

derived from similar, but older, popular poetry, now either wholly lost, or so much changed by successive oral traditions that it has ceased to show its relationship with the chronicling stories to which it originally gave birth. Among these narrative passages, one of the most happy is the history of Bernardo del Carpio, for parts of which the Chronicle appeals to * 149 ballads more ancient than itself; * while to the whole, as it stands in the Chronicle, ballads more modern have, in their turn, been much indebted. It is founded on the idea of a poetical contest between Bernardo's loyalty to his king, on the one side, and his attachment to his imprisoned father, on the other. For he was, as we have already learned from the old ballads and traditions, the son of a secret marriage or intrigue between the king's sister and the Count de Sandias de Saldaña, which had so offended the king, that he kept the Count in prison from the time he discovered it, and concealed whatever related to Bernardo's birth; educating him, meantime, as his own son. When, however, Bernardo grew up, he became the great hero of his age, rendering important military services to his king and country. "But yet," according to the admirably strong expression of the old Chronicle,²⁰ "when he knew all this, and that it was his own father that was in prison, it grieved him to the heart, and his blood turned in his body, and he went to his house, making the greatest moan that could be, and put on raiment of mourning, and went to the king, Don Alfonso. And the king, when he saw it, said to him, 'Bernardo, do you desire my death?' for Bernardo until that time had held himself to be the son of the king, Don Alfonso. And Bernardo said,

²⁰ See the *Crónica General de España*, ed. 1541, f. 227. a.

'Sire, I do not wish for your death, but I have great grief because my father, the Count of Sandias, lieth in prison, and I beseech you of your grace that you would command him to be given up to me.' And the king, Don Alfonso, when he heard this, said to him, 'Bernardo, begone from before me, and never be so bold as to speak to me again of this matter; for I swear to you that, in all the days that I shall live, you shall never see your father out of his prison.' And Bernardo said to him, 'Sire, you are my king, and may do whatsoever you shall hold for good; but I pray God that he will put it into your heart to take him thence; nevertheless, I, Sire, shall in no wise cease to serve you in all that I may.'"

Notwithstanding this refusal, however, when great services are wanted from Bernardo in troubled times, * his father's liberty is promised him as * 150 a reward; but these promises are constantly broken, until he renounces his allegiance, and makes war upon his false uncle, and on one of his successors, Alfonso the Great.²¹ At last Bernardo succeeds in reducing the royal authority so low, that the king again, and more solemnly, promises to give up his prisoner if Bernardo, on his part, will give up the great castle of Carpio, which had rendered him really formidable. The faithful son does not hesitate, and the king sends for the Count, but finds him dead, probably by the

²¹ *Crónica Gen.*, ed. 1541, f. 237, a. When I read such passages as those I have here cited, I am ready to say with Dozy (*Recherches*, etc., 1849, Tom. I. p. 384): *La Crónica* aurait droit à toute notre estime même si elle n'avait qu'un seul mérite (qu'elle partage du reste avec le Code que composa Alfonso, les *Siete Partidas*) celui d'avoir créé la prose Castellane; — non pas cette pâle prose d'aujourd'hui, qui manque de caractère, d'individualité, qui trop souvent

n'est que du Français traduit mot à mot, — mais la vraie prose Castellane, celle du bon vieux temps; cette prose qui exprime si fidèlement le caractère Espagnole; cette prose vigoureuse, large, riche, grave, noble, et naïve tout à la fois; — et cela dans un temps où les autres peuples de l'Europe, sans en excepter les Italiens, étaient bien loin encore d'avoir produit un ouvrage en prose qui se recommandât par le style.

royal procurement. The Count's death, however, does not prevent the base monarch from determining to keep the castle, which was the stipulated price of his prisoner's release. He therefore directs the dead body to be brought, as if alive, on horseback, and, in company with Bernardo, who has no suspicion of the cruel mockery, goes out to meet it.

