvement in Christian Spain's fortunes was the discovery of the alleged remains of the apostle Santiago in Galicia. The treatment of Santiago, Spain's patron saint, in Cervantes' *Bernardo* would seem unavoidable, as it was the most "dichoso" event during the reign of Alfonso II (Mariana, p. 203b), and very nearly coincided with Bernardo's birth.⁷⁶ As Don Quixote says, "este gran cavallero de la cruz bermeja háselo

⁷³ This was commonly, and it would seem incorrectly, contrasted with the dissolution of the previous monarch, Enrique IV. (See my "Enrique IV and Gregorio Marañón," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 29 [1976], 21-29.) While on the topic of the sexual overtones of sixteenth-century world affairs as seen from a Castilian perspective, one should also remember the depravity or alleged depravity of Luther, Henry VIII, new world Indians, and the pre-Reformation papacy, in the correction of all of which the Castilians saw a role for themselves.

⁷⁴ See II, 209, 27-29. In the context of traditional Catholicism this is a conventional belief. In Alejo Venegas' *Tractado y plática de la ciudad de Toledo*, for example, we find that famine which afflicted Toledo was to be resolved through spiritual improvement (see my introduction to his *Primera parte de las Diferencias de libros*, pp. 21-22). For the interpretation of history along these lines by Herrera and others, see Mary Gaylord Randel, *The Historical Prose of Fernando de Herrera* (London: Tamesis, 1971), pp. 36-38.

⁷⁵ Thus the apparently strange statement that "la honestidad parecía tan bien en los cavalleros andantes como la valentía" (III, 380, 24-25); one who has military exploits to perform will not "con su muger folgar" (I, 140, 10). "Plutarch makes it clear that the sexual morals of the Lacedaemonians were determined by their military requirements. The eugenics of Lycurgus, and his detailed laws concerning the relations of husband and wife, had no other aim than to assure the aggressive vigour of the soldiery" (Denis de Rougemont, *Love in the Western World*, trans. Montgomery Belgion, revised and augmented edition [1956; rpt. New York: Harper & Row, 1974], p. 244).

⁷⁶ According to Garibay, who treats chronology in more detail than does Mariana. My colleague Lawrence S. Cunningham, expert in the uses made of saints (*The Meaning of Saints* [San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980]), assures me that there was nothing offensive to ecclesiastical authority in the use of Santiago in such a work; fictional elaboration on religious material is found in many

dado Dios a España por patrón y amparo suyo, *especialmente en los rigurosos trances que con los moros los españoles han tenido*" (IV, 230, 9-13).

An essential character in a *libro de caballerías* was the fictitious chronicler or sabio encantador, such as Urganda of *Amadís de Gaula*, Alquife of *Amadís de Grecia*, and Artemidoro and Lirgandeo of the *Espejo de príncipes*. Cervantes' Cide Hamete shows that he was aware of the need for this figure. The use of such pseudohistorical trappings contributed to readers' belief in what they were reading, and there was no danger, rather much benefit, from them believing the deeds of Bernardo del Carpio.

The *sabio encantador*, in the *libros de caballerías*, was not just a chronicler. He or she was possessed of supernatural powers, and could predict future glories.⁷⁷ He would appear at key moments, often during combat, to assist the knight. He advised the knight and guided him, and saw that all went well.⁷⁸

It is logical to attribute this role to Santiago, who would have "written" in Greek, the language in which *libros de caballerías* most often pretended to have been composed. With Santiago serving in this role, supporting Bernardo, an eminently logical thing for him to have done, the objectionable supernatural elements of the books of chivalry would become miracles.⁷⁹ This perhaps startling suggestion is less so if we consider that fraudulent writings concerning Santiago were a major historical and religious issue in the Spain of Cervantes. In Granada, on a mountain called (as a result of the discoveries) the Sacromonte, there had been found a controversial group of

countries and periods, and Santiago appeared in various Golden Age epic poems. The overriding consideration was the purpose with which such use was made, and Cervantes' purpose was admirable: to stimulate the Christian zeal of the readers.

⁷⁷ These predictions are parodied by the barber at II, 327, 14-328, 10; for examples in the *libros de caballerías*, see my edition of the *Espejo de príncipes*, V, 81, 27, note.

