(partial)
A Tercera Romance de Chalave

En esta tercera romance viene de paso el escritor fray

¿Qué es el cielo, si no es el cholote, y el infierno, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el amor, si no es el cholote, y el enemigo, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el diablo, si no es el cholote, y el ángel, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el espíritu, si no es el cholote, y el demonio, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el hombre, si no es el cholote, y la mujer, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es la vida, si no es el cholote, y la muerte, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el amor, si no es el cholote, y el odio, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es la esperanza, si no es el cholote, y la fe, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es la fe, si no es el cholote, y el pecado, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el pecado, si no es el cholote, y el perdón, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el perdón, si no es el cholote, y el castigo, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el castigo, si no es el cholote, y el阜好, si no es el cholote?

¿Qué es el阜好, si no es el cholote, y el阜好, si no es el cholote?
Part of the knight's reputation, as we have just indicated, is based on something besides his ability as a fighter. He will, in fact, have a great many desirable qualities: intelligence, a calm temper, magnanimity. His mesura and cool temper were important virtues, for one with a hot temper too easily gets into unnecessary fights. The knight has a highly developed ethical sense, and always helps the more deserving of two parties to a conflict; in fact, he feels he has a responsibility to help those deserving persons in need of his help, of which there are many. The knight does not seek occasions for serious fighting, though he does for the less serious fighting which was intended as entertainment. He avoids conflict whenever possible, and only engages in it when reconciliation with his opponent is impossible, when the adversary cannot be made to see the inevitable error of his ways.

He will be a good courtier, even though court life is not to his taste. He is neither wordy nor taciturn, and may be able to play musical instruments and compose verses. He may have a good sense of humor and sometimes enjoy verbal repartée.

With all these desirable qualities and abilities, it is scarcely surprising that the knight is widely liked and respected. Nevertheless, there are evil persons in the world, "traidores" and "malvados," and thus he will have enemies. They may be simply jealous of him, jealousy being both a sin and a flaw in one's personality, or they may seek revenge for some defeat they have received at his hand.  

16 Miguel Hieronymo Oliver, "notario de Valencia," comments thus in a prefatory poem to Valerian de Hungria: "Vereas la pintura de un buen cortesano y las calidades que en él se requieren./Vereas dela corte las leyes que quieren/que cumpla quien visite/la rama de Vulcano."

17 Before the emperor of Constantinople, Validos accuses Primaléon:

"Vengo acusar a tu hijo Primaléon de una traición que hizo en matar tan cruelmente a un cavallero de alta guisa que vino por honrar sus fiestas, y este se llamaba Perequin de Duasos, principe de Polonia, que no me negará él, si aquí está, que no le mató falsamente, e sobre acuerdo, lo cual él no deviera fazer, pues avía segurado a todos los cavalleros que al torneo viniessen. Que Perequin, por aver gana de se provar con él, no merecía muerte tan airada; pues que otros muchos cavalleros fazián lo que él. E vos, Primaléon, si aquí estaís, no sé que escusa me deis a su muerte; que yo vos acuso que lo matastes falsamente.

"Primaléon, que esto oyo, levantáse en pie (que estava assentado delante del emperador, e muchos altos hombres con él), e dixo contra Validos:

Not infrequently he may gain an enemy as a consequence of an interest in, or from, a female. Such enemies may invent falsehoods about the knight, accusing him of treason which he would never dream of committing. He may be accused of love for an inappropriate person, such as a (married) queen. Or the accusations may be less serious. Usually the ultimate fate of the knight's evil accusers is death, either because a battle is required to show, through combat, which party is telling the truth and to cleanse the knight's honor and reputation, or because the malcontents are put to death by the king when exposed, or because they cannot bear living in humiliation, which in the chivalric world, again reflecting contemporary Spanish values, was felt to be intolerable. The knight-errant and protagonist will not, however, seek the death of his enemies.

Among the evil characters the knight will come into contact with on his travels are giants. As I have explained elsewhere, the giants were not supernatural beings but merely very large and ugly men, who believed themselves to be superior to ordinary men and therefore free from the troubling need to follow society's rules. Giants are clearly the villains of the romances of chivalry. Never Christians, they usurped kingdoms because of their whim, and carried off women with the intent of raping them and men to be sold as slaves. (One may well note here a reflection of the Spaniards'

18 For an example, see Chapter I, 5 of Amadís de Gaúcia, in which the traitor Marden falsely tells king Magadén, in whose court Amadís lived, that Amadís had slept with Magadén's queen.