"And when they were all about to meet," the old chronicle goes on, "Bernardo began to shout aloud with great joy, and to say, 'Cometh indeed the Count Don Sandias de Saldaña!' And the king, Don Alfonso, said to him, 'Behold where he cometh! Go, therefore, and salute him whom you have sought so much to behold.' And Bernardo went towards him, and kissed his hand: but when he found it cold, and saw that all his color was black, he knew that he was dead; and with the grief he had from it he began to cry aloud, and to make great moan, saying, 'Alas! Count Sandias, in an evil hour was I born, for never was man so lost as I am now for you; for, since you are dead, and my castle is gone, I know no counsel by which I may do aught.' And some say in their ballads (*cantares* * 151 *de gesta*) that the king then * said, 'Bernardo, now is not the time for much talking, and, therefore, I bid you go straightway forth from my land,'" etc.

This constitutes one of the most interesting parts of the old General Chronicle; but the whole is curious, and much of it is rich and striking. It is written with more freedom and less exactness of style than some of the other works of its royal author; and in the last division shows a want of finish, which in the first two parts is not perceptible, and in the third only slightly so. But everywhere it breathes the spirit of its age,

and, when taken together, is not only the most interesting of the Spanish chronicles, but the most interesting of all that in any country mark the transition from its poetical and romantic traditions to the grave exactness of historical truth.

The next of the early Chronicles that claims our notice is the one called, with primitive simplicity, "The Chronicle of the Cid": in some respects as important as the one we have just examined; in others, less so. The first thing that strikes us, when we open it, is, that, although it has much of the appearance and arrangement of a separate and independent work, it is substantially the same with the two hundred and eighty pages which constitute the first portion of the Fourth Book of the General Chronicle of Spain; so that one must certainly have been taken from the other, or both from some common source. The latter is, perhaps, the more obvious conclusion, and has sometimes been adopted;²² but, on a careful examination, it will probably be found that the Chronicle of the Cid is rather taken from that of Alfonso the Wise than from any materials common to both and older than both. For, in the first place, each, in the same words, often claims to be a translation from the same authors; yet, as the language of both is frequently identical for pages together, this cannot be true, unless * one * 152 copied from the other. And, secondly, the Chronicle of the Cid, in some instances, corrects the errors of the General Chronicle, and, in one instance at least, makes an addition to it of a date later than that

²² This is the opinion of Southey, in the Preface to his "Chronicle of the Cid," which, though one of the most amusing and instructive books in relation to the manners and feelings of the Middle Ages

that is to be found in the English language, is not so wholly a translation from its three Spanish sources as it claims to be. The opinion of Huber on the same point is like that of Southey.

of the General Chronicle itself.²³ But, passing over the details of this obscure but not unimportant point, it is sufficient for our present purpose to say that the Chronicle of the Cid is the same in substance with the history of the Cid in the General Chronicle, and was probably taken from it.

When it was arranged in its present form, or by whom this was done, we have no notice.²⁴ But it

²³ Both the chronicles cite for their authorities the Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo, and the Bishop Lucas of Tuy, in Galicia (Cid, Cap. 293; General, 1604, f. 313. b, and elsewhere), and represent them as dead. Now, the first died in 1247, and the last in 1250; and as the General Chronicle of Alfonso X. was necessarily written between 1252 and 1282, and probably written soon after 1252, it is not to be supposed, either that the Chronicle of the Cid, or any other chronicle in the Spanish language which the General Chronicle could use, was already compiled. But there are passages in the Chronicle of the Cid which prove it to be later than the General Chronicle. For instance, in Chapters 294, 295, and 296, of the Chronicle of the Cid, there is a correction of an error of two years in the General Chronicle's chronology. And again, in the General Chronicle (ed. 1604, f. 313. b), after relating the burial of the Cid, by the bishops, in a vault, and dressed in his clothes ("vestido con sus paños"), it adds, "And thus he was laid where he still lies" ("*E assi yaze ay do agora yaze*"); but in the Chronicle of the Cid, the words in Italics are stricken out, and we have instead, "And there he remained a long time, till King Alfonso came to reign" ("*E hy estudo muy grand tiempo, fasta que vino el Rey Don Alfonso a reynar*"); after which words we have an account of the translation of his body to another tomb, by Alfonso the Wise, the son of Ferdinand. But, besides that this is plainly an addition to the Chronicle of the Cid, made later than the account given in the General Chronicle, there is a little clumsiness about it that renders it quite curious; for, in speaking of St. Ferdinand with the usual formula, as "he who conquered Andalusia, and the city of Jaen, and many