⁷⁸ "Los poderes fundamentales de ambos magos [Urganda and Merlin] son el de vaticinar los sucesos que ocurrirán en el futuro y el de conocer el pasado de cada uno de los personajes. Dotados de estos poderes, los magos no desempeñan un papel pasivo ante el curso de acontecimientos, sino que intervienen directamente en la marcha por la acción. Urganda, por ejemplo, le da a Amadís su lanza . . . y a Galaor su espada . . . Merlin constantemente aconseja a los reyes sobre lo que deben hacer, revela la verdad del nacimiento de Arturo para que se le acepte por rey . . . [y] sugiere la idea de la Tabla Redonda" (Eloy Reinerio González, "El *Amadís de Gaula*: Análisis e interpretación," Diss. Ohio State University, 1974, pp. 186-87).

⁷⁹ Santiago would no doubt have "predicted" things which had already happened, such as the complete Christianization of the peninsula, and Spain's glory under the Hapsburgs; this is the type of prediction we find in *Persiles*, IV, 6 and in *El cerco de Numancia*.

texts, the "libros plúmbeos," whose authenticity was hotly debated.⁸⁰ Cervantes and his readers, even relatively ignorant ones, must have heard of these very famous discoveries; Cervantes seems to be alluding to them at the end of Part I (II, 401, 17-25). These texts dealt with Mary, Peter, and Santiago, pretending to have been written by the latter's secretaries, and allegedly proved the cherished Spanish belief that he had visited Spain. Considering the pretense, in the *libros de caballerías*, that the imaginary manuscripts which had been "recovered" and "translated" were discovered in remote places under strange and wonderful circumstances,⁸¹ it is possible that Cervantes would have pretended to have found the manuscript of his *libro* about Bernardo del Carpio in Granada.⁸²

Santiago was not just a saint but a knight, a *santo y caballero* (IV, 228, 1-2).⁸³ That the profession of "el ejercicio de las armas" (IV, 228, 2-3) and religion could be linked, that saints could be knights and knights saints, seems important to Cervantes, puzzled that most recent saints were *frailes* and not those who did God's work.^{83A} The link is certainly stated in *Don Quixote*. "Religión es la cavallería, cavalleros santos ay en la gloria," explains

⁸⁰ For a quick introduction, see Leonard Patrick Harvey, *The Moriscos and "Don Quixote"*, Inaugural Lecture in the Chair of Spanish, University of London, King's College, 1974 (London: King's College, 1975?), based in considerable degree, so far as the "libros plúmbeos" are concerned, on Kendrick; additional details are offered by Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 150-51, 2nd edition (Madrid: Católica, 1965-67), II, 247-50, and, less impartially, Henry Charles Lea, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition* (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1890), pp. 108-17. The texts themselves are available in translation, together with an introduction, in Miguel José Hagerty, *Los libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte* (Madrid: Nacional, 1980); on their content, see Darío Cabanelas, "Intento de supervivencia en el ocaso de una cultura: Los libros plúmbeos de Granada," *NRFH*, 30 (1981 [1983]), 334-58.

⁸¹ "Pseudo-Historicity," in *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 124-26.

⁸² The only other plausible fictional setting would be Santiago de Compostela.

⁸³ Santiago's late (twelfth-century) appearance in medieval Spanish history as a knight, "en un cavallo blanco con una senna blanca, et grand espada reluzient en la mano" (*Primera crónica general*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, rpt. [Madrid: Gredos, 1955], II, 360), and, like Merlin, making predictions, would seem a reflection of earlier chivalric literature. I have not seen Klaus Herbers, *Der Jakobuskult der 12. Jahrhunderts und der "Liber Sancti Jacobi."* *Studien über das Verhältnis zwischen Religion und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1984).

^{83A} "De muchos santos que de pocos años a esta parte avía canonizado la iglesia, y puesto en el número de los bienaventurados, ninguno se llamava el capitán don fulano, ni el secretario don tal de don tales [i.e., arms or letters], ni el conde, marqués o duque de tal parte, sino fray Diego, fray Jacinto, fray Raimundo; todos frailes y religiosos, porque las religiones son los aranjuezes del cielo, cuyos frutos de ordinario se ponen en la mesa de Dios" ("El licenciado Vidriera," II, 110, 11-19); "más vale ser humilde frailecito de qualquier orden que sea, que valiente y

Don Quixote to Sancho (III, 120, 10-11); after recovering his sanity in the final chapter, he declares himself enemy of "todas las historias *profanas* del andante cavallería" (IV, 398, 27-29). His description of three additional *santos y caballeros* in Chapter 58 of Part II, which provokes Sancho's renewed astonishment at his knowledge (IV, 228, 22- 27), seems to be completely straightforward.