19 In my edition of the Espíto de principios, I, 46-47, note. For a list of numerous giants of the romances of chivalry, see note 14 of Diego Clementín to Chapter 49 of Part I of the Quijote.

20 While the religious beliefs of giants are usually not explored in detail, there is a colorful description of the moon-worship of one giant family in Chapter 39 of Part III of the Espíto de principios y cavalleros.
attitude toward the Moors.) The giants are haughty and disrespectful. They offer the knight the chance to show his extraordinary abilities in defeating and killing them; in the case of giants, he does not hesitate to put them to death. Occasionally one finds a good or reformed giant, and sometimes dwarfs, evil or otherwise.

Several other characteristics of the knight in the romances of chivalry need mentioning. Because he is such a likeable person and a good companion, the knight is seldom alone. This is not because he has a squire, since the role of squires in the Spanish romances of chivalry, as Don Quijote knew, is a very secondary one. It is rather because friends of similar age, or relatives, accompany him on his travels. Often he travels with knights that he meets by chance on the road.

The knight is also an outdoorsman. He is not upset by the discomforts of travel in those primitive times, and frankly enjoys the nature by which he is usually surrounded. He goes through beautiful forests, climbs gentle hills, comes across fresh, clear rivers, is woken in the morning by the singing of the birds, and makes his meals when necessary from what nature provides. His main diversion, aside from tournaments or an occasional sura with the ladies, is casa de monte.

Correspondingly, the knight does not like urban life. Cities, as well as creature comforts, make him uneasy and restless. To visit a castle, palace, or court (the latter usually set in a city) may be attractive for a time, but once the tournament is over or his business concluded, the knight feels he must be on the road again, an attitude clearly reflected by Don Quijote in II, 57 and 58 of the Quijote. The knight may even be surmised to have a certain scorn for those who do not share this view. One of the saddest moments in the life of a knight-errant (or in the life of a king, perhaps the protagonist's father, a former knight-errant) is when he finally accedes to his throne. Then he can no longer be "errant," for custom and good sense require that the king remain more or less in one spot, chained by his duty, and unable to travel as a younger person is free to do.

While the knight feels comfortable in small groups and is glad to have company, he dislikes large gatherings of people. In a military action, conscious of his status, he will not mix with the common soldiers, though he will quite routinely accept a meal from shepherds if he encounters them on his travels. The tournament is the only exception to this, since tournaments are a basic element of the Spanish romances of chivalry, and they bring together a large body of knights.

It may safely be concluded that the tournaments are as frequent as they are because the Spanish readers found them entertaining, strange as this may seem to the modern reader who has lost the taste for this type of sport. A tournament would be given by a king, who himself gained status by staging one and by having distinguished knights in his court, even for a short time; the king also would enjoy recapturing some of the pleasure of the company of other knights, which he cannot enjoy as frequently as in his youth.

diversidades de animales silvestres grandes y pequeños con celosas corridas y enamoradas luchas retozaban sobre la verde yerva. Juntaúvas con esto una dulcísima y muy extraña armonía que tenían las aves en los verdes ramos, que a cualquiera hombre que triste y afligido fuera bastara a consolar.” (I, 44 of the Espejo de príncipes; II, 175-76 of my edition.)
A tournament usually had some prize or prizes to be awarded, some attraction which would draw knights. They came not so much for the prize to be awarded (since the winner, our protagonist, would invariably give it away in his turn, often to a woman present at the tournament whom he wished to impress). The knight entered the competition for the honor of winning the prize, the status gained thereby, and the social obligations he created with his gift. The most common sport at the tournaments was the fight with lances, long, thick poles with which two knights at a time ran at each other, on horseback, each attempting with the blow of the impact to knock the other from his horse. The force of the impact was considerable, and often the thick lances would break; the two knights would continue using additional lances until one was victorious.  

A Typical Romance of Chivalry

though physical injury was not the object in this sport, which was often a game among friends, it was not uncommon for someone to be hurt.

A sort of impromptu tournament, semi-serious, which the knight might encounter was the paso, in which someone would block the road, or a bridge, and the knight could not continue his travel unless he admitted something unacceptable (that his lady was less beautiful than another, for example), or defeated in battle the knight maintaining the paso. That this type of adventure antedated the Spanish romances, and is found in the fifteenth-century Passo honraro—itself a reflection of literature—is so well known as almost to make it unnecessary to mention it here.