other royal towns and castles," it adds, "As the history will relate to you further on" ("*Segun que adelante vos lo contará la historia*"). Now, the history of the Cid has nothing to do with the history of St. Ferdinand, who lived a hundred years after him, and is never again mentioned in this Chronicle; and therefore the little passage containing the account of the translation of the body of the Cid, in the thirteenth century, to its next resting-place, was probably cut out from some other chronicle, which contained the history of St. Ferdinand, as well as that of the Cid. (Cap. 291.)

It is a curious fact, though not one of consequence to this inquiry, that the remains of the Cid, besides their removal by Alfonso the Wise, in 1272, were successively transferred to different places, in 1447, in 1541, again in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and again, by the bad taste of the French General Thibaut, in 1809 or 1810, until, at last, in 1824, they were restored to their original sanctuary in San Pedro de Cardenas. (Semario Pintoresco, 1838, p. 648.)

²⁴ If it be asked what were the authorities on which the portion of the Crónica General relating to the Cid relies for its materials, I should answer: 1. Those cited in the Prólogo to the whole work by Alfonso himself, some of which are again cited when speaking of the Cid. Among these, the most important is the Archbishop Rodrigo's "Historia Gothica." (See Nic. Ant., Bibl. Vet., Lib. VIII. c. 2, § 28.) 2. It is probable there were Arabic records of the Cid, as a life of him, or part of a life of him, by a nephew of Alfaxati or Alfaraxi, the converted Moor, is referred to in the Chronicle itself, Cap. 278, and in Crón. Gen., 1541, f. 359. b. But

was found, as * we now read it, at Cardenas, in * 153 the very monastery where the Cid lies buried, and was seen there by the youthful Ferdinand, grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, who was afterwards emperor of Germany, and who was induced to give the abbot an order to have it printed.²⁵ This was done accordingly in 1512, since which time there have been but two editions of it, those of 1552 and of 1593, until it was reprinted in 1844, at Marburg, in Germany, with an excellent critical preface in Spanish, by Huber.

As a part of the General Chronicle of Spain²⁶

there is nothing in the Chronicle that sounds like Arabic, except the account of the siege of Valencia, or some parts of it, and especially the "Lament for the Fall of Valencia," beginning "Valencia, Valencia, vinieron sobre ti muchos quebrantos," which is on f. 329. a, and again, poorly amplified, on f. 329. b, but out of which has been made the fine ballad, "Apretada esta Valencia," which can be traced back to the ballad-book printed by Martin Nucio, at Antwerp, 1550, though, I believe, no further. If, therefore, there be anything in the Chronicle of the Cid taken from documents in the Arabic language, such documents were written by Christians, or a Christian character was impressed on the facts taken from them.* 3. It has been suggested by the Spanish translators of Bousterwek (p. 255) that the Chronicle of the Cid in Spanish is substantially taken from the "Historia Roderici Didaci," published by Risco, in "La Castilla y el mas Famoso Castellano" (1792, App., pp. xvi-lx). But the Latin, though curious and valuable, is a meagre compendium, in which I find nothing of the attractive stories and adventures of the Spanish, but occasionally something to contradict or discredit them. 4. The old "Poem of the Cid" was, no doubt, used, and used freely, by the chronicler, whoever he was, though he never alludes to it.

* Since writing this note, I learn that my friend Don Pascual de Gayangos possesses an Arabic chronicle that throws much light on this Spanish chronicle and on the life of the Cid.

This has been noticed by Sanchez (Tom. I. pp. 226-228), and must be noticed again, in note 28, where I shall give an extract from the Poem. I add here only that it is clearly the Poem that was used by the Chronicle, and not the Chronicle that was used by the Poem.