"Santiago Matamoros," as he was called, was believed to appear in battles to help the Christian warriors. The first battle in which he reputedly did so was that of Clavijo (Mariana, p. 208b), during the reign of Alfonso II's successor Ramiro I.⁸⁴ This battle, according to the history of Cervantes' day, was a crucial one for the fortunes of the Christians: because of it Ramiro's reign, though brief, was "en gloria y hazañas muy señalado, por quitar, como quitó, de las cervices de los cristianos el yugo gravísimo que les tenían puesto los moros y reprimir las insolencias y demasías de aquella gente bárbara. A la verdad, el haber España levantado la cabeza y vuelto a su antigua dignidad, después de Dios se debe al esfuerzo y perpetua felicidad deste gran príncipe. En los negocios que tuvo con los de fuera fue excelente, en los de dentro de su reino admirable; y aunque se señaló mucho en las cosas de la paz, pero en la gloria militar fue más aventajado" (Mariana, p. 207a).

Through the victory of Clavijo, restoring Spain's dignity, there was ended the tribute of the hundred virgins (Mariana, pp. 200b, 207b-208b), a good source of stories for intercalation. At the same time, and perhaps related, since Don Quixote claims that "la orden de los cavalleros andantes" was founded primarily to protect *doncellas*,⁸⁵ according to some authors there was

andante cavallero; más alcançan con Dios dos dozenas de diciplinas que dos mil lançadas" (III, 120, 1-5), to which Don Quixote responds "todo esso es assí." Cervantes' interest in recent saints, including the protagonist of his only religious work, *El rufián dichoso*, is itself evidence to be used in establishing his religious outlook.

⁸⁴ "*Supuesta* batalla [italics in the original] entre Ramiro I y los ejércitos de Abd al-Rahmán II, en la que se habría aparecido el apóstol Santiago combatiendo contra los moros, montado en un caballo blanco. Por ella se habrían libertado los cristianos del vergonzoso tributo de las cien doncellas, que venía de tiempos del rey Mauregato, y en agradecimiento a la ayuda del Apóstol, Ramiro, en el célebre *privilegio de los Votos* (supuesto del 25 de 844, en realidad una falsificación del siglo XII), establece para los habitantes de toda España, conforme fuera liberándose su territorio, la obligación de pagar a la iglesia de Santiago una medida de trigo y otra de vino por cada yugada de tierra . . . La leyenda, que ha tenido y tiene aún acérrimos defensores, y ha dado motivo a una bibliografía extensísima, carece de todo fundamento histórico. Ninguna de las más antiguas crónicas cristianas de la Reconquista (Alfonso III, Albeldense) la menciona, y la existencia de esta batalla ni siquiera se plantea a un historiador serio." (L[uis] V[ázquez] de P[arga], in *Diccionario de historia de España*, 2nd edition.)

⁸⁵ "Para cuya seguridad [donzellas], andando más los tiempos y creciendo más

founded the Orden de Santiago,⁸⁶ whose members were to Cervantes the Spanish counterpart of the French "doce pares."⁸⁷

The historical sources do not specifically associate Bernardo with the battle of Clavijo. However, if "el esfuerzo de Bernardo se mostró mucho en todas las guerras que por este tiempo se hicieron" (Mariana, p. 207a), his participation in that event, considering his youth at the battle of Roncesvalles, is unavoidable. By appearing during the battle of Clavijo, Santiago would be assisting Bernardo just as the *sabios encantadores* assisted knights-errant in the *libros*. As Merlin suggested the founding of a chivalric organization, the Knights of the Round Table (*supra*, note 78), Santiago could have done the same. It thus would have been Bernardo who founded the *Orden de Santiago*, and he and his men would have been *caballeros de Santiago*, causing great satisfaction to readers who were members of or favored that order. At that time Bernardo's age, like Don Quixote's, "frisaba . . . con los cinquenta años" (I, 50, 1-2).

This is, of course, a speculative reconstruction. However, it is quite in harmony not only with the treatment of Spanish history found in Cervantes' works, but also with the canon's description of the ideal *libro de caballerías*. The latter famous passage is reproduced here so that it may be reread in light of this discussion of the *Bernardo*:

con todo quanto mal avía dicho de tales libros, hallava en ellos una cosa buena, que era el sujeto que ofrecían para que un buen entendimiento pudiesse mostrarse en ellos, porque davan largo y espacioso campo por donde sin empacho alguno pudiesse correr la pluma, descubriendo naufragios,⁸⁸ tormentas, rencuentros y batallas; pintando un capitán valero-

la malicia, se instituyó la orden de los cavalleros andantes" (I, 149, 24-26). One of the four *santos y cavalleros* of Chapter 58 of Part II is St. George, "uno de los mejores andantes que tuvo la milicia divina; . . . y fue, además, defensor de donzellas" (IV, 226, 17-20).