Along with tournaments and pasos, battles are also an essential part of the romances of chivalry, and here again the knight-errant is able to show his exceptional abilities. Always held for a serious and

24 The tournaments of the romances of chivalry are so abundant that it is only possible to cite a selection and to give some brief extracts. For examples: Beóandis de Grecia, I, 32-33, II, 4 and ff., 22, Plávria, 22, Lepoleo, 125, Espejo de principios, I, 32, II, 64, Clarín de Landázuri, 1, 6, 9-11, Oliviante de Laura, I, 27-28, Primalón, 24-25, 59, 62, 78-80, 210, Cioniglio de Trasac, III, 36, 38-41, etc., etc. Here is an extract from Primalón, Chapter 59:

"El primero que fue a justar con él fue el marques Penarado, que era cavallero muy preciado y de alta guisa, e venía del linaje de los emperadores de Constantinopla, y deseeasea casar con Melisa. Y porque oyo dezir que aquellos cavalleros le embriaron aquel mandado que aveis oido dezir, los desamava, y tomóle voluntad de provarsen con ellos. Y armóse de ricas armas, e entró en el campo, cubierto de su escudo, e sin dezir ninguna cosa abaxó la lança e asio hazo Recindos, e vinieronse a encontrar con tanto ardimiento e poder que no ay hombre que vos lo pudiese dezir. Mas el encuentro de Recindos fue con tanta fuerza que sacó al marques de la silla por las anchas del cavall, e dio con él en tierra, y fue tan maldrecho que por una pieza no bullio pie ni mano, e un su primo, hermano del marques, que era muy buen cavallero, ovo tan gran pesar que luego se fue a armar, e entre tanto los del marques los sacaron del campo e lo llevaron a su posada. Bimer, que ayia nombre el primero del marqueses, vino con gran voluntad de justar con Recindos, e venía tan desacordado que faltó de su encuentro, y Recindos lo derrbió en tierra muy ligeramente. Bimer se levantó muy ligeramente, e dixole:"

"—No podeis, don cavallero, de vos ir. Assi que a las espadas veremos que sabeis fazer.

Recindos se apeó, e enbraçó su escudo, e comenzaron su batalla, mas presto fue despartida. Que Recindos andava ligeramente; que de gran fuerza e corazón y prestamente venció al cormano del marques, e le tomó sus sobreseñales, y los suyos lo llevaron a la posada del marques, que iva malferido.

25 Don Quijote imitates this practice in his challenge to the mercaderes in his primera salida (I, 4). For examples of pasos, see Espejo de principes, I, 52, Primalón, 56, Plávria, 61, Oliviante de Laura, I, 26.

26 For information on the Passo honraro of Suero de Quiñones, see entry NN41 of my bibliography.
just reason—to repel an attack, for example—the battles are invariably bloody affairs in which many are killed,\textsuperscript{27} unless, as occasionally happens, the two sides to a conflict decide to have a limited number from each side determine, through fighting, the outcome.\textsuperscript{28} The protagonist is usually not a main participant at the beginning of a battle, since he remains calm and somewhat detached, and the duty of fighting would first be assumed by the person(s) the knight is aiding. But when the knight-errant, the hero of the story, has his anger aroused, he becomes a terrifying opponent. He wields his sword and charges through the battle, cutting off heads and arms, penetrating armor with the force of his blows. Not unusual is the blow which descends through the helmet, the neck, and part of the trunk, severing an opponent almost into two parts. There is often a religious element to these battles, in which the knight, though not necessarily a Christian, helps the Christian side, which will in any event be more deserving for other reasons. The knight not born a Christian will at some point be converted to the "true" religion.

Women and love usually play a secondary role in the Spanish romances of chivalry, serving more as background, or providing motives for action,\textsuperscript{29} than taking part in the action themselves. Ladies did not travel for pleasure or amusement; in fact, except for women

\textsuperscript{27} Palmerin de Olivia, 136-42, Belianís de Grecia, I, 53, Platir, 26, Espejo de principes, III, 17-25.