²⁵ Prohemio. The good abbot considers the Chronicle to have been written in the lifetime of the Cid, that is, before A. D. 1100, and yet it refers to the Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishop of Tuy, who were of the thirteenth century. Moreover, he speaks of the intelligent interest the Prince Ferdinand took in it; but Oviedo, in his Dialogue on Cardinal Ximenes, says the young prince was only eight years and some months old when he gave the order. (Quinquagenas, MS.)

²⁶ Sometimes it is necessary earlier to allude to a portion of the Cid's history, and then it is added, "As we shall relate further on"; so that it is quite certain the Cid's history was originally regarded as a necessary portion of the General Chronicle. (Crónica General, ed. 1604, Tercera Parte, f. 92. b.) When, therefore, we come to the Fourth Part, where it really belongs, we have, first, a chapter on the accession of Ferdinand the Great, and then the history of the Cid connected with that of the reigns of Ferdinand, Sancho II., and Alfonso VI.; but the whole is so truly an integral part of the General Chronicle, and not a separate chronicle of the Cid, that, when it was taken out

* 154 we must, * with a little hesitation, pronounce the Chronicle of the Cid less interesting than several of the portions that immediately precede it. But still, it is the great national version of the achievements of the great national hero who freed the fourth part of his native land from the loathed intrusion of the Moors, and who stands to this day connected with the proudest recollections of Spanish glory. It begins with the Cid's first victories under Ferdinand the Great, and therefore only alludes to his early youth, and to the extraordinary circumstances on which Corneille, following the old Spanish play and ballads, has founded his tragedy; but it gives afterwards, with great minuteness, nearly every one of the adventures that in the older traditions are ascribed to him, down to his death, which happened in 1099, and goes on afterwards down to the death of Alfonso the Sixth, ten years later.

Much of it is as fabulous²⁷ as the accounts of Bernardo del Carpio and the Infantes de Lara, though perhaps not more so than might be expected in a work of such a period and such pretensions. Its style, too, is suited to its romantic character, and is more diffuse and grave than that of the best narrative portions of

to serve as a separate chronicle, it was taken out as *the three reigns* of the three sovereigns above mentioned, beginning with one chapter that goes back ten years before the Cid was born, and ending with five chapters that run forward ten years after his death; while at the conclusion of the whole is a sort of eulophon, apologizing (*Crónica del Cid*, Burgos, 1593, fol., f. 277) for the fact that it is so much a chronicle of these three kings, rather than a mere chronicle of the Cid. This, with the peculiar character of the differences between the two that have been already noticed, has satisfied me that the Chronicle of the Cid was taken from the General Chronicle.

Dozy (whose learned *Recherches sur l'Espagne*, etc., 1849, I had not seen when this last opinion was first published) comes, I am pleased to observe, to the same conclusion. Tom. I. p. 406, and elsewhere.

²⁷ Masdeu (*Historia Crítica de España*, Madrid, 1783-1805, 4to, Tom. XX.) would have us believe that the whole is a fable; but this demands too much credulity. The question is discussed with acuteness and learning in "Jos. Aschbach de Cidi *Historiæ Fontibus Dissertatio*" (Bonnæ, 4to, 1843, pp. 5, etc.), but little can be settled about individual facts. See also *ante*, Chap. II. note 4.

the General Chronicle. But then, on the other hand, it is overflowing with the very spirit of the times when it was written, and offers us so true a picture of their generous virtues, as well as their stern violence, that it may well be regarded as one of the best books in the world, if not the very best, for studying the real character and manners of the ages of chivalry. Occasionally there are passages in it like the following description of the Cid's feelings and conduct, when he left his good castle of Bivar, unjustly and cruelly exiled by the king, which, whether invented * or not, * 155 are as true to the spirit of the period they represent as if the minutest of their details were ascertained facts.