⁸⁶ Francisco de Rades y Andrada, *Crónica de las tres órdenes y cavallerías de Sanctiago, Calatrava y Alcántara* (1572; rpt. Barcelona: El Albir, 1980), fols. 4^v-5^v. Rades avoids taking a firm position on so sensitive a point, which would have made the Orden de Santiago older than its main competitor, that of Calatrava; see the introduction of Derek Lomax, p. ix. No modern historian would attribute such antiquity to any of the military orders.

⁸⁷ "La verdad dello es, que fueron cavalleros escogidos por los reyes de Francia, a quien llamaron *pares* . . . , 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; y como aora dizen *cavallero de San Juan* o de *Alcántara*, dezían en aquel tiempo *cavallero de los doze Pares*, porque lo fueron doze iguales los que para esta religión militar se escogieron" (II, 367, 32-368, 13).

⁸⁸ It is not as strange as it might seem for there to be shipwrecks in a work

so, con todas las partes que para ser tal se requieren, mostrándose prudente, previniendo las astucias de sus enemigos, y eloquente orador, persuadiendo o dissuadiendo a sus soldados, maduro en el consejo, presto en lo determinado, tan valiente en el esperar como en el acometer; pintando ora un lamentable y trágico suceso, aora un alegre y no pensado acontecimiento; allí una hermosísima dama, honesta, discreta y recatada; aquí un cavallero christiano, valiente y comedido; acullá un desaforado bárbaro fanfarrón; acá un príncipe cortés, valeroso y bien mirado; representando bondad y lealtad de vassallos, grandezas y mercedes de señores. Ya puede mostrarse astrólogo, ya cosmógrafo excelente, ya músico, y tal vez le vendrá ocasión de mostrarse nigromante,⁸⁹ si quisiere. Puede mostrar las astucias de Ulixes, la piedad de Eneas, la valentía de Aquiles, las desgracias de Éctor, las traiciones de Sinón, la amistad de Eurialo, la liberalidad de Alexandro, el valor de César, la clemencia y verdad de Trajano, la fidelidad de Zopiro, la prudencia de Catón, y, finalmente, todas aquellas acciones que pueden hazer perfecto a un varón ilustre, aora poniéndolas en uno solo, aora dividiéndolas en muchos; y siendo esto hecho con apazibilidad de estilo y con ingeniosa invención, que tire lo más que fuere possible a la verdad, sin duda compondrá una tela de varios y hermosos lazos texida . . .

(II, 343, 23-344, 31)

Cervantes had high hopes for his *Bernardo*. If it was, as I have argued, the work described by the canon, then it was the work Cervantes thought would make him as famous as Homer and Virgil (II, 346, 10-12). Such is not an unreasonable aspiration to attribute to Cervantes, who felt that a later work, the *Persiles*, would "compete" with (i.e., be as good or better than) Heliodorus' *Ethiopian Story*, a work held in very high regard.⁹⁰ Spanish authors, in Cervantes' view, surpassed not just the great Italian authors,⁹¹

dealing with Bernardo del Carpio, who in the previous epics had traveled extensively (a readily accessible example: Barahona de Soto, *Las lágrimas de Angélica*, ed. Lara Garrido, p. 572). Considering the Mediterranean locale favored by Cervantes for his fiction, Bernardo might well have visited the Holy Lands, as Pelayo does in López Pinciano's *Pelayo* and Charlemagne does in various late legends (see note 20, *supra*). It is also possible that Bernardo would have directed the resistance to the Norman invaders, coming by sea.

⁸⁹ "A los nigrománticos y hechiceros castigó [Ramiro] con pena de fuego" (Mariana, p. 207a).

⁹⁰ See Bataillon, *Erasmus y España*, pp. 620-21. Cervantes of course also thought that his *comedias* would be among the best ever produced in Spain (note 32, *supra*; in the prologue to *Ocho comedias* we also see the esteem in which he held them).