\textsuperscript{28} Belianís de Grecia, II, 47; Espejo de principes, III, 26 and 30. This practice was really engaged in the sixteenth century, though whether a source of the practice in the romances or a result of it is not clear. See the “Relación muy cierta y verdadera de un asalto que se hizo en Orán el año de 1553 entre veinte cavalleros cristianos y otros tantos cavalleros moros,” in Relaciones de los reinos de Carlos V y Felipe II, ed. Amalio Huarte, I, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 2ª época, 12 (Madrid, 1941), 98-136. In Sandoval, Carlos V, II, BAE 81, 285-86; we find Carlos responding to François I’s request for a duel “por evitar fusión de sangre, y poner fin a esta guerra.”

\textsuperscript{29} “Para defender las dueñas y donzellas que tuerto reciben principalmente se dava orden de cavallería,” the narrator states in Amadís de Grecia, I, 14, while the protagonist reiterates in chapter 18, “no daxaré de serviros, si de mi teinéis necessidad por algun tuerto que se os haga. Que para esto recibí la orden de cavallería; que en otra guisa mal empleada sería en mi y en todos los que armas traen si consintiessee contra justicia hazerse enojo a dueña ni donzella.”

in search of assistance or carrying out some vow, they did not travel at all unless forced to by evil-doers. We can summarize by saying that both literally and figuratively, women are the spectators at the tournament. Love, of course, was seen as a refining element, felt to improve men, and the knight will fall in love at some point with the woman he will eventually marry, though not much significance was given to the marriage vows, to judge from the number of children conceived out of wedlock. But love was still a pretext for adventures, rather than a main focus of attention. The knight’s courtship of his lady, consequently, will usually be secret, and beset with external difficulties, even if the lady is agreeable, which is not always the case, especially at the beginning.\textsuperscript{30} The romance will usually end with the marriage of the knight (perhaps a joint marriage, together with some of his friends or relatives), the birth or conception of a son, and the protagonist’s accession to the throne.\textsuperscript{31}

Women in need of assistance, ranging from queens to humble servant girls, are the basis for many of the knight’s deeds.\textsuperscript{32} A woman whose honor had been attacked could only cleanse it through battle with her accuser or dishonorer, and had to seek a knight to take her part and defend her (a practice reflected in the episode of Doña Rodríguez, in the Quijote). The protagonist will not resist the request to help such a deserving person.\textsuperscript{33}

Adventures with the supernatural will also present themselves to the knight, though not in the sense the Quijote has given us to understand. He will not be pursued by enchanters; more often he will have sabios with some magical powers—those consistent with Christianity, usually—who will be working to help him, and may deter-

\textsuperscript{30} María Rosa Lida points out how one of the differences between Arthurian texts and the Spanish chivalric literature influenced by them is that the Spanish works “no logran[en] acentuar suficientemente el elemento sobrenatural característico de las aventuras de la ‘matería de Bretaña,’ ni la fuerza irresistible del amor” (“Arthurian Literature,” p. 412; p. 141 of the Spanish translation).

\textsuperscript{31} For further details, see “The Pseudo-Historicity of the Romances of Chivalry,” infra.

\textsuperscript{32} Some examples: Primoleón, 115-18, 152; Cirugilico, pp. 52-54, Platir, 20; Lidamor de Escocia, 40; Clarín de Landanis, I, 74-75.

\textsuperscript{33} Palmeirin de Oliva, 85-86; Espejo de principes, I, 50, 53-54, III, 43-45.
mine the course of the plot. Thus the knight, like Don Quijote in the Cueva de Montesinos, may find that adventures have been “reserved” for him. But the knight will still have to combat with unnatural beasts of all sorts, penetrate obstacles created by magic in order to reach some protected place, fight and find the inevitable weak point of a combatant with magical gifts, or travel in a boat, carriage, or other conveyance sent and moved by magical means. He may be misled by apparitions, or be held enchanted in a castle or island for a period of time.

So far we have been discussing the ways in which the romances of chivalry are similar, and they can seem surprisingly similar and even monotonous to the casual reader. But this is merely a reflection of the fact that the customs of another age, seen from the perspective of some five hundred years, will seem uniform and will not reveal their nuances and details until one is familiar with the broad generalities. One would scarcely expect the readers of the romances to purchase and read numerous works if these were all seen by them to be identical. The differences were what made the romances, as a genre, possible.