"And when he saw his courts deserted and without people, and the perches without falcons, and the gateway without its judgment-seats, he turned himself toward the East, and knelt down and said, 'Saint Mary, Mother, and all other Saints, graciously beseech God that he would grant me might to overcome all these pagans, and that I may gain from them wherewith to do good to my friends, and to all those that may follow and help me.' And then he went on and asked for Alvar Fañez, and said to him, 'Cousin, what fault have the poor in the wrong that the king has done us? Warn all my people, then, that they harm none, where-soever we may go.' And he called for his horse to mount. Then spake up an old woman standing at her door and said, 'Go on with good luck, for you shall make spoil of whatsoever you may find or desire.' And the Cid, when he heard that saying, rode on, for he would tarry no longer; and as he went out of Bivar, he said, 'Now do I desire you should know, my friends, that it is the will of God that we

should return to Castile with great honor and great gain.'"²⁸

Some of the touches of manners in this little passage, such as the allusion to the judgment-seats at his gate, where the Cid, in patriarchal simplicity, had administered justice to his vassals, and the hint of the poor augury gathered from the old woman's wish, which seems to be of more power with him than the prayer he had just uttered, or the bold hopes that were driving him to the Moorish frontiers,—

* 156 such touches give life and truth to * this old chronicle, and bring its times and feelings, as it were, sensibly before us. Adding its peculiar treasures to those contained in the rest of the General Chronicle, we shall find, in the whole, nearly all the romantic and poetical fables and adventures that belong to the earliest portions of Spanish history. At the same time we shall obtain a living picture of the state of manners in that dark period, when the elements of modern society were just beginning to be separated from the chaos in which they had long struggled, and out of which, by the action of successive ages, they have been gradually wrought into those forms of policy which now give stability to governments, and peace to the intercourse of men.

²⁸ The portion of the Chronicle of the Cid from which I have taken the extract is among the portions which least resemble the corresponding parts of the General Chronicle. It is in Chap. 91; and from Chap. 88 to Chap. 93 there is a good deal not found in the parallel passages in the General Chronicle (1604, f. 224, etc.), though, where they do resemble each other, the phraseology is still frequently identical. The particular passage I have selected was, I think, suggested by the first lines that remain to us of the "Poema del Cid"; and

perhaps, if we had the preceding lines of that poem, we should be able to account for yet more of the additions to the Chronicle in this passage. The lines I refer to are as follows:—

De los sos oios tan fuertes mientre lorando
Tornaba la cabeza, e estabalos catando.
Vio puertas abiertas e uzos sin canados,
Alcándaras vacias, sin pieles e sin mantos,
E sin falcones e sin adtores mudados.
Sospiró mio Cid, ca mucho avie grandes cuidados.

Other passages are quite as obviously taken from the poem.

* CHAPTER IX.

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EFFECTS OF THE EXAMPLE OF ALFONSO THE TENTH.—CHRONICLES OF HIS OWN REIGN, AND OF THE REIGNS OF SANCHE THE BRAVE AND FERDINAND THE FOURTH.—CHRONICLE OF ALFONSO THE ELEVENTH, BY VILLAIZAN.—CHRONICLES OF PETER THE CRUEL, HENRY THE SECOND, JOHN THE FIRST, AND HENRY THE THIRD, BY AYALA.—CHRONICLE OF JOHN THE SECOND.—TWO CHRONICLES OF HENRY THE FOURTH, AND TWO OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

THE idea of Alfonso the Wise, simply and nobly expressed in the opening of his Chronicle, that he was desirous to leave for posterity a record of what Spain had been and had done in all past time,¹ was not without influence upon the nation, even in the state in which it then was, and in which, for above a century afterwards, it continued. But, as in the case of that great king's project for a uniform administration of justice by a settled code, his example was too much in advance of his age to be immediately followed; though, as in that memorable case, when it was once adopted, its fruits became abundant. The two next kings, Sancho the Brave and Ferdinand the Fourth, took no measures, so far as we know, to keep up and publish the history of their reigns. But Alfonso the Eleventh, the same monarch, it should be remembered, under whom the "Partidas" became the efficient law of the land, recurred to the example of his wise ancestor, and ordered the annals of the kingdom to be

¹ It sounds much like the "Partidas," beginning "Los sabios antiguos que fueron en los tiempos primeros, y fallaron los saberes y las otras cosas, tovieron que menguarian en sus fechos y en su lealtad, si tambien no lo quisi-

essen para los otros que avien de venir, como para si mesmos o por los otros que eran en su tiempo," etc. But such introductions are common in other early chronicles, and in other old Spanish books.