⁹¹ See "Cervantes and Tasso Reexamined," p. 306.

but the greatest of all time: in the "Canto de Calíope," a celebration of Spanish literary genius, "mil espíritus divinos . . . hazen nuestra edad más venturosa/ que aquella de los griegos y latinos" (*La Galatea*, II, 214, 14- 16). The deeds of a Spanish hero, properly told, "pusieran en su olvido las de los Hétores, Aquiles y Roldanes" (II, 84, 17-18); a Spanish author, logically, could surpass the great authors mentioned. And as Sánchez de Lima asks (p. 21), "mirad quales tienen mayor nombre Hector, y Achiles por lo que hizieron, o Homero, y Virgilio por lo que escriuieron?"

Cervantes no doubt felt that his *Bernardo* was superior because the subject matter, the war against the Moors, was more important than the Trojan war, because his work was more truthful and did not use enchantments, on both of which points Homer and Virgil were criticized,⁹² and because, in general, he had followed the literary precepts he put in the canon's mouth, over which he had "quemado las cejas" (II, 347, 23-24). (In contrast, Part I of *Don Quixote* had only cost him "algún trabajo" [I, 30, 22].) Yet while it is a shame not to have every work Cervantes wrote, whether finished or not, we need not lament greatly the loss of the *Bernardo*. If completed and published, it might well have been as big a success as the epic poems on national themes, perhaps a bigger one. But it would have been a work of limited appeal to non-Spaniards or, indeed, to any modern readers, who would find it hard to identify with this Christian soldier, and it would not have given Cervantes the immortal fame of Homer and Virgil. The *Bernardo*, which in our terms would have been a historical novel, would have been intensely nationalistic and religious. It would inevitably have been a projection of Golden Age customs, values, knowledge, and language on the early Middle Ages; the Moors, for example, would have been the same sort of Moor that Cervantes knew in Algiers.

⁹² "Si [tratárades] de encantadores y hechizeras, Homero tiene a Calipso, y Virgilio a Circe" (I, 35, 27-29). Although it may seem surprising that Homer and Virgil's poems were judged on the basis of their historical accuracy, by which standard they were found wanting, such was in fact the case, nor is such criticism new: even Plato (in the *Republic*) so criticized Homer. Joachim Romero de Çepeda, in the prologue to his *Antigua memorable, y sangrienta destrucción de Troya* (Toledo: Pero López de Haro, a costa de Antonio López, 1583), says that he will "pon[er] en el processo della [esta historia] la verdad, y la más común opinión de los más graves autores, entre los quales Virgilio, y Homero tienen poco crédito. Y quien esto quisiere ver, lea a Dión Griego, del qual dize Sabelico, que no entendía sino en confutar mentiras de Homero, el qual fue tenido por loco, pues fingía los Dioses pelear con los hōbres y ser dellos heridos" (fols. 6^v-7^r). Homer was in any event not particularly popular in Golden Age Spain (or in the Middle Ages either); there was only one partial edition of the *Odyssey*, never reprinted, and López Pinciano (III, 179-80) said that "pudiera ser que, si Aristóteles alcançara a Virgilio, no gastara tanto en alabar a Homero." On criticisms of Virgil, see Forcione, *Cervantes, Aristotle, and the "Persiles"*, p. 175; for his post-Classical image, John Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934).

Cervantes set it aside because it was not going to please the *vulgo*, and in his terms all of us, since we all prefer *Don Quixote* to the *Persiles*, are members of that numerous group. Fools that we are, we prefer spontaneity to theoretical perfection, and when we do not read fantasy, just as popular and more openly indulged in than in Cervantes' day, we prefer realistic description of an author's own times to his conjectures about the past. The early *Bernardo* was merely Cervantes' first attempt at writing a classic, and its importance lies in setting the context for the composition of the work which did give him, posthumously and ironically, the fame of Homer and Virgil.

And yet, who knows? Neither Shakespeare's nor Lope's plays are worse—perhaps they are better—for projecting their own century onto previous ones. If the *Bernardo* had been full of "ingeniosa invención"⁹³ and "buen discurso," with "proporción de partes con el todo y del todo con las partes," and for all that a work which "tir[ase] lo más que fuere posible a la verdad,"⁹⁴ we might indeed read it, and be instructed as well as entertained. Yet Cervantes has given us something much more valuable.

⁹³ II, 344, 28. Cervantes felt that he was "aquel que en la invención excede a muchos" (*Parnaso*, 55, 5-6).

⁹⁴ II, 346, 9; II, 341, 24-25; II, 344, 28-29.