The countries in which the romances were set varied considerably, and in fact no two, save different members of the same “family,” were set in exactly the same locale. The travels that the knight undertook were thus similarly varied—he might travel to China, at one end of the world, or to England, at the other. The romance may have numerous subplots, with many simultaneous stories and many secondary characters, sometimes taking center stage for a period of time. However, this is a difference of degree, for even those romances concentrating more specifically on one protagonist had, by modern standards, an extremely confusing number of characters. The types of adventures encountered by the knight, the problems he is beset with, the ways in which he is tested, the various and diverse fantastic beasts or magical apparitions, the military situations, all could provide for variety within the standard framework of the romance. Even the various and seemingly endless and uniform tournaments actually have subtle differences within them to maintain the readers’ interest, just as each soccer game, for example, is different, though to one who has not seen many games and does not understand the strategy, they will all be alike.

Within the limitations provided by the ideal of knighthood (and by implication, manhood) to which the knights of the romances must conform, the various protagonists of the romances of chivalry are in fact diverse individuals. One may be more interested in love than another; one a more constant lover than other. One knight may have a particularly fierce temper, and though a calm, even excessively calm, individual normally, particularly fierce temperament, and though a calm, even excessively calm, individual normally, become a particularly terrifying warrior when he is aroused. Though all the protagonists of the novels are exceptional fighters, their interests in music, poetry, and travel, to cite a few examples, may vary. A knight may have an overriding purpose or goal which stays with him and underlies his varied actions through much of the romance—finding the secret of his ancestry, for example—or such a general purpose may be lacking, and his motivations be more specific and of more limited duration.

We see also in the romances attempts by the authors to impress and divert the reader through creation of specific set pieces, often with reference to well-known Classical events. The author may state that his readers are about to see a new battle of Troy, fought over a woman more beautiful than Helen. A knight may even, as does the
Caballero del Febo (Espíto de príncipes, II, 55), pass through the scene of the original battle of Troy, and find there descendants of the participants in that conflict. A series of chapters may be centered around a particularly marvelous castle, with transparent walls, extremely elaborate and rich decoration, and superlative inhabitants.  

Several times in this chapter I have referred to the Spanish nature of the romances, and it is worth referring to it once again in conclusion. The world presented in the Spanish romances of chivalry is an idealized version of Spain itself, not so foreign as to be truly surprising, just enough so as to be entertaining. The values are Spanish, and all characters save clearly identifiable outsiders share them. The value system is more specifically that of the Spanish nobility at the end of the Middle Ages and beginning of the Renaissance; the only difference is that the characters endorse these values so firmly, just as they themselves are obviously idealized individuals—ones that the readers, perhaps, would like to identify with.  

The romances of chivalry, then, presented to their Spanish audience a world which was familiar in its basic values even though different in details. For this reason it was a reassuring world, one free of the moral and political confusion characteristic of early modern Spain (and of most other times as well). Black is black and white is white in the romances of chivalry, heroes and villains are clearly distinguished; women are either virtuous or common, beautiful or ugly. The books, while entertaining to the spirit, were relaxing to the intellect, as one would expect from a type of literature which was essentially escape or pleasure reading. One should not be surprised that the romances were as popular as they in fact were.

VI

Amadís de Gaula and Amadís de Grecia

IN DEFENSE OF FELICIANO DE SILVA

Our point of departure in this chapter is the imbalance in Spanish literary history, from the eighteenth century to the present, between the treatment of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, editor of most of Amadís de Gaula, author of the remainder and of its continuation, the Segunda Celestina, and Feliciano de Silva, favorite author of Don Quijote and the author of many romances of chivalry, of whose works the most representative and perhaps the best is Amadís de Grecia, Book 9 of the Amadís series. ¹ While Montalvo's works have been edited and studied in depth for over a century, the works of Silva, with the partial exception of his Segunda Celestina,² have not been reprinted since the

¹ An earlier version of this chapter was given before the Third Romances of Chivalry Seminar, Modern Language Association of America Convention, December 27, 1975, also before the Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies, SUNY Albany, April 25, 1977.

² There is no published, critical edition of the Segunda Celestina. The edition of Monk, referred to above (note 58 to Chapter II), has not been published; the only published editions since the princeps are those of José Antonio de Balenchana, in the Colección de libros españoles raros y curiosos, 9 (Madrid, 1874), of María Inés Chamorro Fernández (Madrid: Ciencia Nueva, 1968), and of Manuel Criado de Val, in a volume including the Celestina of Rojas and its three continuations (Barcelona: Planeta, 1976).

Such as the Casa de la Fortuna, discussed in Olotante de Laura, 4-6, the Castillo del Universo of Amadís de Grecia, or the pentagonal castle of Cupid which Cirongilio de Tracia visits in Chapter 19 of Part III of his history.